"Shaping Young Minds" under Occupation: Hidden Curriculum in East Jerusalem's Primary Textbooks

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ABSTRACT

Childhood education is a critical period during which young learners form their values, perspectives, and beliefs and shape their identities. Due to pupils' vulnerability at this stage, the impact of both explicit and implicit learning materials, especially curricula and textbooks, can be profound and long-lasting. This study examined the changes made by the Israeli Ministry of Education to Palestinian textbooks used in East Jerusalem, focusing on the impact of these alterations on pupils. Social Studies, Arabic Language, Mathematics and Islamic Education textbooks for Grades 1 to 4 were analyzed. The sample consisted of sixteen (16) textbooks, with analysis based on four domains: Language and Symbols, Cultural Patterns, Social Context, and Authority and Control. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with thirteen (13) principals, teachers, and parents directly involved in teaching these textbooks. The findings revealed deliberate changes by the Israeli authorities to manipulate educational content, particularly in National and Social Education. These alterations aimed to promote Israeli political and cultural narratives by removing references to Palestinian sovereignty, cultural symbols and key national landmarks. Besides, the textbooks have been modified to foster an Israeli-centric perspective, replacing "Palestine" with "Israel" and erasing Palestinian symbols, such as the flag and national anthem. Changes in Arabic and Islamic Education textbooks were similarly meant to weaken the connection between pupils and their Palestinian heritage. As such, modifications reflect an agenda to suppress Palestinian national identity and instill Israeli values in young learners; several conclusions and recommendations were proposed.

KEYWORDS

Hidden curriculum; textbooks; Jerusalem; primary education.

INTRODUCTION

Education is a powerful tool for shaping the beliefs, values, and behaviors of future generations. The textbooks and curricular materials used in childhood education serve a fundamental role in socializing young minds (Smart et al., 2020). While the explicit curriculum focuses on formal content and learning objectives, a hidden curriculum often emerges alongside it. The hidden curriculum refers to the implicit messages, norms, values and ideologies conveyed through educational materials, school practices and teacher-student interactions (Kuraedah et al., 2022; Matorevhu & Madzamba, 2022; Zorzos & Avgerinos, 2022). These messages may either support or contradict the formal curriculum's stated aims, often reflecting the dominant political, social, or cultural narratives of a particular society. In contexts of oppression and military occupation, such as the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the hidden curriculum can serve as a harmful tool that advances the oppressor's agenda (Matorevhu & Madzamba, 2022; Rossouw & Frick, 2023).

Education in Palestine is often framed within a context of resistance, national identity and the struggle for sovereignty. Since Al-Nakba (1948), when most Palestinians were forced to leave their homelands, education has been a cornerstone of life and embraced as a means of both freedom and development. Under occupation, Palestinians have continuously fought to educate generations that have experienced oppression and witnessed massacres, striving to sustain life while also advancing their struggle for freedom. After the Oslo Accords in 1993, the Palestinian National Authority was established in 1994, granted limited control over education and curricula in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem, and formed the Ministry of Education (Nofal et al., 1998; Qassrawi & Al-Ramahi, 2024).

When Palestinian curricula were first introduced in schools in 2000 by the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Israeli media launched campaigns to criticize and freeze their implementation, especially in Jerusalem (Awawda et al., 2019; Ministry of Education, 2020). In Jerusalem, therefore, the educational reality is complicated regarding infrastructure, curriculum and dependency. Taking advantage of administering primary education in Jerusalem, the Israeli Ministry of Education has sought to gain complete control over the Palestinian educational system to eliminate genuine Palestinian Arab cultural values and national identity. One of the strategies employed has been to prepare a revised version of the Palestinian textbooks and impose them on Palestinian elementary schools by distorting and making drastic changes, parallel with fabricating parts of their content (Mohsen, 2019; Ministry of Education, 2020). According to the occupation perspective, the Palestinian curriculum and textbooks have been considered biased. Meanwhile, their efforts were constant to Judaize the Palestinian educational system, instill Jewish cultural values and promote enmity toward Palestinians and Arabs (Abukhayran, 2010). Israeli occupation authorities, in a sense, have aimed to deprive the young Palestinian generation in Jerusalem of national consciousness by undermining the educational system and targeting three key pillars: students, teachers and curricula or textbooks (Abu-Saad, 2006; Ministry of Education, 2020).

Textbooks, as a main learning resource and component of curricula, are crucial learning materials that can significantly influence learners' beliefs, values and perceptions, especially at the childhood stage (Nowicka, 2024). In childhood education—a critical stage that can shape a child's future—pupils are typically active learners who undergo significant physical, cognitive, social and linguistic development (Hurlock, 2010). At this stage, children also experience rapid growth and social development, shaping their values and attitudes (Steinberg, 1995; Wadsworth, 1996). In discussing the impact of textbooks and the hidden curriculum on children, young learners are particularly vulnerable to the sources of knowledge presented in textbooks. Their direct access to such materials, coupled with spending more time in schools than at home, exposes them to implicit political views and cultural values, ultimately forming their social norms, thoughts and perspectives.

Content-analyzing textbooks, accordingly, can reveal the contribution of learning materials as a hidden curriculum aspect to the dominance of certain cultural groups and the formation of cultural identities (Bourdieu, 1994). By textbook content analysis, multiple explicit and implicit messages can be revealed by paying close attention to the textbook content, texts, illustrations, questions and others, as this uncovers how language and expressions are crafted to either reinforce or challenge the dominance of specific groups. Several domains and categories can be utilized to analyze the textbooks: (1) language and symbols, focusing on the meaning and symbolism in written language, activity texts, paragraphs, and questions; (2) lesson narratives and written titles; (3) official logos and related images; and (4) book cover colors, text and images (Bourdieu, 1994).

In the context of the present study, analyzing textbooks taught in Jerusalem has become an urgent step. In a deliberate violation of the Palestinian National Authority's copyright, the occupying Ministry of Education has reproduced Palestinian textbooks, removing all references to Palestinian national identity and conducting drastic changes. This included the removal of the Curriculum Development Center's logo, the Palestinian flag, and national symbols from textbook covers and introductions. Entire sections addressing the Palestinian narrative and history were omitted or distorted (Mahamid, 2017; Ministry of Education, 2020). This is regarded as a violation of the international copyright laws related to the Palestinian Ministry of Education and involvement in fabricating textbooks by removing or altering entire lessons, pages, words, and phrases (Mohsen, 2019; Abu Jaber, 2017). Thus, textbooks imposed or influenced by the Israeli occupation may carry embedded hidden ideologies aimed at controlling the narrative, diminishing Palestinian identity and ultimately brainwashing young generations' collective memories during formative years of education, particularly at the early primary stage (Saleh, 2018). A report by Ighbariyah (2022) analyzed the changes made by the Israeli Ministry of Education to Palestinian history and geography textbooks for students in grades five through ten in Jerusalem. It was revealed how the Israeli Ministry of Education crossed out the Palestinian flag and logo from the cover of the Palestinian geography textbook, contributing to the erasure of the Palestinian Ministry of Education's national identity while advancing the

Israeli narrative. Additionally, the researcher found that several sections of the Palestinian textbooks had been omitted. For instance, in the geography textbook, Israel changed the title from "Borders of Palestine" to "Borders of Palestine and Israel" and from "Climate of Palestine" to "Climate of Palestine and Israel." Several lesson titles discussing Jerusalem were also removed, along with references to occupation tactics in the city.

