

**UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER**

Refugee Engagement with Holocaust Education – an Exploration

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Doctor of Philosophy

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This Thesis has been completed as a requirement for a postgraduate research degree of the  
University of Winchester.

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**Abstract:**

**This study investigates the engagement of students in a single school learning about the Holocaust. Using qualitative methods, to explore the experiences of four classes, and 20 students in depth, half of whom were refugee students. Their experiences, engagement and understanding were examined. A thematic analysis was conducted, and themes were identified, analysed and discussed. The themes were emotional engagement (how the students felt about studying the subject) and cognitive engagement (why the students thought they learnt about the subject, and if and why it was important to them), and behavioural engagement (how students behaved when learning about the subject) was looked at for context. The behavioural context showed that there was generally good behaviour when learning about the Holocaust but that there were some students that were badly behaved and disaffected. These were not the refugee students. The emotional engagement theme revealed that most students found learning about the Holocaust emotionally difficult and complicated. It highlighted that the refugee students empathise more than other students which caused other emotional complications that were not dealt with in class. The cognitive engagement theme showed that although there were discrepancies in what the students learnt, refugee students had a larger understanding of why they learnt about the Holocaust and resonated with the importance of learning about it more than non-refugee students. The study's conclusions are drawn making recommendations to amend Holocaust education within diverse classrooms and through an approach for entrance into and exit out of learning about the Holocaust.**

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**ABSTRACT**

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This study investigates the engagement of students in a single school learning about the Holocaust. Using qualitative methods, to explore the experiences of four classes, and 20 students in depth, half of whom were refugee students. Their experiences, engagement and understanding were examined. A thematic analysis was conducted, and themes were identified, analysed and discussed. The themes were emotional engagement (how the students felt about studying the subject) and cognitive engagement (why the students thought they learnt about the subject, and if and why it was important to them), and behavioural engagement (how students behaved when learning about the subject) was looked at for context. The behavioural context showed that there was generally good behaviour when learning about the Holocaust but that there were some students that were badly behaved and disaffected. These were not the refugee students. The emotional engagement theme revealed that most students found learning about the Holocaust emotionally difficult and complicated. It highlighted that the refugee students empathise more than other students which caused other emotional complications that were not dealt with in class. The cognitive engagement theme showed that although there were discrepancies in what the students learnt, refugee students had a larger understanding of why they learnt about the Holocaust and resonated with the importance of learning about it more than non-refugee students. The study's conclusions are drawn making recommendations to amend Holocaust education within diverse classrooms and through an approach for entrance into and exit out of learning about the Holocaust. [Key words: Refugee, Education, Holocaust, Engagement]



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## **1. Chapter One**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Within the English educational system, the Holocaust is the only mandatory topic in the History curriculum to be covered by all 11-14 year-olds in state-maintained secondary schools (Department for Education, 2013:4). The ethnic, socio-economic and religious backgrounds of schools has changed over the last 50 years (Tomlinson, 1997) particularly in inner-city schools (Connolly, 2002). The turbulent geopolitics of the world and increased number of refugee and asylum-seeking students in schools<sup>1</sup> has led to new guidance and frameworks for schools to follow to ensure good practice in teaching and learning for all staff and all students (NALDIC). By the time these students reach History lessons in Secondary School, where they learn about the Holocaust as prescribed in the curriculum, their backgrounds and lived experiences influence their preconceptions, misconceptions, knowledge and understanding on the topic (Cabrera, 2013; Darling-Churchill and Lippman, 2016; Pearce, 2020). This influence is the same for the White working-class student to the newly arrived asylum-seeking Syrian student, to the Black Caribbean boys and second or third generation migrant students (NALDIC). This research seeks to explore these preconceptions; to discover the trends in pupils' thinking and understand the engagement of these students with their learning about the Holocaust in particular. This chapter will introduce the study, the motivations and the structure, alongside the introduction of the research question, and the context in which it is set, both historically and in current practice. The first section will look at my professional context as both researcher and History teacher-practitioner. The second section will look at the key terminology and the historical and educational context of the National Curriculum, Holocaust education and refugee education. The chapter then comes to a close with the introduction of my research questions.

### **1.2 Professional background and interest in the field of study**

I have been teaching for eight years, involved in education in a teaching capacity since the age of 18, including: teaching at Sunday School; participating in the Universities' "Student Associates Scheme"; running summer schools and working as a teaching assistant in different school settings whilst studying for my Masters Degree. I specialised in Secondary

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<sup>1</sup> Details of studies vary across publications. Many can be seen in the British Council guidance for inclusion and diversity in schools <https://www.britishcouncil.es/sites/default/files/british-council-guidelines-for-inclusion-and-diversity-in-schools.pdf> [Accessed 24/3/2019]

history History through the PGCE<sup>2</sup> course and most of my teaching has taken place in diverse inner-city London secondary schools. I became interested in how refugee students learn, when in the same classes as White British students through all my work with and training for the Special Educational Needs Department (SEND) and English as an Additional Language (EAL) department. Working with diverse students<sup>3</sup>, within the History Department we worked to ensure the curriculum we provided was as diverse and inclusive as possible. We did this through working together to ensure that there were a range of histories being taught, inclusive of women, different social classes and different countries, which included previously untaught histories like the Haitian Revolution. This work also led to the teaching of controversial and sensitive issues, the Holocaust being one of these. I became aware of the importance of addressing misconceptions, teaching the bigger concepts and checking understanding of students learning. I began to question the engagement of students with emotionally or philosophically difficult topics, and how it varied. Additionally, I worked with UCL's Centre for Holocaust Education (CHE) for teacher training, completing their master's module on Holocaust education. I also worked as an educator, outreach officer, and eventually Education officer for the Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) (a position which I started and left during the culmination of this thesis). Consequently, I decided to embark on a PhD as a means of developing my professional practice in these areas and inform the practice of others (Clough and Nutbrown 2012; Doncaster and Thorne, 2000).

To reflect on what started this PhD (Doncaster and Thorne, 2000), whilst teaching the Holocaust to a form class of Year 9 (age 13-14) students, in one of the early lessons, looking at antisemitism over time. During this lesson, the boisterous and ethnically diverse class were having several interesting discussions, which led to a very in-depth and political conversation between myself and a young boy. To sum up the argument, his argument was that he was not interested in learning about this topic as "it had been made bigger by the government and had become too tangled a situation", and he was interested in "learning about the plight of the Palestinians". He told me that he hated "all Jews" as they were the reason that he had to be in school in England and so "why should I learn about a Jewish

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<sup>2</sup> Post Graduate Certificate of Education is a one-or-two-year academic qualification one can achieve during teacher training.

<sup>3</sup> The breakdown of student information for the school showed that students were from diverse backgrounds, culturally, socially and economically, with diverse experiences and status. The school had over 60% Free School Meal eligibility, over 30 languages spoken and 80% of the students did not speak English as their first language and came from a variety of different socio-economical backgrounds. This information can be found on the government schools database online, but for the safeguarding and ethical protection of the school and students in this study I will not be including it here.

topic in History when we do not look at any other religions". At this point my attention was drawn to the necessity for teachers to comprehend the ways in which a student's personal, social and cultural experiences influenced their views and understanding of the world and others. I realised too, that I wanted to explore the views held by students towards learning about the Holocaust and see whether these views were similar across all students, or just within the refugee community.

### **1.3 Definitions and terminology**

Here I will explore the terminology I am expecting to use (White, 2011) which could cause difficulties without a common understanding. I will be defining the terms 'the Holocaust', 'antisemitism' and 'refugee' in this section, as they are often disputed and can cause the most complication due to assumptions. If other words arise throughout the research process they will be defined as needed (White, 2011).

#### **1.3.1 The Holocaust**

The main reason for wanting to explore the term Holocaust is that there is still a very large debate surrounding its definition (for some examples see Cesarani, 2015; Hilberg, 2003; Kritchell, 2016). More recently, Pettigrew (2017), Pearce (2017) and Lawson (2017) have contributed to the debate, particularly in relation to defining terms in a classroom setting<sup>4</sup>. The debate, some of which will be explored below, consists of who was involved, the unravelling of the final solution, the Holocaust's uniqueness, the victims and victim groups, the location and timescale of the Holocaust and Nazi policy as examples. The term 'Holocaust', somewhat controversial in itself (Baldwin, 1990; Landau, 2016), was initially used to describe ancient ritual sacrifices and major calamities, deriving from Greek origin, meaning 'sacrifice by fire'. The Holocaust was not a sacrifice by fire nor voluntary so it could be argued that the Hebrew word 'Shoah', meaning 'catastrophe' should be used. However, due to the familiarity of the word 'Holocaust', and how it is used and understood<sup>5</sup> in modern British society, it will be used within this thesis.

The definition of the Holocaust has been debated since it came into use as the descriptor for the Nazi systematic destruction of the Jews during the Second World War (Seen within

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<sup>4</sup> As mentioned, this is a large, and contested issue, something that is beyond the scope of this study but can be seen, for example in Alba (2019), Ceserani (2015), Foster et al (2016), Mayer (2019) and through the work of IHRA.

<sup>5</sup> Its use in the Department for Education's National Curriculum for England and Wales. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/239075/SECONDARY\\_national\\_curriculum\\_-\\_History.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/239075/SECONDARY_national_curriculum_-_History.pdf) [accessed 24/3/2019]

Alexander and Jay, 2009; Landau, 2016; Young, 1993). Jon Petrie (2000) argues that the word 'Holocaust' was being used before the Second World War to describe destruction in a non-religious sense, but during the war it was used occasionally to describe what was happening to the Jews; it did not become the dominant word in Anglo-American usage to describe the destruction of the Jews by the Nazis until the 1960s. It is important to understand that use of the term Holocaust to describe the persecution and murder of all victims of Nazism has been rejected by Historians and organisations concerned with Holocaust commemoration (Lang, 1999). As mentioned above this brings about complications with those that died as an attempt of rescue or resistance and other victim groups. It is philosophically and psychologically understood that when it comes to loss, that each feels their own suffering the most (Shantall, 1999), so it could be seen as an injustice to just name the Jews as the sole victim group for the Holocaust. Other victim groups, such as the Sinti and Roma now have very few people around to fight for their memory and one debate is that they could be co-commemorated with the Jews (Burger, 2006). The difficulty with this is that the extermination of the Jewish people was central to the Nazi policies and therefore there are issues of contemporary European and worldwide antisemitism caught up in this discussion (Silverman and Yuval-Davis, 1999).

The mass murder of the Jews was not simply about racism and nationalism, but a move by the totalitarian state to accomplish their ideologies through extermination of the Jews. It was not a new hatred, which meant that it was easy to pass off the indoctrination and belief of the Jews as a lower being because of the century's old hatred, that began in Europe (Wistrich, 2013). Although not uncritically accepted, Michman (2014) presents the idea that Nazi ideology is the concept that helps show this difference. Other groups like Poles and Sinti and Roma were murdered as they too were viewed as racially inferior, or as a threat to Germany's racial strength, but the Jews were seen as the mortal enemy of Germany and Europe. The Nazis blamed the Jews for all social, economic and political problems, and the rise of Communism, which Nazism was staunchly against. The Nazis believed that there existed a world Jewish conspiracy, which therefore had to be eliminated for the good of the Third Reich and mankind (Cesarani, 2015; Michman, 2014). It is somewhat complicated when trying to separate the various crimes of Nazism as is the nature of totalitarianism, and this is as complicated as when providing labels to those involved such as victim, perpetrator and bystander. For example, there were victims of Nazism who tried to save Jews but who were not Jews themselves, so do they come under victims of the Holocaust or would it, with the definition of the Holocaust as is, be better to have them labelled as victims of Nazism

(Michalczyk, 1997). This is a similar question that needs to be asked about the resistance movements and the individuals involved who were working against the totalitarian nature of Nazism and its crimes, including the persecution of Jews and the final solution (Michalczyk, 1997). The Holocaust, therefore, has become the standard word used to describe the murder of approximately six million Jewish men, women and children by Nazi Germany and its collaborators during the Second World War, because of the distinct events during the reign of Nazism and systematic attempts to exterminate the Jews of Europe (Foster et al., 2016; Bloxham, 2013).

The distinction is subtle, but important for context. Nazism persecuted many groups of people for ideological reasons, which at the time was not against international law (Sands, 2016). In some cases, this persecution extended to mass murder, but this was not always the case. Other victims of Nazi persecution included more than three million Soviet prisoners of war that lost their lives in Nazi captivity through starvation; Polish citizens died in their hundreds of thousands through massacres, deportations, starvation and internment in concentration camps, which was repeated in other European countries like Belarus and Serbia. Additionally, the Polish elites and academics were executed by the Nazis. Through Nazi mass shootings, and extermination camps, over 200,000 Roma and Sinti were murdered, and throughout Germany, Austria and Western Poland, more than 200,000 people with disabilities were murdered through lethal injection, starvation or gassings (Cesarani, 2015). Although it is important to remember all the victims of Nazi persecution, as well as those that were mistreated such as German homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses and political opponents, it is important to look at the distinct differences between them and the murder of Europe's Jews, in so far as it requires its own specific term to differentiate it from both other Nazi crimes and other genocides (Winstone, 2010). Rather than comparing the suffering and the fate of the Jews to other groups, the important distinction of the term Holocaust is the unprecedented nature of it (Bauer, 1978). It is important too, to remember that none of the crimes of Nazism, including the persecution and genocide of the Jews, took place in isolation from all of its other crimes. The main aim of Nazi Germany was to create a superior race, and build an empire around this, so with the expansion of Germany into new territories, and new populations becoming part of this, the Final Solution to the Jewish Question became more of a possibility and a larger part of the already omnipotent Nazi totalitarianism (Sauer, 1967).

The Holocaust has characteristics that, in the opinion of many scholars (for example Bauer, 1978; Cesarani, 2014), make it unprecedented, but not unique. Bauer (1978) in particular,

says that it is not unique because to say that it is unique would be to say that it exists outside of history and clearly this is not the case. This is the unprecedented nature of the event. Historically, mass murder has occurred and has been targeted at millions of people based on religious, ethnic, or social groups, and the Nazis were not the first government to use camp systems and technology, nor were they the first to persecute the Jews. However, as the UN (2005) states, the Holocaust may be considered unique for two main reasons: 1) the Nazis sought to murder every Jew everywhere between 1942 and 1944 especially, regardless of age, gender, beliefs, or actions, and they invoked a modern government bureaucracy to accomplish their goal; and 2) the Nazi leadership held that ridding the world of the Jewish presence would be beneficial to the German people and all mankind, although in reality the Jews posed no threat, something that is echoed in Michman's work on defining the Holocaust (2014).

Historians (for example Bauer, 1978; Zimmerman, 2014) agree that although across the world there may be different connotations with the word Holocaust<sup>6</sup>, suggestions to remove the race and religious aspects of the word would lead to repercussions where the word Holocaust was used to describe other genocides. It is generally agreed that the Holocaust definition includes solely Jewish victims, but sometimes other victims of Nazi persecution are mentioned in the same breath<sup>7</sup> (Foster et al., 2016). In that executive summary of the UK Prime Minister's Commission states that "In total, six million Jews, including 1.5 million children, were brutally murdered in the Holocaust along with millions of other victims of Nazi persecution" (HM Government 2015: 9). Institutions such as the Imperial War Museum in Britain, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC both use definitions that focus on the Nazi and collaborator persecution of the Jews, and the targeting of other groups such as Sinti, Roma and the disabled<sup>8</sup>. The UN (United Nations) however, take their definition from Yad Vashem<sup>9</sup>, which although not perfect, is the one that will be

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<sup>6</sup> Zimmerman explains, that in Israel the term Holocaust is used interchangeably with Auschwitz-Birkenau, and becomes a synonym for Nazism. He explains how this use of the word is not based on interpreting the past, but to evade a differentiated discussion of Nazism, with a political aim to show that nothing except for a new Auschwitz can be compared to Nazism (persecution, racism, or ethnic cleansing) (Zimmerman, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> A number of Holocaust institutions can be used as an example, see Yad Vashem's (the Israeli Holocaust Memorial Museum) definition: [https://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206419.pdf](https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206419.pdf) [accessed 02/04/2018] and see the Imperial War Museum, London's definition: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/what-was-the-holocaust> [accessed 02/04/2018] and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum definition: <https://www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust/general-teaching-guidelines#define>.

<sup>8</sup> Can be found through a resource from the HET, found at:

[https://www.het.org.uk/images/Defining\\_the\\_Holocaust\\_worksheet.pdf](https://www.het.org.uk/images/Defining_the_Holocaust_worksheet.pdf) [accessed 02/04/2018].

<sup>9</sup> Yad Vashem is Israel's Holocaust memorial and museum, created by a government committee: The Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority. An official memorial which honours the Jewish victims of the Holocaust



used in the rest of this paper, for the basis of the internationality of the institution of the UN, and the understanding that the primary group of persecuted victims was the Jews. For the purposes of this research then, the term Holocaust will mean the:

“murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators. Between the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941 and the end of the war in Europe in May 1945, Nazi Germany and its accomplices strove to murder every Jew under their domination. Because Nazi discrimination against the Jews began with Hitler's accession to power in January 1933, many historians consider this the start of the Holocaust era. The Jews were not the only victims of Hitler's regime, but they were the only group that the Nazis sought to destroy entirely” (UN, 2005).

### 1.3.2 Antisemitism

Antisemitism has been called History's oldest hatred (Wistrich, 1991), and has, over time, shown itself to be adaptable and present in many forms, reflecting the fears and anxieties of an ever-changing world (Phillips, 2018). Badinter (2018) posits that there are three distinct forms that antisemitism can take; religious, nationalistic and racist, and that these evolved over time. He continues that the religious form of antisemitism started and continues to be based on the “Jewish decide” – those who killed Jesus Christ. The second form, nationalist stemmed from the birth of modern nations. Even Jews who were natives were always seen as foreigners who were suspect and, in many cases, ostracised. This ostracism developed into an “international Jewish conspiracy” as some Jews held high powered positions in politics, economics and finance, making them easy to blame in times of national crisis. The final form is racist. As minds and ideas evolved, as did science, and antisemitism became racial. By defining the Jews as a “race” of mysterious Eastern origin meant that it was difficult for them to assimilate, particularly amongst the superior Aryan race (Badinter, 2018).

#### **The History and nature of antisemitism**

In the following section I will consider the history of antisemitism and the associated terminology (White, 2011). I will use the spelling ‘antisemitism’ for reasons I will come to later and will explore the history of the term in the process.

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it has a particular social and political background through funding and narrative given. The influencing factors behind Yad Vashem affect the positions taken on the Holocaust, the claims made, and the chosen definitions used.

### *Antiquity*

Antisemitism dates back to antiquity (Lipstadt, 2018). Cicero once (106-43BC) reminded a jury of “the odium of Jewish gold” and how they “stick together” and are “influential in informal assemblies” (Feldman, 1996). Tacitus, during the Roman period was disturbed by his contemporaries that had converted to Judaism (Feldman, 1996). It was then that the Jewish decide - a belief held by some Christians for 1800 years, that the Jewish people as a whole were responsible for the death of Jesus – came to be (Crossan, 1995)<sup>10</sup>. Up until 600 there was institutionalised discrimination against Jews from marriage rules to what positions they could hold in government (Poliakov, 2003). With the start of the Crusades in 1095, Pope Urban II appealed to the Christians of Europe to liberate the Holy Land from the Muslims (Riley-Smith, 1972). The Crusader army swept through Jewish communities looting and massacring Jews as they went (Phillips, 2018). It is suggested that this is the start of Pogroms (Bergmann, 2003). With the spread of the plague across Europe, Jews made a convenient scapegoat, being blamed for the spread of the Plague through the poisoning of wells (Cohn, 2007).

### *The Middle Ages*

In the Thirteenth Century, Jews were subjected to political, economic and social discrimination, and were restricted to living in ghettos. They were required to wear a distinctive symbol so that they could be instantly recognised (Beller, 2015). This was the time that Jews became moneylenders as they were not allowed to own land, and Christians were not allowed to loan money for profit, so this practice evolved into a new set of stereotypes about Jews (Beller, 2015). Jews were tolerated whilst they benefitted the ruler, but when it suited the ruler they were expelled, for example from England in 1290, France in 1394 and Spain in 1492 (Beller, 2015). Martin Luther’s Protestant 1545 pamphlet at the time of the Reformation entitled “The Jews and Their Lies”, urged the slaying of the Jews. During the Reformation, Martin Luther called the Roman Church the “Devil’s Synagogue” and referred to Catholic orthodoxy as “Jewish” in its greed and materialism (Hendrix, 2017).

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<sup>10</sup> In 1998, Pope John Paul II released a document from the Vatican entitled “We remember: A reflection on the Shoah” where he condemned the Nazi genocide and called for Catholics who had failed to help at the time to repent, also encouraging Catholics to remember the Hebrew roots of their faith. In the document he distinguished Nazi actions from the Church’s anti-Jewish teachings and explained that the Nazi actions were rooted outside of Christianity:  
[https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research\\_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/resources/documets/jewish/response\\_we\\_remember.html](https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/resources/documets/jewish/response_we_remember.html) [accessed 27/09/2020]

## *Modernity*

The word “anti-semitism” was popularised by German Wilhelm Marr in 1879, in his book “Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germentum” (The Victory of Jewry over Germandom) (Zimmerman, 1986). Although Marr was secular and anti-religious, he drew on the theories of Ernest Renan, viewing the world as a contest between Jewish Semites and Aryan Indo-Europeans (Zimmerman, 1986). Marr suggested that the Jewish threat to Germany was racial, born of the Jew’s destructive nature (Phillips, 2018). “The Dreyfus Affair” occurred in 1894, where Dreyfus, a Jewish French Captain was convicted (falsely) of selling military secrets to the Germans. Although he was eventually vindicated, it was covered up that they wanted to blame the crime on a Jew, but it shows how deep-rooted antisemitism was in Europe at this time (Cahm, 2014). There were similar levels of antisemitism in Russia, where pogroms were instigated in response to blaming Jews for many problems (Bergmann, 2003).

Germany following World War One was deeply troubled, having lost the war and citizens felt humiliated by the defeat. Through the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to pay reparations and give up land, which was easy to blame on scapegoats: the November Criminals – the socialist Jews. Hitler used this opportunity to call upon the “blood libel” myths and evoked a fear that Jews would contaminate the superior Aryan race and therefore had to be eliminated (Israeli, 2002). Nazi antisemitism cemented antisemitism in racial form. The new antisemites drew upon older stereotypes to maintain that the Jews would not change because of inherited racial qualities. Using this they used the pseudoscience to explain the threat that the Jews posed and of inter-racial breeding (Wetzell, 2017). This belief of racial struggle to survive, and a need to eliminate it led to anti-Jewish boycotts, book burnings and the Nuremburg Laws separating Aryans from non-Aryans. The Nazis were not the first to enact antisemitism, but were the first to create an antisemitic ideology that led to genocide. This ideology, founded in Social Darwinism with foundations in the belief that a human’s value was not in their individuality, but in their membership in a racially collective group (Wetzell, 2017). For the Nazis, the Jews were a priority enemy within and outside Germany. The end aim of the Nazi ideology of antisemitism was destruction of world Jewry, which links directly to the definition of the Holocaust. Antisemitism has, over time, shown itself to be adaptable and present in many forms, reflecting the fears and anxieties of an ever-changing world (Phillips, 2018).

## *Post-War and Contemporary*

The response to the Holocaust gave rise to a movement that favoured the creation of a Jewish state, following a commitment made by the Allies between 1914 to 1918 (Badinter, 2018). The creation of a Jewish state in Palestine was not accepted by all and resulted in war from the neighbouring Arab states. Without discussing the legitimacy of the rights of the parties involved, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has never ceased since 1947, and within this context, antisemitism has spread through anti-Zionism<sup>11</sup> (Badinter, 2018).

The issue of antisemitism in the Arab world comes into this debate. At the end of the Holocaust when the Christian European world was repenting, the Arab world as a whole did not disavow antisemitism<sup>12</sup>. The complicity of some Arab leaders with Hitler reflected with contemporary antisemitism that still exists. The debate here is not a simple one, there are complexities with colonialism and the rule of Palestine and creation of Israel (Silverman and Yuval-Davis, 1999; Webman, 2010). However, the relevance of this part of the History is key to understanding European antisemitism. It can be argued that “Europe” blames its antisemitism on Muslim migrants residing in its countries and does not seek to understand that they themselves enable this antisemitism through racism towards the migrants, who then look for a scapegoat (Webman, 2010). This is somewhat reflected in European views towards Israel, both governmental and the media. The refusal to stand with Israel is often matched by hostile and refuting messages from the press, and the ignorance and disregard of the neighbouring country’s antisemitism towards Israel, coupled with Holocaust distortion through comments equating Israel’s actions in Palestine to the Nazis and the Holocaust (Lipstadt, 2018).

There is a new form of antisemitism which does not reflect antisemitism from history. Badinter suggests that the use of social media makes the rhetoric more perverse, and more difficult to combat. He states that as long as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict continues, hatred of Jews (beyond the Middle East), will inflame Muslims and feed the conflation of “Jewish equals Zionist” which feeds antisemitic propaganda (2018). Deborah Lipstadt, an Historian famous for combatting the Holocaust Denialist David Irving (Lipstadt, 2005), released a book called “Antisemitism: here and now” in which she frames antisemitism’s resurgence on the political Left and Right. She also accepts that in now, antisemitism is cloaked with anti-Zionism with an evolving face of “Judedophobia” with myriad complications (Lipstadt, 2018).

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<sup>11</sup> Anti-Zionism is not going to be discussed further within this work as there is a lot of academic debate around this topic, but it is not within the parameters of this thesis.

<sup>12</sup> There is a wider debate but it started with Wistrich, 2013 (originally 1999) for example.

## Antisemitism versus anti-Semitism

It is important to note the spelling of the word antisemitism. Since 2015, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) have been attempting to ensure that the common spelling of antisemitism is without the hyphen (IHRA, 2015). IHRA's explanation was that the hyphenated spelling allows for the possibility of "'Semitism', which not only legitimizes a form of pseudo-scientific racial classification... thoroughly discredited by association with Nazi ideology", but that it splits the term up, which strips the word from its meaning of "opposition and hatred toward Jews" (IHRA, 2015).

Another reason that the unhyphenated spelling is preferred is that it gets rid of any 'Semitism' entity to oppose. IHRA argue that it should be read as a unified term so that the meaning of the generic term for modern Jew-hatred is clear (IHRA, 2015). One of the things that IHRA did after the publication of their memorandum on the spelling of antisemitism, was to lobby technology giants such as Microsoft and Apple to ensure that they had the default spelling programmed as unhyphenated (IHRA, 2015). The response from the computer companies leaves this as an ongoing issue, they accepted the change but do not correct the spelling when it is written with the hyphen<sup>13</sup>.

Within the political climate in Britain now, the clarity of the definition is one way to ensure there is no confusion or obfuscation when dealing with antisemitism. In 2019 in Britain, alongside Britain's exit from the European Union (colloquially known as 'Brexit'), there was a political 'crisis' within the Labour Party concerning allegations of antisemitism<sup>14</sup>. The Community Security Trust (CST) reported that there were over 1652 antisemitic incidents reported in the UK in 2018, which was 16% higher than the year before, and the highest total that they have ever recorded in a calendar year (Community Security Trust, 2018). There were over 148 incidents reported in 2018, which were examples of alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party, and they noticed that the reports of antisemitism in the UK were at their highest when there was violence on the border between Gaza and Israel in which several Palestinians were killed (Community Security Trust, 2018). The political climate in England

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<sup>13</sup> YouTube decided to 'ban hate speech' and so banned any videos that they believed were glorifying the Nazis and antisemitism. This led to History teachers and other educational users losing videos and years of work on educating against antisemitism and fascism <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/jun/06/youtube-blocks-history-teachers-uploading-archive-videos-of-hitler> [accessed 24/3/2019].

<sup>14</sup> They were accused of, and party to, several antisemitic incidents, covered by mainstream media. There are a number of articles online calling it a crisis, this podcast from the Guardian describes this well and in detail: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/audio/2019/mar/01/labour-antisemitism-crisis-podcast> [accessed 24/3/2019]

remains unstable, and one in which antisemitism is still at the forefront of discussion over (Sherwood, 2019). These were just the situations in England, let alone the rise in worldwide antisemitism (Parliament. House of Commons, 2019), including the shooting in a synagogue in Pittsburgh, USA in October 2018 (Robertson, 2018). Therefore, in light of this discussion, the written form of ‘antisemitism’ has and will be used throughout this paper.

### **The definition of antisemitism**

Given the points discussed above, the definition of antisemitism that I will work with is taken from the IHRA working definition adopted in 2016:

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious

I will be using this definition, as it is adopted by 31 countries, including England, where more than 130 UK local councils, the police, the Crown Prosecution Service and the judiciary use it too. The definition evolved from the one created by the EU’s anti-racism body, the European Union’s Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia in 2005<sup>15</sup>. EU directives changed the role of the agency to become the centre for Fundamental Rights, which then no longer promoted the definition, so the IHRA decided to assume the role in their absence.

