

*SEED Sponsored Research*

**Never Again!: Does  
Holocaust education have an  
effect on pupils' citizenship  
values and attitudes?**

# **Never Again!: Does Holocaust education have an effect on pupils' citizenship values and attitudes?**

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# **Never Again!: Does Holocaust education have an effect on pupils' citizenship values and attitudes?**

## **Executive Summary**

### **General aim of the research**

As the education for citizenship agenda continues to impact on schools, this research sets out to examine whether teaching the Holocaust, in the upper primary, either as part of a study on World War 2 or as a topic on its own, has an impact, both immediate and longer term, on pupils' citizenship values and attitudes, and particularly those values and attitudes relating to various minority or disadvantaged groups in Scotland.

### **Methodology**

The methodology employed a longitudinal approach and involved three schools (a secondary and two of its feeder primaries). In consultation with the schools and local authority, a survey was devised (Appendices 2 and 3) which attempted to ascertain changes in some of the values and attitudes outlined as central to good citizenship in documents such as *Education for citizenship in Scotland* (Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), 2002); values and attitudes such as:

- *Understand and value cultural and community diversity and be respectful of other people;*
- *Understand and value social justice;*
- *Confront views and actions that are harmful to the wellbeing of individuals and communities* (LTS, 2002, p10)

Furthermore, *A Curriculum for Excellence* (Scottish Executive/LTS, 2004), which sets out values, purposes and principles for the curriculum 3-18, identifies responsible citizenship as one of its four capacities.

We issued the survey both before and immediately after the lessons on the Holocaust (primary 7 classes in the two primary schools) to investigate the immediate effect of Holocaust education on pupils' values and attitudes (surveys 1 and 2). The findings provide a comparison of pupils' values and attitudes (Phase 1).

Interviews were carried out with one class teacher from each of the primary schools to obtain information on the different teaching methodologies and resources that were adopted in their teaching of the Holocaust (Appendix 4).

We followed this cohort ten months later into the secondary school and issued survey 3 to compare pupils' attitudes with earlier findings. We also issued this survey to secondary pupils who had not previously studied the Holocaust to compare their attitudes with that of the core group (Phase 2).

### **Key findings**

It must be pointed out that this was a small study. It involved some 100 pupils in P7 and a total of 238 in S1 from one local authority in Scotland and therefore it can be dangerous to over-generalise from it. Further, there is the issue of external factors having a major influence and thus skewing the results. Finally, none of the data has been subject to statistical significance testing. However, tentatively, we found that:

- there was some notable improvement in values and attitudes immediately after the lessons on the Holocaust in primary 7, although it was not universal;
- this improvement, although not as strong in S1 (ten months later), was still generally maintained and evident, although again not universal;
- the pupils who had studied the Holocaust in primary 7 tended to have more positive values and attitudes than those who did not;
- there is evidence that learning about the Holocaust was a contributing factor to the differential in attitudes, both in the primary and secondary results;
- the pupils' attitudes towards voting for English people to the Scottish Parliament were less favourable than towards any other group they were asked about. The reasons for this are undoubtedly complex and require more research to ascertain both the reasons and consequently the kinds of initiatives that could begin to tackle this.

## **Introduction**

### **Aims of the research**

This SEED sponsored research project sets out to examine whether teaching the Holocaust, in the upper primary, either as part of a study on World War 2 or as a topic on its own, has an impact, both immediate and longer term, on pupils' citizenship values and attitudes, particularly as to how they view various minority or disadvantaged groups in Scotland.

### **Methodology**

The methodology employed a longitudinal approach (and we highlight the potential problems with this approach in paragraphs 2.2.2-2.2.9) and involved three schools (a secondary and two of its feeder primaries). In consultation with the schools and local authority, a survey was devised which attempted to ascertain changes in values and attitudes (Appendices 2 and 3).

We issued the survey both before and immediately after the lessons on the Holocaust (primary 7 classes in our two primary schools) to investigate the immediate effect of Holocaust education on pupils' values and attitudes (surveys 1 and 2). The findings provide a comparison of pupils' values and attitudes (Phase 1).

Interviews were carried out with one class teacher from each of the primary schools to obtain information on the different teaching methodologies and resources that were adopted in their teaching of the Holocaust (Appendix 4).

We followed this cohort ten months later into the secondary and issued survey 3 to compare pupils' attitudes with earlier findings. We issued this survey to secondary pupils who had not previously studied the Holocaust to compare their attitudes with that of the core group (Phase 2).

### **Structure of the report**

The report starts by outlining the importance of Holocaust education and the nature of Holocaust education in Scotland; section 2 describes the methodology, highlighting the issues involved in a longitudinal study and in particular one concerned with values and attitudes; sections 3 and 4 report the findings for surveys 1 and 2 in the primary school (before and after the study of the Holocaust), discuss the possible implications and draw some conclusions from Phase 1; sections 5, 6 and 7 report and discuss the findings of survey 3 and draw some conclusions from Phase 2; section 8 outlines recommendations that may be drawn from the evidence from Phases 1 and 2.

## Section 1: Background

- 1.1 In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Holocaust continues to evoke memory of barbarism and inhumanity. The events of the Holocaust continue to be recognized by world leaders. In his role representing Britain's Presidency of the EU and speaking on its behalf, Sir Emyr Jones Parry stated that the Holocaust was 'one of the darkest chapters in Europe's history - encompassing the attempt to exterminate the Jews in Europe and the systematic massacre of other groups' (October 2005, [www.europa-eu-un.org](http://www.europa-eu-un.org)). In Britain, Prime Minister Tony Blair said on Holocaust Memorial Day 2006, 'Nothing compares to the Holocaust. Not in the intensity of its evil; not in the suffering of a people made to suffer precisely because they were a people; not in the ghastly scope of its inhuman ambition; not in the combination of twisted ideas and wicked actions that, for a time, threatened to engulf our world' (January 2006, [www.hmd.org.uk](http://www.hmd.org.uk)).
- 1.2 The commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz in 2005, was accompanied by a plethora of activities throughout Europe. and, seemingly paradoxically, an increase in anti-Semitism and racism in general. Evidence to support this is shown by the success of Jean-Marie Le Pen (the candidate of the far right Front Nationale) in France in gaining six million votes in the presidential elections in May 2002, together with the prominent position of ultra-rightists in Belgium, Denmark and Italy, the achievements of the far right Freedom Party under its leader Joerg Haider in Austria and the success of the populist anti-immigration and anti-refugee Pim Fortuyn list in coming second in the May 2002 Netherlands general election. These suggest that there may be a change in the European political consensus, with these politicians with far right views on race winning millions of votes.

## **Evidence of Recent Anti-Semitic Activity in Europe**

- 1.3 For the purposes of this report, ‘anti-Semitism’ is considered as the hatred towards Jews- individually and as a group- that can be attributed to the Jewish religion and/or ethnicity.
  
- 1.4 Tel Aviv University’s annual report 2002/03 ‘Anti-Semitism Worldwide’ stated that ‘Europe has led the world in anti-Semitic violence since October 2000 with (incidents in) France, Belgium and the UK topping the list’ and that in recent years there has been a clear shift in anti-Semitic activity from the former communist countries to western democratic ones (April 2003, [www.adl.org](http://www.adl.org)).
  
- 1.5 The report carried out on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) indicated an increase in anti-Semitic activities since 2000, with a peak in early spring 2002 in the (then) 15 member states. (Bergmann and Wetzel, 2003). This is evidenced by the attacks on: three synagogues in France where a school bus transporting Jewish children and a Jewish school were set on fire; one synagogue in Belgium, and one synagogue in London, in April 2002 ([www.adl.org](http://www.adl.org)). The EUMC’s report also noted that all the governments and leading statesmen condemned anti-Semitic incidents and attitudes and many leaders of religious communities and political parties were co-operating in the fight against anti-Semitism. The French Government’s Human Rights Organisation (National Consultative Commission on Human Rights, CNCDH) has reported a six-fold increase in anti-semitic incidents in 2004 as compared to 2001 (CNCDH, 2006).

- 1.6 The 2004 Community Security Trust report indicated a general upward trend in anti-Semitic incidents in the UK with 532 incidents occurring in 2004 (the largest categories being abusive behaviour, threats and assaults) compared with 310 in 2001 and 236 in 1998. (Community Security Trust, 2005). Fiona Macaulay, Public Affairs Director of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, commented on the changing nature of such attacks in that ‘before, people handed out anti-Semitic literature, but now they’re doing more physical damage.’ (*Guardian*, 2002). This is backed up by reports, (*Independent*, 2005) showing a dramatic increase in destructive attacks on Jewish cemeteries involving the daubing of swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti. Interestingly, a recent report suggested a significant increase in reported anti-Semitic incidents in the West of Scotland 2004-5, albeit from a very small base (*The Herald*, 2005).
- 1.7 After gaining three council seats in Burnley in the UK 2004 local elections, the British National Party fielded over 100 candidates in the May 2005 general election; although achieving over 200,000 votes, they failed to make an electoral breakthrough. This indicates that the UK is also affected by this political change, although to a lesser extent than its European neighbours.

### **Evidence of Recent Racist Activity in Scotland**

- 1.8 While there is a lack of research based evidence, incidents such as the firebombing of the Pakistan Association Mosque, Edinburgh in October 2001, the petrol bombing of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation Synagogue in October 2002, the stabbing of Iranian refugee Masood Gomroki in December 2002 and the ill treatment and murder of Glasgow schoolboy, Kriss Donald, who became Scotland’s first white victim of a

race murder (*Scotsman* 2004), suggest that extreme forms of racism persist in the newly devolved Scotland.

## **Defining the Holocaust**

1.9 Definitions of the Holocaust vary as regards the dates of this event and in the identification of the perpetrators and the victims. For example, Lipstadt writes that the Soviet version of the Holocaust depicted the event as ‘an assault by fascists on communists’, and not by Germans or Nazis and their collaborators on Jews, as identifying the perpetrators as Germans would have implicated communist East Germany (Lipstadt 2005). The authors recognise the term ‘Holocaust’ as referring to a specific genocidal event in twentieth century history and define it as, ‘the systematic murder of over six million European Jews and the destruction of their communities between 1941-1945 (The Holocaust Centre, Beth Shalom, [www.holocausthistory.net](http://www.holocausthistory.net)). However the authors additionally recognise the importance of other groups of peoples who were victims of Nazi terror. Of these, ‘the Gypsies, the handicapped and Poles were also targeted for destruction or decimation for racial, ethnic, or national reasons. Millions more, including homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war and political dissidents also suffered grievous oppression and death under Nazi tyranny’ (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001).

## Defining Holocaust Education

1.10 Gundare and Batelaan (2003) claim that the definition of Holocaust education differs across countries as each country's history of anti-Semitism and extent of collaboration or resistance during World War Two are determining factors. This explains their statement that 'Holocaust education is not, and should not be, the same everywhere'. Scotland's involvement in World War II is not recognised as a significant part of Scottish history as such, yet its contribution included: taking in Eastern European refugees and children who had come to the UK on the Kindertransports, and the Scottish soldiers who were involved in the liberation of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Another direct link with the Holocaust is the recognition of Sister Jane Haining, the only Scot who Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem, has recognised as a Righteous Amongst the Nations for helping Jewish children in Hungary during the Holocaust (*Scotsman* 2005). There is also growing evidence of Scots born victims of the Holocaust (Database of Shoah's victims' names, [www.yadvashem.org.il](http://www.yadvashem.org.il)). According to Gundare and Batelaan's claim (ibid) these links would be distinctive to Holocaust education in Scotland.

1.11 Additionally the individual country's experience of human atrocities, human rights abuses and genocide will also contribute to its definition of Holocaust education. For example, Miles (2004) states that in China, Holocaust Studies 'provide a framework for the Chinese to revisit and cope with their lingering resentment and pain from the Nanjing massacre' (2004, p.377). The requirement for alternative factors to be included in determining the nature of Holocaust education arises in countries which, like Scotland, played a less direct role in World War Two and have no official record

of anti-Semitism. These countries' commitment to social justice and anti-racism in all its forms is another possible factor that requires consideration in defining Holocaust education.

### **The Nature of Holocaust Education in Scotland**

- 1.12 The aim of Holocaust education is not to eradicate anti-Semitism and the many other forms of racism as, no matter how effective the education, there may still be individuals with racist attitudes (Allport, 1954) but rather to 'inoculate the generality of the population against racist and anti-Semitic propaganda and thereby restrict its appeal to a disaffected and politically insignificant rump' (Short and Reed, 2004 pp6-7). This contributes to preventing the domination of racist attitudes in Europe.
  