Likewise, several studies have examined and analyzed Palestinian textbooks (Abu-Saad, 2006; Alayan, 2018; Amara, 2007; Eliandy et al., 2023; Li, 2021; Mahamid, 2017; Nasser & Nasser, 2008; Scotto, 2016). However, analyzing primary school sixteen textbooks (Grades one and four) across four school subjects (National and Social Education, Arabic Language, Mathematics and Islamic Education) taught under Israeli occupation, as has been conducted in the current study, remains scarce. Thus, the study's findings could be crucial in understanding the ideologically hidden content embedded in the textbooks that the occupation has been attempting to impose on Jerusalem students. This research effort is also significant due to the urgent need to address this serious issue, which has profound consequences for Palestinian society, particularly at this critical stage of childhood.

Consequently, analyzing the hidden curriculum aspects in childhood education textbooks may reveal how textbooks are used as a subtle tool for maintaining the occupation and shaping the perspectives of Palestinian children. Thus, the current study investigated the hidden curriculum aspects in primary school textbooks (Grades one to four) modified and distorted by the Israeli Ministry of Education and taught in Jerusalem. Based on the perspectives of principals, teachers, and parents, the study also examined the impact of the alterations made to the Palestinian textbooks in primary education on Jerusalem Palestinian students.

Research Questions

The study addressed the following two questions:

RQ1: What modifications have been introduced to Palestinian primary school textbooks in East Jerusalem by the Israeli occupation, as values of the hidden curriculum?

RQ2: How do these modifications (values of the hidden curriculum) impact Palestinian students in primary education in East Jerusalem, as perceived by principals, teachers, and parents?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Curriculum, in its broadest sense, encompasses the totality of student experiences that occur in the educational process. It includes both formal, structured content and informal, implicit lessons (OECD, 2020). In the context of primary education, the curriculum is particularly influential, as it coincides with a critical period of cognitive, emotional, and social development (Hurlock, 2010; Wadsworth, 1996).

A primary school curriculum aims not only to deliver foundational academic knowledge but also to foster the development of values, attitudes and citizenship. This is especially pertinent in politically and culturally complex settings such as East Jerusalem, where formal education is inextricably tied to issues of identity, resistance and belonging. At this stage, young

learners are constructing worldviews and personal identities, making the curriculum, especially the values it conveys, impactful (Steinberg, 1995).

Beneath the surface of the formal curriculum lies the hidden curriculum, a concept that refers to the implicit messages, social norms and ideological underpinnings embedded in the educational experience (Bourdieu, 1994; Apple, 2004). These are not explicitly stated but are transmitted through pedagogical approaches, institutional norms, teacher attitudes and crucially, textbooks (Gunio, 2021).

Textbooks, as a fundamental component of formal curriculum, serve as essential learning resources that shape students' cognitive and socio-cultural development. They are not merely instructional tools but also vehicles for transmitting values, ideologies and social norms, particularly in politically and culturally contested contexts such as Jerusalem (Parker,2019; Nowicka, 2024; Qassrawi & Al-Ramahi, 2024; Al Karasneh et al., 2025). The hidden curriculum through textbooks often carries unspoken assumptions about power, authority, identity and societal expectations.

For students in East Jerusalem, such implicit content can reinforce or challenge their sense of national identity, community affiliation and political consciousness. The values embedded within the primary school curriculum, particularly within textbooks, are central to the educational experience. Values such as respect, justice, empathy and civic responsibility should be intentionally integrated into the curriculum (OECD, 2020). However, when the curriculum is shaped under external political or ideological pressures, as in the case of occupation, the selection and framing of values can become contentious.

In such contexts, textbooks may transmit values that reflect the dominant group's ideology, potentially marginalizing the perspectives and identities of the learners since primary education is a stage marked by rapid cognitive, social and emotional growth, children absorb information both explicitly and implicitly, making them highly susceptible to the underlying messages within educational materials (Hurlock, 2010; Wadsworth, 1996). At this formative stage, young learners actively construct their identities and worldviews, often internalizing the values embedded in the curriculum (Steinberg, 1995).

Under conditions of occupation, the values transmitted through the hidden curriculum in textbooks can contribute to either alienation or resistance. For example, the erasure or distortion of Palestinian history and culture in textbooks may communicate implicit messages of inferiority or illegitimacy, while selective inclusion of narratives can shape students' beliefs about justice, legitimacy and belonging (Nowicka, 2024; Qassrawi & Al-Ramahi, 2024; Al Karasneh et al., 2025). These ideological tensions are often hidden beneath ostensibly neutral educational content, making them difficult to detect without critical analysis.

Textbook analysis provides a powerful lens to uncover the hidden curriculum and its impact on student identity and perception (Al Karasneh et al., 2025). According to Bourdieu (1994), hidden curriculum in textbooks can be identified by how symbolic power is exercised through language, imagery and narrative structures in textbooks. Such analysis reveals how

certain groups, perspectives, or values are legitimized while others are marginalized or excluded. For Palestinian students in East Jerusalem, these curricular messages have profound implications not only for academic learning but also for their psychosocial development, identity formation and political socialization.

Overall, textbooks are not neutral artifacts; they are ideological instruments that can shape young minds in powerful, often unacknowledged ways. Especially in primary education, where learners are highly impressionable, the interplay between formal curriculum, hidden curriculum, and socio-political context must be critically examined. This analysis is vital for educators, curriculum developers, and policymakers who seek to promote inclusive, equitable, and contextually relevant education.

Previous Studies

A review of previous studies related to the context of the current study revealed that some studies discussed changes and distortions made to school textbooks by occupation.

