

# FEATURE OR FOOTNOTE? TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE TEACHING OF THE HOLOCAUST IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND

PAULA COWAN AND HENRY MAITLES

---

## SYNOPSIS

The question of teaching controversial and difficult issues in primary schools remains itself controversial. This article discusses the area of teaching the Holocaust in primary schools in Scotland by examining its relevance to the primary curriculum and reporting on survey and interview research amongst a sample of primary teachers in Scotland. Based on limited research, this paper suggests that the Holocaust is appropriate for primary pupils, provides insight into the reactions of parents and colleagues and shows that Holocaust history in Scottish primary schools is set firmly within the contexts of Anne Frank and World War Two. We find that there are significant barriers to its teaching, yet these mostly can be successfully overcome.

## INTRODUCTION

The Holocaust, the attempted genocide of European Jewry culminating in some 11-12 million deaths, evokes for most people the ultimate in inhumanity and barbarism. Even now, more than fifty years after the liberation of the camps, the Holocaust refuses to disappear as an issue. The number of Holocaust museums and memorials has mushroomed around the world and many countries are supporting the establishment of Holocaust Memorial Days. While these measures are generally welcomed, there are also many areas of controversy surrounding the Holocaust, for example, aspects of German 'guilt', the vexed questions relating to aged Holocaust perpetrators being tried for war crimes, issues around stolen Jewish property, legal issues relating to Holocaust denial as shown in the recent Irving/Lipstadt libel case and many other aspects of the persecution.

Another indication of the importance of the Holocaust has been its inclusion as a topic area in curricula across the world. It is compulsory in the school syllabus of several countries, such as Belgium, England and Wales and parts of Germany, and it is officially encouraged in many other countries, such as Netherlands and some states in the USA. However, although included in the National Curriculum in England, it does not generally have a high profile and there is evidence that it is perceived by some teachers as being of relatively low status (Brown and Davies, 1998). Indeed, there is also evidence which suggests that its teaching can be of a poor quality, due to a mixture of this low status, lack of teacher enthusiasm for the area and a lack of knowledge in the area by teachers (Totten and Feinberg, 1995; Brown and Davies, 1998). On the other hand, Brown and Davies (1998) and Maitles and Cowan (1999) commend many of the approaches and lessons which are employed.

In Scotland, without the National Curriculum but with 5-14 guidelines and a crowded curriculum, there is relatively limited teaching of the Holocaust. The '5-14 Guidelines' do not include Holocaust teaching at any stage in its curriculum, or indeed prescribe any particular area of history. It follows that Holocaust education has an even lower profile in Scotland than in England and Wales. The omission of the Holocaust in the Scottish curriculum has inevitably led to its teaching being restricted, but it has not prevented teachers who wish to teach aspects of the Holocaust from doing so, or head teachers who are keen that it be taught in their schools from encouraging its teaching. Where there is such interest and/or encouragement the topic

is indeed taken up. In the secondary sector, English departments often study the Diary of Anne Frank; teachers of Religious and Moral Education regularly discuss issues relating to Judaism or bigotry; History/Social Studies curricula often include World War Two and human rights; courses in PSE may examine human rights abuses. The latter is likely to increase as European legislation on Human Rights, now incorporated into Scots law, and forthcoming proposals for Citizenship education begin to have an impact on schools. With some exceptions, however, the teaching is characterised by a lack of co-ordination and departments which teach the Holocaust may not know whether it is being taught elsewhere in the school.

#### THE HOLOCAUST IN THE PRIMARY CURRICULUM

At what age to raise controversial or disturbing issues is itself controversial. There is research which suggests that young children acquire both prejudices and notions of fairness long before secondary education. Indeed, reports in the Scottish Press (*The Herald*, December 2, 1998) suggest that racism is an issue in the primary sector. An internal report to Edinburgh Council Education Committee, which received an 83% return from schools, has noted that over 75% of reported racist incidents have been from primary schools (*The Herald*, December 4, 1998). It has been argued that the primary school plays a particularly important role in countering anti-Semitism, based on the assumption that prejudice can be eradicated more easily if it is tackled before children 'acquire a vested interest in retaining it.' (Short and Carrington, 1995). There is evidence that children of 10-11 years of age articulate negative stereotypes of Jewish people (Short and Carrington, 1995) and that children of the same age have heard anti-Semitic myths (Short, 1991). Short and Carrington (1996) additionally claim that several primary children bring anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jewish people to the classroom.