### **1.3.3 Refugee**

Particular meanings are attached to the term ‘refugee’ depending on the details of context and situation. Therefore, for this thesis, it is essential to define the differing meanings of the term in its contemporary context. The word refugee was introduced around the time of the Huguenots in the Seventeenth Century (Marshall 2006: 18), and since then, has become the word to describe people seeking sanctuary, or refuge from elsewhere (Soguk 1999: 68). When the Huguenot’s moved from France, the term refugee came from an agreement between the French and English governments to accept the people that needed shelter from Catholic France (Marshall 2006: 18). In more modern times, the nature and understanding of refugees has changed (Rutter 2006: 4), along with the creation of immigration laws (Aliens Act, 1905; Immigration Act, 1971). The first immigration law to be passed, was the Aliens Act

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<sup>15</sup> <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/european-monitoring-centre-on-racism-and-xenophobia> [accessed 24/03/2019]

of 1905 which restricted immigration to Britain from areas outside the British Empire, for the first time (Aliens Act, 1905). Restrictions continued to grow throughout the Twentieth Century, and then in 1951 the term refugee became a political construct through law, when Britain signed up to the UN Convention, as a result of the mass displacements after World War Two (Mayblin, 2014). The UN Convention in 1951 consolidated previous thoughts and laws on refugees and sets out the rights of refugees at international level (UN Convention, 1951). It also defines the term ‘refugee’ legally in Article 1. A refugee, according to the Convention, is:

“someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UN Convention, 1951)

The

UN Convention passed a second protocol in 1967<sup>16</sup>, which again Britain signed up to. Britain passed immigration laws in 1971 to reflect these changes (Immigration Act, 1971), and eventually incorporated the UN guidance into British law in 1993 (Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act).

In the Twenty-first Century, the same definition of a refugee still exists. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which was created in the 1951 Convention, is the worldwide organisation responsible for monitoring the compliance of the UN Convention and Protocol by the states that sign up to it. The current legal meaning of the term refugee according to the 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 UN Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees is someone that has been given full refugee status (UN, 1951; UN, 1967). This is after they have been judged to have fled from their own country and be unable to return to it ‘owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion’ (UN 1967:3). However, for the purposes of this research it will describe any forced migrant, with or without political status, including asylum seekers. By forced migration I will be taking on Jill Rutter’s definition, “the movements of refugees and internally displaced people” (2006: xii) who have been displaced by conflict, environmental, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine or development projects.

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.unhcr.org/uk/protection/convention/4dac37d79/reservations-declarations-1967-protocol-relating-status-refugees.html> [accessed 10/10/18]

However, the term “forced migrant” is now the preferred terminology used (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014), as it can be used as an umbrella term to encompass refugees, asylum seekers, those with limited leave to remain, those with humanitarian protection and unaccompanied asylum seeking children, as discussed above for this research the term refugee will do just that. This is because according to the UN definition, anyone who is forced to leave their country of origin through choice or force is counted as a refugee.

#### **1.4 Overview of Holocaust education**

##### **Post Second World War to 1988**

Between 1945 and 1988 the English education system was mainly led by teachers who were masters of their own curricula (Phillips, 2000). What they taught would be rooted in post-war British culture, society, and politics, which meant that school History was mainly Anglocentric (Slater, 1989). This Anglocentricity meant there was an absence of the Holocaust from English school curricula until the 1970s, not due to ignorance but more to do with British historical culture, the British narrative and where the Holocaust stood (Pearce, 2017). Pearce also suggests that during this time the Holocaust most probably was touched upon, as is the nature of teachers as “cultural workers” (p237), the socio-cultural presence of the Holocaust will have filtered into the school environment, but not led from the government. It could be argued that the fate of the Jews had very little interest to the majority of the British public at this time, and for the 30 years after the war, whilst the country was going through challenges such as decolonisation and social changes that were as big to some people as the effects of the war were to others in 1945 (Kushner, 1994). This meant that there were gaps in public knowledge and understanding about the Holocaust and this therefore was reflected in the teaching of the time. There was also no shared framework for teaching in which the Holocaust could be placed.

With the increase in use and understanding of the phrase “the Holocaust” in the 1970s, more schools were teaching it, however, the meaning of the phrase, its point of reference and associated messages, continued to be debated (Smith, 2010). The cultural shift from the general public, against genocide and the increased public intrigue in the Holocaust was reflected in institutions such as the Imperial War Museum holding events exploring Jewish life in Nazi Germany, and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) creating teaching materials on the Holocaust in the mid-1980s (Pearce, 2014; Pearce, 2017). This developed in the 1980s, when the Yad Vashem Charitable Trust UK conducted research into 249 Local



Education Authorities<sup>17</sup> (LEAs) in England and found that the Holocaust was being taught in many schools, primarily in History but also in English and Religious Education (Fox, 1989; Hector, 2000). Fox also found that there were gaps and misconceptions in subject knowledge from teachers on the Holocaust and that although there were a large number of schools teaching the Holocaust, there were also a number who were not (Fox, 1989).

### **The National Curriculum 1988-1991**

Since the introduction of the first National Curriculum for History in 1991 (Department for Education and Science, 1991), the Holocaust has been a statutory requirement for all students to study at secondary school in the UK. It was not an immediate inclusion to the curriculum when it was first implemented. The Education Reform Act (ERA) in 1988 was the piece of educational legislation that set out the need for organised education in the UK, to now match the post-war aims of education to be the instrument of economic development and social equality (Tomlinson, 2005). Power now lay more with schools than government or LEAs, particularly when it came to pedagogy and content within the curriculum (Chitty, 2009). At the centre of the ERA was the introduction of the National Curriculum, to be followed by students aged 5-16 years old, in all government-maintained schools. The aim then, as it is now, was for a “a balanced and broadly-based curriculum” promoting “spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development” and preparing students “for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life” (Education Reform Act, 1988:1). The ERA and National Curriculum introduced the four Key Stages<sup>18</sup>, and attainment targets, and prescribed subject content within the Westminster-prescribed programmes of study<sup>19</sup>. The National Curriculum came with ideologies, reflecting the values and priorities of the government at the time, so that the curriculum could be the “vehicle through which national cultural and moral values could be defended” (Crawford, 1995). The History Working Group (HWG) was set up in January 1989 to devise the programme of study and attainment targets for History. As Keating and Sheldon (2011) suggest, “History in the National Curriculum attracted more controversy and public attention than any other subject” (p12). There were

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<sup>17</sup> LEAs became Local Authorities (LA) (responsible for education) in 2010 with the change of use of Academy schools.

<sup>18</sup> The four Key Stages of learning were split: Key Stage One – school years 1-3, ages 4-7; Key Stage Two school years 4-6, ages 7-11; Key Stage 3 – school years 7-9, ages 11-14; Key Stage 4 – school years 10-11, ages 14-16.

<sup>19</sup> The DfE introduced programmes of study for different subjects, developed from the National Curriculum. The National Curriculum sets out the programmes of study for all subjects at all Key Stages. All LA maintained schools in England must teach these, <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/national-curriculum> [accessed 10/10/18] for examples.

public debates over content and a clash between the government and the HWG about the purpose and nature of History education (Keating and Sheldon, 2011).

The draft proposal from the HWG in 1989 did not include the Holocaust, which reflected the lack of importance and interest of the British public in the Holocaust at the time. As the HWG did not feel that there was a necessity to include the Second World War or the Holocaust in the new Key Stage 3 curriculum, as there was a feeling of concern towards the growing British obsession with the conflict (Prochaska, 1990). To keep some element of peace and abate the campaigners, the HWG proposed an optional unit of “the rise and fall of Nazi Germany”, which was not shorthand for the Holocaust (Russell, 2006). Due to a change in the curriculum planning that meant that at the end of year 9 History was an optional subject for Key Stage 4, a large amount of the curriculum planned for then was cut off and stuck into Key Stage 3 (Cannadine et al., 2011). This meant that the compulsory Key Stage 4 unit on “The Era of the Second World War, 1933–1948” which included “Genocide: The Holocaust” and “Auschwitz” as essential knowledge needed (National Curriculum History Working Group, 1990), was removed and put to Key Stage 3. Albeit accidentally and without reasoning, it was in this fashion that teaching and learning about the Holocaust became compulsory in state-maintained schools from September 1991.

The way that the Holocaust was squeezed into the end of Key Stage 3, and discussions over what to cover, how to teach it and whether teachers had the expertise to handle such a sensitive topic, was matched with discussions over whether students at Key Stage 3 were the right age to be studying it (Short, 1995). The Holocaust was eventually housed in the 1991 History Curriculum under “The Era of the Second World War” sandwiched between “the home front” and “the dropping of the atomic bombs” (Department for Education and Science, 1991:4). There was no further indication of essential or exemplary information, reference to genocide or anything, but there was a belief that including the Holocaust in the History curriculum signified the government’s belief in its importance. Perhaps the lack of instruction and guidance around the Holocaust came from what Pearce (2017) describes as “an expression of governmental uncertainty about what the Holocaust was, its relation to Britain, and how it was to be used (p241). Although the Holocaust was now included after much campaigning, it shows that the pedagogy behind it had been an afterthought.

### **The National Curriculum reform 1995**

After the Curriculum of 1991, the Dearing Review<sup>20</sup> (1993-1994) investigated the curriculum with the aim of making it more workable, to take out excess content, leaving each subject with key subject areas (Chitty, 2009). This developed into the 1995 National Curriculum which, for History, was as politically involved and controversial as the 1991 curriculum (Russell, 2006). The Holocaust was preserved in the curriculum, under “The Twentieth Century World”, yet again housed between the First World War and the dropping of the atomic bombs (Department for Education, 1995:96).

Although ambiguous in the ‘lessons’ to be taught, the teaching and learning behind it (Lenga, 1998) was still difficult to translate. The idea of ‘universal’ lessons, and the reasons for teaching the Holocaust at this time, were down to the individual school, and seemingly varied from anti-racism to moral and affective education, making History contemporarily relevant or set in the context of the war (Marrus, 2016). This does not change the notion that the preservation of the Holocaust in the curriculum was important, and a clear reflection on the popularisation of the Holocaust in society and the governmental priorities (Pearce, 2020b).

The popularisation and prioritisation of the Holocaust in society as well as education showed just how much the British government, and society had given to the significance of the Holocaust. Some of these things were localised within England, such as the curation of the Holocaust exhibition as a permanent fixture in the Imperial War Museum<sup>21</sup>, the building and opening of the Beth Shalom Museum in Nottingham<sup>22</sup> (Smith, 1999). Some of the other reasons for its increase in significance were as simple as the release and success of *Schindler’s List* (1993), and world events such as the reunification of Germany<sup>23</sup>, the European Union creation and other contemporary genocides (for example, Cambodia,

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<sup>20</sup> The Dearing Review was a governmental review into the History National Curriculum. The subject content was amended to take into account the way that History was taught, language was standardised and level descriptors for attainment introduced.

<sup>21</sup> There have been many articles written about this, mostly critical of how the exhibition was created, the messages, narrative, educational value and the inclusion of graphic images. See for example: Kushner, 2002; Hoskins, 2003; Lawson, 2003; Cole, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> Now called the National Holocaust Centre and Museum, created to be dedicated to teaching and learning the lessons from the Holocaust as well as providing a permanent memorial to victims of the Holocaust and challenge learners to take positive actions. All their aims are listed in their history on the website <https://www.holocaust.org.uk/our-history> [accessed 10/10/18]

<sup>23</sup> Soviet occupied East Germany and United States, and West Germany were separated by ideologies and a wall since 1945. Divided Germany eventually served as an enduring symbol of the cold war until the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, after the gradual waning of Soviet power. Talks between East and West German officials, officials from the United States, Britain, France, and the USSR, explored the possibility of reunification, which happened in 1990. Two months following reunification, elections took place and Helmut Kohl became the first chancellor of the reunified Germany, symbolising the end of the Cold War.

Rwanda, Bosnia, Darfur<sup>24</sup>) that reminded the public of humanity's capacity for evil, with parallels made to the Holocaust (Martin, 2011; Pearce, 2014).

### **The National Curriculum reform 2000**

Despite New Labour's<sup>25</sup> focus on "education, education, education", their first term was one of continuity from Conservative educational policy (Walford, 2005). The new context was one of social justice, with education seen as the way to create cohesion and equality. This led to the creation of Citizenship education becoming a statutory Key Stages 3 and 4 subject in 2000 (Foster, 2020; Tomlinson, 2008). This focus on creating good citizens of the world that understood and actively got involved in ensuring their rights and responsibilities were kept, was a contrast to Westminster policies outside of education (Tomlinson, 2005). This is reflected in the geopolitics of the time. It could be argued that what was about to become the prioritising of Holocaust education was done in a way to deflect moral ambiguity in foreign policy decisions - the atrocities in Bosnia and Rwanda as examples (Walford, 2005).

New governmental ideologies, and their imprint on the 1995 curriculum meant that Curriculum 2000 saw some substantial changes. The main focus of the new curriculum was on Key Stages 1 and 2, but there were new explicit aims across all Key Stages (Department for Education and Employment, 1999). History was once again re-structured, with a focus on learning History to develop an appreciation for diversity for behavioural change (Department for Education and Employment, 1999; Lawton, 2005). Once again, the aim was to slim down the curriculum. The History Working Party were told not to change anything about education on the Holocaust, as the Secretary of State, David Blunkett, had decided that it was to be kept in the National Curriculum (Russell, 2006). New Labour were keen to engage in Holocaust discourse for their own politics, this meant that Holocaust Education was elevated in importance. No longer was it just a controversial add-on to the History curriculum, in Curriculum 2000<sup>26</sup> it had a new housing and new wording (Department for Education and Employment, 1999).

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<sup>24</sup> <http://endgenocide.org/learn/past-genocides/> [accessed 10/10/18]

<sup>25</sup> New Labour was the term for Tony Blair's ideas (influenced by Anthony Giddens) of the Third Way –that moved the Labour party from their traditional socialist routes, yet ensured they were seen as completely apart from Thatcherism. New Labour loosened ties with the trade unions, advocated a balance of pro-American, pro-minority and socially caring policies (see for example <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-10518842> [accessed 10/10/18]) "Education, Education Education" was their slogan.

<sup>26</sup> Curriculum 2000 was the new National Curriculum for Schools in England and Wales. The main focus was the reform of A Level examinations in the UK; but there were changes to the National Curriculum in separate subject areas as well.

The Holocaust remained in the Key Stage 3 curriculum under “A World Study after 1900” where students would

“study some of the significant individuals, events and developments from across the Twentieth Century, including the two World Wars, the Holocaust, the Cold War, and their impact on Britain, Europe and the wider world” (Russell, 2006).

It is clear again that political ideology is key to how the curriculum is planned. Pearce (2017) questions whether it was important that half the events mentioned were armed military conflicts that were supposed to have made an “impact”, not just on Britain, but on “Europe and the wider world” too (Pearce, 2017: 246). The pedagogical practice of the Holocaust was difficult in the new context of Curriculum 2000. There were still no aims of teaching the Holocaust present for teachers and the new focus on concepts and chronology was at odds with the ideas of “lessons” to be learnt from the Holocaust (Pearce, 2014). The introduction of *Holocaust Memorial Day*<sup>27</sup> and the Kosovan crisis<sup>28</sup>, meant that focus on teaching, learning, and remembering the Holocaust and its “lessons” was vital in the government’s eyes to prevent repetition and to combat prejudice and intolerance (Home Office, 1999; Pearce, 2014).

The inclusion and placement of the Holocaust in the National Curriculum reflected the government’s ideals for Holocaust Education and the way the government wished to be perceived at the time. The UK joined the International Task Force for Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (now IHRA) in 1998<sup>29</sup>, created a national *Holocaust Memorial Day* and their participation in international conferences on the Holocaust all related to the place and importance of the Holocaust in Curriculum 2000. It could be argued, that Britain’s role in developing Holocaust Education, signing the Stockholm Declaration (2000)<sup>30</sup>, and *Holocaust Memorial Day* (2001), were part of Britain’s commitment to this teaching. It could be discussed further as to why Britain took on this role, based on their actions during the Holocaust (Kushner, 2020) and the reflections of these actions in the current political

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<sup>27</sup> Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD) has taken place in the UK since 2001 on 27 January each year. The UK played a leading role in establishing HMD as an international day of commemoration in 2000, when 46 governments signed the Stockholm Declaration. <https://www.hmd.org.uk/about-us/> [accessed 18/10/18]

<sup>28</sup> Following ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, NATO fought its first war. More information on the Kosovo crisis, and the refugees that fled to other countries in Europe, like Britain, see <https://www.nato.int/kosovo/history.htm> [accessed 18/10/18]

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/index.php/member-countries/united-kingdom> [accessed 18/10/18]

<sup>30</sup> At an intergovernmental symposium in Stockholm, the “Stockholm Declaration” document, containing an array of pledges and commitments, was signed by a host of governments. A core feature was to support the continued development of Holocaust education.

climate<sup>31</sup>. The purpose of Holocaust Education during New Labour's governance, although promoted through teaching and learning by the politicians of the time, was undoubtedly there to serve other purposes (Rose, 1996). Geopolitics was once again at play, with the government's foreign affairs and immigration policies at odds with its promotion of Holocaust consciousness. For example, the invasion of Iraq, the "war on terror" and other ethnic issues within Britain left it obvious why there was an emphasis on the Holocaust (Tomlinson, 2008).

### **The National Curriculum reform 2007**

The 2007 curriculum reform brought more changes to the History curriculum. The fourth iteration of a National Curriculum was to take effect in September 2008, and History was once again set up to enable students to become "responsible citizens who make a positive contribution to society" (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007:7). The content within History at Key Stage 3 was now changed so that there were no discrete units, but "broad parameters" that detailed just two "aspects of History": "British History, and European and World History" (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007:3).

Although there were some public outcries about teaching the Holocaust (HET, 2010), the misunderstanding of a report published in which it was believed that some teachers did not want to teach the Holocaust for fear of offending Muslim students (Historical Association, 2007), the reality was some teachers found teaching the subject difficult (Pettigrew et al., 2009). This had no bearing on the new curriculum, as then Secretary of State for Education, Ed Balls, stated "there are certain non-negotiable subjects, which are protected in schools; one of those is the Holocaust"<sup>32</sup>.

The Holocaust was placed within the second of two History "aspects", once again sandwiched between wars and conflicts. "The changing nature of conflict and cooperation between countries and peoples and its lasting impact on national, ethnic, racial, cultural or religious issues" (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007:116) was the subsection in which "the nature and impact of the two world wars and the Holocaust, and the role of European and international institutions in resolving conflicts" (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007) was placed. There was justification this time, the

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<sup>31</sup> At the time of writing, there was what was deemed as a "refugee crisis" within Europe with many people fleeing Syria and the Middle East due to genocides and fear for their lives [http://ec.europa.eu/echo/refugee-crisis\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/echo/refugee-crisis_en)[16/1/2017], and antisemitism was at a "record" high <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-3883653> [accessed 18/10/18].

<sup>32</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/7226778.stm> [accessed 18/10/18]

explanatory notes in the curriculum stating that the significance and long term impact (through studying causes and consequences) of “various conflicts, including the two world wars, the Holocaust and other genocides” were to be studied (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007). Once again, the Holocaust was rendered an abstract concept, or, less than a concept (Lenga, 1998). The international politics of the time were clearly at play again (Chitty, 2009), with reference to “other genocides” alongside the Holocaust. This came after the backlash the government received for creating a *Holocaust Memorial Day* (not the Holocaust and other genocides), and the International Criminal Court was set up, as well as a new awareness across the world in genocide prevention (Smith, 2010). Although including “other genocides” was no problem, it did lead to more questions again about the teaching and learning about the Holocaust, with teachers not having the skills to handle the complexities of teaching comparative genocide (Pearce, 2017).

#### **The National Curriculum reform 2013-2014**

In 2010 the formation of a coalition government of the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats brought with it a new “age of austerity” and policy changes (Bramall, 2013). The Education White Paper of 2010 backed by the Education Secretary Michael Gove suggested that there was a need to change the education system as a whole, to a properly rounded academic education (Department for Education, 2010). What followed was a review of the National Curriculum, and a centralised decision to give only the essential knowledge for the non-core subjects, including History (Department for Education, 2011).

The curriculum reform in 2013 was met with controversy over how involved the Secretary of State was in the History curriculum, and how much debate there was over what to include (Sheldon, 2012). The proposed curriculum was content heavy and, in some opinions, too much content across the whole curriculum (Department for Education, 2013), and this was especially the case in History. Taking a leaf from the 1980s view of a Britain-centric History education, the proposed curriculum listed all concepts, subjects, topics and events (Department for Education, 2013). In these proposals, the Holocaust was positioned between “the roles of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin”, and “the global reach of the war”, named as “Nazi atrocities in occupied Europe and the unique evil of the Holocaust” (Department for Education, 2013:4). This was so controversial because the Holocaust was now not only reconnected to the Second World War, but was no longer framed as an event, becoming so abstract a concept as to have the phrase “unique evil” accompany it. It was seen to be either dismissing or ignoring the advances made in Holocaust and genocide

scholarship since the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1991 (Pearce, 2017). Although the Holocaust was not highlighted in public criticism of the draft, the British institutions linked with Holocaust Education fought the principles and the final framing of the Holocaust did not include either “Nazi atrocities” or “unique evil” (Mansell, 2013).

The final form of the curriculum was launched in 2013 to take effect in September 2014, and although the revisions to the draft were positive, there were still issues around the framing of the Holocaust. The Key Stage 3 History curriculum that emerged was content heavy and outlined “specific aspects of content” that teachers were required to teach, with suggested non-statutory examples of what could be included (Department for Education, 2013a). The Holocaust now fell under the “challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world 1901 to the present day”, the only non-thematic section of the Key Stage 3 curriculum in History. Not only that, but the Holocaust became the only prescribed topic of what must be taught at Key Stage 3, with the wording “In addition to studying the Holocaust, this could include:” (Department for Education, 2013a).

In 2014, the Holocaust had been prioritised in student learning, the only compulsory and named event in the Key Stage 3 curriculum. It however, was still unclear when it came to discussions over what the Holocaust was regarded as, how it was to be taught and what the aims and ‘lessons’ were in teaching it (Pearce, 2017). These issues, matched with the lack of clarity over timing for the teaching of all the content in Key Stage 3, meant that institutions like the HET and the Holocaust Education Development Program (HEDP)<sup>33</sup> were worried now about the rush to fit in the Holocaust. This rush could lead to it being just a cursory touch on the topic or distort students’ understandings of both the Holocaust and Second World War, particularly as will be looked at below, when many schools moved to a two-year Key Stage 3 (Bloom, 2017; Hazell, 2018).

### **Current place of Holocaust education**

Since 2014 there have been no changes to the National Curriculum, however there have been reforms within the education system that have influenced what is taught and how. Firstly, there was reform in terms of how schools are judged on the attainment of their students at the end of Key Stage 4 (GCSE). The difference in economic and educational

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<sup>33</sup> For more information about the HET, see <https://www.het.org.uk/> [accessed 15/2/2021] and for the HEDP, now the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education (CHE), see <https://www.holocausteducation.org.uk/about/> [accessed 15/02/2021]



attainment are issues facing teachers, with the renewed focus of Ofsted<sup>34</sup> on all students making progress, particularly those that are disadvantaged (OFSTED, 2017). This has meant that all students, no matter which Key Stage are not supposed to be judged on what they achieve, but the amount of progress they have made since Key Stage 2. Additionally, the reforms of secondary school assessments from 2015 meant that the Department for Education (DfE) removed Key Stage 3 levels, moved the GCSE assessments to judge schools on 'Progress 8' results, where students are given a grade of 9-1, and GCSEs have become more challenging with more content to learn (Coughlan, 2017).

Secondly, there has been a renewed focus in the teaching of *Fundamental British Values* (Ofsted, 2019). Even within the 2019 draft Inspection Framework for schools, the focus on equality, diversity and *British Values* has been strengthened (Ofsted, 2019). Since 2006, the level of threat of international terror in the UK has been rated at severe or higher<sup>35</sup>. This has led to a focus on another issue: Islamophobia in the UK, and how that is linked to refugees and migration (Home Office, 2011; Miah, 2017). In July 2011 the *Prevent Strategy* was introduced by Home Secretary Theresa May (OFSTED, 2014) as “a plan to prevent radicalisation and stop would-be terrorists from committing mass murder” because “experience tells us that the threat comes not just from foreign nationals but also from terrorists born and bred in Britain” (Home Office, 2011). Within the strategy a number of key terms are defined, such as ‘extremist’ as having “vocal or active opposition to fundamental *British values*, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs” (Home Office, 2011). They publicised the best way to deal with radicalisation and non-violent extremism as being through schools, building a sense of *British Values* and developing a sense of belonging to this country and support of these core values (OFSTED, 2014). Prevent was then introduced as a statutory duty for schools through the Counterterrorism and Security Act in 2015 (Counter-Terrorism and Security Act, 2015). Since 2015, schools have been assessed on this statutory duty by Ofsted (Ofsted, 2015), with some criteria based on students’ Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural (SMSC) development and the extent to which teaching related to this promotes *Fundamental British Values* (DfE, 2014). Students should be able to demonstrate the ability to be reflective about their own beliefs and the beliefs of those around them, recognise legal boundaries, have respect for the law, and should portray an attitude that shows a

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<sup>34</sup> The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, that report to Parliament. Ofsted carry out inspections to all services that provide education and skills for learners of all ages, as well as care services for children and young people. <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/ofsted> [accessed 18/10/18]

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/threat-levels> [accessed 18/10/18]

willingness to participate and contribute positively to life in modern Britain (Home Office, 2011).

After the UK's decision in 2016 to leave the European Union (known colloquially as Brexit (O'Grady, 2018)), there has been another dimension to these discussions added. Brexit caused an increase in hate crimes and attacks against ethnic minorities by 41% after the vote in June 2016<sup>36</sup>, and there have followed political conversations and committees discussing stricter laws on immigration and rights to remain because of the apparent threat (Forster, 2016). Arguably, this might make it more difficult for schools to teach about equality, kindness and *British Values* in the climate of hate, anxiety and highlighting differences, compounded by recent terrorist events such as those in Manchester<sup>37</sup> and London<sup>38</sup>. A further complication in teaching and learning about the Holocaust, is that as of July 2016 a new generation of over 4100 secondary schools in England (academies and Free Schools<sup>39</sup>) do not have to follow the new National Curriculum. As mentioned, it is important to understand that the links between politics and Holocaust Education need to be understood for this research, and acknowledged and questioned. The ideas over whether the Holocaust should be politicised or not (see for example Pearce 2017, 2020), it must be acknowledged that the more recent Holocaust Education curriculum designs were decided by Ian Austin MP and the Holocaust Educational Trust, which brings about many criticisms. Additionally, following the changes in curriculum, in 2014 there was a shift in focus around the Holocaust, when the coalition government set up *the Prime Minister's Commission for the Holocaust*<sup>40</sup>. This aimed to "work to ensure Britain has a permanent memorial to the Holocaust and educational resources for future generations" (Prime Minister's Office, 2014:1) but again brings about the questions of whether the Holocaust should be politicised (Pearce 2002b). In January 2015, the commission produced a report which found that "Effective Holocaust education fails to reach significant numbers of young people" and "Inadequate support for regional projects compounded by a lack of long-term funding for Holocaust education" (HM Government, 2015). It therefore recommended that they would create "A World-Class

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<sup>36</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2016-to-2017> [accessed 28/11/18]

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/manchester-arena-explosion> [accessed 28/11/18]

<sup>38</sup> <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-39355108> [accessed 28/11/18]

<sup>39</sup> Neither academies – schools funded by central government that operate outside of LA control – nor Free Schools – schools set up by parents, teachers, charities, trusts and funded by central government and operating outside of local council control – have to follow the National Curriculum, but many do.

<sup>40</sup> The Holocaust, Holocaust Memorial and Holocaust Education became a topic of discussion more regularly in Parliament, and with a huge investment, meant that there were more studies published to show gaps in prior funding and research.

Learning Centre at the heart of a campus driving a network of national educational activity” and proposed “an endowment fund to secure the long-term future of Holocaust Education – including the new Learning Centre and projects across the country” (HM Government, 2015:1). In light of these recommendations, some large-scale research from the HEDP (Foster et al. 2016) and an Educational Select Committee Report on Holocaust Education (2015) followed. In light of Finkelstein’s ideas of a ‘Holocaust Industry’, and the idea of the Holocaust as a political construct<sup>41</sup>, it could be argued that this research was part of the political construct, as well as the Prime Minister’s Holocaust Commission, and therefore created as a way of generating funding through the Holocaust. This will be revisited in chapter 2 and 3.

The important thing to note is that although it can be seen as controversial, the Holocaust has in some way been included as a compulsory content to be taught in all of England’s state-maintained secondary schools since the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1991. As Pettigrew (2017) posits, five Prime Ministers and thirteen Secretaries of State for Education have overseen many curricular changes and restructures, but “in its present iteration the symbolic significance of the Holocaust has never been more profound” (Pettigrew, 2017: 263).