Peled-Elhanan (2008), for instance, revealed that Geography textbooks were heavily influenced by Israeli ideology, functioning as platforms for promoting Israeli narratives. This discourse is rooted in the belief in the return of Israelis to Palestine and their historical claims. The textbooks employed political and historical narratives, along with maps illustrating Israel's annexation of Gaza and the West Bank. Israeli textbooks promote Jewish culture and depict Palestinians as a minority within Israeli society, using a range of stereotypical verbal and visual elements, including symbols, racist imagery, and the Hebrew language. These tools reinforce Jewish collective memory and the concept of the Jewish nation-state (Abu-Saad, 2006; Amara, 2007; Nasser & Nasser, 2008; Scotto, 2016; Li, 2021). The Israeli educational system, which prioritizes the academic advancement of the Jewish majority, mirrors the structure of apartheid (Abu-Saad, 2004).

Hebrew was made the official language in textbooks to fulfill the core objectives of the Israeli Public Education Law of 1953, which aimed to foster loyalty to Israel among both Arab and Jewish students through history education (Abu-Saad, 2008; 2018; Peled-Elhanan, 2008; Mahamid, 2017; Alayan, 2018). For instance, a fifth-grade geography textbook presented a map of Israel that omitted the Palestinian territories and the Gaza Strip. The map used Hebrew names for the Mediterranean Sea and directional references, with the title also written in Hebrew. The West Bank was renamed "Judea and Samaria," reinforcing the notion of its Hebrew heritage over centuries (Peled-Elhanan, 2008; 2011).

Likewise, Abu-Saad (2004) noted that Jewish schools promote occupation objectives by instilling Jewish culture, values, patriotism, and allegiance to the Jewish state. Mahamid (2017) expanded on this, arguing that the primary goals of history education are to celebrate the Jewish people's past, admire Jewish leaders, and instill loyalty to the State of Israel. The curriculum marginalizes Arab culture in favor of Israeli cultural values, often promoting Jewish superiority and framing Palestinians as responsible for their displacement and Jewish suffering. Additionally, the Israeli educational system presents distorted, negative images of native

communities. Geography and History textbooks ridicule Palestinians using racist imagery, depicting them as backward. For example, Arabs are shown riding camels or engaged in traditional activities like farming with outdated tools (Peled-Elhanan, 2011). They are also stereotypically depicted wearing kuffiyehs, mustaches, baggy clothes, and pointed shoes—imagery inherited from European textbooks depicting third-world immigrants (Peled-Elhanan, 2008).

Nasser and Nasser (2008) compared texts from grades five to twelve, concluding that the curriculum serves ideological goals by celebrating Jewish history while erasing Palestinian identity. The curriculum suppresses non-Jewish ethnic and national histories, emphasizing Jewish unity and turning education into a tool for cultivating Jewish social culture. Similarly, Li (2021) examined secondary school Israeli history textbooks, finding that they glorified Israeli culture, religion, and identity, while largely neglecting the Palestinian narrative and reducing Arabs to a social minority.

Israeli history textbooks depict Jews as a historically oppressed nation, particularly through chapters on the Holocaust, invoking empathy for Jewish suffering. Titles like "From the Holocaust to Emergence" frame Jews as victims of European atrocities (Li, 2021; Eliandy et al., 2023). Notably, these textbooks omit geographic maps of Arab communities before 1948 (Abu-Saad, 2004) and avoid addressing the status of Arabs as a minority in Israel (Li, 2021). The textbooks highlight Jewish sites like the Temple Mount and the Wailing Wall while erasing Arab areas, leaving them blank on maps as part of a broader geographic erasure. Arab-populated areas are shown as having no data, while Jewish university expansions in illegal settlements are mapped in detail, excluding Arab regions (Peled-Elhanan, 2008).

According to Alayan (2018) and Mikkawi (2017), the Israeli restrictions on Palestinian textbooks aim to erase national symbols representing Palestinian statehood and independence. This tactic is part of a broader colonial discourse meant to prevent students from encountering material that might incite anti-Israel sentiment or strengthen Palestinian identity. For example, Israel deliberately removes Palestinian national symbols from textbooks. In East Jerusalem schools, textbooks for grades five to ten have the Ministry of Education's badge removed from their covers after passing Israeli censorship, erasing any trace of the original publisher (Alayan, 2018). Most of these textbooks are titled not as "Geography of the State of Israel" but as "Israel" or "The Land of Israel" (Peled-Elhanan, 2008).

Overall, while previous studies have analyzed the curriculum and textbooks designed by the Israeli occupation, this study is unique in its focus on content analysis of Palestinian textbooks (for grades one through four) that have been modified by the Israeli Ministry of Education and taught to Palestinian students.

METHODS

Research Design

This study utilized a qualitative research design with a focus on content analysis and semi-structured interviews to investigate modifications in Palestinian textbooks used in East Jerusalem's elementary schools. The study examined how these changes impacted Palestinian students' learning experiences and identity formation. Content analysis was used to systematically evaluate alterations in textbooks, focusing on biased, replaced, eliminated or partially altered texts. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with principals, teachers and parents to provide deeper insights into the effects of these modifications.

The content analysis was guided by Krippendorff's (2018) framework for manifest content analysis, ensuring that predefined categories were systematically applied. The qualitative research guidelines outlined by Creswell (2014) were also followed to enhance the study's credibility and trustworthiness. This methodological approach allowed for a comprehensive examination of the hidden curriculum embedded in these textbooks, highlighting shifts in language, symbols, cultural patterns, social context and authority representation.

Sources of Data

The primary data for this study consisted of 16 textbooks used in East Jerusalem's primary education (grades one to four). These textbooks covered four core subjects: *Arabic Language, Mathematics, National and Social Education and Islamic Education*. The analysis specifically focused on Textbook 1 (First semester), comparing original versions used in Palestinian Authority schools with the edited versions imposed in Jerusalem. Table 1 shows the sample of 16 textbooks from the primary stage (grades one to four) that were the target of this study.

Table 1 (see the appendix)

Table 1 outlines the examined textbooks, detailing their grade levels, editions, number of pages, and lessons or units. The analysis concentrated on linguistic modifications, removal or replacement of images, and shifts in ideological content to uncover alterations in the hidden curriculum. These changes were systematically categorized into four main domains that were specified later.

Participants

A total of 13 participants were selected for semi-structured interviews, representing different stakeholders directly involved in the teaching, administration and implementation of the analyzed textbooks. The participant sample included school principals, teachers and parents from East Jerusalem. These individuals were purposefully chosen to provide diverse perspectives on the impact of textbook modifications on students and classroom instruction. Table 2 below provides a detailed description of the participants.

Table 2.