It can be claimed that Holocaust education is too difficult and/or inappropriate for younger pupils. However, there are some excellent resources for young adults, such as 'Schindler's List' and there have also been some resources developed specifically for the primary school, for example, teaching packs and videos from the Anne Frank Educational Trust. The fact that over 75% of the 128 Scottish schools attending the 'Anne Frank in the World Exhibition' when it came to Glasgow in 1994 came from the primary sector and the regular attendance of primary teachers at staff development courses on the Holocaust suggest that there are primary teachers who hold to the idea that Holocaust education can and should start before secondary.

There are many reasons other than pupil maturity why Holocaust education should be undertaken in the primary school. Firstly, the primary school offers a wider possibility to incorporate a cross-curricular, multi-disciplinary approach and primary teachers are more at ease with incorporating drama, arts and crafts, moral issues, human rights and so on into the topic. Supple (1993) noted that this type of methodology encourages debate and reflection and this has been seen more recently by Maitles and Cowan (1999). Hence, teaching of the Holocaust in primary school can be approached in a similar manner to teaching other cross-curricular topics, using appropriate material (Supple, 1991; Maitles and Cowan, 1999). It has been argued, indeed, that methodology is the key to the development of learning around virtually any issue no matter how complex (Bruner, 1960; Short, Supple and Klinger, 1998). Secondly, the primary school offers continuity, with primary teachers having the flexibility to respond to pupils and to follow up their lesson the next day. Timetable constraints of secondary teachers cannot provide this immediate facility; secondary pupils may not see the relevant teacher for a few days or more. Thirdly, Holocaust education is clearly relevant to a number of modes of the extant and proposed 5-14 curriculum areas, such as Social Subjects sections of Environmental Studies 5-14, 'People in the Past' and 'People in Society' (SOED, 1993a), the Personal Search

sections of Religious Education for both denominational and non-denominational schools (SOED, 1992; SOED, 1994) and self-awareness and self-esteem components in Personal and Social Development (SOED, 1993b). Finally, some teaching of the Holocaust in the upper primary can clarify points of information and provide many learning experiences as outlined above, which can only help towards pupil understanding of complex issues in later studies.

#### METHODOLOGY

Evidence was gathered from two investigations. The first investigated the practice of Holocaust education in primary schools in Scotland. Questionnaires were sent to forty primary schools, encompassing the six divisions in the former Strathclyde Region, to ascertain teachers' attitudes towards Holocaust education in the primary school, reasons teachers have for not teaching the Holocaust, and the availability of suitable teaching resources. The sample was structured to ensure that it included both denominational and non-denominational schools and schools in different socio-economic areas. Within these constraints, selection of schools was random except for three schools which were included in the sample for specific reasons. One school, with a significant number of children from families of Asian origin, was chosen because of a teacher's known commitment to Holocaust education. Two other inner city Glasgow schools, also with a large number of pupils from families of Asian origin, were chosen to ensure a better multicultural balance. The sample comprised 10 denominational (Catholic) schools and 30 non-denominational schools. Schools were sent two identical questionnaires with the request that, where possible, one was to be completed by a promoted teacher and the other by an unpromoted teacher of the primary 5-7 stages. This was to achieve a broad viewpoint of Holocaust education in the primary sector. The questionnaire was clearly sectioned and included open, closed, ranked and scaled responses. Many closed questions included an 'other' category to allow respondents to express an alternative view or idea. This was an attempt to obtain data other than the 'superficial information' which Munn and Drever (1990, p. 9) claim is a disadvantage of the questionnaire method. Questionnaires were sent out during the 50th commemorative year of the end of World War Two. This bears relevance to the research as the Holocaust was at that time the focus of numerous articles, and programmes by the media, and of community events and exhibitions. Furthermore, when the questionnaires were issued, primary teachers had more flexibility over the choice of topics taught than they do today. Since 1995, several educational authorities have introduced topic grids to schools that prescribe the topics to be taught at each primary stage. If World War Two is not included in these grids it is unlikely that the Holocaust will be taught in primary schools in these areas.