## 1.5 Refugee Education

### **Historical context: barriers, government legislation and domestic events**

There are challenges to teaching the policies directed from the government, particularly as we have seen when the governmental ideologies and contemporary geopolitics affects the school curricula of the time. Rutter (2006) addresses the challenges faced in education, and its responses to changing migration to the UK. She suggests that migration happened in waves. Through each of these transitions, she argues that very similar difficulties were faced, yet there was a real lack of transmission of how to deal with experiences from one migratory movement to another. Kettle et al.(1982) suggest that in response to the 1981 race riots, linked to racial tensions and inner-city deprivation, multiculturalism within education became a focus. Willey (1982) commented that the changes in ethnic composition of British society were not the only challenges that teachers faced it was also the shift in Britain’s position as a world power and a modernisation of views of the sexes.

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<sup>41</sup> For more discussion on the creation of a “holocaust industry” see Finkelstein 2000 (4-11)

Since the 1980s the constraints and challenges facing teachers have changed again, with migration levels far surpassing those levels before 1970 (Block et al., 2014) Since 1989 more immigration legislation has passed through the UK Parliament than at any other time in history. These policies have been reflected in schools, Portes and Zhou's (1993) showed that historically not only do refugee student face difficulties integrating in schools, their results at GCSE were markedly lower than other students, and therefore the annual earnings after school were lower too. The Home Office's Cattle Report (2001) was commissioned by the Labour government after the riots in Bradford, which erupted against a backdrop of deprivation and poverty, and identified drastic segregation between White and Asian communities. It claimed that this segregation was rooted in 'fear and ignorance'. The Cattle Report informed the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) (2003) who suggested that teachers were to be trained 'in diversity' if they were to prepare pupils to live in a multi-ethnic society and engender community cohesion, but there was much confusion at the time as to what this this involved from the people providing the teacher training (Training and Development Agency, 2005).

### **The National Curriculum and Diversity**

Education for all was only written into the National Curriculum in 1999 (Department for Education and Employment, 1999). Just as I explored with the Holocaust, the National Curriculum in England addresses current ideas about diversity in society, relevant to refugee and other minority students. Equality and diversity, and how they should be addressed, were drafted following the Swann Report (Department for Education and Skills, 1985). However, around the drafts of the first National Curriculum in 1991 and again in 1995, there was political pressure for students in English schools to follow a curriculum that reflected British traditions, culture and history, and that instead of celebrating diversity, all pupils should be treated alike, without consideration of their cultural and ethnic identities to not enflame racial tension, and instead tackle educational disadvantage (Ross, 2000). It was clear at the time, that there was a heavy English bias evident in the curriculum at the time, with presumptions made on the fact that the school population was homogenous (Burtonwood, 2002).

The New Labour focus on social justice and equality was reflected in the justification that curriculum diversity would address institutional racism and promote race equality (Blair et al., 1998) a new requirement of the 2000 Race Relations Amendment Act (Race Relations

(Amendment) Act, 2010). After the murder of Stephen Lawrence<sup>42</sup> and the Macpherson (1999) and Parekh (2000) reports that followed, it became clear that there would need to be changes in emphasis in the curriculum to redress the lack of diversity within the National Curriculum, as a prerequisite for understanding contemporary British Society. Statutory guidance on 'inclusion' in the National Curriculum was introduced in 1999 (Department for Education and Employment, 1999). This encouraged teachers to take account of the needs and experiences of all pupils in their planning and teaching, to enable all pupils to participate in lessons 'fully and effectively' (Department for Education and Employment, 1999:31). 'Diversity' at this point, was defined as including: boys and girls, pupils with special educational needs, pupils with disabilities, pupils from all social and cultural backgrounds, pupils of different ethnic groups including Travellers, refugees and asylum seekers, and those from diverse linguistic, religious backgrounds (Department for Education and Employment, 1999).

Over time, there have been several investigations into the approach of the National Curriculum, and reports showed that it failed to value cultural and ethnic diversity. It was deemed to adopt too Eurocentric an approach and failed to value cultural/ethnic diversity (Appiah, 2001; Macpherson Report, 1999; Parekh Report, 2000; The Commission on African and Asian Heritage, 2005; The Runnymede Trust, 2003). Several reports in 2005 showed that to help raise the achievement of minority ethnic pupils, they needed to have access to a relevant curriculum (The Commission on African and Asian Heritage, 2005; The Children and Young People Overview and Scrutiny Panel on Ethnicity and Gender Educational Attainment, 2005). It was also suggested that this would help counter institutional racism, something highlighted after the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Ofsted and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) both reported that schools with a diverse curriculum which drew on the multiple identities of its pupils were not only encouraging students from Black and minority ethnic backgrounds to work better, but their achievement was improving in these schools too (Ofsted, 2002; DfES, 2003a). Unfortunately, in the climate of the aftermath of the 7/7 bomb attacks in London<sup>43</sup>, Trevor Phillips, head of the Commission for Racial

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<sup>42</sup> Stephen Lawrence, a black British teenager from London, was murdered in a racially motivated attack while waiting for a bus in Eltham in 1993. The way that the case was dealt with highlighted institutional racism in the police and legal institutions. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/stephen-lawrence-murder-25-years-changed-a-nation-police-institutional-racism-macpherson-anniversary-a8307871.html> [accessed 28/11/18]

<sup>43</sup> The 7/7/2005 bombings were a series of coordinated Islamist terrorist suicide attacks in London, that targeted commuters travelling on the city's public transport system during the morning rush hour. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-33253598> [accessed 28/11/18]

Equality, became very concerned with ideas of Britishness and integration. After the terrorist attacks on the London Underground, he gave speech in which he felt that there was increasing segregation and no community cohesion (Phillips, 2005:7). These were reflected in New Labour educational policies and reforms to the curriculum in 2007.

The focus in the 2007 curriculum was once again set up to enable students to become “responsible citizens who make a positive contribution to society” (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007:7). The introduction of compulsory Citizenship education seemed to show that the focus was on creating good citizens to be tolerant of race, ethnicity and difference” (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007; Critchell 2020). Diversity and the celebration of difference was encouraged, in response to the terror attacks and fear mongering growing across the world. It could be argued that teaching of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity was included for it to seem like the government were working towards social equality, but it did not confront the inadequacies of British democracy of reassert social justice (Starkey, 2008).

In 2014 however, the curriculum stated that schools had to actively promote fundamental *British Values*, both within lessons and in extracurricular activities. Within SMSC development, teachers and school leaders are required to actively promote these *British Values*, moving away from previous calls of fostering a “respect” for *British values* (Department for Education, 2013). The debate around *British values* will be explored further in chapter 2, but the 2014 curriculum reforms moved a large portion of the curriculum to being Britain-centric, not least the History curriculum content (Department for Education, 2013). This could be argued that the greater emphasis on British ‘island’ history neglects the contribution of Britain’s ethnic minority communities to British history and identity (Alexander, 2014). This came to the fore in 2020 with the Black Lives Matter movement<sup>44</sup> and the calls for increased diversity in the History curriculum and a change to the way that Black History and “other”<sup>45</sup> History was taught in British schools making front page news (see Weale, 2020 for example).

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<sup>44</sup> Black Lives Matter started as an online campaign in 2013 and spread into a global movement. According to <https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/> [accessed 25/8/2020] #BlackLivesMatter was founded in 2013 in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin’s murderer. A global organization, whose mission is to eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes. In 2020, this developed with the shooting of a number of black people in the USA by the police, and this increased during the Coronavirus pandemic. For more information on the Black Lives Matter movement see <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-53273381> [accessed 25/8/2020].

<sup>45</sup> Other history – being any history that does not fall under the colonialist white British narrative that is often taught in schools, particularly after the 2014 reforms.

## Contemporary context: Ofsted inspection frameworks and judgements

Before the Race Relations (Amendment) Act in 2000, there was little Ofsted input into schools about diversity. Ofsted (1999:7) reported that “very few schools review their curricular and pastoral strategies to ensure that they are sensitive to the ethnic groups in the student population and the wider community”. Curriculum 2000 was the first time that it was stipulated in the curriculum that schools have an obligation to address the Macpherson Report (1999) to ensure that schools value “cultural diversity and preventing racism, to better reflect the needs of a diverse society” (Ofsted, 2000:37). In 1999, Ofsted reported that schools were working towards the new curriculum framework to promote diversity within schools, but in some cases they found a “mismatch between the curriculum on offer and the aims they wanted to achieve in relation to the understanding and appreciation of diversity” (Ofsted, 2000:20). From 2000, Ofsted made judgements on a school’s ‘spiritual, moral, social and cultural’ (SMSC) development of pupils (Ofsted, 2000) as part of the overall inspection report. Additionally, all Ofsted inspectors had training on how to evaluate educational inclusion, with a focus on race – reflected in the inspection framework’s focus on equality, diversity and inclusion (Ofsted, 2000). One of the things inspectors looked for, was the tolerance of students to other students’ beliefs, cultures and backgrounds.

After the Equality Act in 2010, the Ofsted focus was on equality objectives. Some examples of these can be seen in the Schools Inspection Framework of 2015, where it judges schools on how well students were prepared to “respect others and contribute to wider society and life in Britain” (Ofsted, 2015:14). Ofsted’s Equality Objectives from 2016 state that “Ofsted will assess the extent to which providers demonstrate due regard to equality duties” in direct link to the Equality Act 2010 (Ofsted, 2016:4). In April 2018 the inspection handbook update stated that all staff are expected to challenge stereotypes, effectively tackle all forms of prejudice and discrimination, value the diversity of learners’ experiences and provide learners with a “comprehensive understanding of people and communities beyond their immediate experience” (Ofsted, 2018:53). Within the new 2019 draft Inspection Framework for schools, the focus on equality, diversity and *British Values* has been strengthened (Ofsted, 2019). This means that schools are now going to be judged by Ofsted on their quality of curriculum, the way students learn and their development of the character and behaviour of students too (Ofsted, 2019). *British Values* was a term introduced in 2014 (DfE), to ensure that schools were teaching tolerance, democracy, laws of the land and SMSC. Introduced as a result of the *Trojan Horse Affair* in Birmingham, where it was alleged, eventually with no evidence to prove, that religious Islamic extremists

were trying to take over state schools in Birmingham to recruit children to their cause (Shackle, 2017). As a result, everything about this new ideal of *Fundamental British Values* was controversial, from the words used to name it, to the understanding of what it meant to teach it (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2016; Panjwani, 2016; Starkey, 2018).

### **Education for all: The UN Rights of the Child and the context in England**

The rights of all children include access to quality education as seen in the 1949 UN Declaration on Human Rights (UN 1949), the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989) and the Dakar Education for All framework (UNESCO 2000). The rights to quality education recognise diversity and should not discriminate by gender, disability, national origin or the political affiliations of their parents. However, within British students it could be argued that this is not the case, especially for migrant students where these rights, and others, are merely symbolic, having had little to no impact on provision (Christie and Sidhu 2002).

The whole school approach to a diverse ethos, which reflected the different cultures within the school and within the wider community curriculum came from a number of contemporary reports (for example, Blair et al., 1998; Cattle, 2001; DfES, 2003a; DfES, 2004a/b; Ofsted, 2002; The Children and Young People Overview and Scrutiny Panel on Ethnicity and Gender Educational Attainment, 2005). Additionally, the “Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils” (DfES, 2003a) emphasised the need for school leaders to commit to the inclusion of all students and develop a culture of respect for diversity. Another whole school initiative was the government’s 2003 “Every Child Matters”, introduced to keep all children safe, healthy and ensure they not only achieve, but enjoy and make a positive contribution, and achieve economic well-being (Department for Education and Skills, 2003). It was based on the idea that every child, regardless of their individual circumstances or background, should have plenty of support. There was a movement away from the policy under the Conservative Liberal Democrat Coalition, and up to 2021, the policy of keeping children safe falls under ‘safeguarding’ policies which ensure that children are kept safe and out of the risk of harm. The difficulty in these legislations, are the loopholes for students that are claiming asylum, or the lack of resources for these students within schools. A notable legal case in Croydon<sup>46</sup> held that it was unlawful for the schools

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<sup>46</sup> In *R (KS) v LB of Croydon*, the failure to facilitate access to education for three unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors for almost a year was deemed unlawful  
<https://www.childrenslegalcentre.com/resources/school-education-migrant-children/> [accessed 28/11/18]



that failed to facilitate access to education for three unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors for almost a year. Not only could they not find full-time mainstream placements, but the English as a Second Language (ESOL) course did not meet the Local Authority's obligations under the 1996 Education Act as it was not full-time, suitable or considering their needs. This is increasing across Britain, with refugee students facing huge delays in accessing education (Weale, 2018). UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) have also investigated this further, in their Access to Education report that was co-authored along with the Refugee Support Network. In this they suggested that the delays are because schools do not want to accept the refugees due to a fear it will affect their results and standings in league tables (UNICEF, 2018).

According to the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC), there is no completely accurate data on the numbers of refugee and asylum seeker children in the UK. In 2003, there were almost 99,000 refugee children of compulsory school age<sup>47</sup>. NALDIC understand that the teaching and learning of refugee students is important, not only to comply with the 2010 Equality Act, but to protect the fundamental human rights of all children. Full time education is compulsory for children from 5 to 16 in England (Education Act, 2006) which includes asylum seeking children, who have the right to attend mainstream schools, local to where they live, under the same formal conditions as other children in the area. However, there may be difficulties the refugee students face in attending as if they are on Section 4 support<sup>48</sup>, as they are not entitled to Free School Meals<sup>49</sup> or other benefits, which could hold students away from school<sup>50</sup>. These are only some of the barriers facing refugee students at secondary school.

## 1.6 Rationale and Research Questions

As a teacher of History and Politics, I had long been fascinated about how we as both society and on a micro level, as teachers were key players in the process of shaping the understanding and moral sense of the next generation. I also was very interested in the equality of the education system and ways in which it was failing students. For me it was

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<sup>47</sup> This is the most up to date, free-to-access information <https://www.naldic.org.uk/eal-teaching-and-learning/outline-guidance/ealrefugee/> [accessed 13/3/18]

<sup>48</sup> Section 4 support is given by the Home Office to refused asylum-seekers depending on criteria, giving access to accommodation costs. <https://www.asaproject.org/uploads/Factsheet-2-section-4-support.pdf> [accessed 13/3/18]

<sup>49</sup> In England a Free School Meal is a statutory benefit available to school-aged children from families who receive other qualifying benefits.

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/united-kingdom/reception-conditions/employment-and-education/access-education> [accessed 13/3/18]

important that good values were passed on to all students throughout all lessons, no matter the topic and naturally the nature of teaching the Holocaust fascinated me. The Holocaust was a complex challenge, navigating students' lived experiences and school pressures to teach it in a meaningful "learning lessons" based way. It was in my early years of teaching when I was teaching a class of Year 9 students<sup>51</sup> as discussed above, that a confrontation with a student arose in which the Palestinian student did not want to learn about the Holocaust. As a teacher I felt I had a responsibility to challenge this and find out more, in a sensitive but firm way to stop more misconceptions from other students growing. Eventually, finding out that this student was a Palestinian refugee, as a class we discussed contemporary antisemitism and the challenges in the world, the students also managed to link this back to their learning about antisemitism so far. This also led the student in question to re-think his sweeping statements and come to a realisation that his notion of "all Jews" was something he should replace with "Israeli government actions" and that some of the information he was to learn left him rethinking other preconceptions he arrived with. From this it inspired me to read about refugee education, the lack of provisions and teacher understanding and the interest in the experiences of refugee students and how this would affect their engagement on a topic that is incomparable yet some parts of it entirely relevant to their lives.

As will be discussed in the literature review, there are many gaps in existing knowledge that I felt that this research might be able to explore. For instance, both UCL pieces of large-scale research (Foster et al., 2016; Pettigrew et al., 2009) focus on teacher knowledge or teaching and pedagogical errors. Additionally, studies like Short's (2008, 2012, 2013) focus solely on teaching and learning and not student experience and engagement. Additionally, in those studies, Short makes no comment on the ethnicity, EAL and refugee status of the students he speaks to. Whilst they may not seem important to his study, they are important in thinking about how the students lived experiences from home and elsewhere affect their knowledge and attitude to learning. None of the studies published at the time of writing explore whether the Holocaust curriculum is one that means it can be tailored easily to differentiate hugely between students in the same lesson, and if so how. The studies that do look at when and how the Holocaust is taught, look more at the content covered (Pettigrew et al., 2009).

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<sup>51</sup> Year 9 students are 13-14, it is traditionally the final year of Key Stage 3, before GCSE examination learning. This is normally the school year in which students learn about the Holocaust.

If differentiation in the History classroom is explored (Arthur and Philips, 2009), then it is not contemplated in terms of the pedagogical complexities surrounding teaching the Holocaust (Gray, 2015). Finally, there have been studies on the beliefs, such as antisemitism, of students in school classrooms (Cowan and Maitles, 2012) and how antisemitism in classrooms in Europe hinder discussions (Thomas, 2016), but not whether antisemitism exists in the classroom, where it stems from, and how this affects student engagement with learning about the Holocaust. Much work has been done on the benefits of diverse classrooms and having refugees in the classroom (for example, Bloch, 2018; Brenner and Kia-Keating, 2016; Rutter, 2003, 2006) but not about the beliefs held by these students and whether there is a way to boost engagement with complex subjects such as the Holocaust without lessening their own experiences (Rutter, 2006).

For me, the challenge of teaching the Holocaust remains complex, both emotionally for the teacher and as it sits out of the realm of understanding. Teaching about the Holocaust in History, I knew that I had a responsibility to teach my students about it well, not simply from the historical and chronological perspectives, but to engage, develop their understanding and rehumanise those individuals involved. The other side of this complexity was also the duty of care to not expose the students to anything that they would find traumatic, whilst not knowing the full situation of the students that I was teaching in enough detail. Rather than studying the teacher experiences and knowledge, as had come before I was interested in the student experience and their understanding of the importance of the subject and engagement in learning about it. Holocaust education is in a transitional state, what with the delayed Holocaust Memorial in London, and the rise of antisemitism across the UK<sup>52</sup>. However, it retains its statutory status within the National Curriculum still without statutory guidance on how it should be taught, when and for how long. Pettigrew et al. (2009) and Pearce (2020) suggest that it is often poorly taught without focus and teachers lack the knowledge needed. At a time where the last few survivors of the Holocaust remain; the Holocaust is on its way to being history rather than living history. This is a real challenge for those involved in Holocaust education in any capacity as it moves to a new social and historical landscape. It is for these reasons that I wanted to understand what was happening

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<sup>52</sup> The Holocaust Memorial was planned to be in place by 2018, but has yet to pass planning permission, more information on the process can be found here <https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/redesign-for-adjaye-and-arads-controversial-holocaust-memorial/10042226.article> [accessed 04/1/2018]. The rise of antisemitism was again higher in 2019 and 2020, and has been covered in this chapter, but can be referenced here as an example <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/aug/01/antisemitic-incidents-in-britain-up-10-on-last-year-finds-charity> [accessed 14/1/2018]

in the classroom and student perspectives and engagement with the complex topic of the Holocaust.

The formulation of my research question was complicated and difficult to articulate clearly in advance of the research process (Robson, 2004). Moreover, it was something that came about through a study of the literature and my own interests and professional experiences. To begin with, my interests were to do with students' academic and emotional engagement with the Holocaust and the role their backgrounds and the teachers play in this. I was also interested in the preconceptions that students had from home or lived experiences and the ways in which they engaged with the Holocaust before learning about it at secondary school. This led me to focus on the preconceptions of students and an understanding of how these preconceptions were formed as well as a focus on the engagement of students in the classroom with the Holocaust, using their understanding of its contemporary relevance as a marker for engagement. In reviewing the literature (to come in chapter 2), evaluating my own preconceptions of the study and discussion with colleagues and peers, I formulated the research title of *"Refugee Engagement with Holocaust Education – an Exploration"*

This is then broken down further into exploring the following sub-questions:

1. What preconceptions and misconceptions do students bring to secondary school from previous learning, previous individual engagement with the Holocaust and conversations in the home or elsewhere?
2. What do teachers need to be aware of in students' backgrounds to teach the Holocaust effectively and with a duty of care to all students?
3. Do the preconceptions and lived experiences of students affect their engagement with Holocaust education?
4. What do students feel is the relevance of learning about the Holocaust and is this affected by their lived experiences and understanding of the world?

## **1.7 Conclusions**

From this chapter, it is clear that the political priorities of Holocaust education have remained broadly the same, however the pedagogical guidelines and teacher approaches are still ambiguous. The focus on all children showing progress is both a help and a hindrance for schools, particularly when it comes to covering content in Key Stage 3 where the Holocaust is usually taught. Refugee education and education for students that do not have English as their first language is developing with teacher skill and institutional help, but the funding crisis in education is becoming a burden to school staff and affecting the quality

of education of those students. This again has an impact on Holocaust education as students are in lessons without cultural, linguistic or behavioural help, and misunderstanding and can lead to misconceptions and the strengthening of preconceptions of ideas around the Holocaust and antisemitism. The key terminology has been explored, the history examined, and the definitions explained, above.

As will be discussed in chapter 2, the topic of this thesis is being researched as there is a significant gap in the literature of Holocaust Education. This research is not looking at the effectiveness of teachers to teach the Holocaust, or what teachers do or do not know. It is also not looking at student attainment, teacher standards or the school provisions (see Foster et al., 2016 and Pettigrew et al., 2009 for examples of this). What it is looking at is the student voice – the engagement of the students (particularly those from a refugee background) in the classroom with Holocaust education.

## **2. Chapter two: Literature review**

The literature review is important to underpin the gaps in the existing body of knowledge, so that the research can “contribute in some way to our understanding of the world” (Hart 2002, 11). As Hart says it is important to make sure the review is clear, consistent and coherent for the following research to not be “misunderstood, dismissed or used in ways not intended” (2002, 10).

The field of research in education, specifically Holocaust education is wide ranging, but in refugee education, specifically within History and the Holocaust is very small. To maintain rigour but tying in my position as a researching professional, I have mapped the field of study. As Hart (2002, 2003) and Oliver (2012b) warn, I had to ensure that I was not going to spend too much time searching articles of interest, and instead focus on the key themes and areas to develop. So that I could create an effective evaluation of the texts and to lay out the field in which my research fits (Oliver, 2012b), namely refugee and Holocaust education, the following review of the literature is an overview of the key themes and ideas of the published research, and a few key texts critically evaluated within, to show their relation to my research.

The literature review will be set out in three sections, to explore the literature in the areas that I believe will be best suited to the research that I will be undertaking. This literature underpins the research questions that my study will be based on. The three sections will be: Holocaust education (2.1) , Refugee education (2.2), and student and teacher perspectives (2.3).

### **2.1 Holocaust education**

Since the introduction of the first National Curriculum for History in 1989, the Holocaust has been a statutory requirement for all students to study at secondary school in the UK. There have been many studies on what “lessons” students learn, how confident teachers are at teaching the topic and the best ways of teaching a sensitive topic (Burke, 2003; Clements, 2006; Short, 1991; Short, 2005). Within this section I will be looking at students and studies mainly in Britain, as that is where the research will take place.

As a teacher, in a large inner-city state comprehensive in London, there have been many occasions in which the sensitivity of the topic, coupled with the beliefs, lived experiences and misconceptions of students, have complicated the teaching and learning of the subject in the classroom. From reading the ideas of the Jewish philosopher and teacher Martin

Buber (1878-1965) (in conversation with Hodes, (1972)) and Norman Finkelstein (2000) my ideas on teaching and learning the Holocaust developed through the considerations of what education is for, and how politics is involved in the teaching of the Holocaust. This raised issues for me as a professional and researcher, such as how students can be taught to think about the Holocaust despite their existing knowledge and or personal experiences. For example, how a difficult lived experience, such as seeking asylum, can be put in perspective with the Holocaust. This idea, coupled with Finkelstein's discussion over whether it *should* be compared or sensitised, makes the discourse around Holocaust Education when thinking about a diverse classroom more difficult. As Finkelstein argues, to try and rank horrific experiences is unsound (Finkelstein, 2000) yet for students in a classroom with prior life experience, we need to question if this is going on, or whether we could argue the Holocaust is taught as part of a "power-laden agenda" (Finkelstein, 2000; 3). Finkelstein argues that 'The Holocaust' is an ideological representation of the Nazi Holocaust, as an internally political construct. This will be explored with a view to critically analysing the literature on the topic and thinking about how the education system in England is constructed. According to Buber (in Hodes, 1972), education is the process of a learner constructing their own value of human nature, measured by their participation in society. This is clearly seen where he says, "Everything depends on the teacher...as a person as he educates from himself, from his virtues and his faults, through personal example and according to circumstances and conditions...to convey this realisation to the pupil" (Hodes, 1972; 146). In some ways, this is reflected in the aims and implicit explanations of Holocaust education (see from previous discussion), for example, in teaching students about the humanity of the victims, prosecutors and collaborators. As Landau suggests, the importance of Holocaust education is to rehumanise Nazis and Germans to ensure the Holocaust is "humanly intelligible" (1994:42).

With the modification of the National Curriculum for 2014, it was no longer a statutory requirement for students to study a specific programme of History at Key Stage 3, except the Holocaust (Department for Education, 2013:4). As discussed in chapter 1 the wording of the situation and description of the Holocaust caused difficulties for students that have experienced their own unique evil<sup>53</sup>. However, there was no guidance or specified time frame given on how teachers should approach this teaching.

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<sup>53</sup> The presupposed uniqueness here will be developed further in my research. By naming it a 'unique evil' sets up problems already with how it is to be taught and the aims of this teaching.

## **Why teach about the Holocaust?**

The obvious importance of clear educational rationales for teaching the Holocaust in secondary schools has been discussed at length by other commentators and researchers that have added to our knowledge of teaching and learning in the field (see, for example, Pettigrew, 2017) and discussed in chapter 1. One example of this is the opening lines of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's (USHMM) 1993 pamphlet, "Guidelines for Teaching about the Holocaust," in which they invite readers to consider *why* they teach Holocaust history (Parsons and Totten, 1993). Teachers aims of teaching the Holocaust, were also the focus of several empirical research studies across the globe (Eckmann et al., 2014). What they have in common, is the fact that there is no one right, or correct, answer to why teach about the Holocaust (Pettigrew, 2017).

Kinloch (1998) argues that History teachers should not be thinking about the morality of their students or wider societal concerns when teaching the Holocaust. As discussed in chapter 1, the development of the History Curriculum in 2000 had a significant focus on the reflection of the Labour government's ideals for History education to make better citizens. Instead, Kinloch argues that teachers should start and end with what happened and why, learning about the History (1998). There have been some discussions over whether it is equally important for students to gain some moral, spiritual or citizenship education from learning about the Holocaust (For example Haydn, 2000; Kinloch, 1998; Salmons, 2003). However, perhaps it is worth thinking about how it may not be possible, nor desirable to separate the two. This is reflected in Kitson's (2001) work.

The Holocaust is mainly taught in History lessons (Pettigrew et al., 2009) and is the only curriculum area within which the Holocaust is specified content. Despite this, the topic is regularly approached and encountered in a wide variety of subject areas such as Religious Education, English, Citizenship, PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) and Drama (Pettigrew et al., 2009). Although this cross-curricular approach can be seen as a natural development, the concern, particularly for History teachers is that the Holocaust is seen for its cross-curricular potential and therefore its trans-disciplinary aims (Tosh, 2008). This perhaps moves to serve instrumental rather than intrinsic educational aims (Pettigrew, 2017).



As will be discussed below, the Holocaust Education Development Programme's 2009 study found that the most popular teaching aims of the Holocaust were dependent on the subject in which the Holocaust was being taught. Religious Education (RE) teachers were more likely to consider the theological and moral questions. History teachers were more likely to prioritise reflection on political questions of power and its abuse, as well as deepening Historical knowledge and understanding (Pettigrew et al., 2009). Although to them their aims were clear, they were less able to answer why the Holocaust was compulsory in the History curriculum. The second study from the CHE<sup>54</sup> in 2016 looked at what students know and understand about the Holocaust. A clear majority of students in the study identified Jews as the victims of the Holocaust, but when asked directly "Who were the victims of the Holocaust?", students became more likely to include other, non-Jewish victims of Nazi persecution (Foster et al., 2016). As well as there not being a sole focus on why teachers teach about the Holocaust, Totten et al. (2001) suggest that to best guide content selection and pedagogical choices, teachers must have established a solid set of rationales for teaching about the Holocaust. Some of the recent scholarship on Holocaust education is focussed on the teaching of the Holocaust. For example, Gray questions "how can effective teaching take place if there is no effective learning?" (2014:2), which is mirrored in other papers published (Clements, 2003; Edwards and O'Dowd, 2010; Foster et al., 2016).

Within the confusion of who, where and when the Holocaust should be taught, it is unsurprising that there have been many studies exploring educator aims (Brown and Davies, 1998; Carrington & Short, 1997; Maitles and Cowan, 1999; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Russell, 2006 as examples), none of which show that there is one singular popular aim of teaching the Holocaust in secondary schools. Following on from Lucy Russell's claim that there was 'a lack of consensus regarding the basic assumptions' underpinning teaching of the Holocaust like the definition of the term the Holocaust (2006: 45), and that this leads to ambitious, broad social or moral aims of teaching (Hector, 2000; Russell, 2006; Supple, 1993). Pettigrew et al. (2009) explored teacher understanding and their aims linked to this idea. In the HEDP study, Pettigrew et al. found that almost all respondents felt that it 'will always be important to teach about the Holocaust' (2009: 74) irrespective of their subject background. Their results match earlier studies, where the majority of teachers, no matter the subject background or prior experience, aimed to stop a similar atrocity from happening again and understand the ramifications of prejudice and stereotypes.