Description of the participants in the Semi-structured Interviews in the Current Study

Participant	Description of Participant
School Principal (A)	Principal of a private school affiliated to Ma'arif in the suburbs of occupied Jerusalem with 3 years of experience in management
School Principal (B)	Principal of a private school affiliated to Ma'arif and head of the primary department with 10 years of experience in management
School Teacher (A)	Teacher of a school affiliated to Ma'arif in the city of Jerusalem
School Teacher (B)	Teacher of a private school affiliated to Ma'arif in the city of Jerusalem
School Teacher (C)	Teacher of a school affiliated to Ma'arif in the city of Jerusalem
School Teacher (D)	A teacher at a school affiliated to municipality of Jerusalem
School Teacher (C)	A teacher at a school affiliated to Ma'arif school in the suburbs of Jerusalem
School Teacher (F)	A teacher at a school affiliated with the occupation municipality of Jerusalem
School Teacher (Z)	A teacher at a school affiliated with the occupation municipality of Jerusalem
Parent (A)	Parent from the city of Jerusalem
Parent (B)	Parent from the city of Jerusalem
Parent (C)	Parent from the city of Jerusalem
Parent (D)	Parent from the city of Jerusalem

Table 2 provided a detailed breakdown of participant roles, experience levels, and affiliations, including principals from Ma'arif-affiliated private schools, teachers from both private and occupation-affiliated schools, and parents of students enrolled in East Jerusalem schools. The interviews sought to capture the lived experiences of educators and families regarding the hidden curriculum and its implications for Palestinian identity and education.

Research Instrument

The study utilized a content analysis checklist and semi-structured interview guides to systematically explore the presence of the hidden curriculum in the textbooks. The content analysis framework was developed based on established educational theories and validated by four experts from the Faculty of Education at Birzeit University. These experts provided feedback on the criteria used to assess curriculum modifications, ensuring the reliability of the evaluation process.

The semi-structured interview guides were designed to capture insights from different stakeholders. The teacher interview guide focused on how textbook modifications influenced classroom instruction, while the principal interview guide examined broader administrative and

pedagogical implications. The parent interview guide explored concerns related to identity formation, national consciousness and the learning experiences of their children.

Data Collection

The data collection process involved two main methods:

Content Analysis of Textbooks

Content Analysis of Textbooks – A detailed checklist was used to systematically compare the original and edited textbook versions, identifying changes in text, images, symbols, and activities. The analysis checklist was developed to guide the systematic examination of textbooks. The checklist was based on established educational theories of hidden curriculum and focused on specific indicators that capture implicit ideological, cultural, and political messages. The indicators included:

- Representation of national identity (inclusion/exclusion of cultural symbols, figures, or history, etc)
- Narrative framing of historical events or social roles
- Language use (connotations, bias, or value-laden terms, etc)
- Symbolic imagery (flags, dress, landmarks, etc)
- Social roles and norms are portrayed through gender, occupation, or ethnicity.
- Citizenship and belonging (inclusion of civic responsibilities or rights, etc)

The checklist was reviewed and validated by four experts from the Faculty of Education at Birzeit University. Their feedback refined the criteria and enhanced the reliability of the evaluation tool. Each textbook was examined systematically based on these indicators, then findings were coded according to and categorized within the four main domains: Language and Symbols, Cultural Patterns, Social Context, and Authority and Control, which are specified in Table 3.

Semi-Structured Interviews

To triangulate the data and deepen the understanding of the hidden curriculum's impact, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders: teachers, principals and parents. The interview guides were constructed to align with the themes identified through the content analysis while also allowing room for emergent insights.

- The teacher interview guide explored how textbook modifications influenced classroom instruction, teaching strategies and teacher autonomy.
- The principal interview guide examined institutional responses, curriculum implementation, and perceived changes in student engagement or behavior.
- The parent interview guide focused on children's identity formation, sense of national belonging, and emotional responses to the textbooks.

The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed to ensure accuracy. Thematic analysis was then conducted based on the transcripts.

The interviews were conducted in face-to-face settings and audio-recorded and transcribed to ensure accuracy. Then, thematic analysis was conducted based on the transcripts.

Trustworthiness of Data

To ensure the trustworthiness of the study, four key criteria for qualitative research were utilized, which are credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These strategies were supported by triangulation techniques to enhance the validity and robustness of the data.

- Credibility was established through data triangulation by integrating findings from textbook content analysis with insights obtained from semi-structured interviews with teachers, principals, and parents.
- Dependability was addressed by maintaining a detailed audit trail of the research process, including the development and validation of the content analysis checklist, interview guide construction, transcription protocols, and coding procedures.
- Confirmability was ensured through researcher reflexivity and external review. The checklist and interview data were independently coded by two researchers, and discrepancies were resolved through consensus, as three independent researchers analyzed the textbooks, achieving an 80% agreement rate (Creswell, 2014).
- Transferability was facilitated by providing thorough descriptions of the research context, specifically the sociopolitical and educational environment of East Jerusalem and of the participants' roles and experiences.

Through these measures, the study achieved methodological rigor and enhanced the trustworthiness of its findings.

Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis methods. The textbook content analysis followed Krippendorff's (2018) framework for manifest content analysis, systematically categorizing modifications into the four predefined domains. This involved coding textual, visual, and symbolic alterations, followed by frequency analysis to quantify the most recurrent changes.

Interview transcripts were analyzed using thematic analysis, since responses were coded into emergent themes related to the hidden curriculum. The analysis focused on patterns in participants' responses concerning educational changes, ideological shifts and socio-political implications of textbook modifications. The combination of content analysis and interview findings was used to reinforce the study's conclusions. The categories and domains utilized in the analysis are detailed in Table 3 below (see the appendix).

As displayed in Table 3, the predetermined categories utilized in the content analysis process were grouped into four main domains: Language and Symbols, Cultural Patterns, Social Context, and Authority and Control, and each domain comprised other sub-categories, as follows:

1. Language and Symbols: Examining removals or modifications of official logos, labels, text content and learning activities.

2. Cultural Patterns: Analyzing the erasure or alteration of national symbols, religious landmarks and historical references.

3. Social Context: Identifying the elimination of topics related to Palestinian identity, refugees and political realities.

4. Authority and Control: Investigating shifts in depictions of sovereignty, political borders and national identity.

Research Ethics

This study adhered to ethical research guidelines to protect the rights and well-being of participants. Ethical approval was obtained from Birzeit University's Faculty of Education before conducting the research. Participants provided informed consent, ensuring they fully understood the study's purpose, procedures and confidentiality measures. Anonymity was maintained throughout the research process, with all identifying details removed from the interview transcripts and findings.