The second piece of research, following on from the first, investigated the elements of 'good Holocaust teaching' in the primary school and barriers to its teaching through face-to-face in-depth interviews. This methodology was chosen as it allowed opportunities to follow up points made in the questionnaires. The eight teachers who were selected for interview had either responded to the previous questionnaire on teachers attitudes, and/or were teachers who had submitted children's work on the Holocaust for the Good at Heart exhibition organised by the University of Strathclyde in 1995, or 50 Years On, a creative language and drawing competition organised by the Scottish Association of Jewish Teachers, also in 1995. Three had no experience of teaching the Holocaust in depth. The five remaining teachers had taught the Holocaust regularly and/or effectively as a topic over the period of a term. This sample is not representative of the ethnic mix of schools in Scotland. The schools involved included two with predominantly white pupils and

two with a large number of pupils from ethnic minority families. The remaining four schools had an ethnic mix. One school had a small number of Jewish pupils. The teachers were female and worked in non-denominational schools. Each had more than ten years of primary teaching experience; three were senior teachers. It is worth noting that Holocaust history is taught to primary pupils as school policy in Calderwood Lodge, the Scottish Jewish primary school, but no teachers from this school were included in the investigation as it was considered atypical.

Interviews were structured in that precise wording was determined in advance for the key questions, points were explored in the same sequence, and prepared prompts were used to expand on the key questions (see Appendix). Open-ended questions were used to put respondents at ease, to obtain detailed responses following the interviewer's prompts and to allow a more personal response (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1990, p.39). Interviews were held over a period of two months. Excepting one interview that was held in the interviewee's home, interviews took place at school and where possible, occurred after hours at the end of the school day to allow respondents the opportunity to consider questions without interruption. Three interviews were conducted during school hours; at lunch-time, or during an assembly. Hence time constraints limited the scope of this investigation. Interviews lasting approximately 45 minutes, were recorded on tape and transcribed.

Despite attempts to reach five teachers who had expressed in the questionnaires a lack of interest in Holocaust history or had viewed it as inappropriate for primary pupils, they were unwilling to be included in the interview sample. Hence teachers interviewed had a degree of interest in Holocaust education and were not entirely negative towards its delivery, in some form, in the primary school.

#### FINDINGS OF QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Twenty-four schools (52% of those approached) returned a total of 42 questionnaires: eighteen schools returned two questionnaires and a further six schools returned one questionnaire.

In response to the question 'How valuable is the study of the Holocaust for primary children?', 37 respondents (88%) viewed Holocaust teaching to be either 'worthwhile' or 'very valuable' to the primary pupil, although only 20 (48%) of them had actually taught it. Two respondents who indicated that it was 'very valuable' specified that pupils should 'be made aware of it' but not taught it in depth. Teachers who indicated that the Holocaust has 'little value' expressed concerns as to its suitability for primary pupils. This shows the contrasting opinions amongst teachers as to the degree and place of Holocaust education in the primary school, although it is possible that Holocaust Memorial Day may alter aspects of these viewpoints. Those teachers who did not teach the Holocaust gave as the main reasons for not doing so their feeling that it was not suitable for primary pupils and the lack of appropriate classroom resources. Table 1 shows a variety of reasons for not teaching the Holocaust in the primary school.

Although indicated by only three teachers as a reason for not teaching the Holocaust, the issue of the way World War Two is taught deserves further examination as evidence showed World War Two to be a popular topic amongst upper primary teachers. Thirty-four teachers of the sample had taught World War Two for a term, but 14 had not included any reference to the Holocaust in their study. They viewed the teaching of World War Two from the British or home front perspective to be sufficient. Possible explanations for this are the abundance and availability of appropriate teaching materials on the Home Front, school traditions of World War Two as a Home Front topic, the Home Front being a more cheerful area of focus than the sad events of the Holocaust, and teacher perception that the Home Front is easier for primary pupils to relate to than the Holocaust with its emotive content. Even

Table 1: Reasons for not teaching the Holocaust

TYPE OF REASON	NUMBER OF TEACHERS
Don't usually teach the P5-7 rang	4
Think it unsuitable for the primary	7
Lack of appropriate resources	8
Am busy with other topics	3
No time in timetable	1
Not essential in 5-14	1
Variety of other reasons	7
<b>The 'other' reasons were:</b>	
The Holocaust is taught by the primary 6 or 7 teacher.	
World War Two is taught from the Home Front perspective.	
The school policy on teaching other topics.	
The Holocaust involves difficult concepts for children to understand.	

within this, however, it would be possible to use events such as 'kindertransport', as a way of introducing the Holocaust. As many such child refugees were adopted in Scotland, this would have particular relevance for Scottish pupils.