- 1.13 Holocaust education in Scottish schools can be defined as a combination of particular historical features (Gundare and Batelaan, 2003) and of the contemporary features which are of particular relevance to citizenship education. Prior to the introduction of Holocaust Memorial Day in 2001, the story of Anne Frank was a common resource used in Scottish schools to teach the Holocaust (Maitles and Cowan, 1999). Recent Holocaust curricular materials that have been freely distributed by the Scottish Executive to all primary and secondary schools in Scotland, are based on the testimonies of Jewish Holocaust survivors who have lived in Scotland for most of their adult lives, and also include information on racism and discrimination that exists at the present time in Scotland and the UK, and consideration of the genocides (and attempted genocides) that have occurred since the Holocaust (LTS, 2000, 2002a). The content of these curricular materials share a strong focus on the areas of knowledge and understanding relevant to the development of active and responsible

citizenship. These materials were commissioned as a direct response to the introduction of national Holocaust Memorial Day, and provide Scottish teachers with a range of Holocaust teaching resources. Distribution of these resources demonstrates Scotland's strong commitment to social justice and anti-racism, although unlike in England and Wales, Holocaust education is not mandatory in the Scottish secondary curriculum.

- 1.14 Further evidence of Scotland's commitment to anti-racism is the country's ongoing 'One Scotland. Many Cultures' campaign (started in 2002) and 'One Scotland' (started in 2005) which respectively embrace a multicultural Scotland and aim to tackle racism in Scotland. Statistics showing more than 260 people in Scotland have been charged for crimes aggravated by religious hatred, within a ten month period, highlight the extent of religious bigotry in Scotland (MacLeod, 2004). A report commissioned by Glasgow City Council (*Herald*, 2004) suggests a worrying increase in reported racist incidents in schools (both verbal and physical); even more worryingly, the most prevalent age group of the perpetrators was 9-12 years. In addition, there is evidence that even in a primary school with a strong track record of effective 'anti-racist education policies, strategies and practice', racism is experienced by pupils from an ethnic minority and those who are not from an ethnic minority (Woolfson et al, 2004).

## Recent Policy Developments

- 1.15 Currently a national priority, 'Values and Citizenship' involves teaching pupils 'respect for self and one another and their interdependence with other members of their neighbourhood and society' and 'of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic society' (Standards in Scotland's Schools Act, 2000). The Scottish framework for citizenship education for pupils aged 3 to 18 years, as set out in the discussion paper *Education for Citizenship in Scotland* (LTS, 2002b) states that (as in England and Wales) citizenship education in Scotland is an entitlement for all pupils at all stages. However it is not taught as a separate curricular area or subject but permeates the primary and secondary curricula through a cross- curricular approach.
- 1.16 The requirement for schools to audit their teaching of citizenship education by reviewing existing practice (LTS, 2002c, LTS, 2002d) and the introduction of school self- evaluation guides that evaluate the quality of citizenship education in schools (HMIe, 2003) and the quality of the school's approaches to tackling racism (HMIe, 2004) have raised the profile of Education for Citizenship and anti-racist education.

This profile is further supported in *A Curriculum for Excellence* which includes responsible citizenship as one of its four capacities and states that 'one of the prime purposes of education is to make young people aware of values on which Scottish society is based, and so help them to establish their own stances on matters of social justice and personal and collective responsibility' (Scottish Executive'LTS, 2004, p.11). Appendix 1 shows many key areas, as specified in the proposals for Education for Citizenship in Scotland where teaching about the Holocaust can provide a suitable context for learning.

## **Evidence of the Impact of Holocaust Education on Citizenship**

- 1.17 The contribution of Holocaust education to citizenship in the primary school includes developing pupils' understanding of justice, stereotyping and discrimination (Short and Carrington, 1991; Maitles and Cowan, 1999; Cowan and Maitles, 2002) and provides opportunities for developing positive values of empathy, awareness of anti-racism, and an understanding that the individual can make a difference. Indeed, in a statement to the United Nations General Assembly, the president of the European Union stated that, 'the contribution to tolerance made by teaching and learning about the Holocaust is clear.' (Europa, 2005)
- 1.18 Previous research in secondary schools (Carrington and Short, 1997; Brown and Davies, 1998; Short et al, 1998; Davies, 2000; Hector, 2000; Totten, 2000; Ben-Peretz, 2003; Schweber, 2003;) provides evidence that Holocaust education can make a significant contribution to citizenship in developing pupils' awareness of human rights issues including genocides, the concepts of stereotyping and scapegoating and general political literacy, such as the exercise of power in local, national and global contexts. Landau (1989) asserts that Holocaust teaching 'perhaps more effectively than any other subject, has the power to sensitise them (pupils) to the dangers of indifference, intolerance, racism and the dehumanisation of others'. Smith (2005) in a study of attitudes and values linked to knowledge of the Holocaust amongst adults in seven countries (including the UK) found that there was correlation between education about the Holocaust and his sample's sympathy towards Jewish people, although the survey did not extrapolate this to other ethnic groups.

- 1.19 Short (2003a) asserts that one of the lessons that the Holocaust teaches pupils is that pupil attitudes are, ‘to some extent, culturally determined’ and its teaching should encourage pupils to examine whether any harmful stereotypes may emanate from an aspect of their culture. Lord Lamont, for example, claims that devolution has led to ‘a marked rise in anti-English racism’ (*The Sunday Times* 2005), although it must be noted that there is no evidence to support this claim. If, however, there is any substance in this, the contribution of Holocaust education can be relevant.
- 1.20 As the education for citizenship and democracy proposals are developed in schools, these areas of content become central to pupils’ understanding of living in a multicultural, multi-ethnic, democratic society. Finally, schools have an additional 20% flexibility time that allows them to enhance the time for a curricular area where they consider the minimum time insufficient and where school and the local authority have development priorities (SEED, 2000). Whilst there are clearly competing priorities for this, it is feasible for schools which deem the area of importance to allocate some of this time to studying the Holocaust and contemporary examples of prejudice and discrimination.

## **Section 2: Methodology**

### **2.1 The Sample**

2.1.1 In order to avoid aspects of familiarity, to move beyond the multicultural areas most often used in the studies on this area and to explore issues such as attitudes towards Gypsy Travellers and Jews, we chose a small rural local authority some 30 miles from Glasgow. The school sample was chosen, in collaboration with the local authority, who identified two primary schools in the area that taught the Holocaust as part of the World War 2 topic in Primary 7. A further advantage was that the vast majority of these pupils have since gone to the same local secondary and this avoided significant drop out of the sample. One primary is a one streamed school; the other is a larger school that contained pupils from three classes. Both primaries are non-denominational, have mixed socio-economic catchment areas, are predominantly white and have no Jewish pupils. Although a small number of Gypsy Travellers live nearby and more were expected to settle in the area later in 2004, there were no Gypsy Travellers' children in this sample.

2.1.2 The relatively small size of this sample and the fact that it was drawn from only one of the thirty two local authorities in Scotland are weaknesses of this research. While these impinge upon making generalisations from its results, it nonetheless provides insight into the impact of Holocaust education on pupils' values.

2.1.3 We examined the attitudes of Primary 7 pupils before and after they studied the Holocaust. (November 2003 and March 2004). 87 pupils participated in the first survey; 99 in the second. The first surveys were distributed to 100 Primary 7 pupils

which included 13 pupils (from the composite class) who had studied the Holocaust the previous year. On the school's request and in the interests of inclusion, all P7s were included in this activity. However these 13 responses were withdrawn from the first part of the research as they indicated a greater perceived understanding of issues than their peers and would have seriously weakened this research study. Their inclusion in the second part of this research can be justified in that this activity was designed for pupils to complete after their learning of the Holocaust to which they were eligible, and that the comparative aspect of the next stage of this research would be less valid if these pupils were not included alongside their peers who had studied the Holocaust.

2.1.4 We followed this group of pupils, into the secondary school, where we were able to 'test' their attitudes and opinions compared to both their previous responses and to their Secondary 1 peer group from primaries where the Holocaust was not studied. This involved a total of 238 pupils. This stage of the longitudinal study has the potential of suggesting whether there is a lasting impact of this type of learning. We present the evidence relating to this on pages 40-52 below.

## **2.2 The Study**

2.2.1 To investigate the value of Holocaust education, the authors devised a longitudinal strategy which examined whether there are 'immediate' and 'lasting' effects on the attitudes and dispositions of pupils that result from its teaching; the values of this cohort will be compared to their peers who did not have the opportunity to study the Holocaust in primary school. This will provide evidence of the contribution of Holocaust education in developing attitudes relating to citizenship.

2.2.2 Yet there are problems with this cohort study, as outlined by (amongst many others) Mason and Bramble, 1978; Cohen and Manion, 1989; Gall et al, 1996; Ruddock and McIntyre, 1998; Gay and Airasian, 2000. Chief amongst these for this study are firstly, the subjects can ‘learn’ about the test and, even although anonymous, might give what they perceive as the politically correct answer; and secondly, the class teacher can have an influence which can lead to distortions. Further, changing issues and external factors can have a major influence on longitudinal studies. Whilst it is not feasible to isolate any one factor that can influence young people’s values and attitudes (for example, Holocaust education), it must be pointed out that these would affect both the core group and the others.

2.2.3 Using a self-completion survey to research a complex topic is one limitation of this study as its data is reliant on honest answers, without the ability to further check as the answers were anonymous. The survey (Appendix 2) had two parts: the first allowed the pupils to evaluate whether they thought that their understanding of some general concepts had improved. It must be noted that this did not ‘test’ their knowledge of the area, only their perception of their knowledge. Although their knowledge was not central to the aims of this research, it enabled the authors to carry out cross tabulation. The second part of the survey focused on values and attitudes. Both primary head teachers and an education officer validated the surveys by giving feedback on the content of the draft survey, contributing to its final form and ensuring pupils’ understanding of the questions. The research assistant and class teachers provided assistance to the few individuals who required additional support and reported that pupils gave careful consideration to the completion of surveys. The

administering of the surveys by the research assistant resulted in the class teachers having few opportunities to influence their pupils.

2.2.4 After discussion of the results from the first survey, researchers added two questions to the first part, and three statements to the second part of the second survey. Additions focused on the terms ‘anti-Semitism’, ‘genocide’; consideration of ‘refugees’ and voting attitudes to disabled people (Appendix 3).

2.2.5 We have not provided data on every individual question or area. We grouped questions together to ensure that there was a manageable body of data. Although the survey was devised in collaboration with teachers, we found that a few of the questions (such as 32, 33, 34) were too complex for a small number of pupils who needed significant support from the researcher. We discounted these on the grounds of reliability.

2.2.6 Statistical analysis, using the social statistics package (SPSS) was used to examine the data in more detail and, as is the nature of it, threw up further questions. While the desire to give a politically correct answer cannot be entirely ruled out (2.2.2), surveys were designed to obtain honest answers and cross referenced questions can further enhance the validity of the responses. The number of variables became too complex in the second phase, and obscured more than it revealed and thus statistical analysis was not later used. It must further be noted that all results obtained by statistical methods suffer from the disadvantage that they might have been caused by pure statistical accident. Further, none of the data has been subject to statistical significance testing and thus the results must be used cautiously.

- 2.2.7 Surveys were given to the pupils in November 2003, March 2004 and December 2004 which is in longitudinal terms a brief timescale and should alleviate a particular worry of longitudinal research, that other aspects can interfere with the subjects' understanding of the issues, albeit yield a less long-term result. This fitted in with teachers' planned teaching of the Holocaust in January and meant that the impact of the media leading up to Holocaust Memorial Day 2005 could not influence the findings of this study.
- 2.2.8 We would have liked to have been able to track individual pupils who gave particular answers to particular questions. However, we felt that would identify individuals in a situation where we had promised the schools, the local authority, the parents and the pupils, anonymity. Particularly, we were worried that if pupils were able to be identified, they might be more likely to give us answers they thought we wanted rather than their own opinions.
- 2.2.9 Teachers were given free choice in the way they taught the Holocaust as researchers wanted the teachers to teach the Holocaust as they would usually and did not wish to impose anything on teachers. Interviews were conducted after the completed second surveys had been analysed, with the class teacher of the smaller school (school A) and the P7 class teacher who had taught one class and co-ordinated the Holocaust teaching in the larger school (school B). Both teachers had taught the Holocaust many times before; the additional class teachers in school B had not previously taught the Holocaust. School A integrated the Holocaust into a topic on World War Two which focused on the Home Front; school B taught the Holocaust as a separate topic. Time spent on each topic varied from two hours a week for 10 weeks (school A) to four hours a week for three weeks (school B).

2.2.10 School A's teaching was based round the story of Anne Frank. The principal resource was a listening skill programme (Dring, 1992) and other resources, e.g. the videos 'Dear Kitty' (Anne Frank House, 1987) and 'Anne Frank Remembered' (Blair, 1995), were used to supplement this teaching. Additionally the children's novel 'Hana's Suitcase' (Levine, 2002) was read to the class and discussed. The teacher claimed that this enhanced the children's understanding and added relevance to their lives. Class teaching was the main teaching approach with some opportunities for group and paired work. Pupils conducted individual research on a personal project on an aspect of World War Two. A few pupils chose to research the Holocaust. This involved regular use of the internet in the school's computer suite.