Moreover, the study followed the principles of voluntary participation, allowing participants to withdraw at any stage without consequence. The ethical considerations ensured that the research was conducted with integrity, safeguarding both the participants' rights and the reliability of the findings.

Through this methodological approach, the study provides a comprehensive analysis of the hidden curriculum embedded in Palestinian textbooks used in East Jerusalem. By integrating content analysis with semi-structured interviews, the research offered a nuanced understanding of curriculum modifications and their broader educational and socio-political implications.

FINDINGS

In this section, the results of the research's main questions were presented and displayed per question, as follows:

Results pertinent to RQ1: " What modifications have been introduced to Palestinian primary school textbooks in East Jerusalem by the Israeli occupation, as values of the hidden curriculum**?"**

To answer the research's first question, frequencies and percentages of the alternations made on the four textbooks (National and Social Education, Arabic Language, Mathematics, and Islamic Education) were calculated and presented in tables (4,5,6, and 7) below:

Table 4 (see the appendix).

As displayed in Table (4), it can be stated that a total of 127 changes were identified by analyzing the National and Social Education textbooks. The majority (35.4%) of these changes were categorized under the "Authority and Control" domain, followed by "Cultural Patterns" (29.9%). Other domains, such as "Language and Symbols" and "Social Context," accounted for 18% and 16% respectively. Regarding the distribution of these changes across grades, most were found

in second-grade (29.9%) and third-grade (25.9%) textbooks, followed by fourth-grade (20.9%) and first-grade textbooks (15.7%).

Table 5 (see the appendix).

As shown in Table (5), it can be stated that a total of 55 changes were identified by analyzing the Arabic Language textbooks. The majority (54%%) of these changes were categorized under the "Language and Symbols" domain, followed by "Cultural Patterns" (36%). Other domains, such as "Authority and Control" and "Social Context," accounted for 10% and 0% respectively. Regarding the distribution of these changes across grades, most were found in fourth-grade (31%) and third-grade (27%) textbooks, followed by second-grade (20.9%) and first-grade textbooks (16%).

Table 6 (see the appendix).

Based on Table 6 above, it can be stated that a total of 50 changes were identified by analyzing the Mathematics textbooks. Half (50%) of these changes were categorized under the "Language and Symbols" domain, followed by "Cultural Patterns" (40%). Other domains, such as "Authority and Control" and "Social Context," accounted for 10% and 0% respectively. Regarding the distribution of these changes across grades, most were found in third-grade (30%) and, followed by second-grade (24 %), fourth-grade (24%), then first-grade (22%) textbooks.

Table 7 (see the appendix)

As presented in Table (7) above, it can be stated that 60 changes were identified by analyzing the Islamic Education textbooks. The majority (54%) of these changes were categorized under the "Language and Symbols" domain, followed by "Cultural Patterns" (40%). Other domains, such as "Social Context" and "Authority and Control," accounted for 3% and 0%, respectively. Regarding the distribution of these changes across grades, most were found in fourth-grade (43%) textbooks and, followed by first-grade (21%) and second-grade (24 %) textbooks.

Results pertinent to RQ2: "How do these modifications (values of the hidden curriculum) impact Palestinian students in primary education in East Jerusalem, as perceived by principals, teachers, and parents?**"**

To address the second question, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a group of principals, teachers and parents who are directly involved in teaching or supervising the teaching of the target textbooks in this study. The collected data were categorized and organized into four key domains that explain the consequences on Palestinian young learners in Jerusalem.

First Domain: The Status of Hebrew as an Official Language in Multiple Institutions

Based on the analysis of the interviewees' responses, it was revealed by all of the participants (100%) that the Israeli occupation authorities have designated Hebrew as the official language across various institutions, with ongoing efforts to replace Arabic. This included attempts to abolish the High School Tawjihi system in favor of the Hebrew-based Bagrut system. As Teacher (C) noted, "*There is pressure on all schools to eliminate the Arabic teaching system, the High School Tawjihi, and transition to Hebrew programs and curricula*." This may negatively affect

how Jerusalemite young learners perceive the Arabic language (their mother tongue) in favor of Hebrew. While Arabic remains the language of instruction in Palestinian schools under the occupation, concerns arise about the future, particularly as university admission and employment opportunities prioritize the Hebrew language. Although parent (B) commented, "*Hebrew is not the foundation of the curriculum; Arab students study all subjects in Arabic, with only the Hebrew language exam conducted in Hebrew*", it has increasingly become a prerequisite for attending Israeli universities and for certain job opportunities, making it a crucial medium of communication in these contexts.

In brief, attempting to impose Hebrew as the primary language in various institutions, as highlighted in the first domain, is particularly influential in early childhood education. Language is not only a means of communication but also a vehicle for cultural transmission and identity formation (Abu-Saad, 2008; 2018; Peled-Elhanan, 2008; Mahamid, 2017; Alayan, 2018).

Second Domain: Ideological Transformation and the Promotion of Coexistence with Occupation

Most teachers, principals and parents (80%) agreed upon the clear distinction between the original Palestinian textbooks and those altered by the Israeli occupation, especially by attempting to influence young learners' ideology and acceptance of occupation as a minority. The original Palestinian publications were described by the participants as learning resources that promote Palestinian culture and values, emphasize awareness, and foster a sense of belonging and patriotism. These textbooks were also labeled by the participants to highlight the concepts of independence and the significance of Palestinian cities, villages, national symbols, and religious sites. Thus, there are Israeli efforts to replace such textbooks and erase Palestinian identity and narrative by imposing curricula that foster a culture of tolerance and coexistence with Israelis. This is evident in various educational scenarios, as Teacher (A) explained: "*In the Mathematics textbooks, for instance, some texts were embedded with Jewish names, such as Yousef plays with his neighbor Shlomi*." These educational materials aim to instill values, such as tolerance, acceptance of occupation, respect for Israeli law and the integration of Israeli culture. This approach seeks to erase Palestinian history and identity while reinforcing Jewish claims to the land and altering core Arab concepts and traditions. Additionally, to reshape young learners' perception of the Israeli military and integrate them into Israeli sociocultural frameworks, as stated by Teacher (A), extracurricular activities, events, and programs like the "For Israel" initiative force Jerusalemite Palestinian students to explore Israeli law and culture and deepen familiarity with Israeli occupation presence.

Overall, the second domain underscores Israel's strategy to promote coexistence and peace between Palestinians and Israelis within the curriculum. While peace education is valuable, the imposed curriculum appears to be one-sided.