Teachers in denominational schools shared the same viewpoints as teachers in non-denominational schools as to the value of teaching the Holocaust. However, as regards reasons for not teaching the Holocaust, four of the eight respondents in denominational schools indicated that they viewed the Holocaust as 'unsuitable for the primary', a response chosen by only three of the 34 respondents in non-denominational schools. Additional written comments included the following: 'I feel a lot of discussion and consideration is needed before I would be convinced that an in-depth study is suitable for primary pupils'; and 'I feel a school policy on this is needed. I feel that our children are, through the media, exposed to enough horror in the modern day, without looking back'. A third teacher claimed that 'parental views might be sought before embarking on this subject'. Another stated that:

I do not think that it (the Holocaust) should be ignored or by-passed but I don't see the Holocaust as having a place in the primary or early secondary. However, I think children should be aware of man's inhumanity to man and have used the horror (of the Holocaust) as a lesson that humans are still learning from their mistakes.

Only one teacher in a denominational school had taught the Holocaust and she had not made it a focus of study. Another teacher in a denominational school was intending to teach the Holocaust the following year. For one teacher in this group a study of the Holocaust was not seriously considered, since parents had requested that their children be withdrawn from visiting a Jewish place of worship. The very small numbers involved in the present study prevent clear conclusions being drawn on particular barriers to teaching the Holocaust existing in denominational schools. However, further research may be justified to explore this question more fully.

#### FINDINGS OF INTERVIEWS

##### *Attitudes of teachers who were interviewed*

All of the teachers who 'touched' on the Holocaust in class, agreed that the Holocaust should be taught in the primary school. No-one expressed the view that it was either

unsuitable or of little value to primary pupils. It is possible that these teachers were not entirely honest in their responses and that the desire to give the socially correct answer or please the researcher may cast some doubt on the validity of responses. All those interviewed could express legitimate reasons for not teaching the Holocaust as a topic. These included being unsure of how to tackle racist issues in the classroom, and the Holocaust not being a prescribed topic in their school. For further evidence of positive values that can be engendered by teaching the Holocaust, see Cowan and Maitles (1999) and Maitles and Cowan (1999).

Interest amongst teachers who taught the Holocaust varied from having a strong commitment to its teaching to having an initial fleeting interest in the subject. The former type was expressed by a senior teacher whose remit was multicultural education, and Religious and Moral education. Her belief in 'conflict resolution, multicultural and antiracist education' led to her commitment to teach the Holocaust. One other teacher's personal interest in the Holocaust fuelled her teaching.

In contrast, two teachers were given the topic, "Into Hiding", to teach by their head teacher. They had no prior knowledge of the topic or particular interest in it. As they taught it, they developed an interest. They stated that one of the reasons why they teach the Holocaust is because they, as teachers, enjoy doing so. Due to their newly found interest, they regularly teach it when they are allocated a primary 6 or 7 class. They also advise, and offer support to colleagues in their schools, who wish to teach the Holocaust. Again, without wishing to take too much from such a small scale study, those interviewed suggest that established teacher interest in the Holocaust is not necessary for its effective teaching. Some teachers bring their interest in the Holocaust to the primary classroom, but others acquire an interest while embarking on the topic.

#### *Attitudes of colleagues*

Teachers who taught the Holocaust as a topic found that most colleagues were supportive. There were no overt negative responses from colleagues. One teacher reported an initial degree of uncertainty by one of her colleagues:

When we were doing it with P6 there were three classes teaching it. One teacher wasn't keen to do it because she thought it was very sad - and was a bit scared of doing the topic. At the end of it she had to admit that she really enjoyed it and found it so worthwhile. She found it so much easier to teach although she had many reservations which she didn't voice at the beginning.

Another class teacher, whose additional remit is multicultural/antiracist education, reported indifference amongst her colleagues. In contrast to the previous example that showed teachers working on this topic together, this teacher taught the Holocaust to her class while her stage partners teach other topics, i.e. her class was the only class in the school to study the Holocaust.

I find my colleagues are not interested-even although they see me doing it regularly. It's unusual because for the rest of the multicultural things they are using all of that but they are not interested in the Holocaust. I haven't had a lot of positive feedback. Nobody's really asked me about it actually.

Given that this topic is established in the school, resources are readily available, and staff are likely to be aware of the success of this topic, this response is disappointing. One possible explanation for this is that habitual teaching of the Holocaust prompted other teachers to choose an alternative topic. Personality clashes amongst teachers may also have contributed to their lack of interest. However, some interest was shown by stage partner teachers when they and their classes listened to a talk by a Holocaust survivor.