2.2.11 Due to the composite situation where a group of pupils had learned about the Holocaust the previous year, school B was unable to teach 'as normal' using The Holocaust Teaching pack for Primary Schools (LTS, 2000), and used a new core resource 'Daniel's Story' (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1993).

**2.2.12** The co-ordinator in school B designed worksheets to support and enhance the learning from 'Daniel's Story' as there were no published school materials based on this resource. The main teaching approach was class discussions. This included a focus on Heinrich Heine's quote on the Burning of the Books (1933) and Edmund Burke's 18<sup>th</sup> century quote on the Triumph of Evil. The 'Dear Kitty' video was used as an additional resource. One class used the internet to investigate the lives of specific survivors and helpers of the oppressed. The link between attitudes towards Jews during the Holocaust in Nazi Germany and attitudes to refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland today was made explicit in these discussions.

## Section 3: Phase 1 Results and Discussion

### 3.1 Surveys 1 and 2

3.1.1 In almost every category there was a welcome improvement in pupils' perceptions of their own understanding and values/opinions relating to the issues examined between November 2003 (prior to studying about the Holocaust) and March 2004 (after studying about the Holocaust). In terms of their general understanding, the following table (Table 1) shows their self-reported perceived improvement:

**Table 1: Pupils' perceived knowledge**

		Survey	
		1	2
		%	%
1	Do you know what HUMAN RIGHTS are?		
	Yes No	93.1 6.9	95.8 4.2
2	Do you know what RACISM is?		
	Yes No	85.1 14.9	97.9 2.1
3	Do you know what a RACIST is?		
	Yes No	83.9 16.1	97.9 2.1
4	Do you know what a REFUGEE is?		
	Yes No	66.7 33.3	74 26
5	Do you know what a GYPSY TRAVELLER is?		
	Yes No	58.6 41.4	83.3 16.7
6	Do you know what the HOLOCAUST is?		
	Yes No	47.1 52.9	95.8 4.2
7	Do you know what TRIAL-BY-JURY is?		
	Yes No	43.7 56.3	51 49
8	Do you know what ANTI-SEMITISM is?		
	Yes No		29.2 70.8
9	Do you know what GENOCIDE is?		
	Yes No		18.75 81.25

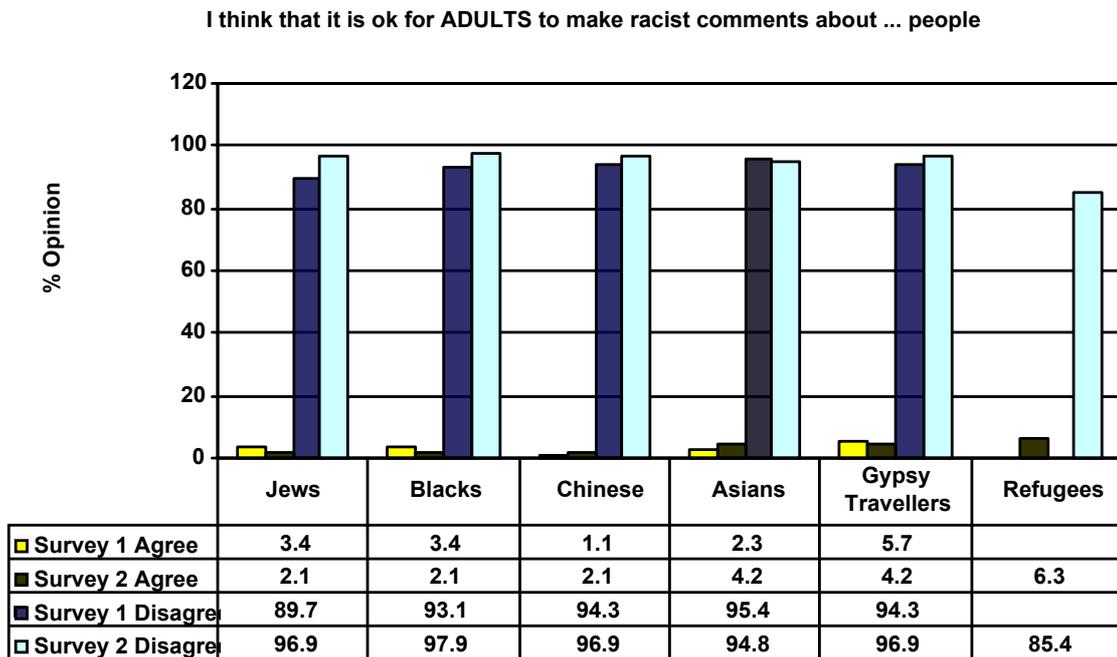
- 3.1.2 Pupils' perceived knowledge of human rights and racism was very high in the first survey and steadily increased after learning about the Holocaust. Whilst we might expect there to be extra cognitive understanding in terms of the Holocaust (q6), there is also a perceived large increase in terms of understanding Gypsy Travellers and a notable increase in knowledge of refugees. We must note though that this does not necessarily denote an understanding of each term but may be a reflection of mere familiarity.
- 3.1.3 Interestingly, although we didn't ask questions 8 and 9 in the first survey, there is a perceived lack of understanding of 'anti-Semitism' and 'genocide'. In an earlier work, (Cowan and Maitles, 2000) we noted that teachers were teaching the Holocaust without either specifically mentioning or explaining the word 'anti-Semitism' but using the term 'racism' as a general description of the genocide. Breaking down the results between the schools, we find that for this question the figures were that only 3.7% in school A, but 39% in school B, knew what anti-Semitism was after being taught about the Holocaust. Feedback from the class teachers revealed that the school B had regularly used and displayed flashcards of key terms of the Holocaust which included 'anti-Semitism'; while school A had not mentioned this term at all. Similarly, Short's study of secondary students showed that their teachers were not including the critical role of anti-Semitism in their teaching of the origins of the Holocaust (Leicester et al, 1999, ch.1). While the teachers claimed that pupils understood what anti-Semitism was, despite not knowing the term, it is perhaps incumbent upon teachers to mention the terminology more clearly so that pupils who come up against a media headline relating to anti-Semitism will know what it is about and relate it to their learning.

3.1.4 In terms of pupils' attitudes towards children and adults making racist comments, the following tables (2 and 3) break down and compare their answers. Results of these are similar across the categories with the greatest disparity being between attitudes to adults and children making racist comments about Gypsy Travellers. There is also a contrast in attitudes to Asians where there is a positive improvement in attitudes to children making racist comments (Table 3) but a small decrease in attitudes to adults making racist comments (Table 2). More pupils disagreed that 'it was ok for adults to make racist comments about Gypsy Travellers' than it was for children to do so. However, attitudes towards Chinese are less favourable with increases in agreement with the statements (Tables 2 and 3). It is worth noting that the number of pupils agreeing with these statements is very small.

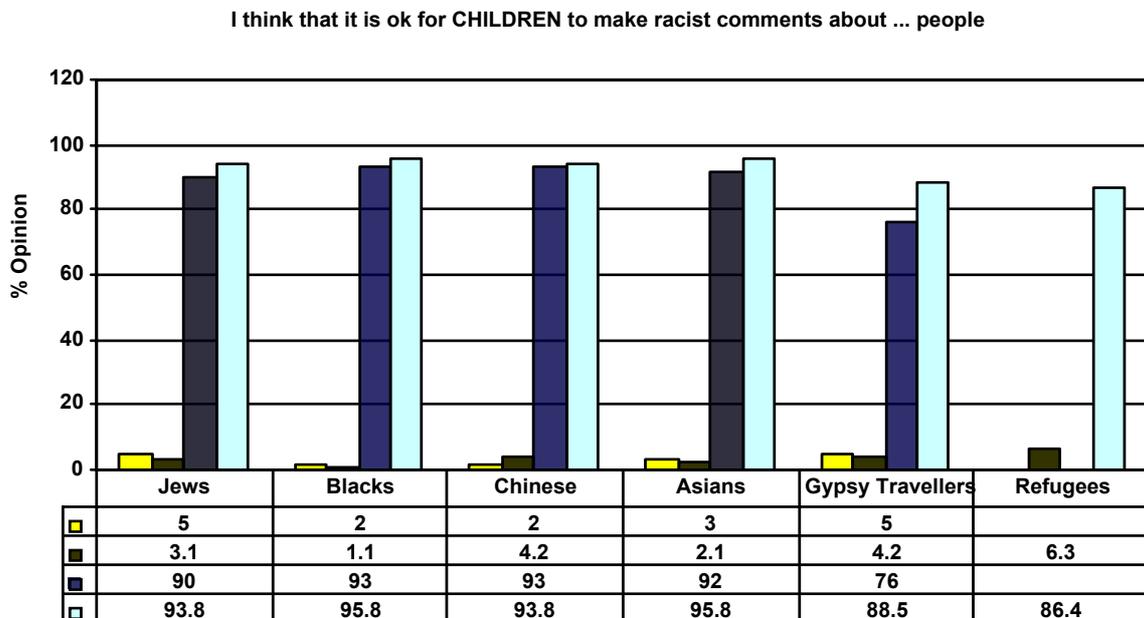
3.1.5 Nonetheless, in most categories there is a more progressive attitude. This is shown by:

- attitudes towards Gypsy Travellers where the largest gain has occurred (Table 3);
- attitudes towards refugees (although pupils were not previously asked this question) (Tables 2 and 3);
- small increases in disagreement with adults making racist comments towards Blacks, Asians (previously indicated) and Gypsy Travellers, with the largest increase in attitudes towards Jews (7%), (Table 2);
- small increases in disagreement with children making racist comments towards Jews, Blacks, Chinese, and Asians with the largest increase in attitudes towards Gypsy Travellers (12%), (Table 3).

**Table 2: Attitudes to adults making racist comments about.....people**



**Table 3: Attitudes to children making racist comments about.... people**



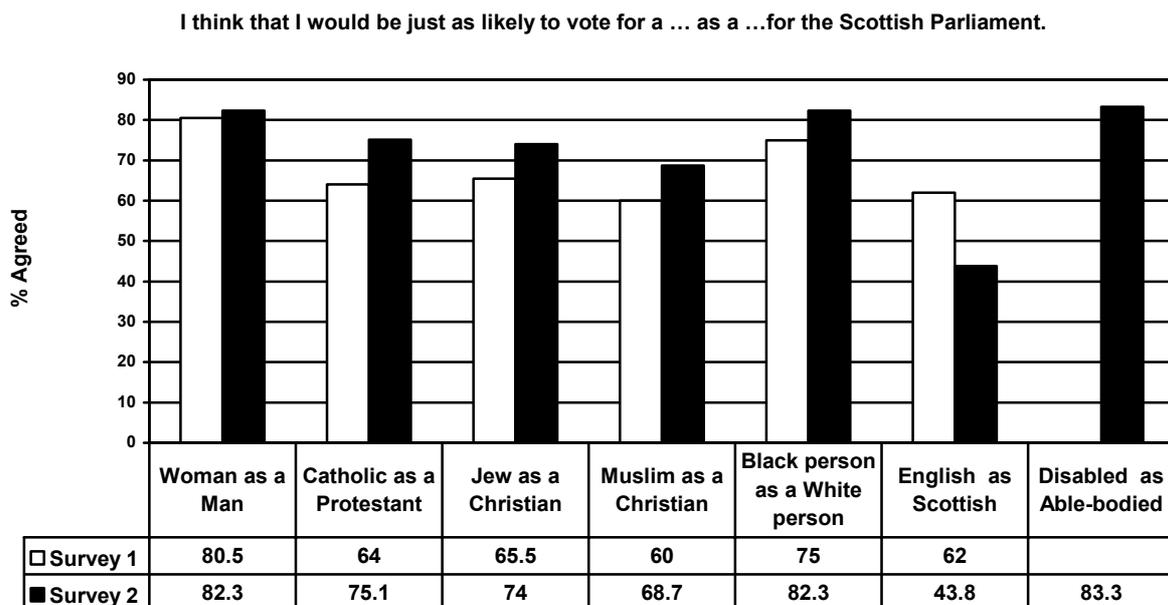
3.1.6 Table 3a presents cross tabulation of the perceived ‘level of Holocaust knowledge’ with attitudes towards Jews; it indicates that, in the first survey, none of the 41 pupils (47%) who perceived they knew what the Holocaust was, agreed with the statement about children making racist comments about Jews, compared to four out of the 46 pupils who perceived they did not know what the Holocaust was. However, of the 92 pupils (96%) who perceived they knew what the Holocaust was, after learning about the Holocaust, there were still three who agreed with the above statement. This suggests that teaching the Holocaust can have some influence but cannot eradicate racist attitudes as a small number persists. This supports Allport’s view previously stated in section 1.12.