Third Domain: Erasing and Replacing Palestinian Culture

Another impact induced from the participating principals, teachers and parents (60%) was related to attempts to replace the Palestinian culture with the occupation's. Modified

Palestinian textbooks, shaped by Israeli authorities, emphasize Israeli culture and laws, excluding references to Arab or Palestinian heritage. These textbooks introduce how to obtain Israeli citizenship, omitting all parts that are related to Palestinian laws, cultural symbols, and historical references, such as the Palestinian flag and the name "State of Palestine."

Through educational programs like "For Israel," the Israeli government, along with the Israeli police, implements initiatives such as "Safety on the Road" while encouraging Palestinian-Israeli integration through educational tours in Israeli army centers and horseback riding centers affiliated with the occupation. These programs seek to instill the principles promoted by the Israeli occupation, including coexistence, peace with Palestinians, socialism, cultural diversity, and acceptance of the "other." This approach was emphasized by Principal (T), Teacher (A), and Teacher (B), who acknowledged the efforts to replace Palestinian culture with Israeli ideologies.

The systematic removal of Palestinian cultural references from textbooks, as noted in the third domain, is concerning. In early childhood education, textbooks are essential in shaping a child's sense of identity and belonging. The removal of references to Palestinian symbols, such as the flag and historical landmarks, and the erasure of the phrase "Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine" from early education materials are particular aspects of harmful hidden curriculum on Palestinian learners. Childhood is a formative period for the development of national identity, and by excluding Palestinian history and culture, the curriculum effectively attempts to disconnect children from their heritage.

Fourth Domain: Challenges and Threats

The Israeli Ministry of Education exerts strict supervision over teachers and curricula in Palestinian schools, conducting regular inspections and imposing strict oversight. Educators and parents (60%) revealed facing numerous challenges that hinder the educational process. The most notable are mandatory inspections, summoning principals and teachers for investigations at police stations, and the threat of license revocation for schools that continue to use Palestinian textbooks. As Principal (A) explained: "*The Ministry of Education enforces very strict supervision and inspection, to the extent of summoning school principals to the Intelligence Branch to investigate the presence of original Palestinian curricula, even withdrawing the school's license and closing it*". Teacher (D) added: "*The government conducts unscheduled inspections, entering classrooms to monitor the curriculum without prior notice, and sometimes imposes temporary school closures*". Therefore, teachers and principals face threats of school closures, job termination, the revocation of teaching licenses, imprisonment, and salary suspension if they are found teaching the Palestinian curriculum instead of the Israeli Bagrut system, affecting learners' feelings of safety and stability.

DISCUSSION

Upon a close analysis of the previous findings, it can become debatable that the content analysis of the textbooks examined in this study revealed significant alterations made to Palestinian primary education materials across a range of subjects, including National and Social Education,

Arabic Language, Mathematics, and Islamic Education. In addition, it became evident that these distortions can cause harmful impacts and consequences.

Regarding the first question about the modifications that have been introduced in the Palestinian textbooks used in primary schools in East Jerusalem by the Israeli occupation, as values of the hidden curriculum, the majority of changes were found in the National and Social Education textbooks, particularly within the "Authority and Control" domain. These changes are concerning due to the critical role that National and Social Education textbooks have in transmitting hidden curriculum messages. Within this domain, sub-categories reveal a politically charged agenda, with modifications that include the removal of references to Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine, the denial of Palestinian sovereignty, alterations to the map of Palestine by adding political borders, the insertion of the term "Israel" into various texts and images, the removal of images depicting occupation soldiers, and the erasure of the map of Palestine from textbooks. These alterations suggest a deliberate manipulation of how power dynamics, dominance, and societal structures are presented, likely reflecting an agenda aimed at influencing the political and social context of education in Jerusalem.

Changes in the representation of cultural patterns were also evident, such as the removal of the Palestinian flag and the kuffiyeh, the promotion of coexistence and peace with the occupation, the erasure of references to the Arab printing press and its Arabic address, alterations or deletions of images depicting religious and national landmarks, and the removal of the Palestinian national anthem and names of Palestinian cities. These modifications seem to be part of a broader effort to undermine the representation of Palestinian cultural identity and heritage as a minority. This aligns with Abu-Saad (2004), who concluded that the Israeli educational system has been prioritizing the academic advancement of the Jewish majority, mirroring the structure of apartheid (Abu-Saad, 2004).

As for other textbooks, in the Arabic Language textbooks, a significant number of changes were observed, with most centered on the "Language and Symbols" domain. These include the removal of the Ministry of Education logo, the omission of the curriculum center label, the deletion and replacement of lessons or units, the addition, removal, or alteration of words in questions and sentences, and the replacement of activities. Such changes could negatively affect students' perceptions of their linguistic identity and narrative. Additionally, modifications in the cultural patterns within the Arabic Language textbooks suggest an effort to reshape cultural norms and identities presented in the texts. Similarly, the Mathematics textbooks displayed the largest proportion of changes in the "Language and Symbols" domain, indicating a shift in how mathematical concepts are linguistically or symbolically represented. This could suggest an attempt to incorporate cultural narratives into the teaching of mathematics. In Islamic Education textbooks, most changes were also found within the "Language and Symbols" and "Cultural Patterns" domains. This suggests a deliberate alignment between religious teachings and linguistic representations, as well as efforts to integrate cultural elements into the curriculum.

The findings above align with previous research (Peled-Elhanan, 2008; Abu-Saad, 2006; Amara, 2007; Li, 2021; Nasser & Nasser, 2008; Scotto, 2016; Abu-Saad, 2018; Mahamid, 2017; Alayan, 2018), which revealed that the textbooks used by the Israeli Ministry of Occupation were heavily influenced by Israeli ideology and a hidden agenda. These textbooks aimed to foster loyalty to Israel among both Arab and Jewish students by instilling Jewish culture, values, patriotism, and allegiance to the Jewish state, while erasing and neglecting the Palestinian identity and narrative, and reducing Palestinians to a social minority.

When considering the distribution of changes by grade level, all textbooks exhibited the proportion of changes, even at the text level, illustrations, themes and others. This distribution may suggest a deliberate focus on early childhood education, likely aiming to instill specific cultural and political values during students' formative years of religious and cultural narratives, as young learners tend to be vulnerable and highly affected by the hidden messages of the curriculum (Jančec, et al., 2013). Overall, these findings point to a carefully targeted modification of textbooks across multiple subjects within the Palestinian primary education system in Jerusalem. These changes may significantly impact how students construct their identities and understand the world around them.