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<sup>54</sup> The IOE HEDP became the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education (CHE) in 2014 as a result of the merger between UCL and the Institute of Education (IOE).

In the questionnaire to teachers, Pettigrew et al. found the most commonly reported challenges to teaching about the Holocaust was managing limited curriculum time. Consequently, some teachers appear to find it difficult to know how to decide what content they should include, and therefore what their overall aim should be. The key concern with most teachers was making the Holocaust 'relevant' to Twenty-first century classrooms, and of those that agreed that the Holocaust should be a compulsory part of the secondary school History curriculum, 85% of those could not explain the 'the distinct historical significance of the Holocaust' (2009:11). One thing of note that Pettigrew et al. did find that was no matter the experience or subject background of teachers in their survey, the Holocaust was most often given the context of 'universal lessons,' with 'broad, overarching objectives', often divorced from any specific historical context, rather than having any particular teaching aims (2009: 79). Clements (2006) also described an uncertainty around the outcomes that both RE and History teachers wanted from their students, or, as Brown and Davies (1998) suggested, the purpose of the work could not be clearly defined by the teachers. Although this is not an argument about where the Holocaust should be taught, Hector (2000), suggested that RE teachers may have felt an affinity to teaching the Holocaust as they had more confidence in talking about matters such as death. She goes on to argue that many history teachers encourage students to learn *about* the Holocaust, but RE teachers encourage them to learn *from* it (2000:110).

Although the aims of Holocaust education are contested, it is clear that some of the outcomes or by-products of Holocaust education are anti-racist, positive citizens, and informing students on stereotyping, human rights issues and politics, and how to act on it (Ben-Peretz, 2003; Carrington & Short, 1997; Davies, 2000; Hector, 2000; Short & Reed, 2004). As discussed earlier, Salmons (2003) identified the main aim of educators was that once having learnt about the Holocaust, students would become active and righteous citizens, through learning the historical details of the events. Salmons was, however, careful to warn that anti-racism should not be the primary aim in Holocaust education as to miss out other lessons, and other cultures would be doing the students a disservice, if not with a danger of pushing them in the opposite direction (2003).

The American Jewish Committee (AJC) surveyed 1000 people across the UK and USA and found that knowledge of the Holocaust was low and uneven in both countries (AJC, 2013). The difficulty of defining what is meant by "good knowledge of the Holocaust", is explored within Foster's (2013) and Gray's (2014) research on student preconceptions. Within this they pick up on the difficulty of teacher expertise within English schools where teachers can

be required to teach many different subjects. They find key gaps in knowledge, making it difficult for teachers to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge by students, if they do not have a complete understanding of the topic and its complexities (2014). Teacher knowledge of the Holocaust was also explored within the 2009 survey with the HEDP conducted by Pettigrew et al. Although the survey was not set up to test teachers' knowledge, it did have some questions that explored what teachers knew, the results of which demonstrated a lack of teacher knowledge. Although 38% teachers either provided one or no correct answer to any of the questions in the survey, it also found that most teachers in all subjects felt confident in their knowledge.

A common theme throughout literature on Holocaust education is the "lessons" that students learn, and whether this matches the aims of teaching it (see for example, Burke, 2003; Clements, 2006; Salmons, 2010; Short, 2005). This could be the reasons for teaching it, or the aims of the teachers for the students to get out of it, whether that be anti-racist meanings, citizenship and moral values or historical understanding as examples. There is a difficulty in clarifying what the aims of the "lessons" of Holocaust education are or should be, and these have shifted with the political climates and governments of the time as seen in Chapter 1. Clements argues that the confusion over the lessons to be learnt from learning about the Holocaust has parallels in the teaching of the subject. She suggests that there are many reasons for teachers' confusion, from not knowing what they want the outcome to be, to not knowing enough about the subject knowledge, as well as understanding that students bring different experiences and preconceptions to the classroom so teachers find it difficult in knowing how to teach the Holocaust to make sure that all students are safe. Clements also describes teachers' 'hope' or 'belief' in the 'deferred benefits' (Clements, 2003:6) of their work on the Holocaust with students in schools. This suggests that staff are willing and interested in teaching the subject but that the school's requests of data and marking student progress makes this a challenge. Therefore, valuable learning outcomes must be quantifiable or easy to observe, something that makes teaching the Holocaust difficult within the current educational framework. This area of teacher discomfort and challenge is an area where there needs to be more research.

Donovan and Bransford (2005) argue that to make teaching learning centred, and to evaluate progress, teachers must know the backgrounds and cultural beliefs of students, as well as their ability. Again, this can be difficult within the English education system where teachers can expect to teach the Holocaust to a class of approximately 30 students, and have at least one, if not more classes. Within inner-London and other urban areas, the idea

of student background is also a difficult one for staff, as they are often far removed from the backgrounds of their students in terms of both ethnicity, religion and socio-economic means (Donovan and Bransford, 2005). This could be difficult for making connections, and meaningful student-teacher relationships and provide teachers with the opportunities to let their misconceptions of students into the classroom. This is where the interest in my research stemmed, teaching a class of students where the majority were Muslim students, in a multi-ethnic school, close to a very Jewish area of London, with a number of refugees. This complexity is reflected in Avraham's (2010) work where he questions how you teach a multi-cultural staff how to teach the Holocaust to multi-cultural students.

It is also important to think about what students have experienced in terms of their prior knowledge, as it is understood that the best way to have an impact in the classroom is to make sure teachers have a good idea of students' prior knowledge (Cole, 2008). It is particularly difficult for this because it is not a simple case of knowledge of dates and concepts. This makes it more challenging to work out where students are in terms of their existing knowledge and their ability or articulating the ideas of what they do know. In this case, as well as their preconceptions about Nazism, it is important to know what students know about Judaism and antisemitism. Short (1991) studied the preconceptions of students from different backgrounds and found that these were key obstacles to effective teaching. He argues that the only way to get real lessons learnt is if Jews are viewed as equal to other people, but there are reasons that students know what they know already, and these things – misconceptions, stereotypes and antisemitism stemmed predominantly from media, parents and peers (1991). This is different from students' knowledge of the history and political ideas, as it is assumed that this is what gets taught in the classroom. Both Short (2008) and Hein (1996) agree that until teachers know what a student knows already, it is too difficult to challenge the inaccuracies and teach precisely upon existing knowledge. It is understood, particularly by Foster and Gray (2014) that students have often acquired many ideas before they formally come across them in school. This seems particularly true of the Holocaust, which features as a subject or context of so many popular children's books and films such as *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* (Frank, 2007) and *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (Boyne, 2008). Cohen (2009) compiled a study of Junior High and High School students in America and found that 99 per cent of students had heard about the Holocaust before they came across the subject in lessons. Ivanova (2004) and Misco (2010), explain that, particularly in Eastern Europe, as the studies were carried out in Romania and Latvia respectively, students are ignorant of the Holocaust rather than hold meaningful

misconceptions. This is not the same in England, where the CHE report showed that secondary students have significant knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust which is rife with misconceptions (Foster et al., 2016). This means that although the students in England have an awareness of the Holocaust and some significant knowledge of who was involved, where and when, the main focus of students is on Hitler, and many students do not understand the significance or contemporary relevance of the Holocaust (Foster et al., 2016). Edwards and O'Dowd (2010) conducted research on a small sample of 26 boys in one school in London. They found that their respondents "would bring to formal teaching in Year 9 a varied range of prior understandings about the Holocaust", some detailed and most familiar with some of the main events. (Edwards and O'Dowd, 2010:22). Gray (2011) agrees with this when he argues that no students come to learn about the Holocaust in school with a blank canvas, and as a teacher one must challenge and dismantle the preconceptions that students arrive with before any acceptance and learning can be done. This difficulty is reflected in the lack of official guidance and consensus on what should be taught, to what depths and including what knowledge should be covered. It is clear then that the gaps in this field include minority students, particularly those that hold refugee status and their engagement and preconceptions when learning about the Holocaust.

Although the only statutory topic in the National Curriculum for History, no guidance is given as to how long should be spent teaching it or within what context it should be taught (Department for Education, 2013). In Pettigrew et al. (2009) the HEDP team aimed to get an understanding of how the Holocaust was taught in England. Although overwhelming responses suggested it was taught in History (Pettigrew et al., 2009: 43), many of these respondents said that they taught the Holocaust in more than one subject area. There have been many discussions about where the Holocaust should be taught (Brown & Davies, 1998; Burke, 2003; Day and Burton, 1996; Short, 2005; Foster & Mercier, 2000; Hector, 2000). Burke (2003) studied the role of RE teachers in delivering effective Holocaust education that compliments that of the History teachers. In some schools she argues that there is little to no relationship between the two disciplines of RS and History, and in some cases, the teachers will repeat the lessons with similar resources in both disciplines (Burke, 2003). Burke (2003) and Scott (1991) both argue that the skills learned in RS were the same skills needed to learn about the contextual and religious aspects of the Holocaust, and that the RE skills learnt across the rest of the curriculum would help students learn about death and suffering. Day and Burton (1996) suggest that there were themes in learning about the Holocaust that were distinctly RS aspects rather than historical, yet despite all of this

crossover, Brown and Davies (1998) identified that there was little, if any, conversation between History and RS teachers about cooperation and collaboration in studies.

In the Pettigrew et al. study (2009), as well as others (Baer, 2000; Kidd, 2005; Powers, 2007; Spector, 2005), there is evidence that the Holocaust has been taught elsewhere, in subjects such as English. This lack of clarity, leads to many misunderstandings of the need to teach the Holocaust, or, as Harris (1989) argued, the fact that the Holocaust is taught even when the curriculum does not exist. Hector's (2000) study showed that History teachers were not all in agreement as to how or why the subject should be taught. Some felt it should be done to ensure that they were fulfilling the National Curriculum requirements, others felt that the responsibility was theirs in teaching students about this epoch before some of them no longer studied History any further (see also Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Sanger & Osguthorpe, 2005). This moral obligation is reflected by the moral values seen by teachers in teaching the Holocaust. As Salmons (2003) and Carrington & Short (1997) suggest, the most prevalent aim of teachers when teaching the Holocaust is to make the students better, more active citizens, and to stand up against racism (see also, Carrington & Short, 1997; Cowan & Maitles, 2007; Salmons, 2003; Short & Reed, 2004; van Driel, 2003). Here again, we can see Salmons (2003) take on Kinloch's argument that the Holocaust should be taught in a historical setting as there were no moral lessons to be learnt through the study of the Holocaust (1998), as teachers needed to remind themselves about what their role as educator was and the reality of what they could achieve in terms of changing students (Kinloch, 2001). Salmons' opinion was similar, warning that there was no chance of 'curing' racism through study of the Holocaust alone, and that teachers could do their educating a disservice by preaching on the morals they believed could be learnt by students through studying the Holocaust (2003: 142).

Pettigrew et al. additionally asked teachers about what year groups they taught the Holocaust to. Although the answer was overwhelmingly in Year 9 (when students are aged 13-14), there were some that taught the Holocaust in Year 7 or 8 (2009: 51). In the interviews conducted there was widespread agreement that the most 'appropriate' point to teach about the Holocaust was in Year 9, due to factors like needing time to develop relationships with students and needing students to be 'mature' to study it. There were some teachers that argued that it was none of those, but that the History curriculum was taught 'chronologically' so therefore the Holocaust was most likely to be encountered in one of the final compulsory terms for students (Pettigrew et al., 2009:38). Most of the research on teaching the Holocaust is based on teaching pupils aged 13-15 in England (Brown &

Davies, 1998; Carrington & Short, 1997; Maitles and Cowan, 1999; Short, 1995; Supple, 1993). Maitles and Cowan (1999) argue that there is rationale to teaching the Holocaust in the primary context, and the ways and reasons to do so. They suggest that the topicality, the universality of its lessons and the suggestions in various documentation about developing positive values in pupils shows that there is also reason to consider teaching it at a younger age (Maitles and Cowan, 1999).

Every state-funded school has the legal and moral responsibility to offer a curriculum which 'promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils' and 'prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life' (Department for Education, 2014:4). This makes the statutory inclusion of the Holocaust in the History curriculum a challenge to educators. Both Landau (1994) and Clements (2006) looked at student engagement with the Holocaust and suggested that learning about the Holocaust would be a challenge for anyone at any age, because of its enormity, yet by contrast Bauer (1990) agrees that it is a challenge because of the inexplicability of the event. To exclude values and emotions from the learning of the Holocaust would be less traumatic for some students, but they would also find that it would be un-transformative, and therefore some of the aims of Holocaust education would not be met. One way to deal with this challenge is to ensure that teachers and students are prepared emotionally and intellectually to learn about the Holocaust, and to make sure that teachers do not go in for teaching with the 'shock factor' (Schwartz, 1990: 102). He attests to textbooks and lesson resources that show unimaginable horror, and how this could swing either to desensitise students to the horrors, or even entertain those that enjoy horror and gore, although this was questioned by Lenga (2020) who discussed a 'proper' use of more graphic images. It is imperative that educators teach the Holocaust with a sensitivity and sense of humanising victims, to ensure that both for teachers and students, the Holocaust education process is a positive one.

The difficulty of the age the Holocaust is taught has been touched on above. Burke (2003) studied students learning about the Holocaust in the West Midlands of England. From this study she found that the way that students were taught about the Holocaust (books, films, pictures etc.) had an impact on them, and that they felt threatened by the events as they were in living memory and they believed it could have happened to them (see also Keneally & Zaillian, 1993). However, interestingly, Burke also asked the students whether they thought that they were old enough to be learning about the Holocaust and whether they should have been protected from it by their teachers, and the resounding response was that

they were old enough, and although some felt they should have been sheltered, more felt that it was a part of growing up (Burke 2003:58-59). The notion of teacher protection is also one that has been explored. Many teachers felt that any earlier than the end of year 9, and they did not have the relationship with their classes and know their students well enough to effectively teach the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009). Burke (2003), Clements (2006) and Steutel and Spieker (2000) explored the role of the teacher in Holocaust education, and that students often put high levels of trust in a teacher to nurture and protect them, but when teaching the Holocaust the teachers were doing the opposite. There are also examples of teachers lacking the skills to break this contract and be emotionally aware of all the students in the room, so teach the Holocaust as passively as they can (Thornton, 1990).

### **Holocaust Education Development Programme**

As previously mentioned, in 2009, the Institute of Education's Holocaust Education Development Programme (HEDP) carried out a study, commissioned by Pears Foundation<sup>55</sup> and the Department for Children, Schools and Families. Before the study is analysed, it is important to bring in Finkelstein's ideas of the Holocaust being a politically constructed agenda (2000). The Pears Foundation gave money to the HEDP to carry out this survey, through which the institute has established its reputation for developing teacher training and resources, which has since been funded through government spending. This empirical study produced by Pettigrew et al. involved 2,108 teachers in 24 schools. The study was designed to give an overview of Holocaust education in English Secondary schools, and to be used to create a continuing development programme for History teachers, at the IOE (2009:2). It was, however, a first in terms of scope and size. It was the largest study at the time in England. Although based on volunteer teachers, adverts and emails were sent out to diversify the sample both through age and geography. The second part was qualitative collection of data through semi-structured group interviews with teachers that had volunteered to take the study further. The sample chose 24 schools, 68 participants, from across the country and a number of different subjects. Recurring themes were then compared with those from the online survey. Some of the results showed the issues already discussed, such as the results from the online survey show there were clear disagreements

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<sup>55</sup> <https://pearsfoundation.org.uk/research/> [accessed 23/3/2019] The Pears Foundation are an independent British family, "founded on Jewish values" that invest millions of pounds per year on "good causes" including educational research.



over the aims of teaching the Holocaust, this was also similar in the interviews (Pettigrew et al., 2009:81).

In the first part of the method, the questions were mainly closed and could have easily influenced the respondent<sup>56</sup>, which may have changed the data if those questions were open and fairer. Although the sample was large, it was not representative as the schools that the survey was open to had to be maintained schools, which does not represent all schools and therefore all teachers and students in the UK. Secondly, the volunteers for the interviews were selected on partly their location and school type, and although 24 schools would be a large sample for smaller research, it can be questioned whether on research of this scale the views of those 68 teachers can represent all schools in England. Additionally, the survey questioned teacher knowledge, although specifically in the aims of the research was not to test teacher knowledge but to understand teacher practice and perspective on teaching the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009:11). Foster himself states that 'mapping knowledge in any subject is an inherently complex undertaking' and therefore 'it would be imprudent to make sweeping generalisations about teachers' subject knowledge' (Foster, 2013). Therefore, unless we know what the HEDP was expecting the majority of teachers to know, it is not only difficult to qualify what "good" knowledge was, but also whether the questions were too confusing. As not all teachers were History teachers, the questions that were asked were aimed at teachers with a History background. This would not return well on the knowledge of those teachers who teach it in subjects such as citizenship or Religious Education. This could be a reflection of the researchers setting a bar too high when it comes to the desired level of knowledge. The data presented gaps in teachers and students knowing content and that was taught, but very little on the student-teacher relationships and student-lesson engagement. In the future it would be worth making the parameters of the study smaller, perhaps looking more in depth at individual classes with teachers with confidence in their knowledge to see how this affected student learning.

Reflecting on this this mixed methods approach (Hart, 2003; Haywood and Wragg, 1982) might be more appropriate than simple interviews or just surveys, this method means that the results are skewed into 'what' students and teachers know rather than how and why. Because of the wide numbers of participants and the way that they were obtained, it meant that the interviews after the survey had to represent the total of the participants on a

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<sup>56</sup> For example, Q38 asks "When did the Holocaust happen? *Please tick one box.* A)1900s B) 1920s C)1940s D)1960s E)1980s where there is only one specific right date rather than asking students to give their answer without multiple choice.

smaller scale which was also not representative (Pettigrew et al., 2009). For example, they targeted certain areas and teachers of certain subjects. Not only is this method too time consuming, but the length of the original survey could be called into question as the amount of questions would have affected the accuracy of the original answers (Drever, 2003). As a teaching practitioner I am aware that in my own research I will need to consider myself as a researcher and a practitioner to see how this will affect those that I research as they will want to present themselves differently (David et al., 2001). Although the mixed methods approach from the CHE is quite useful for this problem. The power relationship is still evident within the research even though the survey is anonymous, as the interviews develop on the survey questions in more detail (Foster et al., 2016:31) and the participants will want to be making sure that they give the correct answers (Drever, 2003). The idea of power relationships such as these will be discussed further in chapter 3.

Following on from this, in 2016 the IOE CHE carried out the “World’s largest” research project into student learning about the Holocaust to date: “What do students know and understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English secondary schools” which surveyed more than 8000 secondary school (11-18) students about their knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust (Foster et al., 2016:5). This was to then “further explore how we can support teachers to improve their students’ knowledge and understanding of this important historical event” (Foster et al., 2016:8). The report found that the Holocaust was taught in all schools that participated in the survey but for a range of different hours, and that students were interested in the subject and willing to learn more. It also showed that there were many gaps in their knowledge, most of which was on a surface level, and often based on inaccuracies and misconceptions.

With Holocaust education firmly embedded within the political agenda since 2001 (as seen in chapter 1) the directives that have come from the government (Holocaust Commission, Holocaust Memorial Day etc) link with Finkelstein’s ‘Holocaust Industry’ (2000). These directives are attached to funding, which means that the research behind aspects of Holocaust education are politically and publicly at the fore as they are directly linked to funding and re-evaluating and setting the political agenda for the next 20 years. This changes the nature of the research, although it could be argued that the funding is leading social cohesion and teaching and learning changes through this. This links to Finkelstein’s theory of the Holocaust Industry (2000), as we can question whether the funding is driving education, whereas the education should be driving the funding. For instance, the CHE 2016 study

(Pettigrew et al.) was given funding because the research leaves areas to work on, it would not be the same should the research have merely been abstract.

### **Holocaust education in diverse classrooms**

Shah (2005) reflects on the changes taking place in the world around us and how they are being reflected in the changing demographics of British schools. This results in school communities that are multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-faith, with students from a variety of different backgrounds adding to the complexity and sensitivity of educational contexts. Short's later studies (2005; 2008; 2012) on the preconceptions of students from different backgrounds found that these backgrounds were obstacles to effective teaching. Short's 2005 study on student misconceptions of the Holocaust forms a strong background to my intended research as these were parallel experiences to what I was having in the classroom. However, it is in Short's "Teaching the Holocaust in predominantly Muslim schools" (2008) study that poses the most relevance. Within this study Short concludes that in the schools that he studied, there was no real difference in attitudes to teaching or learning about the Holocaust between predominantly Muslim schools and other schools, but from professional experience, I had learnt the opposite. Where Short expresses that students had "pre-set views" on Jews and Judaism, and "lack of sympathy", he also posits that these ideas are formed at home, from parents and the mosque (2008:108). It is not enough just to know that, but we need to explore what it is they are taught in these places and why and develop ways to challenge these views within Holocaust education<sup>57</sup>. so that all students, no matter their background are getting the same experience and lessons from their learning.

Short (2008) takes a teacher-centric approach to finding out about teaching the Holocaust in predominantly Muslim schools. This study was based on semi-structured interviews with 15 secondary school teachers. Had the research been mixed methods, where Short could get information from students too, it would have been able to provide more context. It is very important, particularly in the current political climate, to understand the thoughts and opinions of non-Muslim students as there is growing antisemitism across the world<sup>58</sup>, and this could be reflected in all students, not simply because of their Muslim background. It is

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<sup>57</sup> Something to be studied further is whether all students should be getting the same education, or whether educator input should change. This is also relatable to the lessons that students learn, whether it is possible for them to take the same understandings from lessons, and whether this is related to their own complex backgrounds and experiences.

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-3883653> [accessed 19/3/19]

also worth thinking about the participants and their beliefs. As a teacher they may feel that to accuse their students of having outwardly antisemitic views and having a lack of sympathy could reflect badly on the school and have other implications, a relationship I will cover in chapter 3. Short's research is now 20 years ago. This raises issues for practitioners about the contemporary relevance of his work and the current practice of Holocaust education. This could also be said of his 1991, 2005 and 2012 articles. As a practicing teacher reading about teaching practice within the classroom, research from non-teaching practitioners makes the research more problematic. This could be because of a lack of understanding of teaching theory and classroom practice as well as institutional knowledge of the schools themselves, something that I want to look at within my research.

In Scotland, Holocaust education is not mandatory in the Scottish secondary curriculum. Cowan and Maitles (2005) show that there was a significant feeling of Islamophobia in Scotland, and this increased after the July 7<sup>th</sup> bombings of London, with an increase of racist incidents in school. Through looking at reasons to study the Holocaust, and ways in which the Holocaust was taught and shared with the public, they suggest that there was evidence that after studying the Holocaust pupils' knowledge, values and attitudes improved, particularly towards gypsy travellers and refugees. Therefore, to harness the changing diversity within British schools, there needs to be an element of morality in the teaching of the Holocaust. Salmons (2003) understands that the motivation for teachers to teach the Holocaust is the idea that it can sensitise young people to examples of injustice, persecution, racism, antisemitism and other forms of hatred in the world today, to combat the paradigm of evil through strength in diversity, values and multiculturalism. This idea of intercultural education he argues is important, if the Holocaust is placed within the historical framework rather than simply the moral one, to not distort the complex historical narrative. If History is being taught well, then the parallels of the Holocaust to the modern world may be drawn, with meaningful lessons for students' own role in society, to inspire rather than to shock and traumatise (Salmons, 2003).

It is in the context of students who make up a minority within their schools and country, that Holocaust education begins to seem more necessary. Firstly, for the students that make up the majority, we have explored the ideas of teaching the Holocaust for making them more accepting and proactive citizens. For the students in the minority, who may be victims of racist abuse, but also hold racist or antisemitic views of their own the key question, particularly with Holocaust education is how to talk about race, something that was made up with terrible consequences, without reinforcing the ideas from it. Short's argument is that

Muslim youth will react negatively to learning about the Holocaust because of the antisemitism that spreads through Muslim communities throughout the world (2013). The rise in popularity of far-right political parties<sup>59</sup> and the increase in antisemitic attacks worldwide, and within Britain are a cause for concern. Of course, these statistics can not be viewed alone as there has also been an increase in Islamophobia and racist attacks in Britain too. If Holocaust education is to be used to make students more aware of hatred and intolerance, then educators need to understand where these sentiments of hatred originate. In recent years Rutland argues, anti-Jewish sentiment has increased amongst Muslims and Arabic-speaking peoples internationally (2010). In Australia, as an example, she shows that this is present in the attitudes manifested in government schools that have high proportions of Muslim children. She also agrees that there have also been anti-Muslim hate crime increases, but alongside this, Muslims have developed more anti-Jewish attitudes and behaviours.

Both Short (2013) and Rutland (2010) agree that there is some element of radical Islamist input into the antisemitism beliefs becoming more mainstream, but also because of the rhetoric emanating from the Middle East (Fisk, 1996; Matar, 2001). This followed on from the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and continues to this day (Said, 1981; Sicher, 2009). This narrative that the Jewish state in Palestine was created as compensation for the murder of six million Jews in Europe during the Holocaust can, therefore, lead to criticism from Muslim educators that learning about the Holocaust is Jewish propaganda, from a self-absorbed community that cannot acknowledge the suffering of others (Rutland, 2010), which can undermine the effectiveness of it being taught. The antisemitism in Muslim communities is not solely radical or political. Pilar Rahola (2007) cites the Qur'an as being a fundamental reason that antisemitism amongst Muslims exists. Although the comments in the Qur'an were directed at specific Jews at a specific time, it has been understood to mean all Jews, always (Prager and Telushkin, 1983) and some teachers in Rutland's 2010 study suggest that these messages are sent to students in their local mosques and Muslim bookshops. This therefore, could make it difficult for schools with a significant Muslim presence to address topics such as the Holocaust. Surely then, it is important to educate all

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<sup>59</sup> Far-Right political parties in Hungary, Sweden, France, Greece, Germany, Italy, Poland and Austria have all gained seats or power in the last 4 years. For example. <https://www.smh.com.au/world/europe/more-prejudice-in-general-creeping-anti-semitism-stalks-europe-20180907-p502d2.html> [accessed 23/3/19]. The CST publishes reports quarterly, as this one shows at the time of writing <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2018/07/26/cst-antisemitic-incidents-report-for-january-june-2018-published-today> [accessed 23/3/19].

young people on the meaning of the Holocaust and genocide, so that they will understand the difference between the concepts of displacement and genocide (Rutland, 2010).

Teaching the Holocaust in schools with a high proportion of Muslims has been studied in some detail (Carr, 2012; Kaci, 2007; Miller, 2004; Short, 2013). In Norway, France, Egypt, Bradford (UK) and Australia studies have shown teaching the Holocaust to be a difficult experience for students and teachers. These experiences range from students exclaiming Hitler did not go far enough, to defending racism but importantly, but at no point do students doubt the historicity of the Holocaust, which is important to note (Carr, 2012; Kaci, 2007; Miller, 2004; Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, 2010; Rutland, 2010; Short, 2013). Contrary to this, Carr (2012) found in her studies of Egyptian international schools, that many Muslim students are not at all reluctant to engage with the Holocaust and are as likely as any other group of students to benefit from their learning. However, she did admit that in Egypt, as well as Palestine, Israel is seen as the oppressor, and the Holocaust contributing to the Nakba, therefore, this presents an obstacle to perceiving the Jews murdered in the Holocaust as innocent victims. Rutland (2010) and Richardson (2012) comment that the most important thing educators found in teaching (Muslim) students about the Holocaust was hearing from a Holocaust survivor. This becomes an issue once there are no survivors left living and the Holocaust moves from living memory into the past. Cohen (2005) when looking at Baum's study (1996), found that students learn human behaviour from both positive and negative perspectives, which can be morally confusing, so therefore every effort needs to be made to not trivialise the Holocaust when teaching it. Although it is worth bearing in mind that with all this contradictory evidence, the one thing that is clear is that Muslim youth, like any other group, are not a monolithic entity. They are divided in their attitude towards learning about the Holocaust, and other opinions such as antisemitism, which they may or may not have encountered whilst growing up and does not affect their willingness to learn. It could be argued that antisemitism from the Muslim world differs to traditional Christian antisemitism, in that it is based on anti-Zionist views (Short, 2013). This is important to remember when looking at refugee students as well as students that have migrated from these countries, some of whom have faced hardships because of things happening in the Middle East by Zionist governments. It is important to note that these conversations can be had but should be sensitive and nuanced rather than not happen at all.

Farrell et al. (2010) look at how children construct meaning from visual images in complex narratives to develop their literacy skills. Working with immigrant and non-immigrant children, using an 'annotated spread' of *The Arrival* by Shaun Tan (2006), this project used

10 students who were classed as immigrants<sup>60</sup> (Farrell et al., 2010) and the researchers pulled out the key idea that for all immigrants the important notion is that of belonging. The other key finding is the importance and relevance to Holocaust education at any age can be linked to students' comments. These comments show that they were understanding the emotional content of the photograph for the main character, distinguishing between representation and memory, and also making inferences based on the intra-textual connection. This suggests that considerations within my research need to explore students who are immigrants to the UK, as the Holocaust is not only a sensitive topic for all, but perhaps even more so for students that have got an emotional connection with the sense of 'belonging'.