**Table 3a: Level of Holocaust knowledge crossed with children’s racist attitudes towards Jews:**

Know Holocaust			Survey	
			1	2
Yes I think it is ok for children to make racist comments about Jews	Agree	Count %	0 .0%	3 3.3%
	Disagree	Count %	39 95.1%	87 94.6%
	Don’t Know	Count %	2 4.9%	2 2.2%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	Count %	41 100%	92 100%
No I think it is ok for children to make racist comments about Jews	Agree	Count %	4 8.7%	0 .0%
	Disagree	Count %	40 87.0%	3 75.0%
	Don’t Know	Count %	2 4.3%	1 25.0%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	Count %	46 100%	4 100%

3.1.7 A further area we tried to gauge was pupils' attitudes towards having ethnic minorities, English, women or disabled people as Members of the Scottish Parliament. Table 4 shows that pupils displayed a commendable respect for minorities. In all categories (except one) there was an increase in the percentage of those agreeing with the statements after they learned about the Holocaust. The category which showed a decline was 'English person'. This overall decline occurred in both schools and there was a contrast in pupil attitudes to this prior to learning about the Holocaust. School A's response to this statement was 76% in agreement, school B's was 55%. While this was the largest disparity of pupil attitudes between schools, their decline in attitudes to this statement was an identical 17%. Unlike 'attitudes to refugees' where it can be argued there is a strong link with the Holocaust, there is unlikely to be any such link as regards attitudes to 'English person'. Further research is required to establish if pupil responses in this category have any relationship to their learning about the Holocaust.

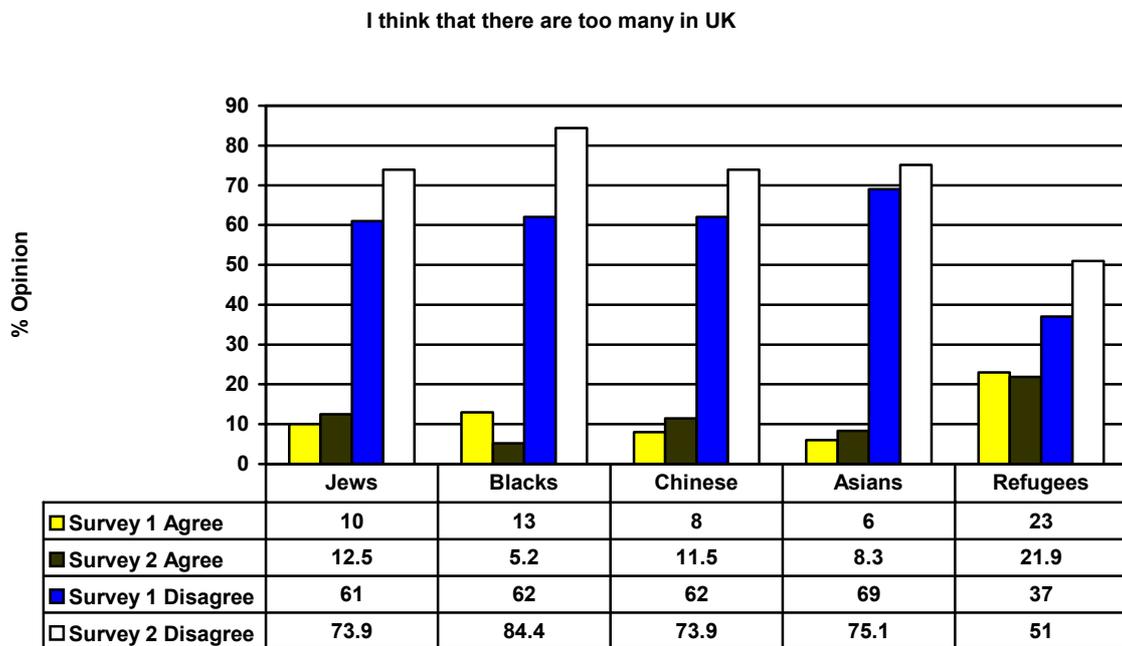
**Table 4: Voting attitudes**



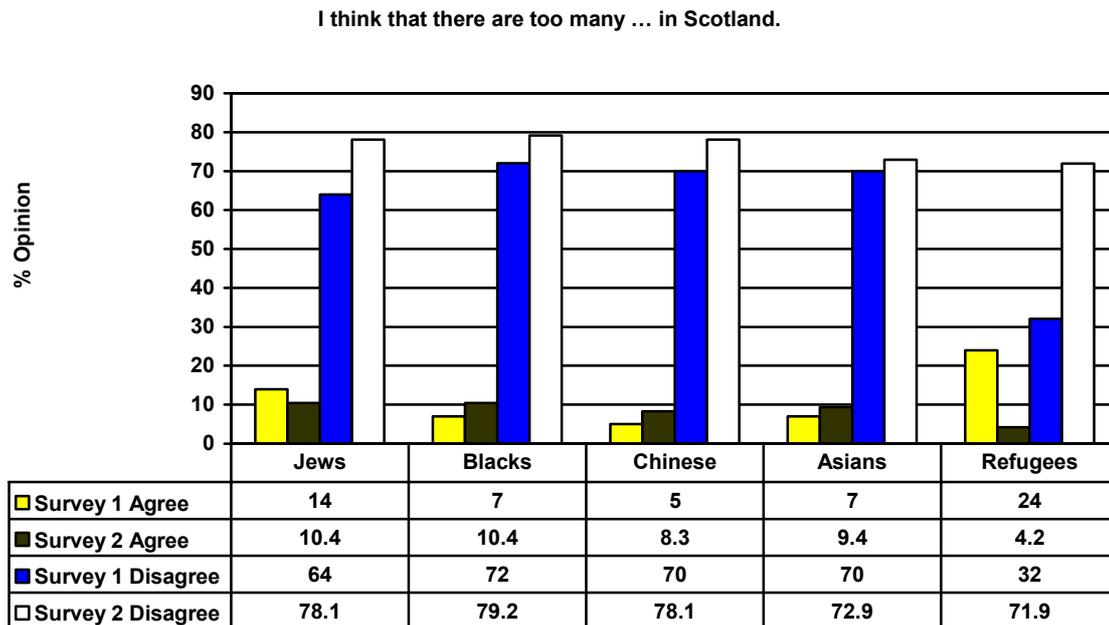
- 3.1.8 This suggests that anti-English feeling probably for a variety of complex reasons has a resonance amongst young people in Scotland. The reasons for this and any strategies to combat them, if felt necessary, need more investigation and are an area for further study. One possible explanation for this is a weakness in the survey questions relating to English people, in that pupils may have considered the Scottish Parliament as an institution for Scottish people, irrespective of their ethnicity. Furthermore, consideration of ‘rude’ and ‘racist’ comments to English people were not included in the surveys.
- 3.1.9 With hindsight of the results, it might have been useful to have included attitudes towards other European communities in Scotland (for example, Italians and Poles) in the light of EU expansion and statements by ministers in the Scottish Executive welcoming increased European Union immigration into Scotland. Additionally, inclusion of ‘rude’, ‘racist’ comments towards English people would have given some indication as to whether anti-English feeling applied only to the context of the Scottish Parliament.
- 3.1.10 A further area investigated was the pupils’ opinions and perceptions of the numbers of ethnic minority people in both the UK as a whole and Scotland in particular (Tables 5 and 6). While there are worries about the numbers who believed that there were ‘too many’ Jews, Asians and Chinese in Scotland, there are consistent improvements in the ‘disagree’ category in each of the indices. After Holocaust teaching the ‘don’t know’ category in each of the indices had fallen and contributed to an increase in disagreement with the statements. Additionally, given that more than 95% pupils considered that they knew what the Holocaust is (Table 1), pupils’ attitudes towards Jews is disappointing in that 10% of pupils agree with the statement (Table 6) despite

there being a decline in the number of Jews in Scotland with a current population of approximately 5,000 Jews. One possible explanation may lie in pupils' understanding of the genocide of the Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators. This may be perceived as something that happened in the past that is not relevant to contemporary Scottish society, and that pupils do not perceive Jews as victims in today's society. It is unknown whether the contemporary nature of anti-Semitism was taught to pupils.

**Table 5: Attitudes to number of.....people in the UK**



**Table 6: Attitudes to number of .....people in Scotland**



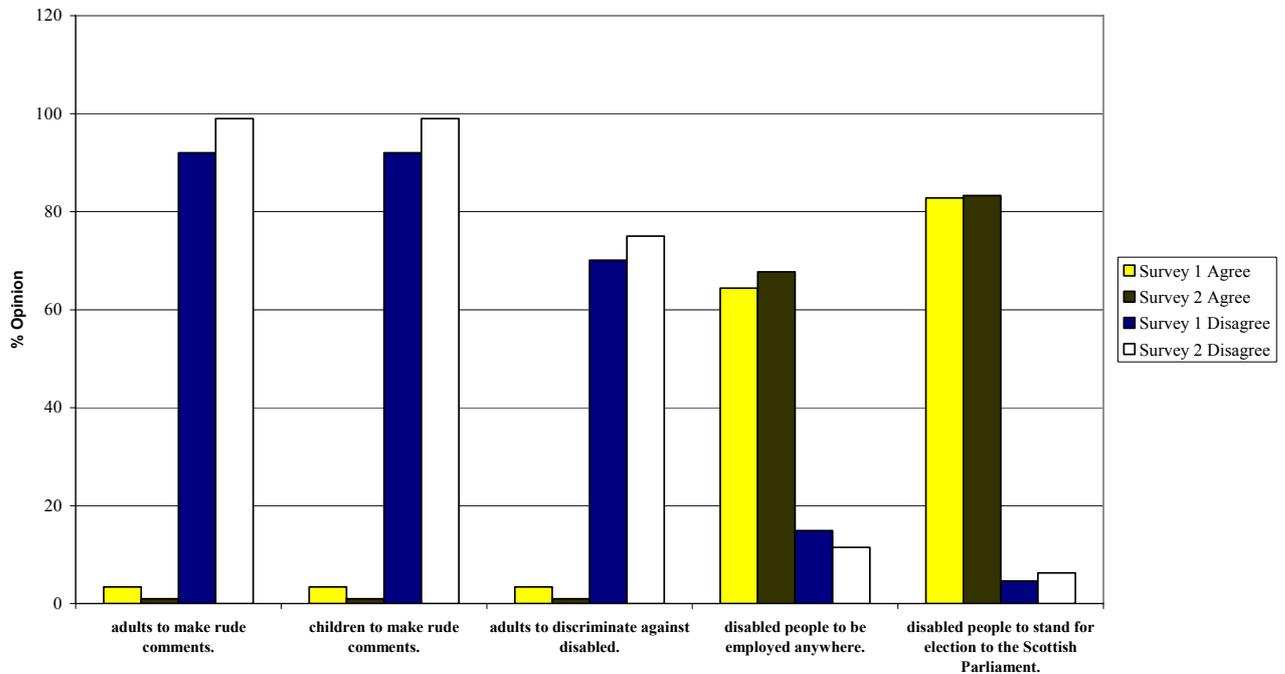
3.1.11 Of particular interest, is the difference in perception that the children have of refugees in UK and Scotland where disagreement with the statement applying to Scotland increased by 40% compared with the increase of 15% applying to UK. There are potentially a number of explanations of this, ranging from pupils' own experiences to the different stances that the British Government (harder) is taking towards refugees and asylum seekers as compared to the Scottish Executive (more welcoming). Yet, these increases, together with the 14% increase in disagreement with the statement applying to Jews in Scotland and UK were the largest made.

3.1.12 Table 7 shows that pupils had clear positive attitudes towards disabled people before they learned about the Holocaust and that these attitudes had consistent small gains after learning about the Holocaust. Pupils' disagreement with rude comments made toward the disabled, applied equally to adults and children. Making rude comments about disabled people was viewed as unacceptable by 92% of respondents before the

programme of Holocaust education. This was similar to attitudes towards making racist comments to other groups of people (excepting Gypsy Travellers).

**Table 7: Attitudes to disabled people**

Core Sample: I think that it is OK for



	adults to make rude comments.	children to make rude comments.	adults to discriminate against disabled.	disabled people to be employed anywhere.	disabled people to stand for election to the Scottish Parliament.
<b>Survey 1 Agree</b>	3.4	3.4	3.4	64.4	82.8
<b>Survey 2 Agree</b>	1	1	1	67.7	83.3
<b>Survey 1 Disagree</b>	92	92	70.1	14.9	4.6
<b>Survey 2 Disagree</b>	99	99	75	11.5	6.3

3.1.13 In terms of their own perspectives of learning about the Holocaust, Table 8 shows that primary pupils have positive attitudes about learning about the Holocaust by the 27% increase in agreeing with the first statement immediately after they had studied it. Interestingly pupils did not consider that they had learned everything about the

Holocaust and their responses to statements 2 and 3 may have implications for secondary education, although the similar wording of these statements was likely to have confused some pupils. This data challenges the argument that introducing the Holocaust to younger pupils (i.e. younger than secondary) can lead to ‘Holocaust fatigue’, which loosely means boredom of Holocaust teaching as a result of too much exposure to it (Short and Reed, 2004). Not only is there a slight increase in the number of pupils who consider it important to study the Holocaust in greater depth than their initial study, but a similar high percentage of pupils were interested in finding out more about the Holocaust themselves. These findings correlate with findings about adults and their attitudes towards learning more about the Holocaust (Smith, 2005).