### *Attitudes of promoted staff*

The attitude of senior management in the school can be of central importance. Two class teachers from the interview sample who regularly teach the Holocaust were encouraged to teach the topic study, *Into Hiding*, by their head teachers. These class teachers had no prior knowledge or particular interest in the Holocaust. They developed an interest through their teaching. However, other respondents said that they had not been supported by their senior managers. One teacher commented, 'None of the management team really show any interest to any extent' and another recalled, 'They weren't really bothered that much about it because it wasn't causing a problem'.

Teachers who only 'touched' on the Holocaust anticipated uncertainty and opposition from senior management if they embarked on an in-depth study of the Holocaust through Anne Frank or alternative methodology. One commented, 'I think she (the head teacher) would feel that it would be not a wise thing to do' and another, 'Our head teacher mainly decides on the prescribed topics. If I made a big case for it he might agree as a trial for one year. I'm not saying that he wouldn't agree.'

A change of opinion occurred in one school whose head teacher did not permit a class teacher who had previously successfully taught *Into Hiding* to teach it again. The head teacher instructed the teacher to teach a new topic which turned out to be poorly designed. Although the class teacher now teaches a lower stage of the primary, the head teacher has since allowed *Into Hiding* to be taught to the primary 6 classes. The teacher concerned was influential in this change of decision and advises her colleagues in this study.

### *Parental Attitudes*

According to the teachers interviewed, feedback from parents whose children were studying the Holocaust was mainly positive. One teacher reported that parents had commented on the high rate of pupil enjoyment, interest and involvement and were impressed with the quantity of information that their child/children had absorbed. The teacher, a substantial number of whose pupils were from families of Asian origin, stated:

A number of parents on parents' night, said that they were really pleased about their children doing this topic. It's surprising that people have assumptions about Muslim parents being antagonistic to it when that wasn't the case at all. Literally not one parent. I teach other topics and I don't get any feedback, but I taught this and I got four, five, six parents saying that they were really pleased about it.

Less positive feedback occurred when a parent from another school, asked the teacher why she was teaching this particular topic. Her concerns about her child learning about war and Judaism were overcome when the teacher explained that it was school policy to cover all the major religions. Another parent had contacted the school after her daughter had been upset by something said by a Holocaust survivor who spoke to the class. As this was the only complaint received, the teacher continued to use the speaker in subsequent years. The teacher reported that no further complaints have been made. The question of how to deal with controversial and upsetting areas is an important one; in common with other topics, such as slavery or the Highland Clearances, events of the Holocaust can upset, but can also be uplifting.

These examples show that although parental attitudes to teaching the Holocaust in the primary, tend to be positive, some parents have reservations about particular aspects. The fact that the Holocaust has since been taught, or is expected to be taught in the next session in four out of these five schools, by teachers other than

those interviewed for this research, suggests that colleagues are developing positive attitudes to its teaching, and that parents can be convinced that this topic is suitable for their children.

The teacher who taught in a multi-ethnic school with a significant number of pupils whose families happen to be of Saudi Arabian origin anticipated more problematic responses in the event of teaching Holocaust history as a topic. She considered that parents would object on the grounds that she was 'expressing a point of view about the Jewish state that they would be very much against'. Whilst this was the teacher's perception rather than actual parental response, this perception itself would colour the school's attitudes towards Holocaust education. In contrast, a teacher from another school whose pupils were mainly from families of Asian origin had received favourable parental responses. In this case the teacher considered that parents were happy that it was being taught, because their children identified strongly with its content. For example, Anne Frank's ancestry had prompted pupils to investigate their own backgrounds. The teacher recalled:

One child found out lots about his background because of the Anne Frank topic. He saw himself as a Pakistani Muslim, but found out that his grandfather had fought in the Indian army. He hadn't known that his family had originally come from India. His parents and grandparents appreciated that this was being taught in the school.

Whether other primary schools are afraid to teach the Holocaust because of potential parental hostility is an issue worthy of further investigation. It should be noted that the success of Into Hiding in the school whose pupils are predominantly from families of Asian origin, has initiated discussion of this topic being included in the school's prescribed topic grid.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This small-scale study shows contrasting views among primary teachers as to the place of Holocaust history in the primary curriculum. As the Holocaust is not specifically included in the national 5-14 curriculum, its teaching is reliant on those teachers who, when allocated a senior class, choose to teach it and are allowed to do so. Established teacher interest in the Holocaust is not vital as teachers may acquire interest while embarking on the topic. This study points to the importance of head teachers' attitudes to Holocaust teaching, as most teachers who had taught the Holocaust mentioned doing so with the encouragement of their head teachers.