The idea of students identifying with the issue of 'belonging' is mirrored in Van Driel's reflections (2003), where he shows the connections between Holocaust and Intercultural education. He argues that as teachers we need to focus on the fact that it is diversity within the classroom that influences what we teach and how we teach it. He looks at the difference in the origins of intercultural and Holocaust education, the former starting in the 1960s as an attempt to assist integration with new migrant workers to the UK. The latter started with a background of death and war, collaboration and bystander inaction. In this article Van Driel posits that there are many issues in linking intercultural and Holocaust education, from both theoretical and practical perspectives. One of the key issues he highlights for Holocaust education, is ensuring the audience's diversity is included as well as making the topic's "history equally interesting and accessible to all children" (Van Driel, 2003:130). He discusses whether we should learn *from* or *about* the Holocaust and looks at case studies from across Europe and North America. His conclusions are that Holocaust education can have an impact on prejudiced ideas and develop inter-group relations, but that without getting inter-cultural education at the same time this was not the case. He suggests that to move both forward there needs to be work done so researchers are aware of each other's work, and a more cross-curricular approach for practitioners so that both are not being taught in isolation. This was furthered by the data from the HEDP's first large-scale research project, showing that of all the issues within the classroom, cultural diversity was not one. Most teachers saw it as a positive resource to draw on, with very few teachers saying they had to deal with antisemitism or Holocaust denial (Pettigrew et al., 2009:24-26). However, teachers did find

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<sup>60</sup> Farrell considered immigrants those "who have had their primary education interrupted by a 'journey' - or 'journeys' - from their country of origin to the country in which they are living at the time of this study" (2010:199)

that they were concerned about German heritage students, and the data showed that teachers struggled more in classrooms where there was less diversity, something echoed in Richardson's thesis (2012).

The discussion for Holocaust education has been raging since the late 1980s (For example: Ceserani, 2001; Foster et al., 2014; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Rutland, 2005; Short, 1991). Ceserani (2004) and Finkelstein (2000) argue that much of the discussion was for political reasons. In a time where the world was engulfed in a Cold War, international political power struggles were at large. The Soviets claimed that Jews who were victims of the Nazis were no different to other people; anti-Zionist claims that Palestinian Arabs had suffered a genocide like that of the Jews in the Holocaust was met with Western arguments to relativise the Holocaust (Ceserani, 2004). Power politics were in play when it came to UN intervention in other genocides, such as Bosnia and Rwanda, as, as Ceserani put it, "human rights and people's lives matter less than national self-interest, favourable public opinion, trade or strategic ties" (2004:50). The importance of this in the international arguments for Holocaust education is that lessons are *not* learnt, and why one group's fate should be studied over that of others. This was reflected in Brina's 2003 study of teaching the Holocaust at university. In this she reflected on the reasons for teaching the Holocaust at Higher Education and the popularity of the subject, but the difficulty she faced teaching the anti-racist messages to Black and Hispanic students in Bristol, which had its own history of slavery and racism. They argued with her that the module did not address local interests and issues, and the importance of understanding students' backgrounds and beliefs was of utmost importance when addressing the Holocaust. As Stern Strom and Parsons suggest, students respond to the Holocaust in ways that reflect their own position in relation to society (1982).

If there are now more refugees entering the English school system, yet the only prescribed topic in History they have to learn is the Holocaust, there is a need for this to be taught well. For this to be successful, we need to understand their misconceptions before learning, and understand engagement in the classroom to see if this is any different to other students. It is important to understand why and what we can do to make sure all outcomes are correct. The visions behind Buber's education theory (in Hodes, 1972) rely heavily on the ideas of generating questions from a multi-cultural classroom, together with the students. This would be at odds when questioning the purpose through Finkelstein's (2000) views of whether research around ethnic minority students in classrooms learning about the Holocaust, is only done because of the current political climate and view of Holocaust



education. Muslim-Arabic responses to Holocaust education have been explored earlier, in which it was discussed the need for Holocaust education to provide an educational framework that promotes mutual understanding and facilitates positive inter-faith and multi-ethnic relations. It would be easy to believe that this would not be the case in Europe, however studies into post-communist Europe, and European textbooks shows that this is not the case (Bartov, 2013; Byford, 2013; Perez, 2013). Salmons does agree that although there are universal lessons of the Holocaust, teachers need to be mindful of feelings, opinions and experiences of their students, to tap into the universality and contemporary relevance of the Holocaust. In doing this, they need to not alienate students' own history through making the Holocaust the emblem of all racism and intolerance when students come from cultural and ethnic backgrounds that have long histories of prejudice and discrimination, who need their own pain to be acknowledged before they can examine the experience of the victims of Nazi persecution (Salmons, 2003). Although it can seem contradictory that England can nationally commemorate the Holocaust and make education about the Holocaust compulsory, coexisting with a backdrop of institutional racism, discriminatory immigration policies and dubious foreign policy, Ceserani expressed that teaching about the Holocaust is only counterproductive if it is taught badly (2004).

Trauma and past experiences when studying the Holocaust has been researched in Burke's 2003 study too. She identified that both teachers and students needed to be prepared and equipped to learn about the Holocaust. Teachers needed to be furnished with the skills and knowledge to support students through the learning. Students needed to be able to deconstruct what they had learnt to be able to accept it, particularly in cases such as events that happened to people that they could find similarities with, like young children. What she failed to find out was how the students felt towards Jews, and how this was informed by their religious backgrounds or prior knowledge, and she failed to look at students' past experiences with trauma and death. It is here that Van Driel's study on the links between intercultural education and Holocaust education could also be looked at, in terms of immigrant and prior experiences, and how that informs student learning about the Holocaust (2003). The challenge for teachers is not necessarily what to teach, but ensuring that without trauma, the Holocaust remains relevant to the students, both intellectually and emotionally (Ceserani, 2001; Gryglewski, 2010; van Driel, 2003).

## **Holocaust education and Citizenship**

As Landau (1994:20) has pointed out, Holocaust education not only has the potential 'to civilise and humanise our students', it has 'the power to sensitise them to the dangers of indifference, intolerance, racism and the dehumanisation of others'. The question of whether the Holocaust should be taught in ways to civilise is one that has been discussed and researched at length. Ellie Wiesel in 1979 highlighted the need to study the Holocaust 'for our own sake,' by this he means as a risk of indifference to both victims and ourselves, done well to not only to seek out the causes but also to project it forward to enlarge the capacity of students and get them to make and keep ethical and political commitments (Karn, 2012). Dawidowicz (1992) is opposed to a Holocaust curriculum devised to instruct students in civil disobedience. She argues it did not make for students with intellectual habits and encouraged shallow moralising of the subject. However, although we should heed her warnings about imprecise analogies, Karn argues that the Holocaust, is about the needs of those who study it, making Holocaust education an openly ideological enterprise with regards to how the future is influenced from the study of it (2012), which is echoed by Edmundson arguing that education should ensure students are equipped with the tools and understanding to make decisions to help them live better (2004).

Carrington and Short (1997) argue that teaching about the Holocaust can provide a meaningful context for raising a number of issues such as a global perspective of human rights, and human rights violations on grounds of 'race', ethnicity, nationality or religion and how this can lead to genocide. However, they argue that if students are just being taught anti-racist sentiment with no opportunity to discuss strategies to counter racism then there is not much point in aiming to create better citizens. Other previous research (Ben-Peretz, 2003; Brown and Davies, 1998; Davies, 2000; Hector, 2000; Schweber, 2003; Short et al., 1998; Stevick and Michaels, 2013; Totten, 2000;) also shows that Holocaust education can contribute to citizenship, and sensitise students to the dangers of indifference, racism, intolerance and dehumanisation. However, it is not possible to believe that Holocaust education alone could prevent genocide (Stevick and Michaels, 2013).

## **2.2 Refugee Education**

Within this section I shall present an overview of the literature around the importance of education as a right for all children, the barriers to teaching and learning of refugee and asylum-seeking students, the UK policies and practices of refugee education and the barriers

to learning of refugee students, as well as what risks there are to be carrying out my research within this body of students.

### **Refugees in the UK**

In the UK censuses have been taken every 10 years since 1801, except for 1941 due to World War Two. According to the 2011 census, the White ethnic population had gone down to 86% (Office for National Statistics, 2012) from the previous census, showing that the ethnic minority population in the UK has been increasing (Aydin, 2013). This is especially the case in cities like London. In London, almost half of all ethnic group members in the UK live there and more than half of the population is from ethnic minorities (HEART, 2016).

Immigration grew after World War Two, and as the flow of immigrants grew, so did racism (Olusoga, 2021). British society was increasingly gripped by the fear that England was being captured by 'coloured' immigrants (Male, 1980). This, as Parekh (1998) explains, led to provocation of the homogenous 'White Brit's' deepest economic, political and cultural anxieties and stretched the limits of their tolerance. This reaction was not what they expected, when the immigrants were looking for a better life (Figueroa, 2004). National media often portray refugees and asylum seekers negatively, focussing on the 'migration' part of their stories, claiming that there is a crisis in the number of people coming to seek a better life in Britain (Gale, 2004; Georgiou and Zabrowski, 2017). What they were not showing is that these people have no choice, and they were escaping a life they cannot return to. The National Foundation for Educational Research's (NFER) 2010 report, published by the (DfE, 2010) shows a hardening of attitudes to immigration (encompassing all migration to Britain, both forced and not) amongst young people. Whilst Ipsos MORI's February 2011 surveys confirm this, responses also suggested that the hardening of attitudes was based on misconceptions over-estimating the numbers of refugees and immigrants coming to the UK compared to other countries. NALDIC suggest that there are well over 60,000 children who have arrived in the UK as refugees or asylum seekers, as there are over 15 million refugees in the world. The negativity from the press and right-wing politicians is often louder, than the positives reported by schools, even though it is well documented (NALDIC, 2012) that school staff and pupils have gained a great deal personally and professionally from their contact and work with refugee students.

It is difficult to put a number on the amount of refugees in the UK, as there are no official statistics (Culbertson and Constant, 2015). Although the UN publishes annual estimates of the refugee population, which they base on the number of successful asylum applications in

the past 10 years, the numbers fluctuate, as they assume that after 10 years a refugee will have become a citizen and therefore no longer needs international protection<sup>61</sup> (UNHCR, 2017) . The ONS (Office for National Statistics) suggests that in 2016 almost 90% of asylum seekers came from Asian or African countries, for UK asylum applications, the highest numbers were from Iran, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and Bangladesh (ONS, 2017b). It is also difficult to estimate the number of refugee children in schools. There were very few Local Authorities that do not have any refugee children on their records (McBride, 2018), but according to NALDIC those with particularly high numbers of refugee children include a large proportion of London boroughs, including Barnet, Brent, Camden, and Haringey, where this research is focussed (NALDIC, 2017).

### **Refugee education**

Recent increases in forced migration surpass post World War Two records (UNHCR, 2016). This movement of people has brought a new urgency to debates associated with this group of learners, including calls from policy makers (European Commission, 2016; UNHCR, 2018; Wagner, 2017), educators (Roads to Refuge, 2018) and researchers for new strategies to reduce failure and exclusion, and ways to help schools close the gaps between migrant students' and home students' prior learning and attainment (Kaukko and Wilkinson, 2018). Early research tended to group refugees together with immigrants (Cheng, 1998; Claydon, 1980; Cowart & Cowart, 2002; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Hones & Cha, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Pryor, 2001; Rong & Preissle, 1998; Samuda, 1989). Although both groups have to deal with the disruption of migrating to a new country and adjusting to a different culture and lifestyle, the research of Bozorgmehr and Sabagh (1991) on suggested that refugees and immigrants have similar characteristics, but different economic, psychological and social experiences.

Since the 1980s there has been a growing interest in the education of a diverse body of students (Willey, 1982), and today there is a growing body of research concerned with the impact of education of migrant children, and the impact of policies passed on their education (Hardwick and Rutter, 1998; McBride, 2018; Richardson et al., 2018). It is also concerned with access of these students to different services, including education and healthcare (Block et al., 2014, McBride, 2018; The Refugee Council and The Children's Society, 2002; UNHCR, 2016) their experiences at school (Barnes, J and Ntung, 2016; Block et al., 2014, Candappa, 2002; Closs, Stead, and Arshad, 2001; Hopkins and Hill, 2010; McBride,

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<sup>61</sup> More information: <http://www.unhcr.org/556725e69.pdf#page=48> [accessed 9/3/2019]

2018; Richardson et al., 2018, Taylor and Sidhu, 2012)), and with the nature of the support for their different needs (Hamilton, 2004; Richman, 1998; Rutter, 2001a;). Pinson and Arnot (2010) through examining literature conclude that most of the research in the area of refugee education is mostly shaped by practitioner discourses which attempt to describe what does or should constitute 'good' educational practice, particularly in relation to inclusive education (Pinson and Arnot, 2010: 248). In this they suggest that policy reports between 2000 and 2010 (Mott, 2000; Reakes and Powell, 2004; Remsbery, 2003) focussed on how LEAs and schools could address the education of asylum-seeker and refugee pupils.

### **Human right to a quality education, and the barriers to refugee education**

The failure of researchers in the 2000s to distinguish between the experiences of refugees and other migrants (Matthews, 2008; Pinson and Arnot, 2007) led to a gap in the educational discourse and practice of teachers. Taylor and Sidhu (2012) have argued that the specific needs of refugee students have been ignored by education policy-makers and research, which has focused on migrant and multicultural education. By being excluded from both academic research and public educational policy, it builds a context for a lack of addressing the significant educational disadvantages held by refugee students, as there are no targeted policies or organisational frameworks to do so (Kaye, 1994; Taylor and Sidhu, 2012). Additionally, exam results show that refugee students perform worse than native students (McBride, 2018 and Rutter, 2006 as examples). As well as the lack of research and policies, it can be questioned as to whether students receive a 'quality' education as prescribed by the UN<sup>62</sup>, or just simply, a mediocre education lacking some of the skills needed to develop and succeed in later life (Kaukko and Wilkinson, 2018). Before the barriers towards education are explored, it is important to recognise the barriers caused before arrival through trauma of experience and experiences on arrival. These experiences, such as physical and psychological violence that are experienced by refugee students, and the influence of such experiences on children's learning have been explored in detail (Daud, Klinteberg, and Rydelius, 2008; Graham, Minhas, and Paxton, 2016; Montgomery, 2011). The trauma and distress experienced by some young people before leaving their countries, or during their journeys did leave many refugee students valuing highly the educational opportunities they had received after arriving in the UK as their previous educational experiences were very variable (Chase, Knight and Statham, 2008). Forced migration and education, in relation to these pre-migration challenges like fragmented educational history

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<sup>62</sup> Article 26 is the right to a quality education in the UN's International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx> [accessed 9/3/2019]

(UNCHR, 2016) has been studied, along with the low-quality or the lack of availability of schools in areas of war and transit (Dryden-Peterson, 2016), and consequent gaps in refugee students' literacy and other academic skills (Brown et al., 2006; Roy and Roxas, 2011).

Although difficulties faced on arrival and over their status are important to understanding refugee and asylum-seeking students' success at school, Rutter (2006) criticises the focus on the trauma experiences of refugee children at the expense of a concern with their educational experiences. In her 2006 review, she reported that about 76% of the material covered psychological research about trauma, which impedes a real analysis of their backgrounds and experiences if we simply view the refugee child as 'traumatised'. Rutter agrees that there are a number of other experiences post-migration that are important to consider such as poverty, isolation, racism and uncertain migration status (2006). Chase, Knight and Statham (2008) suggest that age disputes on arrival in the UK cause significant distress for young people, which can be a barrier to their development and learning. This, alongside other issues like the extended use of social workers to assess age; use of X-Rays to determine age; ending the use of discretionary leave for children who are refused asylum; and working with overseas governments to make the necessary reception arrangements to return children whose claims are refused, all add additional burdens to those young people that have come to the UK to seek refuge, who most of the time in these studies are unaccompanied (Chase, Knight and Statham, 2008).

The refugee students' well-being has not been documented well. In their study, Chase, Knight and Statham found that the best form of help for students' emotional well-being was to attend school (2008: 89). Even if it was challenging for those students that speak little English on arrival, it provides a 'normalising' experience. (Candappa and Egharevba, 2000; Hopkins and Hill, 2010; McBride, 2018, Peterson et al., 2017). This combats other situations where educational experiences created anxieties and stress for young people. These included problems arising from inappropriate educational assessments when migrant students entered a school; not having earlier educational experiences taken into account; and assumptions made about how well young people could do solely based on their language ability (Chase, Knight and Statham, 2008). The effects of this could be either a decrease in motivation or a loss of valuable time working their way up through the various ability levels in the school before they were able to achieve their full potential.

Despite their determination and successes, many young refugees face difficulties in moving on further with their education. Chase, Knight and Statham suggest that the older they are

on arrival in the UK, the more difficult it is for them to access and benefit from education (2008). Other barriers to consider are arriving part-way through a school year, which could pose difficulties in gaining a place at a local school. As Kaukko and Wilkinson (2018) posit, refugee students and their families often have high aspirations for educational opportunities in their host countries (Isik-Ercan, 2012; Luster et al., 2010). Post-migration conditions, such as studying in a foreign language and in unfamiliar educational systems and adapting to new societies bring challenges to their learning (Brenner and Kia-Keating, 2016; Matthews, 2008). This is echoed by the health, poverty and housing issues faced by refugees which impact the lives of children in and out of school (Block et al., 2014).

Roy and Roxas (2011) note that many teachers feel like they do not have the knowledge or training required to respond to the academic and social needs of refugee students, nor the professional experience (Wilkinson et al., 2012). Many schools do not consider the young peoples' previous learning and can also fail to recognise other skills, capabilities and subjugated knowledges, which refugee students bring to the formal learning environment (Wilkinson, Santoro, and Major, 2017; Yosso, 2005). This can lead to unreasonably low expectations (Baak, 2018) and inappropriate pedagogies (Pastoor, 2017). Jones and Rutter (1998) argued that resources for refugee education were inadequate, and that refugee children were often seen as 'problems' – rather than having the potential to bring positive elements into the classroom, and evidence suggests this is still the case (NALDIC, 2017). Jones and Rutter (1998) identified the main issues as delivering adequate language support, providing all students with information and understanding about refugee students' experiences, and meeting the students' psycho-social and emotional needs (Roxas, 2011; Tran and Birman, 2017). Effective teaching may be limited by the lack of range of ethnicities found in the classroom and the absence of minority ethnic groups in the school (Cline et al., 2002). If diversity is not identified as a school priority this could be a barrier to learning. The opposite to this is also true, if, like the Aiming High African-Caribbean Achievement project found, schools adopt a colour/culture 'blind' approach where diversity is not valued (DfES, 2003a; Tikly et al., 2006). NALDIC suggest that when teaching about refugees, teachers should be aware that the classes they teach may have children from a refugee background in them. They suggest that thinking about the experiences and insecurities of those students is paramount as there may be things that cannot be discussed openly and refugee students will not want to be singled out. However, many refugee pupils appreciate increased awareness and understanding about their experiences (NALDIC, 2012), something that is vital to remember during this research project, and when thinking about its implications.

## UK policies and practice towards refugee education

Since the Notting Hill Race Riots in 1958<sup>63</sup> there have been numerous reports detailing the need to deal with ethnic differences and racism in Britain, leading towards Multicultural Education in the UK (for example: Political and Economic Planning & Research Services (Daniel, 1968); Swann Report (DfEs, 1985); Cattle Report (Home Office, 2001); Macpherson Report (Macpherson, 1999); Parekh Report (Parekh, 2000)). This, coupled with the development of National Curricula as seen in chapter 1, *should* leave England in a position of developed multicultural education. This *should* then be reflected in a willingness, and duty to help refugee students too.

The Refugee Council (2018) explains that education is compulsory for all children from 5 to 16 including children seeking asylum. This is not always the case. As seen in chapter 1 and 2, there are many barriers to education for refugee students, and destitution is one of them. Asylum seeking children may attend mainstream schools local to where they live under the same conditions, formally, as other children in their area (2018). However, as the Asylum in Europe website explains, destitution may affect refugee students' access to education.

Additionally, guidance to Ofsted inspectors from 2009, on what to look for in EAL teaching was brief. Although now withdrawn, 'English as an Additional Language: A briefing paper for section 5 inspectors' (Ofsted, 2012) included the advice that "specialist EAL support should be available for new arrivals from qualified teachers" or those with appropriate training (Ofsted, 2012:4). In the 2014 inspection framework, the progress and outcomes for EAL and bilingual pupils formed part of the inspection regime. Inspectors were to evaluate "how well individual pupils benefit from the education provided by their school" (Ofsted, 2014b:34). A new Ofsted measure was brought in in 2017 to state that if a student arrived in the country in the last two years and came from a country where English is not the official language, they can be omitted from the school's results<sup>64</sup>. There has also been a real term cut to government spending on education meaning that schools have changed priorities in funding, cutting Special Educational Needs (SEN) and EAL staff. Although it could be argued that the

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<sup>63</sup> According to Warwick University, the Notting Hill Riots took place in late August and early September 1958. "North Kensington (including Notting Hill) was an impoverished area of London, with high crime rates and a shortage of housing. Tensions between members of the white working class and the new African Caribbean residents broke into open violence in 1958 and 1959 with attacks by white youths ('Teddy Boys') on Caribbean people and properties, followed by counter-attacks by members of the Caribbean population." See <https://warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/studying/docs/racism/riots> [accessed 16/2/2021]

<sup>64</sup> <https://www.naldic.org.uk/eal-teaching-and-learning/fags/> [accessed 9/3/2019]. At the time of writing I am awaiting an official response from the DfE to show that this is the case, even though official EAL websites like NALDIC have the information on their sites as above.



results of this would be negative for refugee and migrant students, there is currently no up to date research on the topic since the changes.

This section has looked at refugee education, policies, practice and barriers in relation to refugee students in schools in England. The importance of this research is that there are clear policies of best practice in teaching refugees, but no specific rules in education. There is an understanding that refugee students should be progressing, but with no funding or specific help given from the government, and there are gaps when it comes to subject specific practice, and ideas of refugee student misconceptions of subjects and teacher misconceptions of refugee students.

### **2.3 Student and teacher perspectives**

In this section I will explore literature on the theme of identity. The idea of identity is important threefold to this research. Firstly, in that of the teachers involved in the research, their placement of the importance of the subject, their beliefs and understandings. This is projected in what and how they teach and is important for me to be aware of within the study. Secondly, the identity of the students being studied. In this section I will explore how identity informs their beliefs, ideas and way of learning. Finally, I will evaluate literature around myself and my identity as both a professional teacher and researcher and how this will influence the way that I think about the research and findings.

#### **Teacher identity**

Teacher identity is important in reasons people decide to become a teacher and their subject identity is important to why they are successful in engaging students (Brooks, 2016). Since 2016 Britain has had the issue of a teacher recruitment and retention crisis (Parliament, House of Commons, 2019), which Brooks also argues is because the right type of people need to become teachers, ones who can make progress as they know how to use the subject knowledge they have. Teacher identity according to Brooks is formed by a multitude of things, including their implicit values and beliefs, subject identity, their own narratives, stories and subject knowledge. The OECD<sup>65</sup> Report (2005) on the international picture of teacher recruitment and retention offers the summary that there are a number of shortfalls within teaching, for example whether enough teachers have the knowledge and skills to meet school needs, maintaining an adequate supply of good quality teachers and

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<sup>65</sup> The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is an intergovernmental economic organisation with 37 member countries, founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade.

the image and status of teaching in Britain. This matched with no increased government spending on education, and increased workloads means that many teachers are focussing on getting time-consuming initiatives completed, which are designed to control performance rather than benefit students' educational development (Galton and MacBeath, 2008). This can affect student learning, and student identity, as well as change the moral dimensions of a teacher's identity. Day and Gu (2010) call for a refocus on teacher identity as a response to the pressures of reform, and Ball and Goodson (1985) suggest that teacher identity changes over time, as they become invested in particular aspects or facets of their role.

Teachers bring their own perspectives to teaching (Sachs, 2003) as well as subject knowledge from training, professional knowledge and moral dimensions (Clandinin and Connelly, 1995). Rather than being seen as just delivering the government's curricula and *Fundamental British Values* (Counter-Terrorism and Security Act, 2015; DfE, 2014; OFSTED, 2014), Sachs (2003) recognises that teachers may have perspectives on school policies, education policies and research from both education and subject fields that can also influence their practice. This means that being a professional may spill over into their personal lives, as well as vice versa. As this is the case, both Timperley et al. (2007) and Askew et al. (1997) suggest that to focus on teacher improvement, it is perhaps not about narrative, or subject knowledge, or, what they know, but, the belief system that accompanies that knowledge. To tap in to this is important for understanding why things are taught, how they are engaged with, and how students will progress.

The teacher's ethnicity is also important. Although there are not many studies looking at the impact of teacher ethnicity on their teaching or student learning<sup>66</sup>, there are studies that explore the teacher population and participation. Teacher population of schools does not coincide with the student profile of schools when it comes to ethnicity. Boyle and Charles (2011) explain that outside of London, all schools have over 97% White teachers (83% in London). Banks and Banks (2010) posit that the ethnic composition of a truly multicultural society should be reflected thoroughly in schools, through the pupils, teachers and curriculum. Although, in London, student population meets the standards of a multicultural society, the teacher profile is far off. Blackstone (1998) shows that it is well understood that ethnicity is one of the strongest variables determining pupil participation, for example,

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<sup>66</sup> One of the best for examples, cited in many New York Times articles, is Gershonson and Papageorge, 2017 <https://www.educationnext.org/power-of-teacher-expectations-racial-bias-hinders-student-attainment/> [accessed 27/10/2020]. Many of the articles calling for diverse teaching and increased visibility of diverse teachers cite from articles that link back to the above.

ethnic minorities aged between 16 and 19 are more likely to attend a school or college than White people at the same age. If the teacher ethnicity matched that of the students, Tikly et al. (2006) argue that progress and achievement of ethnic minority students would be higher.

### **Student identity**

Identities construction is a political issue (Arendt, 1959), dominated by multiple considerations and politics of representation. Identity as a concept, particularly ethnic identity is important to our understanding of education, multicultural education, History education and Holocaust education. Ethnic identity is the fundamental aspect of the self that is associated with an individual's belonging to an ethnic group, and their behaviours and thoughts associated with the membership (Phinney, 1996; Spencer et al., 2000). Rather than explaining the different ways in which adolescent ethnic identity formation has been researched, I will explain Phinney's conceptualisation of the idea. Phinney (1990, 1996) explains that it has three stages, the first being foreclosure, where adolescents conform to the dominant culture without examining theirs; second is moratorium (exploration) in which after a critical incident or crisis that leads to a search for ethnic identity and exploration; the final stage is ethnic identity achievement. This is when the adolescent appreciates their own ethnicity and accepts the ethnicity of others, even if that is where there is a cultural or status difference between them, further ideas of this will be explored within my ontology and epistemology in chapter 3. This ethnic identity is what Rumbaut argues is important as youths compare themselves to those around them, based on their similarities or dissimilarities of markers like race, gender, religion, nationality etc, and although ethnicity is not the most important, when the adolescent finds themselves aware of or part of discriminatory practices, ethnicity becomes the most salient part of identity (Allen, 2005; Rumbaut, 1994). Although ethnicity has been used to help distinguish between minority groups, there are limitations when applying this 'ethnic identity' to Muslims in particular, as a 'group' of diverse ethnicities cultures, languages, and nationalities (Shah, 2005). Bloch (2018) posits that for the second generation that have been born in the UK, there is more of a hunger for the narratives to help them to make sense of their pasts, their present and possible futures, and this family narrative is also important in the construction of an identity. As Shah suggests, a serious issue for these adolescents, whether migrant, refugee or second generation is 'where they belong' (2005).

The question of belonging can be seen in Sporton and Valentine's study of Somali refugee and asylum seeking young people in Sheffield (2007). They found that Somali children have

limited memories and experiences of Somalia, so gain their Somalian identity from their families and communities. This tends to first and foremost be about being Muslim. Sporton and Valentine suggest that this is because of a loss of attachment to a place, therefore being 'Muslim' is the most important and consistent way of defining themselves (2007). This is at odds of their sense of belonging, particularly in Britain, as they are wary of claiming the imagined White identity of a British identity, something that is only exacerbated by integration policies which stress national identity (Sporton and Valentine, 2007).

Allard and Santoro (2004) argue that the worldwide shift towards 'globalisation' is reflected in what change is needed by teachers, away from current colonialist understandings of pedagogy, to prepare students take their place in a world that will be vastly different from that which we know today. There is an expectation that that education will produce skilled citizens for the knowledge economy (Allard and Santoro 2004), however, there is an increased emphasis, according to Elliot, to internationalise the curriculum (1999). Lo Blanco (2009) agrees that governments realised that the teaching consequences from having a diverse population with different languages led to a more global education system. Language learning and teaching in general he argues, exist to develop skills for a global trade market, which will further the country and develop a national identity. Lo Blanco also suggests that although many countries try to suggest they are conducting multicultural education, of many different cultures and languages, what they are doing is what they have always done in terms of serving the goals of language socialisation and homogeneity in the interests of national identity (Lo Blanco, 2009). The argument of whether education is being used for globalisation and therefore the identities that students form from this are those that are deemed important by the government (like a national identity over personal one) are important in thinking about the identity of the students and teachers that I will be researching.