**Table 8: Attitudes to learning about the Holocaust**

		Survey		
		1	2	
		%	%	
1	<b>I think that we should learn more about the Holocaust in primary school</b>	Agree	63.2	89.6
		Disagree	12.6	5.2
		Don't Know	24.1	5.2
2	<b>I think that I should learn more about the Holocaust.</b>	Agree	66.7	69.8
		Disagree	10.3	14.6
		Don't Know	23.0	15.6
3	<b>I think that I would like to find out more about the Holocaust.</b>	Agree		68.8
		Disagree		14.6
		Don't Know		16.6

## Section 4: Conclusions to Phase 1

- 4.1 It is important not to take too much from this initial stage of the research. The heavy content of the survey and its complex references to Scotland and the UK show up some weaknesses of this type of research. Indeed, without statistical significance testing, we must avoid over-reliability on pupils' responses. There is evidence that pupils' knowledge and values/attitudes improved (excepting pupils' attitudes towards English people) after learning about the Holocaust. Positive trends towards Gypsy Travellers and refugees were particularly important and interesting.
- 4.2 While unknown factors may also have contributed to these gains, the contribution of Holocaust education, at the very least, must be considered a factor. It is worth noting that when the pupils in this sample were learning about the Holocaust, in January 2004, Holocaust Memorial Day received very little media attention in Scotland.
- 4.3 The research uncovered some anti-English feeling in relation to voting intentions to the Scottish Parliament – virtually the only area that declined in the course of the two surveys (and we have outlined some possible reasons for this in 3.1.8). This has potentially serious implications and requires further investigation.
- 4.4 Secondly, if teaching the Holocaust and racism exclusively includes groups of persecuted peoples or victim groups, such as Jews, Gypsies, Tutsis, then how can prejudices and racism towards other peoples, such as English or Italians, be understood or explained? This too has implications for teachers and suggests that while learning about the Holocaust has a valuable role to play, it is not a panacea for

all young people's prejudices. This is further supported in the findings by pupils' attitudes to children making racist comments about Jews.

- 4.5 At the very least, numbers of pupils who put 'don't know' for survey 1 came off the fence in survey 2 and came down in favour of tolerance and understanding. Yet, surprisingly few (only 29% overall) knew (or thought they knew) what anti-Semitism was. Further analysis of the ways in which teachers in our schools put the Holocaust in the citizenship context is likely to contribute to an understanding of this. It has been suggested (Short, 2003b) that Holocaust research in the primary school lacks the pupil voice in evaluating the contribution of Holocaust education in this sector; this research begins to address this. In terms of our general aims, this study suggests that there are some immediate benefits of learning about the Holocaust; we now turn to ascertaining whether there are any longer lasting effects.

## **Section 5: The Core Sample in Secondary School**

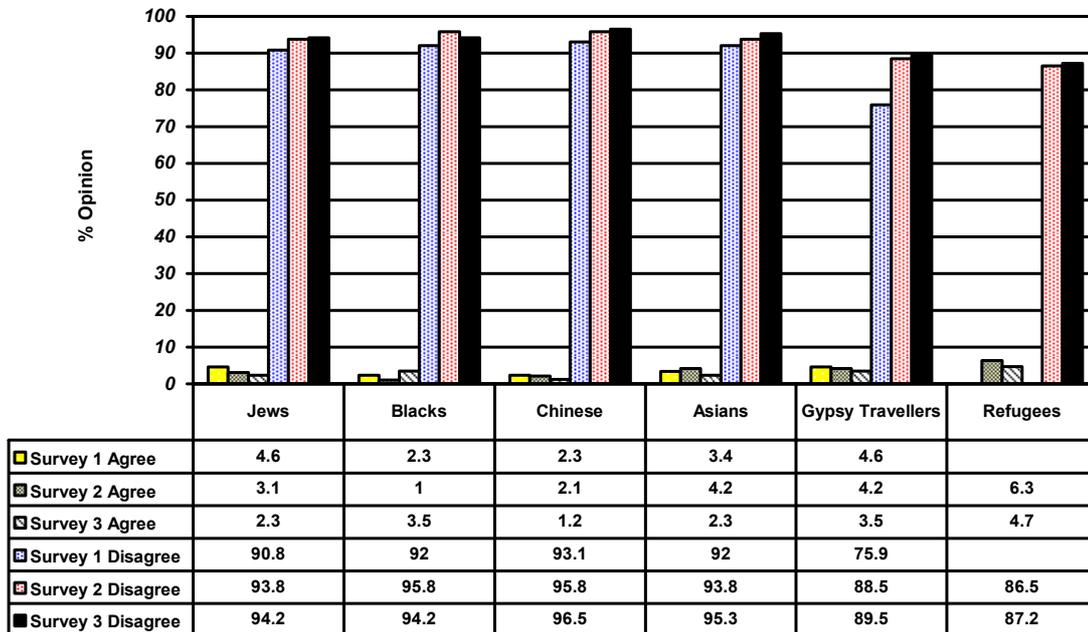
5.1 Our principal interest at this stage of the study was to find out if the general improvements in knowledge and positive values and attitudes of the pupils after their learning about the Holocaust were maintained in the first year of secondary education; and, secondly, whether these pupils' understanding of the Holocaust and positive attitudes in aspects of citizenship, were similar or different to their peers who did not have an opportunity to study the Holocaust in their primary school.

### **Values of the Core Sample**

5.2.1 The values of the core sample, welcomingly, more or less maintained over the piece in relation to minorities not having to suffer racial abuse. For example, Table 9 shows that in no category were the pupils less positive than they had been at the start of the process and only in one area (attitudes towards Black people) was there any reduction from the post-Holocaust survey; and it was very slight.

**Table 9: Attitudes to children making racist comments about.....people**

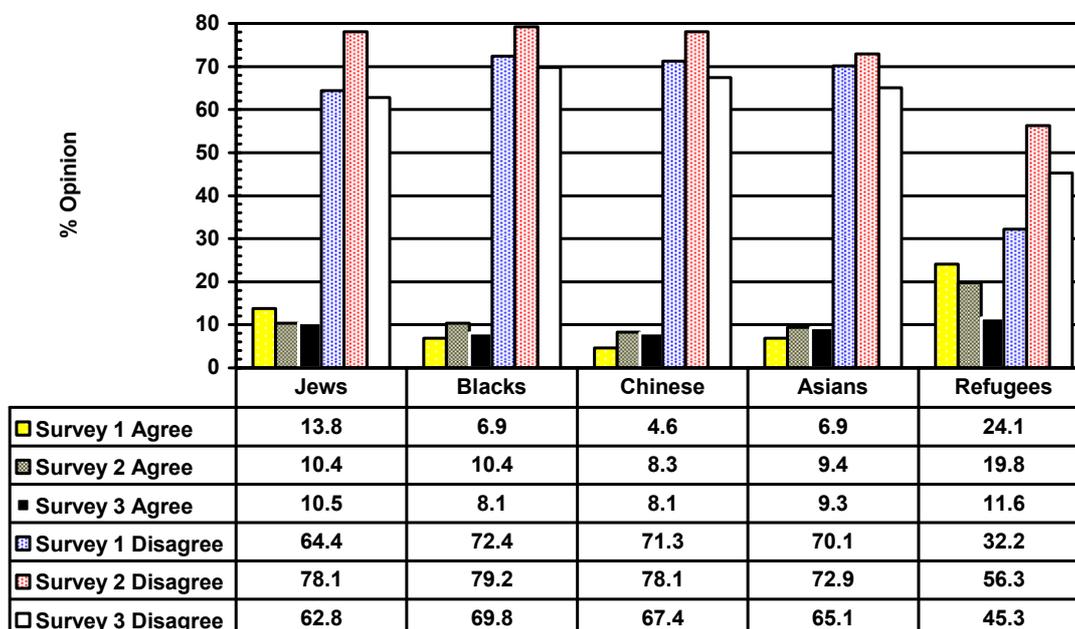
Core Sample:  
I think that it is ok for CHILDREN to make racist comments about ... people.



5.2.2 However, lest we become too complacent, there was a far less positive response to the statement about there being too many of a category of people in Scotland. As Table 10 shows, in every category, pupils' attitudes became less tolerant; indeed, they not only fell below their post-Holocaust opinions, but a much larger number claimed they were unsure. For example, in terms of attitudes towards Jews, 88.5% either agreed or disagreed in survey 2, thus 11.5% were unsure; in survey 3, 73.3% agreed or disagreed, thus 26.7% were unsure. The 'agree' category remained stable at 10.4-10.5%, so we can surmise that many of those who disagreed moved to the unsure category. Interestingly, attitudes towards refugees held up better than the other variables, although this was the category which showed the most negative attitudes overall. The % 'agreeing' consistently decreased across the three surveys (24.1%, 19.8%, 11.6%) and the % 'disagreeing' increased by 13% from survey 1 to survey 3.

**Table 10: Attitudes to number of .....people in Scotland**

Core Sample:  
I think that there are too many ... in Scotland.



5.2.3 Given that more than 95% pupils considered that they knew what the Holocaust is (Table 1), and that there are approx. only 5,000 Jews in Scotland, pupils' attitudes towards Jews is rather puzzling as pupils' new knowledge has no long-term positive effect on their attitudes in this area. One possible explanation may lie in pupils' understanding of anti-Semitism. Separating the data into the two schools may shed further light into this area as schools taught this differently and it is an area we intend to follow up.

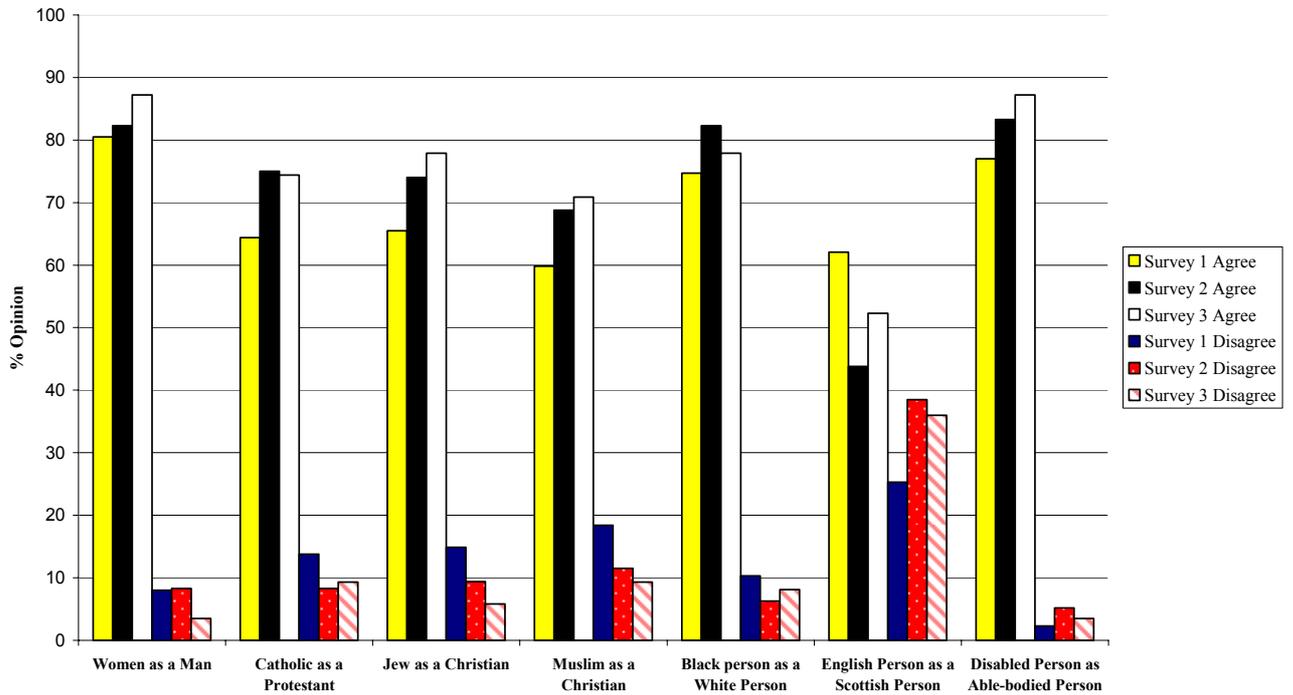
5.2.4 Another explanation may be found in Short's implication (2003b) that successful Holocaust teaching is dependent on pupils' perceptions of Jews and Judaism and of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. Data obtained from interviews showed that school A had introduced Judaism in P3 and studied another aspect of it in P7, albeit after their teaching of the Holocaust; school B had studied Judaism the

previous year as their RE topic for an entire term. This suggests that pupils' perceptions of the above will have started to have been formed but these were not examined in this research.