In terms of the second question related to how the modifications made (values of hidden curriculum) to the Palestinian textbooks in primary education in East Jerusalem affect Palestinian students, according to the perspectives of principals, teachers, and parents, the interview findings revealed the crucial educational role placed on Palestinian teachers in addressing all such challenges and dilemmas. Teachers, who are in charge of transmitting the textbook content into activities and practices, have a pivotal role in raising students' awareness and broadening their understanding by utilizing a "hidden curriculum" to nurture students' true identity and instill Palestinian culture and values. This is precisely what the Israeli occupation seeks to achieve by imposing its control over education and thought, as education is seen as the foundation for radical change and the erasure of all cultural, social, and linguistic aspects connected to the Palestinian people and their students.

As noted in previous content analysis findings in the current study, there have been numerous changes, distortions, falsifications, and replacement of facts in Palestinian textbooks by the Israeli Ministry of Education. As confirmed in research (Abu-Saad, 2008; Alayan, 2018; Li, 2021; Mikkawi, 2017), Palestinian students are exposed in textbooks to a hidden curriculum that fosters Jewish values and culture, while Palestinian Arab values and culture are marginalized and briefly presented. The oppressive measures imposed on teachers and schools to enforce the Israeli curriculum. Interview analysis displayed that early childhood education materials are closely monitored, with strict inspections ensuring that any deviation from the prescribed Israeli content is met with severe consequences. This constant scrutiny not only limits the agency of Palestinian educators but also introduces fear and suppression, leading to prioritizing Israeli narratives over Palestinian ones.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The findings of the current study disclosed a systematic and deliberate modification of Palestinian primary education textbooks across various subjects, revealing a politically charged hidden curriculum that seeks to reshape young learners' identities. The analysis of National and Social Education, Arabic Language, Mathematics, and Islamic Education textbooks demonstrated how these modifications serve a broader ideological agenda, promoting Israeli political and cultural narratives while erasing or distorting Palestinian history, identity, and cultural symbols. Based on the previous findings and discussion, some conclusions can be drawn as follows:

▪   The deliberate alternations reflect an attempt by the Israeli Ministry of Occupation to manipulate the curriculum and textbooks of one of the most critical educational stages; childhood, promoting Israeli political and cultural narratives while simultaneously erasing or distorting Palestinian identity, culture, and historical narratives. These alterations including the removal of references to Palestinian sovereignty, cultural symbols and important national landmarks, can be regarded as harmful aspects of the hidden curriculum the occupation has been targeting to instill an Israeli-centric perspective and values, undermining the representation of Palestinian identity.

▪   In the domain of National and Social Education, the alterations particularly serve a politically charged hidden agenda, embedding Israeli politics and claims into the educational content. The changes to textbooks, such as the inclusion of "Israel" in place of "Palestine" and the removal of Palestinian symbols, such as the flag and national anthem, signal an effort to subdue Palestinian national identity. This is further compounded by changes in the Arabic Language and Islamic Education textbooks, which display alterations in linguistic and cultural representations that weaken the connection between students and their Palestinian heritage.

▪   The impact on students is profound, as the hidden curriculum has a vital role in shaping young learners' perspectives, identity and understanding of their socio-political context.

▪   The study highlighted the vulnerability of early childhood education, where pupils are particularly subject to the hidden curriculum—unspoken lessons embedded within educational materials. These alterations during students' formative years are likely to influence their long-term cultural and national perceptions.

▪   The study also emphasized the oppressive context within which Palestinian educators and teachers face significant limitations in their ability to impart Palestinian cultural values. This weakens their role as educators and limits their capacity to nurture a Palestinian cultural identity in their students.

Accordingly, some recommendations can be suggested as follows:

•   It is recommended to prepare supplementary learning materials to counter the fabrication in the textbooks that accurately represent Palestinian history, culture, and values, and these materials should be developed and distributed through informal or non-governmental channels. These materials could serve as an important tool for both teachers and students in preserving Palestinian identity.

• It is essential to support teacher training and professional development to equip Palestinian teachers in Jerusalem with the skills to incorporate Palestinian cultural education. This can also help in developing their ability to recognize and mitigate the effects of the hidden curriculum embedded in the textbooks.

• Seminars and workshops aimed at raising awareness about these changes should be organized to educate parents, students, and teachers on the possible impact of such hidden curriculum aspects.

• It is vital to draw international attention to the manipulations of the educational system in occupied Jerusalem to pressure Israeli authorities to respect the cultural and educational rights of Palestinian students and teachers, as preserved in international law.

• It is of value to pursue conducting research and documentation of the changes in educational materials and their effects on Palestinian students' identity formation. This could provide evidence-based insights into the long-term impacts of such educational policies and support advocacy efforts on an international stage.

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APPENDIX

Table 1.

List of the School Textbooks Examined in the Current Study for Grades One to Four

Textbook	Chapter/Edition	Grade	Number of pages	Number of units/lessons
Arabic Language	Textbook One, Original Version	First	179	18 lessons
Arabic Language	Textbook One, Edited Version	First	179	18 lessons
Arabic Language	Textbook One, Original Version	Second	133	15 lessons
Arabic Language	Textbook One, Edited Version	Second	133	15 lessons
Arabic Language	Textbook One, Original Version	Third	145	15 lessons
Arabic Language	Textbook One, Edited Version	Third	144	15 lessons

Arabic Language	Textbook One, Original Version	Fourth	139	15 lessons
Arabic Language	Textbook One, Edited Version	Fourth	147	15lessons
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Original Version	First	89	3 units
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	First	89	3 units
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Original Version	Second	87	3units
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	Second	87	3 units
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Original Version	Third	90	2 units
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	Third	90	2 units
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Original Version	Fourth	103	2 units
Social and National Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	Fourth	103	2 units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Original Version	First	69	4 units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	First	69	4 units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Original Version	Second	65	4 Units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	Second	65	4 units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Original Version	Third	83	6 units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	Third	83	6 units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Original Version	Fourth	77	6 Units
Islamic Education	Textbook One, Edited Version	Fourth	77	6 Units
Mathematics	Textbook One, Original Version	First	111	6 Units
Mathematics	Textbook One, Edited Version	First	111	6 Units
Mathematics	Textbook One, Original Version	Second	102	5 Units
Mathematics	Textbook One, Edited Version	Second	102	5 Units

Mathematics	Textbook One, Original Third Version		106	5 Units
Mathematics	Textbook One, Edited Third Version		106	5 Units
Mathematics	Textbook One, Original Version	Fourth	117	6 Units
Mathematics	Textbook One, Edited Version	Fourth	117	6 Units

Table 3.