Acculturation versus assimilation of students, particularly refugees is important to consider (Nwosu and Barnes, 2014). Acculturation, typically occurring through long-term cross-cultural contact is the process by which individuals or groups experience behavioural or attitude changes due to immersion in a different culture (McBrien, 2005). This is different to assimilation, in which the newly arrived person or group actively lose their own culture for that of the community in which they have joined (Berry, 2009; Irvine and Berry, 1988). This is important to think about in terms of student identity, as it is nationally accepted that although Britain is a multicultural society, the newly arrived groups are to assimilate for their ethnic and cultural differences to be accepted (Rutter, 2006). Shah (2007) takes this further

when looking at the complicated educational context for Muslim learners and non-Muslim teachers. Because of negative discourses of Muslims, in schools the assumptions of school leaders and teachers of students' socio-cultural practices influence their attitudes and practices towards the Muslim learners, which in turn affects their engagement and performance (Abbas, 2004; Shah, 2005).

Identity itself can be a barrier to learning and wellbeing (Chase et al., 2006). This is not only the case for refugees and migrants but anyone that does not fit the idea of the 'norm'. Shah (2007) suggests that some of the barriers that Muslim students are facing in English secondary schools include stereotyping, negative assumptions, racism, media hostility, association with terrorism, religious hatred, and discrimination. This will impact their engagement and achievement, but also importantly will affect their thoughts about identity in an educational context. It is understood however, that to explore this further is difficult, as looking at ethnic achievement is challenging, as seen when investigating gender, socio-economic background, school factor, population mix and region (Abbas, 2004; Anwar and Baksh, 2002; DES, 2003; Gilborn, 1990; Haque and Bell, 2001). What is agreed however, is that those that are marked as different do continue to fail to achieve equivalent educational outcomes (Allard and Santoro, 2004; Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003; Giroux, 2004; Teese et al., 1995). Here the onus falls to teachers to find ways to bring raise achievement through an understanding of how these students learn in different ways (Delpit, 1995; Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2000; Rasool and Curtis, 2000). This onus therefore is not to just improve the outcomes, but to produce a more socially just and equal educational agenda, thus developing students and teachers to have a more critically aware and activist approach to knowledge (Robinson, 1999).

The inequality of education for students that are 'different' through parental choice is large, however it is somewhat worse in terms of the disadvantage that refugee and asylum seeker children face in the educational system (Sporton and Valentine, 2007). Disadvantages can arise from the situation of asylum, whether they are accompanied, past experiences and languages spoken at home. The difference between students who speak different languages at home and school may contribute to the relative underachievement of children from minority ethnic backgrounds. This is also because, for white middle-class families, the language patterns used in the home emulate those that are taught in the classroom (Sporton and Valentine, 2007).

It is clearly not just language alone. The identity of refugee and migrant students sits within a mixture of experience, religion, generational longing and other factors. For example, the Somali refugee and asylum-seeking students in Berns McGowan's 1999 study, who, like non-Asian and non-Middle Eastern Muslims, following migration, also placed an important focus of their lives and identities on their religion. What Sporton and Valentine add to this in 2007 was that Religious Education (of the Qur'an particularly) is important to their child's education too, and the increased importance of a Muslim identity leads (as an example) to some women and girls dressing in accordance with Islam in ways that they would not have done when they were in Somalia (Sporton and Valentine, 2007).

Mosselson (2006) argued that this sense of a questioned identity, one that feels stronger away from home, is not necessarily evident in the case of refugee and asylum-seeking students. Refugee and immigrant children do have similar experiences when dealing with new language and cultures, even new beliefs and values that are considered normal in their new societies (Kaprielian-Churchill & Churchill, 1994; Mosselson, 2006). However, refugees are compelled to leave out of force without choice or chance to return home. The lack of state, citizenship or nationality can leave them to feel powerless (Ogbu, 1991). This lack of certainty leaves identity forming at the bottom of a very long list of things to confront.

The focus on identity is important when looking at the works of Finkelstein (2000) it is important to remember that the power-laden agenda can be wider than just the idea of Holocaust education in schools. The political construct of the Holocaust industry has led to the creation of many institutions, research bases and commissions within the UK alone. This, coupled with the *British Values* and other national curriculum specific agenda shows that education itself is based on Arendt's idea of the European model of the nation state (1943) that of a homogenising, self-gratifying state, that is dependent on the fabrication of stateless and displaced peoples. The narrative from the government in education, does not match the needs of all students in British education. Hegel's view of history can be seen in British education today – a government responding to their own needs and desires, prejudices and preferences, wielding power to respond to social environments rather than thinking of the needs, identities, and benefits of others (Hegel, 1953; Arendt, 1958). These issues around the identity of students as learners is important to consider and will be explored further in chapter 3.

### **Teacher identity in relation to student identity**

Numerous studies focus on the professional identity of teachers (for example, Beijaard et al. 2004; Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009). In Beijaard's 2000 study, the teacher–student relationship appeared to be an important element within teachers' professional identity. Van Der Want et al. (2018) study teacher burnout in relation to interpersonal relationships and teachers' self-efficacy, or the extent to which the teacher believes they have the capacity to affect their desired outcome on student engagement and learning. This is also explored by others (for example Brouwers and Tomic, 2000, Tschannen-Moran and Woolfolk Hoy, 2001), who suggest that the teacher's self-efficacy influences their effort, investment and goals in the classroom. Van der Want et al.'s earlier research (2015) linked teachers' actions in the classroom and their interpersonal identity standards in forming their interpersonal role identity. They went on to research how this interpersonal role identity is to some degree important for self-efficacy, burnout and work engagement (Van Der Want et al., 2018). Their suggestions were when training teachers to work on teachers' interpersonal role identity as it will affect teachers' self-efficacy (Canrinus et al., 2011) which will help them develop.

Other literature on teacher training highlights the importance of identity in teacher development (see Freese, 2006; Hoban, 2007; Olsen, 2008; Sachs, 2005). These studies explore the shift in identity of teachers as they move through training and assume positions as teachers in schools. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) explore how teachers' identities shift throughout their career because of interactions within schools and communities. Identity, particularly for teachers, is dynamic and influenced by both individual factors and the job (Flores & Day, 2006; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Sachs, 2005; Van Veen & Slegers, 2006; Zembylas, 2003). The notion of identity is difficult to define, but Mead (1934) led the way in explaining that identity revolves around the notion of the self, or self-concept, and its relationship to identity. For teachers, identity is shaped and reshaped through interacting with others in a professional context (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009). Identity can also be viewed regarding the profession itself – as professional identity (Freese, 2006). Beijaard et al. (2000) look at identity as the professional knowledge teachers need to possess, as seen when exploring teacher and subject identity. Both of these aspects are crucial to teacher development, and therefore to the student-teacher relationship and student engagement and progress (Lipka & Brinthaupt, 1999).

Emotion may alter a teachers' identity in relation to the profession but also by the profession (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009; Hargreaves 1998; Hargreaves, 2001). The nature of teaching and teachers, as caring, is often highly valued by both those entering into and

already established within the profession, and the caring that teachers want to show implies a perspective that they take on their own identity (O'Connor, 2007). Emotions are involved throughout the life of a teacher, affecting their identity. There could be periods of education reform which affect teachers' personal and professional identity because of the level of emotion involved (van Veen, Slegers, & van de Ven, 2005; van Veen & Slegers, 2006). Acknowledging the connection between agency and identity is as important as understanding emotions as part of identity. The link between identity and agency in teaching is noted throughout literature (for example, Day et al., 2006; Parkinson, 2008). When a teacher is aware of their identity, their performance within teaching is affected by a sense of agency – empowerment to move ideas forward, reach goals or transform things (Beauchamp and Thomas, 1999). This understanding that a teacher's identity has multiple dimensions, both fixed and fluid, suggests that agency may be involved in the shaping of teachers' identity and the tensions among them (Day et al., 2006). By accepting the crucial role that teachers play within institutions and society, the idea of agency permitted by their identities is powerful (Parkinson, 2008). Agency associated with the shaping of identity is clearly linked to the ways that teachers are influenced by and interact with a variety of educational contexts. Student and teacher roles in the classroom, power relationships and myself as a researcher, will be explored further in chapter 3.

### **Political and legal changes and identity**

Since 2006, to acquire British citizenship one must understand the English language. British governments had historically been much less prescriptive (Back et al., 2002; Kofman, 2005a; Kymlicka, 2003). Valentine, Sporton and Nielsen (2009) argue that this is because of the UK's colonial history, making the issue of naturalisation more sensitive than in other countries, as the post-Empire immigration patterns to the UK are more complex. These policy changes on immigration are reflected in education, which therefore brings an awareness both of how students are made to form identity at school, and what barriers they face through a nationalised curriculum. Kymlicka (2003) argues that it was always considered difficult to suggest that immigrants to the UK needed re-socialising into British culture given many had been raised in societies whose legal, political, and education were designed by British imperial masters. These beginnings of multiculturalism in the UK have meant that migrants to the UK have had some freedom in defining their own identities within their communities. The UK's Commission for Racial Equality, which became the Equality and Human Rights



Commission<sup>67</sup>, were designed to improve antiracism and to advance the rights of minority ethnic groups (Wren, 2001). This shows that the ideas of globalisation and multiculturalism within schools affects how young people see themselves. As Collet (2007), Papastergiadis' (1998) and Hall (1999) suggest, the diasporic identities formed are highly sensitive and react to specific social, cultural and historical contexts, which explains why Valentine, Sporton and Nielsen found that the majority of young people they interviewed identified first and foremost as Muslim and Somali, with many disavowing the identity 'British' (2009).

One way the government could deal with these differing identities, cultural values and languages is through education (Cohen, 1972). The pride of the British of their democracy and parliamentary system is one that prevents development and understanding of differences (Pearce, 2020b). The basis of this system is on the language that is believed to be a 'fair go for all' as a cultural-linguistic basis for a national curriculum (Kostogriz, 2009). This is forgetting that identity, and the issues behind it permeate all languages, education systems and most societies, so perhaps unlike globalisation or multiculturalism, world mindedness is the way to move towards in teaching (Friedman, 2001). This is a way of overcoming problems in language teaching through the persistence of interests, which develops individuals' identities through education.

Collet also argues that education is used as a tool to carry out political socialisation through educational mandates (2007). In his study of Canadian Somalis, Collet suggests because Canada is a parliamentary democracy they have a vested interest in fostering an informed and active citizenship which is reflected in educational mandates (Collet, 2007; Epstein and McGinn, 2000). The development of Canadian multiculturalism policy, much like in Britain, stems from the 1960s and pressures for ethnic tolerance and the growing realisation of structural inequalities between immigrant groups and calls for change. This was met by a multiculturalism policy which has been implemented through formal education (Collet, 2007). According to Epstein and McGinn, political socialisation involves the socialisation into a culture that supports a particular political structure (2000), and the main instruction with engaging citizens is through children at school. Waters and LeBlanc suggest that the aim of schools is to create a homogenous understanding of national and patriotic identity (2005), which is why the politics, philosophy and citizenship ideals that students develop as part of

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<sup>67</sup> The Commission for Racial Equality information can be found at <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/commission-for-racial-equality> [accessed 16/2/2020] and on the Equality and Human Rights Commission <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/equality-and-human-rights-commission> [accessed 16/2/2021]

their identity often comes from schooling at the most formative stages of childhood and adolescence (Braungart & Braungart, 1997). However, political socialisation is not the full story to national identity forming and individual identities being influenced, as both student and teacher identity in terms of morals and beliefs is at play, as well as the idea that students are not simply receivers of knowledge. Further ideas of this will be explored within my ontology and epistemology in chapter 3.

#### **2.4 Conclusions**

It is with these studies in mind that I need to consider the potential trauma that learning about the Holocaust could cause with refugee students, who have themselves escaped difficult and potentially disturbing experiences, particularly when designing my research instrument. I hope to consider how we can as a profession expect the learning that happens to be the same, but also with the strains on the education system how can teachers be expected to know every detail about every students' background to tailor the learning (Research Question 2). I would also want to explore whether the Holocaust curriculum is one that means it can be tailored easily to differentiate hugely between students in the same lesson (Research Question 3). I would also want to consider what as a researcher I can provide teachers with to help them deconstruct students' prior experience, and whether that is that ethically appropriate for all students (impact). Additionally, questioning what can be put in place to ensure that when learning about the Holocaust students do learn whatever their school aims are, but without additional trauma and fear. Finally to deliberate whether there is a way of using student knowledge on antisemitism to propel learning about the Holocaust and ensure that they stay engaged without feeling that their experiences are being lessened, yet without being the focus of attention in a lesson (Research Question 3 and 4). The importance of teaching about the Holocaust as Bauer (2001) and Ceserani (2001) argue, is to ensure that the Holocaust both remains relevant to students and not just a study of hatred at the expense of understanding the reasons and motivations for the genocide. If this is to be upheld, then we must remember that teaching about the Holocaust is only counterproductive if it is bad teaching (Ceserani, 2004).

### **3. Chapter Three: Methodology and Method**

Chapter 3 builds upon the literature that has gone before. Atkins and Wallace (2012) place paramount importance on the explanation of the rationale and design of the research and linking that to the research questions and epistemological standpoint. Therefore, this chapter seeks to explore the nature and type of knowledge which this research project will be examining in relation to the research questions. On Clough and Nutbrown's (2012) guidance I will also explore the research approach taken and the methodological standpoint, whilst considering the different research parameters and the context of the sample used in the data collection. The data collection method will be explicated and justified, and the intentions of the data collection are explored. Relevant ethical considerations will be challenged considering the methodological choices will be made.

#### **3.1 Methodology**

Denscombe (2007) states that research reports need to include a description of the method and data collection, and Clough and Nutbrown explain the "justification of methods used in relation to the construction of knowledge" (2012:36). This section explores ideas on the construction of knowledge, the methods chosen to research the knowledge in the classroom and beyond, and how I intend to understand the engagement of students with learning about the Holocaust. To explain the knowledge of the students, it is important to explain my epistemological standpoint; "how we know what we know" (Crotty, 1998:8) or the relationship between "the knower and what can be known" (Guba and Lincoln, 1998:201). This way, there is a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible (Maynard, 1994), the means of knowledge acquisition and the relationship between the external world and our perceptions of its existence (Knowles and Cole, 2002).

The epistemological approach that I hold true, views the creation of knowledge as complex and sophisticated due to the nature of human thought and human agency (Crotty, 1998). As Crotty states in his definition of Constructivism, 'truth or meaning, comes into the existence in and out of our engagement with the realities of the world... different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon' (Crotty, 1998:9). Epistemologically, the phenomenon is constructed and the status of that is a reality outside of the mind, therefore, ontologically, the status of something may be real, even though the meaning of it needs to be constructed (Crotty, 1998). This is relevant to my studies in thinking about the make up of the classroom. Considering what the students are learning from their teachers' knowledge, understanding and experiences and how that then

adds to the schemata of knowledge and experience that the students have. It is this consideration when it comes to refugee students that is particularly worthy of note to consider.

### **Constructivism v Pragmatism**

Although the paradigms of Pragmatism and Constructivism may seem to be at odds (Neubert and Reich, 2006), this would be because Pragmatism was a view that rejected the dualistic epistemology of modern philosophy, to follow a more naturalistic approach of knowledge arising from an active adaptation of the human organism to its environment (Weaver, 2018). Although this fits with the understanding of Constructionists, the differences fall in terms of enquiry and actions. The Pragmatists' view is that enquiry should not be understood as consisting of a mind passively observing the world so truth then corresponds to reality, but more that an on-going process of checks and obstacles to human action develop the manipulation of the environment to test hypotheses and overcome issues to allow human action to proceed again (Fesmire, 2003). The worldview of Pragmatists is one that focuses on what works rather than what might be considered absolutely and objectively 'true' or 'real' and that truth could be judged by its consequence (Festenstein, 1997). Therefore, meaning can only be fully understood through its practical consequences; for example, one understands what is meant by a timepiece if one knows what a timepiece does (Weaver, 2018). This is somewhat at odds to our understanding of Constructivism, which is that each individual constructs their experience through social interaction; and the paradigm represents a change from the old focus on explaining phenomena (Denscombe, 2007). The focus on creating meaning and knowledge is put on the study of humans within the context of their social and cultural lives to gain a knowledge constructed in the exchange between researcher and participant. However, there are many similarities between the two that mean they can work in tangent. Dewey's take on pragmatic philosophy is a rich and multi-layered approach with many Constructive insights and ideas (Neubert and Reich, 2006), showing that the two can be approached together in the same project. The core philosophical concept of Dewey's pragmatism is "experience" (Dewey, 1933). This is very instructive and bears several important implications for Constructivism. Within Dewey's concept of Pragmatism, human experience is a lived presence that builds on the past and stretches into the future. It is a world of action, and experiences whereby meanings are socially co-constructed by those who participate in interactions in both a natural and cultural environment (Neubert and Reich, 2006). This

coexists well with the Constructivism implied in his philosophy of experience as grounded in culture or "the Social" (Dewey, 1933).

This idea of interactive, or to some extent, Social Constructivism straddles both Pragmatism and Constructivism, and claims that that realities are constructed by observers, who as observers are always at the same time agents and participants in cultural practices, routines, and institutions as well (Neubert and Reich, 2006). This is most relevant to my research taking place in a school. There are a number of institutions, agents and constraints at play that could affect all manner of different things across the research, and the understanding and acceptance of this through Pragmatism and Social Constructivism will help the research be successful. One example of this is the students that are of refugee background, being in different classes, or having less English literacy. As an observer in their lessons, and an agent in their interviews, I can both understand this and, as will be discussed when looking at power relationships, form part of the realities they experience.

### **Grounded Theory**

Grounded Theory originated through research in hospitals from Glaser and Strauss (1967). Created as a challenge to the contemporary focus on positivism that dominated research, which Glaser and Strauss viewed as unscientific and lacking rigor (McCann & Clark, 2003). Grounded Theory offered a qualitative approach rooted in ontological critical realism and epistemological objectivity (Annells, 1997). The main goal is to discover an emerging theory that fits and works to explain a process and is understandable to those involved in the process. The quality of a Grounded Theory is not evaluated according to the standard criteria of test theory, i.e. objectivity, reliability and validity, but according to criteria such as credibility, plausibility, and trustworthiness (Vollstedt and Rezat, 2019). In 2006, Charmaz (2014) introduced a new approach to Grounded Theory, from a constructionist paradigm. Charmaz (2000) introduces a stance of "multiple social realities," but refers to an empirical world. Charmaz left the key inductive strategies intact but moved away from the objective stance of the researcher to recognise the researcher's role in constructing the data and theory. As the qualitative research world continues to move through the "moments" as defined by Denzin and Lincoln (2005); Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original version fits within the postpositivist paradigm, Charmaz's (2014) version moved towards the constructionist paradigm, and now, with the shift towards the interpretivist paradigm fits Corbin and Strauss's (2008) version of Grounded Theory. It is the latest version within which I will be placing my research. The end product is conceptualisation rather than description; the

development of a multivariate theory that accounts for the main concern of participants, and the focus is on what the main concern for participants is and how it is resolved or processed, without any preconceptions of the problem (Alvita and Andrews, 2010). The procedures in Grounded Theory will be structured as so to deal with the preconceptions and will be touched on throughout my explanation of the data collection and data analysis below. One final thing to explore, is to make sense of the fact that I have placed my literature review before my data collection. Strauss and Corbin (1998) consider the use of the literature early in the research process to stimulate theoretical sensitivity and generate hypotheses, which is where my research questions come from.

The purpose of this study is not to generalise from a sample to a population, therefore the trends and patters within it could be obtained from a relatively small sample. To encourage an exploration of students' thoughts, opinions and knowledge, qualitative methods were the most appropriate (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). Constructivism and the Grounded Theory models are typically used by qualitative researchers (Denscombe, 2002; 2007). In practical terms, I recognised the importance of using research methods which would enable students to demonstrate their engagement and understanding of the Holocaust, but I was aware of the complexities of various aspects of the Holocaust that would need other research methods. As there would be some aspects which may be particularly nuanced and difficult to express through simple written answers on a questionnaire, this merited research methods such as interviews, both group and individual (Drever, 2003).

It is important to remember that when the students enter their classroom for their History lessons, different experiences shape and have shaped the way that they construct and interpret the information that they receive, informing their knowledge and giving them a sense of the past (Chisholm, 1977). It is this sense of the past that is important, particularly when studying their learning and engagement in History. This is because as Donovan and Bransford (2005) state that the preconceptions that students develop from everyday experiences are often more difficult for teachers to change because they generally work and therefore are proved correct in day-to-day life. Lee (1984) expresses that 'History is concerned with the study of the past' (p19) and that 'History supplies the only rational means of investigating the past' (p4). It therefore shows that claims about the past must be grounded in evidence rather than just known with no context or evidence. This is the same as knowledge which is important to remember when deepening understanding through questions with students – their knowledge and perceptions do not come simply from the classroom.

As seen in Section 2.4 the research question came about through the study of the literature and the experiences I was having as a professional, teaching in schools. Creswell (2003) posits that this is reflective of the nature of Constructivists as they do not generally begin with a theory, rather they “generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meanings throughout the research process” (Creswell, 2003:9). As Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) suggest, this research relied on qualitative data collection methods and analysis with some quantitative data used to support the qualitative data to deepen the analysis and description of it. Throughout this research it is important to bear in mind that I am a Constructivist but I am drawing from Grounded Theory, but am not wedded to it, as seen from my influence of pragmatism.

### **3.2 Data collection methods**

In line with my ontological and epistemological standpoints as outlined above, the method of data collection I have applied is qualitative. This is to generate more talking with the participants, something Drever (2003) observed as being important to get information, opinions or ideas from people, particularly in the teaching profession. Qualitative research leads to more natural and comprehensive data, but more importantly, to construct meaning from the participants, there needs to be access to their experiences (Sikes, 2004), which I did using methods such as interviews and observations. These meanings are in line with the interpretivist and Constructivist paradigm too, as the meanings, or realities, are constructed through interactions between the researcher and the researched (Crotty, 1998). These interactions enable researchers to find ways of evaluating human interactions beyond the binary, or scientific, which is why qualitative research is rooted in the work of social historians and educational researchers amongst others.

Although I understand the main limitation of qualitative methods is the data it produces, its biggest weaknesses are its biggest advantages (see, for example, Miles, 1979; Stake, 1995). Erickson (1986) posits that the results of qualitative research reduces the data to assertions rather than findings and can leave the researcher with more questions than answers (Lee, 1989). The wealth of valid data that could have been yielded by quantitative methods, would not have suited the research questions for this project. The assumed interpretive role of the researcher (Stake, 1995) would enable me to interact more with the participants and explore their experiences and engagement with the topic, and therefore allow me the ability to unpick their constructed realities.

### **Research context**

I was aware from reading and discussion with peers that I did not want to conduct the study as an action research project within my own professional context. I felt I would have been too invested with my professional place in the research and therefore the data may be compromised (Atkins and Wallace, 2012; Opie, 2004). Being a part-time PhD student working in a school full time (initially), I was aware that the parameters in which I could conduct the research meant that it would have to take place in a context in which I was professionally working in. As I was the only teacher within my school who was explicitly involved in Holocaust education outside of school, it made the decision easier as there were no teachers who had it as a preferential subject to teach, so I could reasonably assume therefore that none would be teaching too far from the scheme of work. The Head Teacher was consulted, and consent (**Appendix A**) was sought from the outset which helped in all aspects of the practicalities of carrying out the research, which will be explored in section 3.5 (Festinger & Katz, 1966).

When selecting my sample, I recognised that the purpose of the research was not to generalise my findings but to understand from case study data the more typical and broad trends with a focus on demographics. There have been no major studies looking into ethnically diverse samples including refugees, it was important to understand that this research could provide a comprehensive study on these students. Therefore, for it to be beneficial for teachers, educators and further research, the sample was as representative as was practically possible (see below). This would also enable it to compare with any future large-scale studies as well as studies such as the research by Pettigrew et al. (2009) and Foster et al. (2016). The sampling will be explored later in this section.

### **The School**

The data was gathered from an urban school in London. A comprehensive school of around 1250 day students, and the school had no religious affiliation. The students come from a wide range of socio-economic, ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Compared to other schools nationally, they have a financially poorer student base with 54.5% students eligible for Free School Meals at any time during the past 6 years<sup>68</sup> and 13.6% being the national average. There are, however, many wealthier students also attending the school.

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<sup>68</sup> Specifics on the breakdown of school data such as EAL numbers, Free School Meal Numbers and other school specific data can be found online at <https://get-information-schools.service.gov.uk/> a government service to find and compare data about schools in England. Additional information was from the school Ofsted reports found at <https://reports.Ofsted.gov.uk>. The specific link to this information is not provided to keep the identity of the school anonymous according to ethics guidance and good practice [accessed 18/7/2018].



The school was used as an opportunity sample, due to ease of access and due to the number of refugee students in mainstream education (Champion, 2002). This meant that I knew that there was ample opportunity for me to explore “Refugee Engagement with Holocaust Education” as my research title suggested.

### **Recruitment and sampling**

In this section I am going to justify my choice of sampling and explain the recruitment process. Understanding the nature of UK schools, term times, the school day and the curriculum restraints, it was clear that there were going to be limits on the size of the sample for the data collection to complete the research. This is somewhat of a necessity according to Denscombe (2007) who suggests that it is then down to the researcher to ensure that the smaller sample is representative of the whole population, which is what the aim was from this research. The aim of selecting those students for interview and then further questioning, arose from an attempt to ensure that the sample size was large enough to reflect the views, experiences and backgrounds of the school, so as to not limit the analysis, inferences and therefore conclusions (Bergen & While, 2000). In line with Denscombe’s advice (2007) for sampling methods, the method used for this study was mainly non-probability (opportunity), logistical sampling. All Year 9 History teachers were approached, as this is when students learn about the Holocaust in the school, and consent was gained from all of them, offering to be involved (see section 3.5). From this the teachers determined the classes that they could be seen with, based on availability (when the classes were taught and how this clashed with other possible classes to observe) and teacher preference. We worked to ensure that the times were not whilst I was teaching, nor times that clashed with other teachers’ lessons that I was invited to see. Although this raises questions about power relations (McCroskey & Richmond, 1983) and the authenticity of the sample (Bell, 2005), the teachers are the professionals in the situation, and I had to follow their lead. By using qualitative research methods, the aim of most qualitative inquiry is to reduce power differences and encourage disclosure and authenticity between researchers and participants (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). It moves away from the foundation of quantitative research, in which the researcher is the ultimate source of authority and promotes the participants’ equal participation in the research process (Crotty, 1998; Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). Taking the lead from the safeguarding policies of the school, the teachers then accessed detailed demographic information to ensure that I could target a

range of backgrounds, ethnicities and achievement levels<sup>69</sup> in the sample, as well as students that were counted from the school intake record<sup>70</sup> as refugees<sup>71</sup>. Initially, this method of sampling was purposive, but it turned out that the most efficient method of selection was through a purposive opportunity sample, for example, participants were selected on particular characteristics (Cohen et al., 2007) such as whether they were considered a refugee. I was aware of the limitations from such a sample (Bell, 2005) therefore it was imperative that I explained what I needed from a sample to the teachers that chose the sample. Therefore, even though the sample was not chosen by me directly, I am the one that designed the study and the parameters of the selection (Denscombe, 2007).

Once the barrier of availability was solved, it was difficult to gauge the willingness of the students. As the staff nominated the students to participate, they were given the opportunity to say no, but there may have been the additional perceived reward (Singer et al., 1999) of being removed from their History lessons to encourage them to take part. Students were, in groups, given a short introduction by me, of the aims of my study and what that would involve from them, to which they were then asked whether they would like to opt in or out of participating (Drever, 2003). They understood that participating was voluntary and only one student withdrew initially as they had music lessons that would get in the way of them being able to participate. I feel like I did not unduly influence their choice to take part, although I was a visitor to the school, I had only recently left as a History teacher there (for more on consent and ethics of recruitment see Section 3.4 and 3.5) (Crotty, 1998). The classes that were chosen to participate were all students that I had not taught in that year group, in an attempt to further ensure I was no influence in participation, however as they understood that I was a teacher, there is an understanding that they may have perceived me as being in a position of authority (Crotty, 1998; Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). This power differential is important to acknowledge, as it is similar between the teachers and researcher. I was aware that the teachers were key players in the research. They had designed the lessons, were the teachers of the sessions I was watching and asking questions about and had helped choose the classes and students to research. During our initial conversations I did take the time to explain how I was not there to make any

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<sup>69</sup> Judged by the teachers based on prior attainment and CAT (cognitive ability test) scores (these are tests taken at the end of Year 6 before the student enters secondary school), and whether the student was EAL or had a Special Educational Needs provision.

<sup>70</sup> When students start at a secondary school in the UK information is taken from them via the parents and primary schools, including whether English is an Additional Language, their refugee or settled status, and nationality and ethnicity.