- 5.2.5 It is worth noting that the most positive change of attitudes (towards refugees) is a current issue that was likely to have been discussed in and outside the classroom. It is unlikely that the other groups of peoples would have aroused a similar interest.
- 5.2.6 Another possible explanation of the differences between the attitudes in Tables 9 and 10 perhaps relate to the perceived differences between prejudice and discrimination; the pupils perhaps felt (following media campaigns and political campaigning around the 2005 General Election) that there are 'too many' minorities in Scotland but also believed that there should not be any abuse towards them.
- 5.2.7 One of the most contentious areas from the first phase of the survey was the voting potential of the sample and, in particular, the attitude towards English people. The results comparing the three surveys (Table 11) show that the improvements found after learning about the Holocaust have been generally maintained (e.g. voting attitudes re Catholics/Protestants) or continued to improve (e.g. voting attitudes re Woman/Man). Exceptions are attitudes to Black people; although the attitudes in this category were still better in survey 3 than in survey 1, they had fallen back somewhat from the position in survey 2. Interestingly, the attitudes towards English people improved most of all between survey 2 and survey 3, although at 52.3% agreeing and 36% disagreeing, it was still poorer than any other category.

**Table 11: Voting attitudes**

Core Sample: I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a ... as a ... for the Scottish Parliament

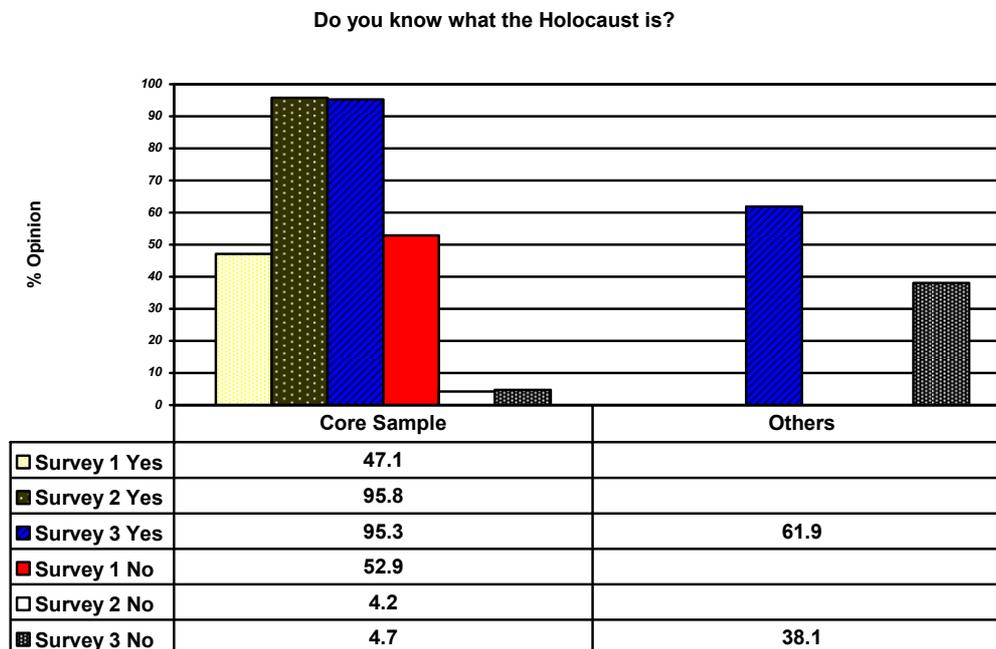


	<b>Women as a Man</b>	<b>Catholic as a Protestant</b>	<b>Jew as a Christian</b>	<b>Muslim as a Christian</b>	<b>Black Person as a White Person</b>	<b>English Person as a Scottish Person</b>	<b>Disabled Person as an Able-bodied Person</b>
<b>Survey 1 Agree</b>	80.5	64.4	65.5	59.8	74.7	62.1	77
<b>Survey 2 Agree</b>	82.3	75	74	68.8	82.3	43.8	83.3
<b>Survey 3 Agree</b>	87.2	74.4	77.9	70.9	77.9	52.3	87.2
<b>Survey 1 Disagree</b>	8	13.8	14.9	18.4	10.3	25.3	2.3
<b>Survey 2 Disagree</b>	8.3	8.3	9.4	11.5	6.3	38.5	5.2
<b>Survey 3 Disagree</b>	3.5	9.3	5.8	9.3	8.1	36	3.5

## Section 6: Comparison of the Core Sample with ‘Others’

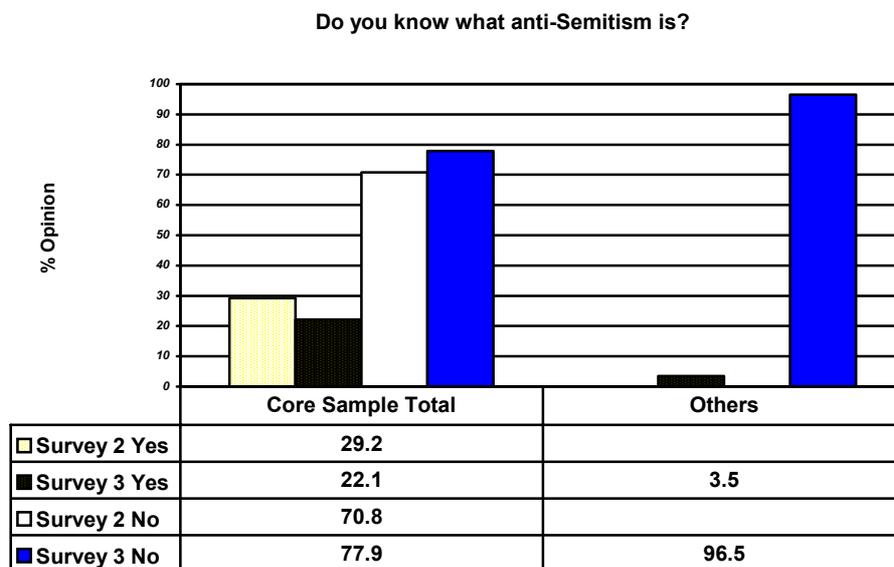
6.1 In terms of their own self-understanding, Table 12 shows that the core sample (those pupils who learned about the Holocaust in primary) maintained their perception of their knowledge of the Holocaust and it was substantially higher than the others (their peers from primary schools that did not learn about the Holocaust). Interestingly, the fact that 61.9% of ‘others’ knew about the Holocaust shows that there are opportunities either through media or other lessons, or Holocaust Memorial Day activities, or parental comment for young people to find out about it; but the fact that nearly 40% didn’t recognize the term or know anything about it, has important implications for school-based Holocaust education.

**Table 12: Pupils’ perceived knowledge of the Holocaust**



6.2 A similar trend can be found in terms of perceived understanding of anti-Semitism (Table 13). Only 3.5% of ‘others’ could define it, whereas the core sample stayed at approx. 22%. Yet, although the core sample had a stronger understanding of it, perhaps the most significant factor is the general low awareness of the term anti-Semitism. (see 3.1.3 for possible explanation)

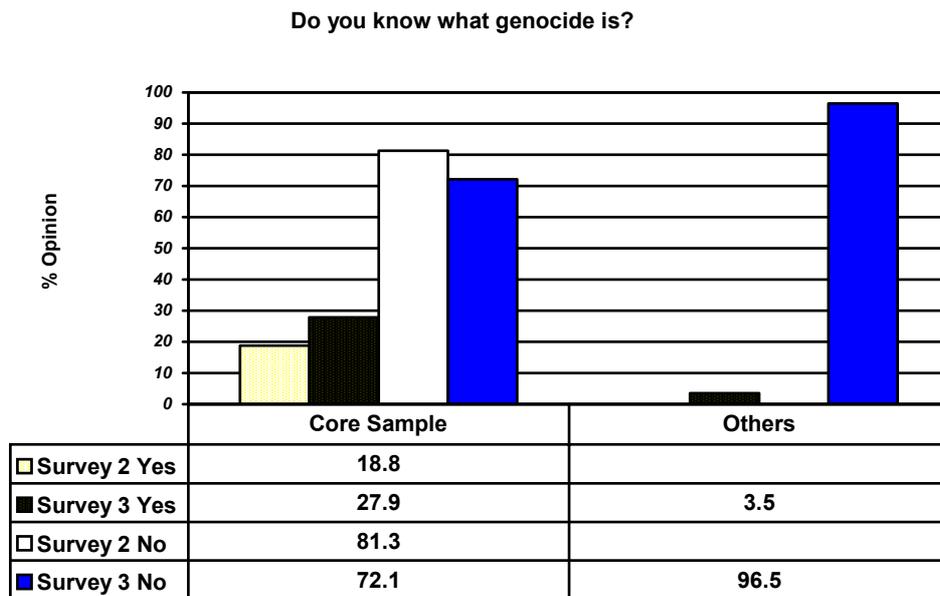
**Table 13: Pupils’ perceived knowledge of anti-Semitism**



6.3 The core sample’s perceived understanding of genocide (Table 14) fared slightly better than that of anti-Semitism with a 9% increase between the two surveys. The differential between the core sample’s perceived knowledge and the ‘others’ was also greater than that of anti-Semitism and the data shows a very low awareness of the meaning of genocide by the ‘others’. Though it can be argued that 27.9% is a low percentage of pupils who consider that they understand the meaning of genocide, the data suggests that teaching of the Holocaust is a contributory factor to pupils’ understanding. Interview data showed that school B had included a lot of content on the contemporary nature of the Holocaust, making relevant links with human rights

issues and discussing the current situation of refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland, while school A had only touched upon it. It is possible that, depending on the methodology that is used, Holocaust education can have a greater contribution to one's understanding of genocide than shown in this study.

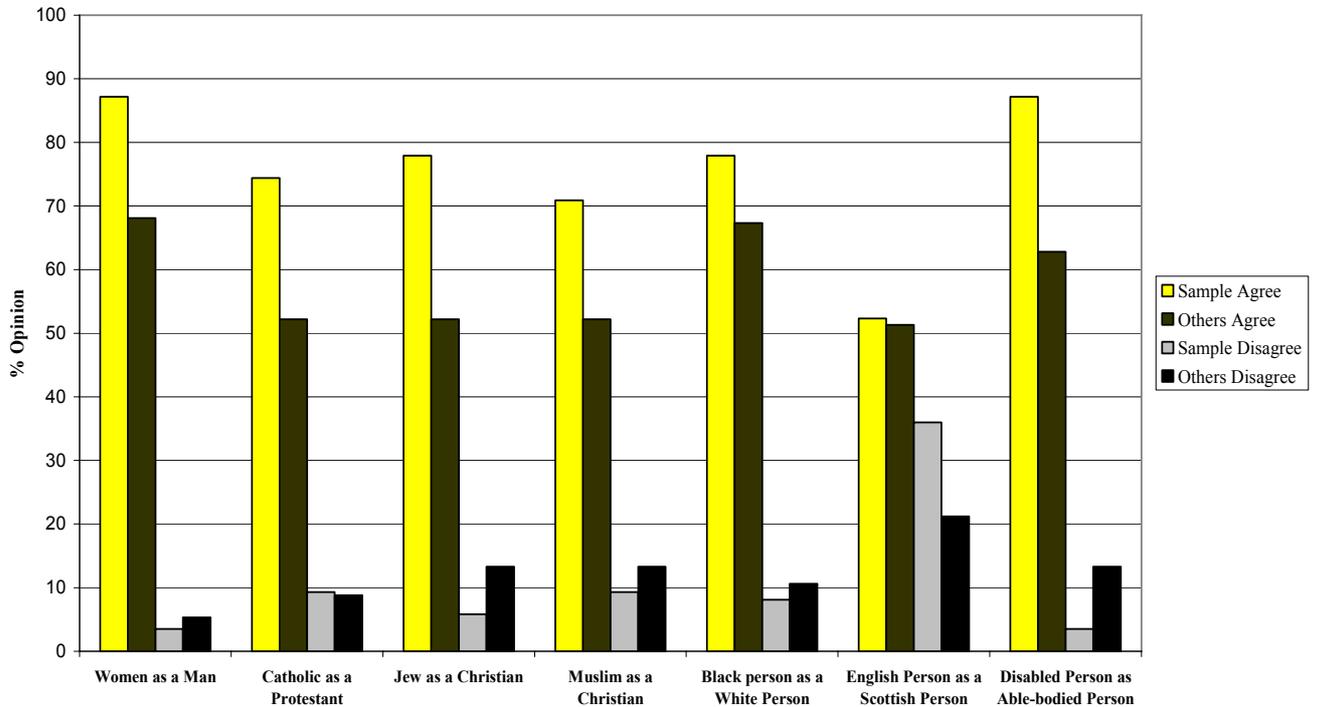
**Table 14: Pupils' perceived knowledge of genocide**



6.4 Comparing attitudes towards voting, Table 15 suggests that in every category, excepting the attitudes towards English people, our core sample is more tolerant by 10%-26%. There is a far larger number of the others in the 'don't know' category. Both core and 'others' share similar negative voting attitudes towards English people with an almost identical percentage of opinions.

**Table 15: Comparison of core sample and others- voting attitudes**

Survey 3 Results - Core Sample v Others:  
I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a ... as a ... for the Scottish Parliament.