Description of the Main Domains and Sub-Categories (of the Hidden Curriculum) Utilized in the Analysis in the Current Study

Domains	Sub-categories
Language and symbols	Removing the Ministry of Education logo Removing the curriculum center label Removing lessons or units and replacing them with others Adding, removing or replacing words in questions and sentences Removing activities and replacing them with others.
Cultural Patterns	Removing the Palestinian flag and kuffiyeh Promote coexistence and peace with occupation Removing the name of the Arab printing press and its Arabic address Alternating or deleting images of religious and national landmarks Removing the Palestinian national anthem Removing the names of Palestinian cities.
Social Context	Obliterating the issue of Palestinian prisoners Removing all materials related to the apartheid wall and settlements Deleting the term martyr Blocking the issue of displacement, refugees and the right of return Eliminating aspects of the Palestinian desert.
Authority and Control	Obliterating Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine and Denying Palestinian sovereignty Changing the map of Palestine with political borders Adding the word "Israel" to various texts and images Removing images of occupation army soldiers Removing the map of Palestine.

Table (4).

Frequencies and Percentages of the alternations made on the National and Social Education Textbooks over the four domains and across the four levels

National and Social Education Textbook							
Domains	Sub-categories	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade	Fourth	Total	Percent.

					Grade		
Language and symbols	Removing the Ministry of Education logo Removing the curriculum center label Removing lessons or units and replacing them with others Adding, removing or replacing words in questions and sentences Removing activities and replacing them with others.	5	9	4	5	23	18.1%
Cultural Patterns	Removing the Palestinian flag and kuffiyeh Promote coexistence and peace with occupation Removing the name of the Arab printing press and its Arabic address Alternating or deleting images of religious and national landmarks Removing the Palestinian national anthem Removing the names of Palestinian cities.	7	9	12	10	38	29.9%
Social Context	Obliterating the issue of Palestinian prisoners Removing all materials related to the apartheid wall and settlements Deleting the term martyr Blocking the issue of displacement, refugees and the right of return Eliminating aspects of the Palestinian desert.	2	2	5	12	21	16.5%

Authority and Control	Obliterating Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine and Denying Palestinian sovereignty Changing the map of Palestine with political borders Adding the word "Israel" to various texts and images Removing images of occupation army soldiers Removing the map of Palestine.	6	18	12	9	45	35.4%
	Total	20	38	33	36	**Total: 127**	Percent. 100%
	Percentages	15.7%	29.9%	25.9%	20.9%		

Table 5.

Frequencies and Percentages of the alternations made on the Arabic Language Textbooks over the four domains and across the four levels

Arabic Language Textbook							
Domains	**Sub-categories**	**First Grade**	**Second Grade**	**Third Grade**	**Fourth Grade**	**Total**	**Percent.**
Language and symbols	Removing the Ministry of Education logo Removing the curriculum center label Removing lessons or units and replacing them with others Adding, removing or replacing words in questions and sentences Removing activities and replacing them with others.	5	8	6	11	30	54.5%
Cultural Patterns	Removing the Palestinian flag and kuffiyeh Promote coexistence and peace with occupation	4	6	6	4	20	36.3%

	Removing the name of the Arab printing press and its Arabic address Alternating or deleting images of religious and national landmarks Removing the Palestinian national anthem Removing the names of Palestinian cities.						
Social Context	Obliterating the issue of Palestinian prisoners Removing all materials related to the apartheid wall and settlements Deleting the term martyr Blocking the issue of displacement, refugees and the right of return Eliminating aspects of the Palestinian desert.	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Authority and Control	Obliterating Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine and Denying Palestinian sovereignty Changing the map of Palestine with political borders Adding the word "Israel" to various texts and images Removing images of occupation army soldiers Removing the map of Palestine.	0	0	3	2	5	9%
	Total					**Total: 55**	Percent.:
		9	14	15	17		100%
	Percentages	16.3%	25.5%	27.3%	31%		

Table 6.

Frequencies and Percentages of the alternations made on the Mathematics Textbooks over the four domains and across the four levels

Mathematics Textbook							
Domains	**Sub-categories**	**First Grade**	**Second Grade**	**Third Grade**	**Fourth Grade**	**Total**	**Percent.**

Language and symbols	Removing the Ministry of Education logo Removing the curriculum center label Removing lessons or units and replacing them with others Adding, removing or replacing words in questions and sentences Removing activities and replacing them with others.	7	6	6	6	25	50%
Cultural Patterns	Removing the Palestinian flag and kuffiyeh Promote coexistence and peace with occupation Removing the name of the Arab printing press and its Arabic address Alternating or deleting images of religious and national landmarks Removing the Palestinian national anthem Removing the names of Palestinian cities.	4	6	6	4	20	40%
Social Context	Obliterating the issue of Palestinian prisoners Removing all materials related to the apartheid wall and settlements Deleting the term martyr Blocking the issue of displacement, refugees and the right of return Eliminating aspects of the Palestinian desert.	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Authority and Control	Obliterating Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine and Denying Palestinian sovereignty Changing the map of Palestine with political borders	0	0	3	2	5	10%

	Adding the word "Israel" to various texts and images Removing images of occupation army soldiers Removing the map of Palestine.						
Total		11	12	15	12	**Total:** **50**	Percent.: 100%
	Percentages	22%	24%	30%	24%		

Table 7.

Frequencies and Percentages of the alternations made on Islamic Education Textbooks over the four domains and across the four levels

Islamic Education Textbook							
Domains	**Sub-categories**	**First Grade**	**Second Grade**	**Third Grade**	**Fourth Grade**	**Total**	**Percent.**
Language and symbols	Removing the Ministry of Education logo Removing the curriculum center label Removing lessons or units and replacing them with others Adding, removing or replacing words in questions and sentences Removing activities and replacing them with others.	6	6	6	14	32	53.3%
Cultural Patterns	Removing the Palestinian flag and kuffiyeh Promote coexistence and peace with occupation Removing the name of the Arab printing press and its Arabic address Alternating or deleting images of religious and national landmarks Removing the Palestinian national anthem Removing the names of Palestinian cities.	6	5	3	12	26	43.3%

Social Context	Obliterating the issue of Palestinian prisoners Removing all materials related to the apartheid wall and settlements Deleting the term martyr Blocking the issue of displacement, refugees and the right of return Eliminating aspects of the Palestinian desert.	1	1	0	0	2	3.3%
Authority and Control	Obliterating Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine and Denying Palestinian sovereignty Changing the map of Palestine with political borders Adding the word "Israel" to various texts and images Removing images of occupation army soldiers Removing the map of Palestine.	0	0	0	0	0	0%
	Total	13	12	9	26	**Total: 60**	Percent. 100%
	Percentages	21.6%	20%	15%	43.3%		