<sup>71</sup> Teachers have full access to this information.

judgements on the teachers (Drever, 2003), although there is an understanding that they may have perceived me as being in a position of authority. This power differential is important to acknowledge, as it is similar between the teachers and researcher, both as an ex-colleague and as I was there under invite of the Headteacher and Head of Faculty (as examples on this topic: David et al., 2001; McCroskey & Richmond, 1983). One way of mitigating this was discussing what I was looking for from the students with the teachers, and the observations taking part in line with the schools' open door policy for observations of teachers. The literature around this subject suggests that the power difference means that the relationship between student and teacher is one that can be influenced by the teacher, or at least because of the power relationship, the teacher has this ability (McCroskey & Richmond, 1983). I understood that this was important for me to consider, particularly as an ex-teacher at the school and because the students were chosen before they were then given the opportunity to opt in or out of the research. Both Hurt et al. (1978) and Rudduck & Flutter (2004) posit the importance of the wellbeing of students in these relationships. Hurt et al. (1978) suggest that it is solely down to the teacher, and the teacher can affect the student's wellbeing outside the control of the student. Ruddock & Flutter (2004) talk about how schools give students more 'voice' to move away from these unbalanced power relationships and give students ownership over things like their wellbeing. This idea of wellbeing fit into my decisions of teachers choosing the sample that then the students could opt in or out of. Although not the most ideal in terms of gauging student willingness, ethically it was far sounder because the decision of the teachers encompassed all safeguarding decisions, which is important when questioning possible vulnerable students about a complex historical topic such as the Holocaust. It therefore can be argued that as it was not my 'coercive power' (French & Raven, 1959) but the teacher decision, through teacher insight (Robinson & Fielding, 2007) which meant that they could make positive decisions on what is best for the students. Therefore, as best as possible, I was satisfied that there was minimal coercion and voluntary, open participation from the chosen sample. The ethical considerations of these choices will be explained further below.

### **Participants**

As previously stated, the Holocaust is most commonly studied in Year 9 when pupils are aged 13 and 14 (Pettigrew et al. 2009), which is the case in the school studied. Therefore, it was most appropriate for this research to take place with Year 9 students. When basing the decisions on the samples on the four pragmatic factors of "good judgement", there was a comparison with other similar surveys (for example, Gray, 2014; Short, 2008, 2012); they

included over 30 people or items (Denscombe, 2007); they made allowance for the number of subdivisions within the data; and I am aware of the limitations, as noted throughout (Denscombe, 2007). The sample will allow me to draw valid conclusions about how things are in the overall research population of this school and generate insights and information from the data collection (Denscombe, 2007). As I was keen to get an understanding of students' preconceptions of the topic, the group interviews and exit surveys needed to take place before the commencement of the formal study of the Holocaust in History. Based on Denscombe's (2007) ideas of pragmatic opportunity sampling, these reasons were firstly, the matter of resources. Because of links with schools, time, and me being a single researcher, the sample size was as big as was manageable. Secondly, the nature of the research population itself was particularly small. Although refugee numbers in inner city schools are higher than elsewhere (Taylor and Sidhu, 2012), finding schools that were willing to take part and making the timing work around lessons was difficult, so starting an exploratory sample with one school made the most sense. Finally, when used well, non-probability, representative samples can be "sufficiently accurate for the purposes of research" (Denscombe, 2007:49). Although there are criticisms of non-random sampling techniques with small sample sizes, as it could jeopardise the accuracy of the data, for research of this size, the level of accuracy needs to be weighed against resources involved and based on "good judgement" (Hoinville et al., 1985:73). The sample was made up of four Year 9 History classes, each with 30 students, taught by four different teachers. For the interviews, the sample was made up of 20 students, half of whom were of refugee background. Almost half of the interviewees were female, of mixed ethnicity and religion, and 80% of whom were EAL. To display the representative sample of participants, the sample has been broken down into socio-economic status, gender, ethnicity and religion, refugee status and EAL, and the importance of these breakdowns discussed (further information in **Appendix B**).

Although not paramount to the research, the pupil premium eligibility<sup>72</sup> for students that were involved in the interviews, matched the percentages in the school. The gender balance is only important here to show that it is reflective of the national average (ONS, 2012) and it was important to get a mixture of genders for the interviews, as this is where the

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<sup>72</sup> The pupil premium grant is additional funding for publicly funded schools in England. It gives schools extra resources to help them improve the academic outcomes of disadvantaged pupils of all abilities and close the attainment gap between disadvantaged pupils and their peers across the country. Students are eligible for the Pupil Premium grant if they have qualified for Free School Meals at any point in the past six years; if they are or have been looked after under LA care for more than one day; if they are children from service families who receive a child pension from the Ministry of Defence.

shortcomings of previous work like Gray (2014), and Short (2013) could be developed. Most students in the school are from minority ethnic backgrounds, the largest group being of Black African heritage and 'any other White' background<sup>73</sup>. The percentages of pupils from an ethnic minority background were higher than average<sup>74</sup> (DfE, 2015). The school was not religious in nature and had no significant Jewish population, important to note as Gray (2013) posits that Jewish students' knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust was likely to be noticeably different from non-Jews.

The ethnicity of the students is important as informative background but is not acknowledged within the observations. It is mentioned in the interviews when students are asked where they are from, as justified below. The ethnicity is important to ensure the representative sample, but this is complicated as the national average of ethnicities in the classroom varies significantly from this school (DfE, 2015). Therefore, a range were included, and the sample was not chosen with ethnicity as a deciding factor (Denscombe, 2007). Within the school, the proportion of students who are EAL is much higher than that found nationally. 60.5% of students are EAL in the school, whereas the national average is 16.5%<sup>75</sup>. There are complex difficulties in the groupings noted here. For a student to be considered refugee status on this school roll, they had to declare it on their school data, and it was often inclusive of second-generation refugees. This data is no longer collected after April 2018. In England the emphasis of policy has been on EAL with a distinction made in the recency of pupils' enrolment in the education system. Therefore, it is recognised that many pupils from migrant families will be in the EAL category but as bilingual pupils, while recently arrived pupils will have EAL needs (DfE, 2012; Ofsted, 2013). Additionally, to be considered EAL is not as simple as whether they speak another language. Ofsted's definition is that EAL refers to learners whose first language is not English (Ofsted, 2013). The Department for Education state that a student's first language is the one they grew up speaking and continue to be exposed to at home or in the community, even if this is alongside English (DfE, 2012). This means that because of the school's discretion in entering the data, many students (and schools) miss out on EAL funding as their first language is recorded as English only.

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<sup>73</sup> As footnote 69.

<sup>74</sup> This was stated in the school's Ofsted report, but due to anonymity guarantees this cannot be referenced here, so the national averages are present in a report from 2015 [accessed 18/7/2018] [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/439867/RR439B-Ethnic\\_minorities\\_and\\_attainment\\_the\\_effects\\_of\\_poverty\\_annex.pdf.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/439867/RR439B-Ethnic_minorities_and_attainment_the_effects_of_poverty_annex.pdf.pdf)

<sup>75</sup> As footnote 69.

Another important factor worth noting was the academic attainment of the school used, although it has been seen from previous research that students who attend higher achieving schools do not necessarily have greater knowledge and understanding about the Holocaust (Gray, 2013). It is important too, to remember that the school results may have no bearing on the teaching from the staff, as well as the possibility that students from high achieving schools may be able to articulate complex ideas more easily or have greater self confidence in expressing themselves. The school's examination results for Progress 8<sup>76</sup> were average compared nationally, with a higher percentage of students entering the EBacc. However, the schools Attainment 8 score and Grade 5 or above in English and Maths percentage were lower than both national schools and the Local Authority average.

It is important to recognise that there are some weaknesses concerning the nature of the sample. It would have been better to have a much larger sample, across more schools (Denscombe, 2007). Although the sample did reflect a wide variety of students and was broadly representative of the average student in the school year group. This means that trends found from the data might be similar to those of thirteen and fourteen-year-old students across England, although the findings will not be generalisable.

This understanding of the students, and the sample, ensured that a full exploration of the research sub-questions as set out in Chapter One was attainable.

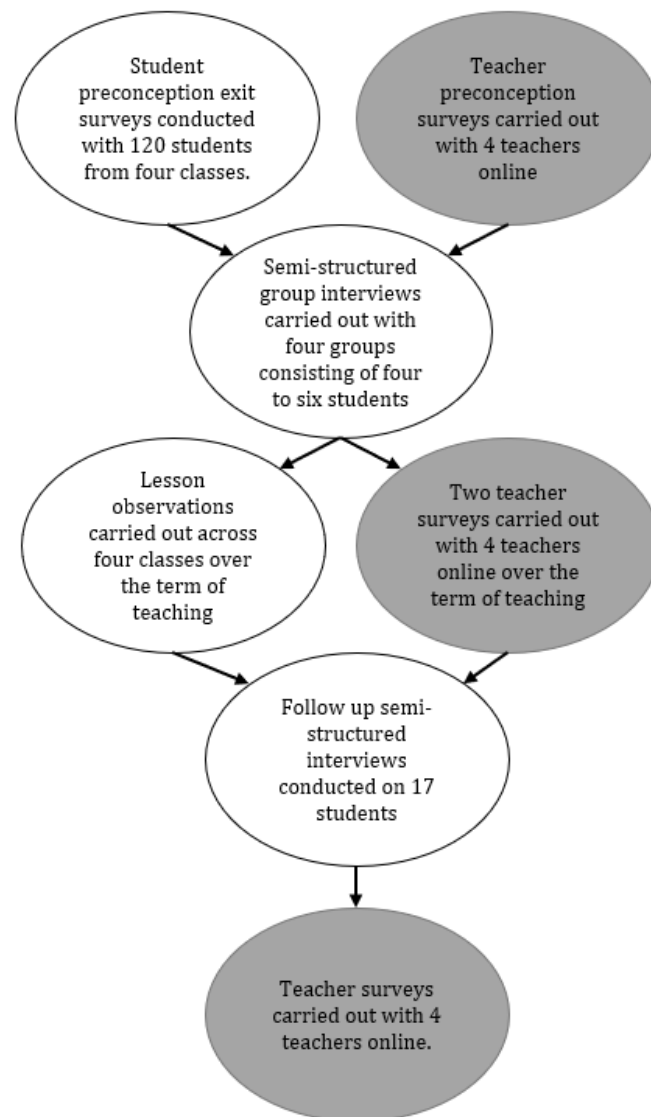
### **3.4 Method**

Fig. 1 below demonstrates the various stages of data gathering process, the next part of this chapter will explain how and why the decisions made over the method shown below have been chosen.

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<sup>76</sup> In 2017, the new GCSE grading system changed the grading to 9-1 rather than A\*-G. Progress 8 looks at the average point score across the six EBacc subjects (English, maths, history or geography, combined science (which counts as two passes) and a language) for all students, compared to the local and national average.

Fig. 1: Summary of Data Gathering Process



As suggested in chapter 2, there have been many studies looking at the way the Holocaust is taught and what students learn (for example, Foster et al., 2016; Pettigrew et al., 2009). As my research was not funded by anyone externally, I was able to create my research instrument as something that would garner the results to my research question. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) view on reflexive practice, it is important to note that as well as teaching I was working freelance for a Holocaust Education organisation. It is important as it meant that I had the additional expertise of training on teaching the Holocaust from that organisation and kept me focused on the teaching and learning in the classroom. However, the training received was focused on teaching the Holocaust and a

specific set of foundations and guidance<sup>77</sup>, so I needed to remind myself that I was there to see the engagement of the students, not the way in which they were being taught.

In gathering the data, I personally managed all the research instruments and consent forms prior to data collection. I was aware of my objectivity and bias as a researcher, should the teachers have done this, there may have been other biases in the collection of data, and the power relations between students and teachers when dealing with the forms could have persuaded or dissuaded students to participate (David et al., 2001). This also goes for the validity of the research, had I used other people to collect the data, observe or conduct the interviews, the structure could have varied, and different bias would have been noted in the collection processes (Pannucci and Wilkins, 2010). I worked with the classroom teachers to ensure that I could work with classes in which I could observe consecutive lessons if needed and it was arranged that my presence in the classroom would be introduced solely as “History Educational researcher”, with no reference, on my request, to the Holocaust as I felt that this might impact their answers given to me and attitude to lessons, which although could be seen as deception, was important to also give the students confidence in speaking (Atkins & Wallace, 2012; Drever, 2003). The lessons that I observed were an hour in length as this was the length of the lesson. I entered before the students and left when they did, to minimise disruption and keep the environment as natural as possible (Atkins and Wallace, 2012). The interviews ranged in time from 25 minutes for the group interviews to some individual interviews only taking 10 minutes. These timings were not planned, but as they were semi-structured, depended on the conversations and answers given by the participants (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). When I spoke to students before their interviews, I reminded them that I was finding out about their knowledge and understanding of the topics that they had been learning about in History. In some ways, like Hodgson (2001) this study is somewhat emic, and therefore elicits meaning and perceptions from the participant’s viewpoint (Morse, 1992). It was therefore important for students to not think that I was there to judge their knowledge, their behaviour or for them to think that I was trying to catch them out, which is why the wording of “understanding what you have learnt” was employed (Atkins and Wallace, 2012).

### **Talking to teachers**

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<sup>77</sup> The organisation trained teachers using the IHRA guidelines on teaching and learning about the Holocaust, however as mentioned above, funding drives different foci within the training.



Before and during the study, I had the opportunity to talk to the History teachers, Head of Social Sciences and Head of History. This was important not only to establish what my research was to explore, but to understand the context of the research (Atkins and Wallace, 2012) (the overview of the schemes of work can be found in **Appendix C**) within the parameters of the school's History lessons. Although the discussions were not lengthy, nor part of the formal section of the data collection, they provided an insight into their perspectives. These discussions are important because, as Totten states, "it is vitally important to ascertain the knowledge base possessed by students before examination of the subject begins" (Totten, 2000:70), and this is just as important to contextualise with the teachers. This was followed by a short survey (see **Appendix D**) of the History teachers to understand their aims and preconceptions of the topic ahead, which will be analysed briefly in chapter 4. This enabled me to ensure that I could understand my second research question, "what do teachers need to be aware of in students' backgrounds to teach the Holocaust effectively and with a duty of care to all students".

The Holocaust was taught as part of the History curriculum in Year 9, when students had three periods of an hour's duration in every two-week cycle of the timetable. As the students would be going on to study GCSE at the end of Year 9, that year was spent preparing them for the GCSE syllabus' skills and understanding. To maintain their sense of chronology the Year 9 syllabus covered mainly modern History from 1901 to 1969. As Pettigrew et al. (2009) found, 76% students were taught the Holocaust in Year 9 (p34). This meant that it was important that the school that I chose to participate did this, to represent most schools the majority of the country. Although some students in England study the Holocaust as part of a GCSE or A-Level, or equivalent, courses (Foster et al., 2016), typically in the context of German History or the Second World War, there is the legal requirement to study the Holocaust in Key Stage 3 History before some pupils elect not to continue studying the subject. In the school that participated, The Holocaust was studied in the first half of the Summer term after the study of World War Two. The Head of History from his investigations with local comprehensive primary schools, where most of the students joined the school from (in Year 7), suggested that many students did not study History as a separate subject in the primary schools, but historical topics were covered in all subjects. As a result, most of the students in Year 9 would have studied very little modern history previously to this year. This is notable because as Perry's (1970) developmental scheme shows, there is a progression of students' academic thinking, from a belief that knowledge is fixed and certain, to a recognition of relativism. For the students with little to no knowledge of the

subject, their engagement could be markedly less than those students who had more knowledge and were towards the end of the progression scale, because with more knowledge comes the ability to ask more questions and with this comes increased engagement (Dewey, 1933).

The Head of History and Head of Social Sciences both agreed that their main aims were to ensure that students were taught historical accuracy and that teachers challenged any misconceptions. The main aims of their new approach to teaching the Holocaust this year was to rehumanise the Holocaust and ensure that the victims' voices were heard. Both teachers agreed that the department taught the topic well and that it was adequately covered within the time constraints and constraints of the self-imposed curriculum and school calendar. These aims are important to know and remember as researcher, as Pettigrew et al. (2009) claim, there are many different aims to teaching the Holocaust in school and understanding those aims that this department were trying to achieve was paramount to understanding the learning that would take place in the classroom and the engagement of the students (Eckmann, 2010; Schweber, 2010). The History department wanted to try something new in their approach to teaching the Holocaust this time. It was taught within the chronology of the 20th Century, in a year in which they studied "significance" as a concept and major world events (Hunt, 2000). There is no Religious Education department at the school, and it is only when and if they pick the subject as a GCSE option from Year 10 that they would study Religious Education in depth. This leaves a possible gap in cross-curricular learning opportunities. The school was to invite a Holocaust survivor to speak to the Year 9 students after their learning about the Holocaust to both compliment their studies and extend their knowledge (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Preston, 2013). It was agreed by all staff that the students benefited from having the opportunity to meet a survivor and this was something the department tried to arrange annually. The idea of having a survivor in at the end of the topic was so that students were better informed about the Holocaust and could understand and extend their learning and ask better-informed questions (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Richardson, 2012). As well as inviting in a Holocaust survivor to give testimony, each year, two students in the Sixth Form, chosen by the History department, took part in the HET's Lessons from Auschwitz project<sup>78</sup> each year, and then these students would lead the school's Holocaust Memorial Day assemblies.

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<sup>78</sup> For more information <https://www.het.org.uk/lessons-from-auschwitz-programme> [accessed 18/7/2018]

The topic was not taught at a time that was significant in the school year (for example timed with Holocaust Memorial Day), and was the penultimate topic studied before some students dropped History from their education completely. The new approach to learning was taken through the study of resistance and the idea that the Jews did not go “like sheep to the slaughter”<sup>79</sup>. This was not only to rehumanise the individuals and victims, but to understand that the Holocaust does not need to simply be taught perpetrator down<sup>80</sup>. There was an idea from the teachers that there were moral aims in teaching the Holocaust too. This is not uncommon in schools (Brown & Davies, 1998, Pettigrew et al., 2009), nor the fact that the History department’s teaching of it was not in line or cooperated with the PSHE teaching of it. It was clear from speaking to the staff that their intention was that students received an inclusive education about the Holocaust from a historical perspective, with moral additions throughout.

### **Teacher and student initial questionnaires**

Understanding the student starting points is important to engage with the learning of the students and the understanding of the learning process, but it is also important to understand the teachers’ aims and understanding too. Additionally, it gave me a good starting point to approach my first research question, “What preconceptions and misconceptions do students bring to secondary school from previous learning, previous individual engagement with the Holocaust and conversations in the home or elsewhere?”. Although it could be argued that the conversations with the teachers were not the focus of the research, it was important to speak to them about their aims and understandings before they taught the subject as this could have an effect on how the subject is taught (Foster, 2013). It also provided me with an opportunity to reflect further through the term, to see whether things that I observed in lessons or spoke to students about, was reflected in the teachers’ thoughts too. The teachers were asked a five-question survey (**Appendix D**) that they completed online on [www.SurveyMonkey.com](http://www.SurveyMonkey.com), emailed to them after they had consented to the research. An online survey was chosen as not only did it mean that they had additional anonymity and time to compose their responses, but it ensured that they all had impartial access (Sue and Ritter, 2012). Although the Scheme of Learning was designed by two of the department for the others to use and edit to suit their

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<sup>79</sup> A bible phrase, used by Abba Kovner in his famous pamphlet of December 13, 1941 / January 1, 1942. <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/not-like-sheep-to-the-slaughter> [accessed 18/7/2018]

<sup>80</sup> Many schools take a basic approach to Holocaust education, where they teach the Holocaust starting with Hitler and the Nazis and look at the actions taken by the perpetrators, which dehumanises all involved. The results of this are seen in the studies from Pettigrew et al. (2009) and Foster et al. (2016).

classes, the interesting things to note were their aims, their awareness of obstacles in the classroom and their confidence in their subject knowledge. As baseline information, it was important to understand before the research on the students, which is why it is present here (Bitsch, 2005). Of the four teachers in the department, their confidence in their knowledge for teaching the Holocaust, where 0 is not at all confident, and 10 is very confident, ranged from 5 to 10, with none of the teachers expressing concern that they did not know enough to teach. This is important as although the teacher who considered themselves to have a '5' could teach what is there, when questioned further, all teachers were happy to do extra reading and continued professional development to improve their knowledge and understanding. This is important and shows that the teachers have a good understanding of the general principles of Holocaust Education pedagogy. The IHRA guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust include that teachers should be reflexive practitioners, well informed and who continually updates their subject knowledge (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, 2019). All teachers mentioned tackling misconceptions and misunderstandings as one of their aims for the scheme of work. Other aims ranged from "re-humanise the Holocaust" (Teacher A) to "develop a more complex understanding of the Holocaust than their initial knowledge might give them...to understand the root causes of the Holocaust , and...view the Holocaust as much as possible from the perspective of the victims rather than the perpetrators" (Teacher B). The teachers were also questioned on their understanding of their classes and the challenges they thought may arise during their teaching. All teachers mentioned the misconceptions and lack of knowledge or unfamiliarity with Jewish culture and religion as well as European history and foundational knowledge. One teacher was also aware that "students may be put off by the shocking nature of the topic". The teachers were also sent questionnaires in the middle of the topic to see if their teaching had changed or if they had faced any difficulties. Additionally, at the end of the scheme of learning they were asked if their aims were met and what challenges they faced, which will be touched on in the findings and discussions.

One reason in which it was important to understand what the students already knew about the Holocaust, was as a duplication of how the teachers at the school taught already. Conway (2006) and Sharp and Murphy (2014) suggest that understanding what a learner thinks that they know is the biggest factor that affects the accuracy and effectiveness of knowledge acquisition and concept learning. This idea, reflected in the Literature Review, that students are likely to approach any 'new' area of study with their own knowledge, and if not knowledge then ideas, beliefs, attitudes and images, from other interactions and

learning, in their mind (Donovan and Bransford, 2005). These may not be the information and ideas that the teacher hopes to communicate, which is why it is important to understand the teacher aims too, but more importantly, an understanding of these starting points for students is imperative to develop their understanding and perhaps 'dislodge' the incorrect ideas (Torney-Purta, 1991). In discussion with the History teachers we discussed the ways in which we could survey all students in those classes that were participating in the study. The complications that arose, aside from time, was the fact that we did not want the students to perceive any questions as a test as this may put them under extra stress and change their answers to the questions asked (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). Therefore, the teachers suggested that in keeping with their normal practice – they would ask students to reflect on the upcoming topic at the end of the lesson before they started by writing on post-it notes, again, as was normal practice (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). Teachers asked students to write down "1. One thing you know about the Holocaust; 2. One question you would like answered about it" and collected in the post-it notes as students left, which I wrote up (**Appendix E**) to reflect on what to ask within the group interview questions.

### **Observations**

Due to the nature of drawing from Grounded Theory, it was important to use participant observations to see what was being learnt and what could then be developed through interviews (Denscombe, 2007). Through observations, I would be able to see the engagement of students with the realities of their world in education and see some of the engagements with each other and the teachers, to see how they construct their meanings (Crotty, 1998). It also meant that with the Pragmatist's view, I could see the process that led to the conclusions that the students formed (Fesmire, 2003). It was important for me to see the students in their lessons, to understand what the students were learning and their perceptions of the topic, and their engagement with it, (Weaver, 2018). This way, I could see what they were learning and their interactions with the lesson content and each other, but also observe things that happen, listen to what is said and note down anything to be questioned during the interviews (Becker and Geer, 1957). I designed an observation schedule but soon realised that it would be more important and better use to take field notes during the observation that I then would write up in full straight after the lesson (Charmaz, 2014).

To ensure that the observation data I gathered was fair, I understood that the most important effect of observations is that the people being observed react to the fact they are

being observed (Denscombe, 2007) it was also important for me to be aware of the power relations between myself and my ex-colleagues (see above for how this was mitigated). To try to mitigate this, I already understood that the school's policy was to let people observe whenever they wanted, but as an unfamiliar face to many of the students it was important to discuss how I would be introduced at the beginning of each lesson, as justified above. The observations would be planned around the teachers' timetables to ensure that they were happy with the classes I was observing and so that I could see similar lessons across the four classes.

The observations meant that I could have a more wholistic understanding of the students' experience and really understand some of the nuance, and the differences of what was learnt and understood from school, and from home, as was to be explored through my research questions.

### **Semi-structured interviews**

The research design included two sets of interviews, providing an opportunity for students to verbalise their thoughts and reflections on learning about the Holocaust. One set, in groups, as the observations started, and one, at the end of the scheme of work as individuals, following up on themes and conversations previous. As interviews involve a set of implicit assumptions about the situation (Denscombe, 2007; Moser and Kalton, 1971), when a participant agrees to take part in an interview they acknowledge that they are taking part in a formal piece of research and that they give their consent to being involved and their words being used. This, alongside the fact that they also agree implicitly that the agenda for discussion is set by the researcher, means that there were some measures that needed to be put in place, so the interviews were ethically sound and theoretically objective. In using semi-structured interviews, the idea was to address set issues but be flexible in the order of them and with open ended questions, with the development of ideas from the interviewee (Drever, 2003). The advantages of interviews aside from having the space to elicit reflections from the students is additionally that the interviewer can respond immediately to things that are said, body language or to get clarification at the immediate moment it happens, which reduces misinterpretations that may happen through writing (Drever, 2003). However, I am aware that this is also the disadvantage to interviews as it is more open to interpretation and interviewer bias, particularly with semi-structured interviews (Drever, 2003).

Semi-structured interviews have structure but with more flexibility than structured interviews (Robson, 2004). A framework or scaffold of discussion topics means that the participant can talk without restrictions and the interviewer can interject for clarification or to move the topic of conversation (Drever, 2003). This fits with the Grounded Theory methodology as the researcher needs to be constantly evaluating the process, both during

1. Introduction
  - I. Introduction to myself and explain the terms of their participation
  - II. Introduction to the students and ice breaker (where are you from and what are your interests).
2. Knowledge and understanding
  - I. What does the word Holocaust mean to you?
  - II. On a scale of 1 (absolutely nothing)-10 (expert) how much do you think you know about the Holocaust?
  - III. What do you know about it?
3. Previous knowledge and learning
  - I. Where have you learned about the Holocaust before?
  - II. What do you remember learning about?
  - III. Have you spoken about the Holocaust or anything that links to it at home or in your friendship groups and what have you talked about it?
4. Thanks and close
  - I. Would you like to add anything else or ask anything?

the interviews to respond to the participant and during reflection after to ensure that the process is one that works (Robson, 2004). The process of designing the scaffold was based on ensuring the aims and theoretical underpinning of the study were covered (Cohen et al., 2007) and through refining questions from the broad core themes for the study. This then developed into the specific questions for the study. It needed a flow to build upon previous answers so that the participant was not surprised by the questions nor the interview to be led by their answers (Drever, 2003). Open questions were used to help the sequence and flow, but closed questions were used to develop the conversation, as a gateway to a new part of the interview (Robson, 2004). The group interviews had slightly more closed questions to keep the conversations focussed. The finalised interview scaffold, following Robson's (2004) five-part model was as follows:

The terms of the participation is the same for all interviews; to explain the study, why they had been selected and to reassure confidentiality, that there were no wrong answers and that they could ask for clarification or withdraw from the interview at any time (Robson, 2004). The closing question is not only a courtesy but also ensures that the participant was happy with how the interview has gone, again an ethical safeguarding precaution whilst bringing the interview to a close.

The first set of interviews was as a group because it is the researcher's responsibility to establish a positive, encouraging atmosphere to allow the participant to talk freely (Cohen et al., 2007). One of the ways to achieve this was to ensure that the focus is on the 'group' rather than the 'individual', encouraging the social and psychological aspects of group behaviour to foster the ability of participants to speak, expand and reflect on others opinions (Denscombe, 2007). Within both sets of interviews, the practicalities were explicitly considered. In consultation with the Head of Social Sciences and the Headteacher, the interviews took place in a classroom adjacent to the Faculty office, providing a neutral territory for both the students and me. There were safeguarding measures in place for the students and myself too; ensuring the classroom door was always open and that the interview setting was visible to passers-by (Denscombe, 2007). Tables were pushed together so that participants and myself could sit around and all see each other, with participants sitting at 90° to me to help create a welcoming atmosphere rather than a formal interview, the tables gave space for students to have distance from each other and the space was a familiar and nonintimidating one for the students (Drever, 2003). Additionally, the interviews would be taking place during lesson time, so disturbances could be kept to a minimum, notwithstanding the occasional disturbances from the corridor.

For the end of the scheme of learning interviews, I decided to interview the students individually to avoid the bias of students' answers being influenced by their peers (Brina, 2003; Frances et al., 2009). All students that were interviewed this time around were present in the group interviews at the beginning. There were precise advantages to doing this. Firstly, I was not a complete stranger as they had met me in the first interview and seen me in observations. This meant that they may have felt more relaxed and provided greater detail in their interviews. Additionally, I could follow up on some of the themes and conversations that had come up through previous interviews and observations as well as now avoiding behaviours that may have been off-putting caused by other students being present (Drever, 2003). The finalised interview scaffold for the individual interviews, following Robson's (2004) five-part model was as follows:



1. Introduction
  - I. Introductions: myself, the student, the terms of their participation
2. Knowledge and understanding
  - I. What does the word Holocaust mean to you?
  - II. Who was persecuted during the Holocaust?
  - III. What do you know about it?
3. Previous knowledge and learning
  - I. Where have you learned about the Holocaust before?
  - II. What do you remember learning about?
  - III. Have you spoken about the Holocaust or anything that links to it at home or in your friendship groups and what have you talked about it?
4. Current learning and engagement
  - I. What have you learnt this half term?
  - II. What do you think was the most important/interesting thing that you learnt this half term (and why)?
  - III. How does it make you feel learning about the Holocaust at school? Have you enjoyed learning about it?
5. Relevance and importance
  - I. Why do you think you learn about the Holocaust at school?
  - II. Do you think it is important for young people to learn about the Holocaust at school? (why?)
  - III. Do you think learning about the Holocaust is relevant to now? (why?)
6. Thanks and close
  - I. Would you like to add anything else or ask anything?