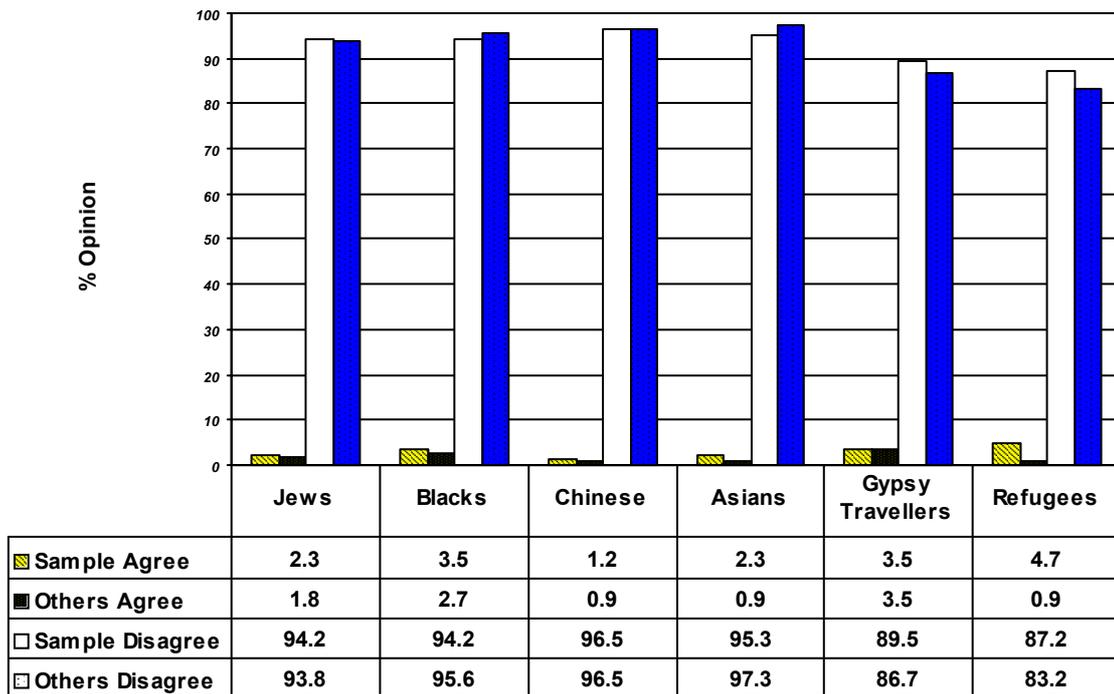
	<b>Women as a Man</b>	<b>Catholic as a Protestant</b>	<b>Jew as a Christian</b>	<b>Muslim as a Christian</b>	<b>Black Person as a White Person</b>	<b>English Person as a Scottish Person</b>	<b>Disabled Person as an Able-bodied Person</b>
<b>Sample Agree</b>	87.2	74.4	77.9	70.9	77.9	52.3	87.2
<b>Others Agree</b>	68.1	52.2	52.2	52.2	67.3	51.3	62.8
<b>Sample Disagree</b>	3.5	9.3	5.8	9.3	8.1	36	3.5
<b>Others Disagree</b>	5.3	8.8	13.3	13.3	10.6	21.2	13.3

6.5 In terms of two other groupings of questions, relating to the areas of making racist comments and attitudes towards the numbers of ethnic minorities in Scotland (Tables 16 and 17), there was no meaningful difference in the positive attitudes between the core sample and their peers, with a generally welcome high percentage showing ‘positive’ attitudes, albeit in Table 17, the attitudes towards refugees by both core

sample and others suggests that the general influences affecting attitudes towards refugees have been quite pervasive. However, more pupils from the core sample agreed that there were too many Jews and refugees in Scotland than the ‘others’.

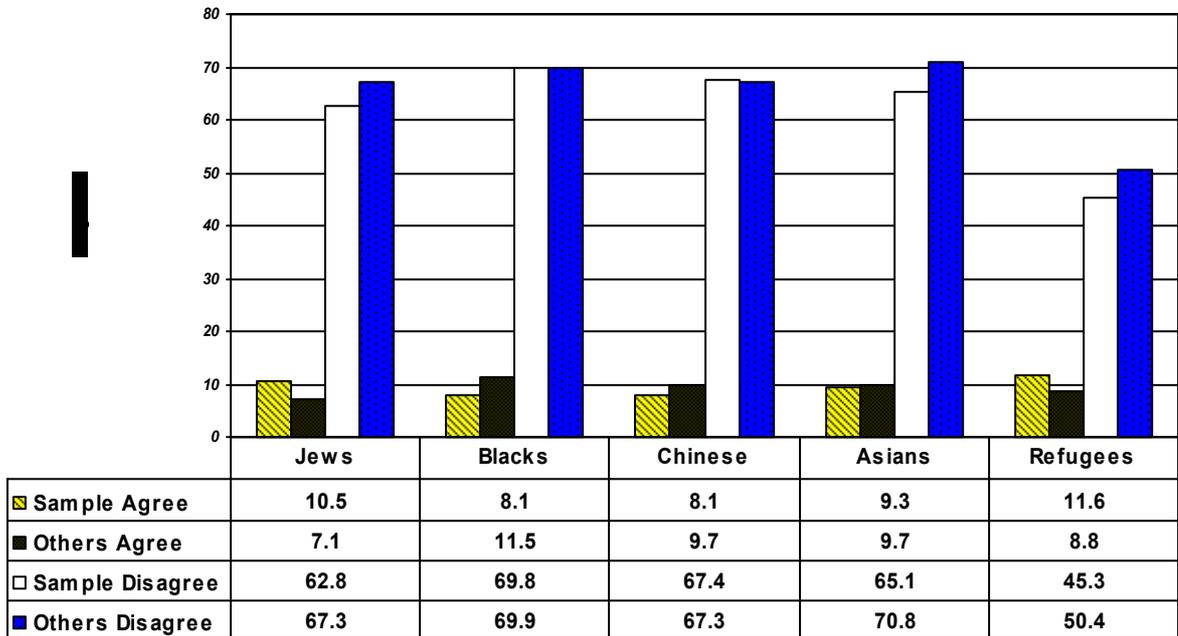
**Table 16: Comparison of core sample and others - Making racist comments**

**Survey 3 Results - Core Sample v Others:**  
**I think that it is ok for CHILDREN to make racist comments about ... people.**



**Table 17: Comparison of core sample and others - Too many in Scotland**

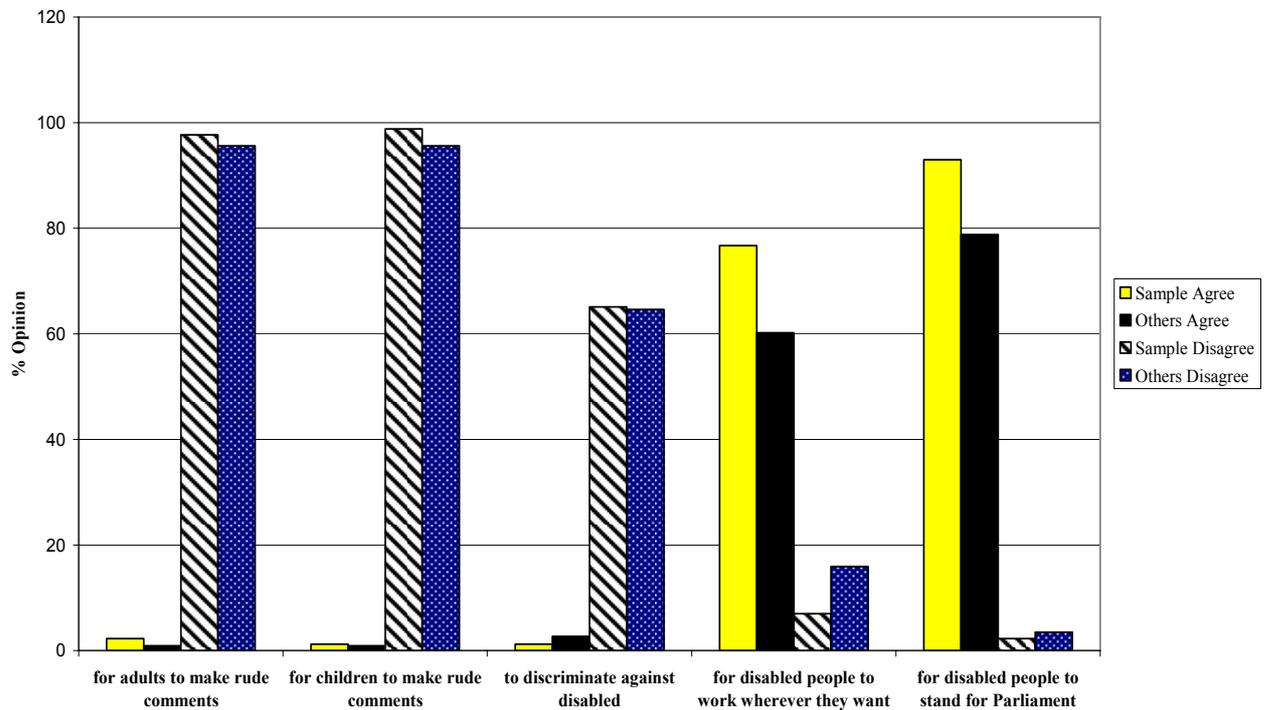
Survey 3 Results - Core Sample v Others:  
I think that there are too many ... in Scotland.



6.6 Attitudes towards disabled people continued to be positive in that the small gains that had been made (3.1.12, Table 7) regarding ‘making rude comments’ were maintained in survey 3 (Table 18), and that pupil disagreement with the statements on employment and election continued to rise. The exception to this positive trend was pupil disagreement with the statement on discrimination, as this fell to below the pre-Holocaust percentage and was similar to the attitudes of the ‘others’. Table 18 shows a 14%-16% differential between the core sample and the ‘others’ in the last two indices, again indicating more positive attitudes by the core sample.

**Table 18: Comparison of core sample and others- Attitudes to disabled people**

Survey 3 Results - Core Sample v Others: I think that it is ok ...

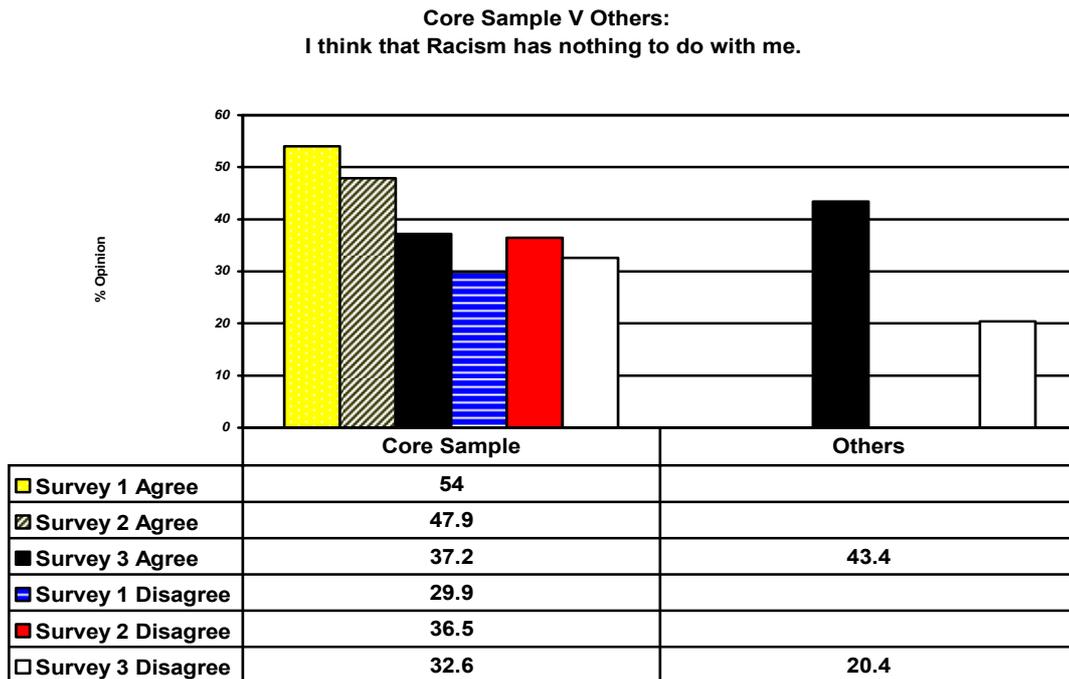


	for adults to make rude comments	for children to make rude comments	to discriminate against disabled	for disabled people to work wherever they want	for disabled people to stand for election to Parliament
<b>Sample Agree</b>	2.3	1.2	1.2	76.7	93
<b>Others Agree</b>	0.9	0.9	2.7	60.2	78.8
<b>Sample Disagree</b>	97.7	98.8	65.1	7	2.3
<b>Others Disagree</b>	95.6	95.6	64.6	15.9	3.5

6.7 Finally, we wanted to examine whether there was a difference towards potential involvement in opposing racism. We chose the statement ‘I think racism has nothing to do with me’ to try to gauge this. Table 19 compares the core sample and the ‘others’ in this. There is a difference between the core and ‘others’ group, with the

core sample having a smaller number agreeing with this statement and a larger number disagreeing with this statement. This suggests that the core sample have a greater understanding of individual responsibility for racism than the ‘others’.