Barriers to teaching the Holocaust in the primary sector include the established practice of teaching World War Two exclusively through the Home Front perspective, a lack of Holocaust teaching resources for the primary age group, teachers' lack of interest in this period of history and the view expressed by some teachers that the Holocaust is an unsuitable topic for primary pupils. While it would not be appropriate to generalise from such a small study, further research may be justified into whether there may be particular barriers to teaching the Holocaust in denominational schools.

Parental feedback to teachers on Holocaust teaching was, in the main, positive with any parental concerns usually being easily resolved by the class teacher. Although most teacher colleagues were supportive, indifference and lack of interest were reported in one school.

The findings of this study suggest a requirement for further in-service on teaching the Holocaust that includes tackling 'difficult' concepts, such as prejudice, discrimination, man's inhumanity to man, dealing with anti-Semitism in particular, as well as racism in general, and examining relevant teaching materials. With the current curricular constraints, if the Holocaust is to be more widely taught, it will



be vital to overcome teachers' concerns as to its suitability for primary pupils and to familiarise them with effective teaching materials. In the wake of the McPherson Report and evidence of positive values being developed by pupils studying the Holocaust (Maitles and Cowan, 1999), teaching the Holocaust should not only be a way of commemorating the genocide that took place at that time, but a positive development for education and society in general.

#### REFERENCES

- Brown, M. and Davies, I. (1998) The Holocaust and Education for Citizenship. *Educational Review*, 50, 75-83.
- Cowan, P. and Maitles, H. (1999) *Promoting Positive Values: teaching the Holocaust in Scottish primaries*. Paper presented at the Scottish Educational Research Association Annual Conference, October 1999, Education On-line (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00001208.htm>).
- Fraenkel, J.R. and Wallen, N.E. (1990) *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*. McGraw Hill: New York.
- Maitles, H. and Cowan, P. (1999) Teaching the Holocaust in Primary Schools in Scotland: modes, methodology and content, *Educational Review*, 51, 263-271.
- Munn, P. and Drever, E. (1990) *Using Questionnaires in Small-Scale Research: a teacher's guide*. S.C.R.E.: Edinburgh.
- Rendell, F. (1987) *Into Hiding*. Glasgow: Jordanhill College Sales and Publications
- SOED (1992) *National Guidelines: Religious and Moral Education 5-14*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- SOED (1993a) *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5-14*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- SOED (1993b) *National Guidelines: Personal and Social Development 5-14*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- SOED (1994) *National Guidelines: Religious Education 5-14 in Roman Catholic Schools*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- Short, G. (1991a) Teaching the Holocaust: some reflections on a problematic area. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 14, 28-34.
- Short, G. & Carrington, B. (1995) Anti-Semitism and the Primary School: children's perceptions of Jewish culture and identity. *Research in Education*, 54, 14-24.
- Short, G. & Carrington, B. (1996) Antiracist education, multiculturalism and the new racism. *Educational Review*, 48, 65-77.
- Short, G., Supple, C. & Klinger, K. (1998) *The Holocaust in the School Curriculum: a European Perspective*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Strathclyde Regional Council (1990) *Tackling Racist Incidents within the Education Service*. Glasgow: Strathclyde Regional Council.
- Supple, C. (1991) *The Teaching of the Nazi Holocaust in North Tyneside, Newcastle and Northumberland Schools: a report*. Newcastle: North Tyneside MBA.
- Supple, C. (1993) *From Prejudice to Genocide: learning about the Holocaust*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.
- Totten, S. and Feinberg, S. (1995) Teaching about the Holocaust. *Social Education*, 59, 323-333.

#### APPENDIX

##### *Interview question*

1. Why do you teach the Holocaust?

*Prompt: What stages have you taught the Holocaust?*

2. How do you teach the Holocaust?

(a) Which mode do you use?

(b) What methodology do you use?

*Prompts: Did your pupils have any previous knowledge of the Holocaust?*

*Which stage do you prefer to teach the Holocaust?*

*How long do you spend teaching the Holocaust?*

*What aspects do you focus on?*

*Are there any aspects that you omit?*

3. What feedback — positive and negative — have you received from parents?
4. What feedback — positive and negative — have you received from colleagues?

*Prompt: Does your school set prescribed topics that are to be taught at each stage or can teachers freely select a topic?*

5. What support, resources do you use?
6. What additional resources would be helpful?

*Prompt: Videos, fiction books, worksheets?*

7. Is there anything you wish to add?