**Table 19: Comparison of core sample and others - Racism has nothing to do with me**



## Section 7: Conclusions to Phase 2

- 7.1 In common with much research examining values and opinions, the results are not particularly clear cut. In some areas, there does seem in less than one year on to be a welcome maintaining of the positive dispositions ascertained in the immediate aftermath of the lessons on the Holocaust. Yet, it remains uneven; much tolerance and sympathy towards minorities is still held by our core sample, although they have ‘fallen back’ vis-à-vis their attitude towards numbers of minorities. However, in most categories, the attitudes were still better than they had been before the lessons on the Holocaust.
- 7.2 There is still a worrying hostility towards English people and it is something that needs to be watched and combated, although there is perhaps a need to understand that it is possible that the pupils have a quite sophisticated understanding of the differences between oppressed and oppressors and that Scottish pupils in particular do not perceive English people as fitting into the category of the oppressed. A further factor may be the perception of the Scottish Parliament as an institution for Scottish people, irrespective of their ethnicity (as stated in 3.1.8). Whatever the mix of complex reasons, it needs further investigation.
- 7.3 In terms of comparing the core sample with their peers, who had not had the opportunity to study the Holocaust, there is evidence, outlined above, that the core sample had stronger positive values, were more tolerant and were more disposed to active citizenship by their understanding of individual responsibility towards racism.

## Section 8: Recommendations

- 8.1 We again reiterate the dangers of over-generalising from this small-scale research. Nonetheless, the findings regarding pupil attitudes towards voting for English people to the Scottish Parliament, though not central to this research, are important in questioning the nature of prejudice and discrimination in the newly devolved Scotland, and in turn, the teaching of it in Scottish schools. This study recommends that there is further investigation into this and that in the short term, schools consider addressing these attitudes by including English people and other groups who may not be perceived to be victims, in anti-racist and anti-prejudice educational programmes.
- 8.2 While the evidence is not totally conclusive, it certainly suggests that learning about the Holocaust in the primary school can have both an immediate and lasting impact on pupils' values. This study's findings are that introducing Holocaust education in the upper primary stages contributes positively to citizenship targets that are central to the development of well-rounded young people. It follows that this study recommends that the Holocaust should be included in citizenship education programmes in the primary school.
- 8.3 The experience in countries where Holocaust education is compulsory in both primary and secondary sectors, e.g. France, has yet to be examined; as we have noted though, there has been a sharp increase in anti-Semitic incidents in France (1.5) However, this research suggests that at some stage in their education (perhaps as young as is deemed feasible), pupils should have the opportunity to undertake structured learning experiences about the Holocaust, generalised to reflect the various forms that racism

can take in society. It is also important to note that Holocaust education is vast and complex and its teaching to young learners in the primary school can at best be a meaningful introduction to the Holocaust to be consolidated and built upon in the secondary as exemplified by the LTS, 2000, and 2002 publications.

8.4 The above recommendations clearly have implications for both initial teacher education and continuing professional development. Consideration should be given to the vast number of Scottish teachers, which may also include teachers of History, who themselves have never studied the Holocaust as pupils at school or in higher education. If primary and secondary teachers are requested to or choose to teach the Holocaust, Scottish universities (i.e. Teacher Education Institutions) and educational authorities require to provide courses that include Holocaust education as part of their citizenship programmes at ITE (Initial Teacher Education) and CPD (Continuing Professional Development) levels.

8.5 We hope to return to the secondary school when the pupils are in third year to investigate whether attitudes have maintained or changed over a longer period of time. Nonetheless, we recognise that this will be problematic as all pupils will have learned about the Holocaust in the first two years of their secondary schooling.

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**Appendix 1: Key areas of Education for Citizenship that provide a suitable context for Holocaust education.**

- the legal and human rights and responsibilities of citizens, individually and collectively in a democratic society.
- barriers to full opportunity to exercise citizenship arising from socio-economic circumstances, prejudice and discrimination.
- the diversity of identities- religious, ethnic, cultural, regional, national- within Scotland, across the UK and worldwide, and the need for mutual respect, tolerance and understanding.
- the ability to respond in imaginative ways to social, moral and political situations and challenges, for example developing a personal response to a topical moral issue.
- the ability to consider and empathise with the experience and perspective of others.

(Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2002b, pp32 and 34)

## Appendix 2: Values and Attitudes Survey

Code:



# VALUES AND ATTITUDES SURVEY

- Do **not** write your name anywhere on the sheet.
- Please read the instructions carefully.
- Please read the questions carefully and tick the box you most agree with.
- Take your time.
- Be honest with your answers.
- There are no right or wrong answers.

**Please tick the correct box**

I am a boy

I am a girl

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**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION**

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The survey is split into 2 parts. These are Part 1 and Part 2. Please read the instructions for each part carefully.

**Part 1:** will ask you if you know the meaning of some words. If you know or understand what the word is, even if just a little then you should tick the **YES** box, and if you do not know or understand what a word is then you should tick the **NO** box.

**Example:**

		YES	NO
1	Do you know what the Holocaust is?	√	

**Part 2:** will give you a series of statements. You should read each statement carefully and if you agree with it then you should tick the **AGREE** box. If you disagree with the statement you should tick the **DISAGREE** box. If you are unsure or don't understand the statement you should tick the **DON'T KNOW** box.

In section 2 there is a section at the bottom of each page for you to make any comments about certain questions. You do not have to make comments but if you would like to say something about a particular question then please feel free to write it here.

**Example:**

		Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
1	I think that children have human rights.	√		

**Comments:**

## PART 1

		YES	NO
1	Do you know what <b>HUMAN RIGHTS</b> are?		
2	Do you know what <b>RACISM</b> is?		
3	Do you know what a <b>RACIST</b> is?		
4	Do you know what a <b>REFUGEE</b> is?		
5	Do you know what a <b>GYPSY TRAVELLER</b> is?		
6	Do you know what the <b>HOLOCAUST</b> is?		
7	Do you know what <b>'TRIAL-BY-JURY'</b> is?		
8	Do you know what <b>ANTI-SEMITISM</b> is?		
9	Do you know what <b>GENOCIDE</b> is?		

## **PART 2**

		<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
1	I think we should learn about the Holocaust at primary school.			
2	I think I should learn more about the Holocaust.			
3	I think I would like to find out more about the Holocaust.			
4	I think human rights are as important now as they were during the Holocaust.			
5	I think that it is important that everyone respects human rights.			
6	I think that it is important that I defend people's human rights.			
7	I think it is sometimes ok for human rights to be broken.			
8	I think that newspapers and magazines should be allowed to publish racist articles.			

**Comments:**

		<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
9	I think that newspapers and magazines should be allowed to publish anything they want.			
10	I think that all adults should have the right to have their points of view heard.			
11	I think that it is ok for adults to make racist comments about Jews.			
12	I think that it is ok for adults to make racist comments about Blacks.			
13	I think that it is ok for adults to make racist comments about Asians.			
14	I think that it is ok for adults to make racist comments about Chinese people.			
15	I think that it is ok for adults to make racist comments about Gypsy Travellers.			
16	I think that it is ok for adults to make racist comments about Refugees.			

**Comments:**

		Agree	Disagree	Don't know
17	I think that all children should have the right to have their points of view heard.			
18	I think that it is ok for children to make racist comments about Jews.			
19	I think that it is ok for children to make racist comments about Blacks.			
20	I think that it is ok for children to make racist comments about Asians.			
21	I think that it is ok for children to make racist comments about Chinese people.			
22	I think that it is ok for children to make racist comments about Gypsy Travellers.			
23	I think that it is ok for children to make racist comments about Refugees.			
24	I think that all Racists have the right to have their points of view heard.			

**Comments:**

		<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
25	I think that racism has nothing to do with me.			
26	I think that it is important that everyone challenges racism.			
27	I think that it is important that I try to prevent racism.			
28	I think that racist people should be allowed to organise meetings.			
29	I think that the Government should protect all people from racism.			
30	I think that racist teachers should be sacked.			
31	I think that racist policemen should be sacked.			
32	I think that the police should be allowed to arrest people without evidence.			

**Comments:**

		Agree	Disagree	Don't know
33	I think that the police should be able to listen to private conversations.			
34	I think that everyone has the right to trial-by-jury.			
35	I think that genocide in other countries has nothing to do with me.			
36	I think that the Government should act to stop genocide in other countries.			
37	I think that there are too many Jews in Scotland.			
38	I think that there are too many Blacks in Scotland.			
39	I think that there are too many Asians in Scotland.			
40	I think that there are too many Chinese people in Scotland.			

**Comments:**

		Agree	Disagree	Don't know
41	I think that there are too many Jews in the UK.			
42	I think that there are too many Blacks in the UK.			
43	I think that there are too many Asians in the UK.			
44	I think that there are too many Chinese people in the UK.			
45	I think that there are too many refugees in Scotland.			
46	I think that there are too many refugees in the UK.			
47	I think that all refugees should be sent back to their own countries.			
48	I think that we should help all refugees by letting them stay in Scotland.			

**Comments:**

		<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
49	I think that it is ok for adults to make rude comments about disabled people.			
50	I think that it is ok for children to make rude comments about disabled people.			
51	I think that it is ok to discriminate against disabled people.			
52	I think that disabled people should be allowed to work wherever they want.			
53	I think that it is ok for disabled people to stand for election to the Scottish Parliament.			
54	I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a woman as a man for the Scottish Parliament.			
55	I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a Catholic as a Protestant for the Scottish Parliament.			

**Comments:**

		<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
56	I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a Jew as a Christian for the Scottish Parliament.			
57	I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a Muslim as a Christian for the Scottish Parliament.			
58	I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a disabled person as an able-bodied person for the Scottish Parliament.			
59	I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a Black person as a White person for the Scottish Parliament.			
60	I think that I would be just as likely to vote for an English person as a Scottish person for the Scottish Parliament.			
61	I think that there should be more women leaders in the Scottish Parliament.			

<p><b>Comments:</b></p>          
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**THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE SURVEY**

### **Appendix 3: Additional questions in Survey 2**

#### **Part A**

Do you know what anti-Semitism is?

Do you know what genocide is?

#### **Part B**

I think it is ok for adults to make racist comments about refugees.

I think it is ok for children to make racist comments about refugees.

I think that I would be just as likely to vote for a disabled person as an able bodied person for the Scottish Parliament.

#### **Appendix 4: Interview Questions**

- Explain your plan of this topic.
- What was the timescale of this topic?
- What teaching methodologies did you use?
- What core resources did you use?
- What supplementary/extended resources did you use?
- Is Judaism taught in your school? If so was it integrated into your Holocaust teaching?
- Did you make any connection between teaching the Holocaust and Holocaust Memorial Day?

## Appendix 5: Dissemination of results

### a. Conference papers

- ‘Changing Attitudes?: Does learning about the Holocaust in primary school have an impact on pupils’ citizenship values after their transition to secondary?’ SERA, November 2005.
- ‘Challenging Discrimination: Does Holocaust education in the primary years have an effect on pupils’ citizenship values in their first year of secondary schooling?’, *Children’s Identity and Citizenship in Europe* conference, Ljubljana, May 2005.
- ‘Never Again!: Does Holocaust education have an effect on pupils’ citizenship values and attitudes?’, *SEED* conference, Edinburgh, January 2005.
- ‘One Country, Many Cultures!: Does Holocaust education have an impact on pupils’ citizenship values and attitudes?’, *SERA*, Perth, November 2004 (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00003838.htm>).
- ‘One Country, Many Cultures!: Does Holocaust education have an impact on pupils’ citizenship values and attitudes?’, *Children’s Identity and Citizenship in Europe* conference, Krakow, May 2004. (Published in Ross, A. (2004) *Experiences of Citizenship* (London, CiCe)

### b. Research seminars.

- ‘Never Again!: Does Holocaust education have an impact on pupils’ citizenship values and attitudes?’, University of Strathclyde Faculty of Education, March 16, 2005.
- ‘Holocaust Studies and School Education’, University of Paisley School of Education, May 11, 2005

### c. Articles submitted to refereed journals

- ‘One Country, Many Cultures!: Does Holocaust education have an impact on pupils’ citizenship values and attitudes?’, *Scottish Educational Review* (Vol. 37, No. 2 (November 2005) pp. 104-115 (ISSN 0141-9072)
- ‘Challenging Discrimination: Does Holocaust education in the primary years have an effect on pupils’ citizenship values in their first year of secondary schooling?’, *Educational Review* (submitted May 2005, forthcoming August 2007).

**d. Future conferences**

- International Association of Genocide Scholars, May 2007.
- European Educational Research Association, September 2006.