The importance of all aspects of the research instrument was to ensure that questions asked did not re-enforce any negative stereotypes or perpetuate concepts or ideas that were in any way untrue or racist in nature (Carrington and Short, 1993; Gray 2014). As the interviews of students were in groups initially, I was aware that any racist or antisemitic remark that may have arisen could very easily influence other students in the group (Carrington and Short, 1993; Drever, 2003). These considerations meant that I had to acknowledge what my decisions over intervening in these discussions would be (Oliver, 2003). If I was to intervene, I could challenge the participant's view and prevent other participants from simply accepting the comment as true, but if I did then it would have to be done in a way that meant that the students did not feel that their answers were being judged for a 'correct' response. This

could limit the reliability and authenticity of the data and cause students to hold back in their answers and reflections (Drever, 2003). Therefore, I decided to follow Carrington and Short's (1993) ethical decision to combine moral duty and research practicality. I decided that in the group interviews I would see if any other participants contradicted their views, if they did, I would not intervene, if they did not, I would. I knew that if I needed to intervene, I would have to contradict the view without being confrontational or accusatory through an openly contradictory intervention to challenge the racist or antisemitic comments but keep the integrity and flow of the interview (Gray, 2011), through getting students to explain why they thought something or where their comments and knowledge had come from.

Both sets of interviews meant I could explore my research questions further. The initial group interviews ensured that I could understand preconceptions of the Holocaust. The secondary individual interviews meant I could have the chance to dive deeper to really understand research questions 1, 3 and 4, about students' understanding and engagement and ensure that this then gave me answers to question 2, about what teachers need to do.

#### **Collecting the data: practicalities and reflections**

The observation schedule was set with the History teachers to ensure I saw similar lessons across the four classes. Additionally, we discussed how I would be introduced and where I could conduct both the group and individual interviews (Oliver, 2003). Similarly, when I spoke to the groups and individuals when doing interviews, it was important for me to emphasise to the students that none of it was a test; that their teachers would not see the answers that they gave, and it would have no impact on their schooling or their teachers (Oliver, 2003; Drever, 2003).

As Bell (2005) had warned, interviewing was a complex process. Getting access to the students was easy as I had worked in the school before, and the gatekeepers were on board with the research. The practicalities of location were straightforward too. When conducting the interviews, I was given the use of a classroom. Having liaised with the Head of History, pupils were selected as discussed above, and sent from their lessons. The interviews seldom lasted longer than twenty minutes, both group and individuals, which typically meant I was able to get three interviews done in one hours' lesson. The interviews were kept short to ensure that the teachers were not losing their students, to minimalise disruption and ensure that the students did not miss too much of their lesson (Singer et al., 1999). On a couple of occasions, there was one student within the group interviews that dominated the conversation, to what I felt was a detriment to the other students. When this did happen, I

specifically asked questions directed to the other students, and ensured that I kept eye contact with them to engage them throughout (Drever, 2003).

I understood that most researchers found it difficult to be both objective and to put the interviewees at ease (Bell, 2005:168). In finding the appropriate balance, I addressed the fact that the role of critical analyst was the most likely one I would take (Stake, 1995) due to my professional and academic interest in the topic. The individual follow-up interviews were conducted after the group interviews. All those who were interviewed in these follow-up sessions had already been interviewed once before, the advantages of which were discussed above. During the interviews, both for my own practice, for the best results for the data collection and to fit in with my methodology, I had to continuously evaluate the process as it happened (Cohen et al., 2007). Although the group interviews provided an opportunity for the students to get to know me and the research parameters, the individual interviews were guided by their answers in the groups, the observations and then the responses in the individual interviews (Robson, 2004). The best way to keep control of the direction of the conversations was to use "...funnel" questions (Cohen et al., 2007:357) to return the discussions to the focus of the interview. The practicalities of analysing the data will be discussed in section 3.6.

### **3.5 Ethical considerations**

This research project, as previously stated, has had no funding and this therefore has no bearing on the focus, the outcomes or the questions asked (Denscombe, 2007). The only consideration to note is that when conducting the data collection, I was a recent ex-employee, and the school had offered to hold open my job for me for while I finished my PhD. Although this could make me an insider, as I declined the offer, and selected students that I had not taught when I was teaching at the school, I felt that this was, in my opinion, less significant. As I endeavoured to make sure from the start that it would not, I do not feel that this affected the data collection process. There are past examples of research projects where the funding has been politically motivated and therefore demanded answers and a focus that suited.

Standardised ethical principles are essential within research, and this research followed the ethical guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA). I used the BERA guidelines to devise my data collection tools and ensure that my ethical considerations were sound (BERA, 2018). I then followed the school and Winchester University's ethical procedures. I was aware, through both being a professional and through my research

position that it is important to recognise the potential problems of working with young people, particularly within schools. When talking about gatekeepers, Heath et al. (2007) suggest to be explicitly aware of the sub-ordinate position of young people within institutional settings, such as schools, and the ease with which their voices can be overlooked by both gatekeepers and researchers. Therefore, this research took this into consideration and ensured that consent was sought from gatekeepers and individual students, where it was explained to ensure that they were willing to participate and did not feel under duress or influence.

### **Ethics process**

The support of the Head of department and the Headteacher was useful in facilitating the administration involved in setting up the research. It was important for me to acknowledge the BERA guidelines and the school safeguarding policy, and, as Heath et al. (2007) suggest, to acknowledge gatekeepers' assumptions that students lacked the competency to give their own informed consent. To respect the students' agency and as agreed by the gatekeepers (Head of department, Head of year and Headteacher), students were given the opportunity to make their own informed decisions whether to participate in the research, alongside teacher consent and parental consent (see below).

Following University guidelines and good practice, I sought approval from an ethics committee prior to carrying out the study. This is especially important when the research involves people, and young, people too (Burgess, 1989, Opie, 2004, Thomas, 2011). Ethics committees fulfil the role of providing an objective professional opinion of the impact the research will have on the researched and the need for ethics committee approval places concern with ethics at the heart of good research (Denscombe, 2007). The Winchester University Research and Knowledge Exchange Ethics Committee granted ethics approval (see letter, **Appendix F**).

Data protection was both a moral and legal requirement (Burgess, 2008; GDPR, 2018). Not only was it imperative that all data collected had restricted access, but additionally that a promise of confidentiality and personal or institutional anonymity was given. This was important for both individuals and the school. All students were codified, for example 'Student 1' which not only provided a safeguard in case someone should somehow access the data but to keep confidentiality. It was explained, as well as on the consent forms that the reason it was coded and a list of the codified data kept secure, was part of the safeguarding and child protection limitations to carrying out research in a school (BERA,

2018). The anonymity provided however, meant that students were able to give more honest and open answers knowing that it would not be held to their name. If names were used during interviews, they were codified upon transcription.

In relation to the storage of data, the survey responses and post-it note responses were stored in a safe and destroyed after the research was finished. The interview recordings were stored on a portable hard drive which was also kept in the safe throughout the process. It was formatted after the completion of the research, in line with the Data Protection Act (1998) and the General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) (2018). The data was not, therefore, held for longer than necessary and only used for the purposes specified at the time of the collection.

### **Informed consent and parental awareness**

To gain parental awareness, all students in all classes had a letter sent home (**Appendix G**). This included a summarised explanation of the research that I was conducting and that their child would be in the class observed. This letter outlined what my research was about, and why it was taking place in their child's lesson. It also explained that students did not have to take part, that they could withdraw at any time (including during the research) and assured them of both personal and institutional anonymity. The letter also informed the parents that my research conformed to the guidelines of the British Education Research Association (2018) and had been approved by the Ethics Committee of Winchester University.

For those students who were taking part in the interviews the school suggested not to write home to parents, but instead to provide them with an opt-out letter. However, to conform to the British Education Research Association guidelines (2018), written consent was requested from these parents. This detailed the advantages or disadvantages of their child taking part, what the interviews would involve, and that they could withdraw at any time (including during the research) with no adverse effects on their work. It also assured them of both personal and institutional anonymity. Additionally, no incentives were offered or given to any gatekeepers or participants. This was believed to be unnecessary and 'has the potential to create a bias in sampling or in participant responses' (BERA, 2018:7).

### **Potential risks of researching about Holocaust Education**

As teacher and researcher, I was aware that there was a level of risk involved in researching young people and the Holocaust. There were certain steps that I, along with the school's guidance and University's ethics process, took to mitigate this risk. I understood that I had a

duty of care towards the participants in my research to ensure nonmaleficence. Although this could be complicated with a sensitive topic and through investigating what could be considered a societal construct, the experiences discovered could also be uncomfortable for those participating. Nonmaleficence was achieved through the steps I took in line with BERA (2018) guidance of confidentiality and safeguarding, and anonymity. As BERA states, 'researchers must make known to the participants (or their guardians or responsible others) any predictable detriment arising from the process or findings of the research' (2018:7). As Oliver noted, 'predicting discomfort or distress during the data-gathering process may be impossible' (2003:32) and it is difficult to predict all of the consequences of social research, but every effort was taken to prevent any discomfort and ensure that anything that could be upsetting was pre-empted. It was also important to assess the potential disadvantages that may occur from students not taking part. The main disadvantage was that they would not engage with their learning and the range of questions about their learning and the Holocaust that were being answered by those taking part. This could be deemed a disadvantage as it was likely that students would acquire some furthered knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust through these discussions.

Additionally, the beneficence of the research needed to be explored and explained (Israel and Hay, 2006). When explaining to the school, the teachers, the parents and students the benefits of the research, I explained that there were no obvious advantages except the chance for discussion about their learning which may, in turn, further their understanding of the topic. This was important to explain so that when students and parents made the decision of whether to give consent, they did not feel that they would be missing out on something that would help their education if they refused. I did, however, explain the importance of the research itself. Although there was very little personal benefit to participants, I explained the research was important to give teachers and educators an understanding of a range of student understanding and explain how their experiences affect this learning, which could shape how Holocaust education is taught. The benefit could be of use to future teachers and therefore future students too. Most of the literature on what researchers owe to their participants has focused on vulnerable, disadvantaged or powerless groups, which can be seen below. It is important to remember that it is ethically acceptable for those who grant informed consent to participate in research which does not directly benefit them, as it does not in any way disadvantage them (Israel and Hay, 2006). Additionally, as the research did not go much beyond what students would learn in school curriculum time, the chances of traumatising them were low (Salmons, 2003). It could even

be argued that the research might help them cope with their learning better by giving them time and space to discuss and reflect on their learning (Richardson, 2012).

### **Potential risks of researching refugee students**

In May 2016, the Department for Education released the statutory guidance on 'Keeping Children Safe in Education' (DfE, 2016). All staff that work with children in schools must read it and undergo safeguarding training. Although this varies across institutions, all training covers the same principles set out in the guidance. Safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children is about "protecting children from maltreatment; preventing impairment of children's health or development; ensuring children grow up in circumstances consistent with the provision of safe and effective care; and taking action to enable all children to have the best outcomes" (DfE, 2016: 3). This encompasses child protection and well-being of students. The document has been updated regularly, and the update in 2018 provided clarity that schools should have their own individual safeguarding policy which meets the needs of their children in their community, with the particular kinds of issues that may be most important for them (DfE, 2018:2). The 2018 update additionally emphasised the importance of thinking about children with SEN and disabilities, those who were care givers, and those children who were previously looked after. It is important to remember in thinking about safeguarding, it is important for schools to think about the curriculum they are providing for their students too<sup>81</sup>. As a member of staff there I had taken part in the school's safeguarding training. Additionally, I was given rules of what I could and could not do in school so as my research complied with their safeguarding policy, as described above. The students who participated in this research may have faced traumas in their country of origin or in migrating to Britain and I need to have an awareness of the risks involved.

McBrien (2005) argues that much research has grouped refugees together with immigrants and both groups must deal with the disruption of migrating to a new country and adjusting to a different culture and lifestyle. When studying young people, these disruptions and adjustments may include struggling in school while trying to learn the language of instruction. Many newcomers, because of race, ethnicity, religion, or cultural differences, encounter discrimination and racism (Asali, 2003; Portes, 2001; Rumbaut & Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In addition, both immigrant and refugee teens are faced with a crisis

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<sup>81</sup> <https://learning.nspcc.org.uk/safeguarding-child-protection-schools/> [accessed 18/7/2018]

of identity as they try to meet the cultural demands of their parents and of their new peers (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou & Bankston, 2000).

These, alongside other barriers already explored, and barriers such as the difficulties of understanding school subjects because of earlier gaps in their education created by their refugee experience, or the inability to make friends in school and the unavailability of resources for help (Eisenbruch 1988) are all barriers to refugee learning. Taking out students and making them seem even more 'different' could be more of a risk to their adjustment. Alongside this, learning about the Holocaust may mean teachers act differently. Eisenbruch (1988) interviewed teachers who remarked that they were afraid of saying anything that might raise traumatic feelings in the refugee students, and they expressed instances of cultural misunderstandings. However, he did conclude that schools can be centres for acculturation that, with effective teachers and support programmes, can reduce environmental barriers and increase the child's sense of competence. The research has been completed in the best interests of all concerned, following literature and guidance on ethics of working with young people, refugee students and when researching Holocaust Education.

### **3.6 Reflections on methodology and method**

It is important for me to reflect on where I started, and how the writings of Martin Buber has influenced the decisions I have made. To start with the reason that I have chosen to base my study around some of the ideas of Grounded Theory is firstly because Charmaz's approach to Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2006; 2014) is more about recognising the researcher's role in constructing the data and theory through "moments", which is something that needs to be considered particularly when looking at young students. Secondly, the main concern of Grounded Theory is for participants and how this concern for the participants is resolved or processed, without any preconceptions of the problem (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). I recognised the importance of using research methods which would enable students to demonstrate their engagement and understanding of the Holocaust, something that reflected Buber's embracing of the whole of human existence when dealing with students – this was looking at Holocaust Education as a whole in regard to the needs and experiences of individuals (Buber, 2004). Additionally, Buber was concerned with the "why" how it was possible through teaching to give a pupil a sense of identity and responsibility, and the methodology I employed did explore exactly that, and got students to question that within the process. Finally, it was important to reflect that although my background was as a teacher, I was also coming from the funded Holocaust Education sector which often, through



the public funding, reflects the priorities of the government. Although my research was not part of this, it was important for me to be aware of some of the issues that my attention was drawn to when reading Finkelstein's book (2000) when designing my research methods.

### **3.7 Data analysis**

There were many considerations for analysing the data. Both discourse analysis (Powers, 2001) and conversational analysis (Seedhouse, 2005) were explored but neither fit the data, nor the epistemology fully. Discourse analysis relies on the use of language as the means of social interaction and how participants construct their identities reflexively in particular settings (Silverman, 2011). This would have not been easy to do, as discourse analysis requires detailed analysis of transcripts, not just as reflections of underlying reality but to understand the process of the construction of them by the speaker (Potter, 1997). As I was not looking at the student responses to learning, and what they had learnt and their instant emotions, of school, education and the Holocaust, discourse analysis would not have allowed me to analyse the data in the way that I wanted to, and allow me to reflect on what was there and what I needed to do with the next data set. Additionally, conversational analysis requires precise analysis of detailed transcripts that could provide more than just the words spoken. As I am not a trained body language expert or spoken language expert, these details would have been missed and the understanding and nuance from them would have been missed. It is for this reason, and through looking at summative content analysis and conventional content analysis, that I decided that the best fit for analysing my data was Braun and Clarke's Thematic Analysis model.

As Seale (2007) and Silverman (2011) explain, using qualitative data is messy and not linear and therefore to ensure objectivity, authenticity and validity it is important to explain the data analysis progression to explore how the data will be processed. Once the data is collected, in keeping with the Grounded Theory, detailed scrutiny of the text will follow through a gradual process of coding and categorising. I will be using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase process of Thematic Analysis to analyse the data set. The decision was since they stated that Thematic Analysis was a method in its own right, and this framework would move the often-haphazard constructionist analysis into something more theoretically sound. Thematic Analysis using this model allows the researcher to identify, organise, analyse and report patterns within the data. This then helps to classify themes and develop the analysis and findings of the data showing the creation of themes as an integral part of the data analysis process. Table 5 shows this six-phase process.

*Table 1: Braun and Clarke's six phase Thematic Analysis process*

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Description of the process</b>
1. Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Gathering initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

(Braun and Clarke, 2006: 87).

Using this Thematic Analysis model fits with the idea of Grounded Theory, as well as the social Constructivist, Pragmatic approach that underpins this research (Heydarian, 2016). As the theory will be refined by further data collection, the constant comparison of data and theory, and the continuation of this through the coding, theming and defining the theme process, means that this can take place. Additionally, it will produce findings that are accessible for a professional audience. Thematic Analysis works well with Grounded Theory, as a guiding principle and the stepped model are parallel to some of the frameworks (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Attride-Stirling, 2001). Using Thematic Analysis means that there can be a practical and effective procedure for conducting analysis and the disclosure in each step of the process helps the analysis and the presentation of it meaning that data can be explored fully (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Alongside this, it can be argued that Thematic Analysis can be flexible to the philosophy it is guided by, and therefore should produce detailed analysis of the data (Clarke and Braun, 2018). It was also appealing to use as the themes, rather than

rigid constructs, can be seen as key characters in a larger story (Brain and Clarke, 2013), with an 'essence' or core concept that underpins and unites the observations (Clarke and Braun, 2018). More importantly, Thematic Analysis means that the data can have deeper meaning, as it is not simply a method for data description and reduction, it can be used to describe, summarise, and analyse, to tell the story of the 'so what' of the data, according to the research aims (Clarke and Braun, 2014).

There are drawbacks to the use of Thematic Analysis. It is vital to be unbiased in doing Thematic Analysis, which is important for Grounded Theory anyway. It is through using the Braun and Clarke analysis, which I followed as a researcher and their route map gives credibility to my results, and helps me embrace the fact that it is impossible to be completely unbiased but to embrace the biases that I hold through the constructivist approach and being led by the data I used. Sometimes a lack of proportionality between the data and analytical claims created for it is seen (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In such cases there is no coherence and consistency between the claims and the data, but as observational comments and interview comments can be made to back up these claims throughout my research it should give it the substantiated evidence needed. Additionally, Javadi and Zarea (2016) posit that it is necessary that the data interpretations match the theoretical framework in performing a good Thematic Analysis, so that there is no mismatch between theory and analysis as sometimes can happen. Even if an analysis is good and interesting but does not explain what its theoretical presumption or purpose is, it will lack crucial information and thus it is defective in one aspect, something that I can ensure is not the case in my own explanation throughout the themes. Gibson (2006) argues that it is the interpretativism of Thematic Analysis that means that it can be flawed, as the researcher is interpreting others' actions through their own understanding. This has been mentioned throughout and would be a flaw with most analysis models, considering that this is a qualitative study looking at emotions, engagement and empathy. When looking at language again, the final issue is ensuring that the themes that are pulled out are not simply from searching for patterns of repetition of specific terms (Gibson, 2006). However, most importantly it is imperative to understand that the drawbacks and disadvantages of Thematic Analysis occur due to the research questions and researcher rather than Thematic Analysis itself (Hollardson, 2009).

### **The Thematic Analysis process**

Once the data was collected, I familiarised myself with the data after each stage of the collection (post-it notes; surveys; group interviews; observations; individual interviews). I also transcribed the data as I went along. This was done to contextualise the data with field notes and ensure that I could remember as close as possible the intonation and implications of comments made. Additionally, I transcribed myself to try to counteract some of the problems of transcription which can be the difficulties in hearing what is said, the depiction of intonation, emphasis and accents – which not using official conventions, I used my own which I understand to not strip the data of some of its meaning (see, for example, Denscombe, 2007; King & Horrocks, 2011; Langdrige, 2004; Riessman, 1993). This was a time-consuming process, but I felt this was necessary to provide a ‘true’ account of the interviews and observations (Drever, 2003).

This was the same with the coding process. After transcription and refamiliarization of the data, the coding process started. There are several different Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) developed to aid qualitative data collection and analysis. Those that exist can be categorised into those that simply retrieve text, those that enable users to both retrieve and code text and those that assist in retrieval, coding and theory building (DeNardo & Levers, 2002, 4). However, despite the benefits that have been explored by researchers such as Jones (2007), I decided not to use it. As Zamawe (2015) explains, CAQDAS are difficult to master and not built to analyse the data but to help with data management to support the researcher. For this reason, as well as my own personal preference, I chose to transcribe my interviews myself and code and analyse my data without software.

Using the stages above, the coding was done to help identify themes, which “captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:82). These themes are not free of researcher influence. Researcher judgement was paramount to the creation of these themes, for example, understanding that just because a theme came up a number of times throughout the data does not mean that that theme is significant, unless of course, it captures something important relating to the research question. Additionally, I as a research have my own theoretical and epistemological foundations meaning that this Thematic Analysis is ‘theoretical’ in nature, driven by my own interests in the area. This study was started because of my own preconceived interests and experiences as a practitioner so it was likely that I would code whilst implicitly searching for themes relating to these interests –those that the research questions were created around.

It is therefore worth noting that I was aware that although I was keeping an open mind to the results and competing explanations and theories, I had already partially theorised some outcomes of the analysis before it had formally started.

The second part of the process was coding. I started to identify the codes during the familiarisation phase and formalised them at this point. The codes ranged from semantics and knowledge based (such as students' misconceptions and understandings of meanings) to latent themes (such as empathy, explanation of relevance of learning about the Holocaust or responses to things that had occurred). The main idea at this point was not to streamline the number of codes but to code all the transcribed data and see what manifested. At this point, more than 25 codes were generated.

The next phase was to search for themes. This again involved re-reading the dataset and examining the codes I had found to help define my analysis in themes. Looking at patterns amongst the codes was a difficult process, but I found the use of colours and post-it notes the most useful way to help identify potential themes and group the coded data, creating subthemes and making judgements on where to place things (**Appendix H**). This process produced a thematic map through which I could identify individual codes and highlight interrelationships between them. This process resulted in three themes:

**Behavioural engagement:** This theme contained codes that classified students' behaviours and comments in class, their tasks and their language used around their learning. For example, codes relating to antisemitic language, off-task comments and an awareness that learning the Holocaust was not suitable for students of all ages.

**Emotional engagement:** This potential theme contained codes classifying students' responses relating to how they feel when about learning about the Holocaust, or their emotive reaction to it. Additionally, it included how they feel about learning about the Holocaust and if they felt it was important for all students to.

**Cognitive engagement:** This potential theme contained codes that classified students' responses to what they have learnt and their perceived relevance of what they have learnt. Additionally, their value and importance of learning about the Holocaust and why they think it is taught.

The fourth stage of Braun and Clarke's stages (2006) involved reviewing and refining the themes. This again involved reviewing the dataset and individual codes and ensure that they

were placed within the umbrella themes. It was during this process that I questioned the 'behavioural engagement' theme as I was not sure of its significance in the research analysis, but using Grounded Theory it was clear that this could not be ignored (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Therefore, I decided that it would be worth including as part of the story of the study and to add contextual understanding to the rest of the data analysis, as will be explored below, the overview of the theme has been given as context. The other two themes created a distinction between aspects of students learning and understanding and helped push the understanding of their engagement with learning the Holocaust further.

The penultimate stage was defining and naming the themes, and these final decisions were how I have been referring to them above. In line with Braun and Clarke's Thematic Analysis (2006), the names needed to be concise and help the reader immediately identify what the theme was about. The themes were now:

1. Behavioural engagement (context and overview)
2. Cognitive engagement
3. Emotional engagement

Having reached this point in the data analysis process, I was able to start producing the academic report of the study, which follows in chapter 4.

### **3.8 Reflections and conclusions**

From this chapter, the epistemological boundaries of my research were established, and the methodological structure explained. Encapsulating my thinking process (Luttrell, 2010), explaining the above caused me to develop my understanding of my assumptions and my position within the field of research. After addressing my understanding in the field of Holocaust Education, I realised that my training from the HET and my Initial Teacher Training at the Institute of Education, London was too important to ignore. This was to objectively collect and understand the data and allow the data to present itself in isolation to my agenda (Crotty, 1998). Reflecting on this, I am embracing it in the data analysis to come. As Denzin and Lincoln (1994) explain, we cannot design complexity as part of our data collection; rather it evolves from within it. The sections to follow will explore the data collected, reflect on the process and discuss the findings, split across the themes that help to define engagement; behavioural, cognitive and emotional, using what students said, did and learnt to illustrate.

## **4. Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion - Engagement and Contextual discussions**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Having established my theoretical position, reviewed the relevant research literature and explained my methodology, this chapter will present the findings and discussion of the data. To keep in line the Grounded Theory influence on my methodology (Corbin and Strauss, 2008), the discussion will be presented alongside the findings of each part of the research to enable immediate reflection and show the process of how the research and methods develop (Clark and Braun, 2014).

### **4.2 Why context matters**

The first task was to become thoroughly familiar with the data, which I did through transcribing the data myself, as described in the previous chapter. This helped me to become immersed in the data and get a feel for the details. The aim of this analysis is to derive concepts that capture the meaning in the data and to see whether the 'inductive' approach that uses the findings, can be applied on a general level (Denscombe, 2007).

Through gathering codes and searching for themes (Braun and Clark, 2006), it was clear that to answer my research questions, for which the research was designed, I would have to explore what was meant by engagement. This was not just a surface level decision, as discussed in my methodology, from the patterns I found in the initial interviews and observations, I decided that I would frame my findings within my definition of engagement. It was clear as I reviewed and defined my themes that the majority of the sub-themes I had found would fit clearly into the three strands of my definition of engagement, which have been defined below. This theme was important to include as justified in section 3.6. However, it can be argued that this section is more to understand the context of the rest of the research.

It was important to understand that although the themes would be along separate dimensions of engagement, each dimension almost certainly occurs at the same time as others during learning (Sinatra et al., 2015). As an example, students who have a high degree of behavioural engagement may also experience high levels of cognitive and/or emotional engagement, which means that as a researcher I need to be aware of the contributing factors to the evaluation of behavioural engagement from the other dimensions. Therefore, the theme of behavioural engagement, whilst perhaps not relevant in answering the research questions, is important to include for contextual understanding.

### **4.3 Context: Engagement**

As the themes of engagement emerged when coding the data, it was important to define what was meant by each of those themes. Defining student engagement is complex, yet educators, theorists and policymakers promote engagement as the way to understand and address educational problems such as underachievement and attendance (Sinatra, Heddy and Lombardi, 2015). Fredricks (2011), Jimerson, Campos, and Greif (2003) and National Research Council and Institute of Medicine (2004) explain that student engagement has multiple dimensions. According to Sinatra et al (2015), Engle & Conant (2002) and Ryu & Lombardi (2015) macrolevel indicators of engagement could include things such as discourse analysis, observations, ratings, or other analyses of the sociocultural contexts of learning or schooling. Like Fredricks (2011) and Reeve (2012), this study will look at the different strands of student engagement in order to gain a holistic perspective of student engagement with learning about the Holocaust. These researchers, along with others such as Sinatra et al. (2015), conceptualise engagement with four dimensions: behavioural, cognitive, emotional and agentic. For this study, I will be looking at behavioural, cognitive and emotional. I am going to expand on each briefly below before presenting my data for this theme.

#### **4.3.1 Behavioural engagement**

Behavioural engagement is one of the key links to achievement in the classroom (Marks, 2000) and therefore is a key focus for educators attempting to get students to participate in their own learning process. According to Fredericks (2011), behavioural engagement encompasses the involvement of the student in their own learning and academic tasks. It can be defined using positive conduct (Finn & Rock, 1997), involvement in academic tasks (Heddy et al., 2014), and participation (Finn & Voelkl, 1993). As Buhs and Ladd (2001) define, the measures of behavioural engagement that will be relevant for this study include displays of effort, persistence, behavioural aspects of attention – such as involvement in discussions, resilience in completing difficult tasks and purposefully seeking out information without prompting. Rather than looking at motivation (which is beyond the ethical scope of this study), it will consider some of the motivational factors such as behaviours in accordance to staying on task. This theme will look at students' behaviours and comments in class, their tasks and their language used around their learning – for example, codes relating to antisemitic language, off-task comments and an awareness that learning about the Holocaust was not suitable for students of all ages.



### **4.3.2 Emotional Engagement**

Emotional engagement is also highly linked to motivation. Although literature on emotional engagement explores links to motivation and explores activating emotions and their links to high engagement and attention (or the opposite with deactivating emotions (Pekrun, 2006)), the definition of emotional engagement is the student's emotional reactions to academic subjects or school in general (Pekrun and Linnenbrink-Garcia, 2012; Skinner and Belmont, 1993). Because of the sensitive nature of teaching and learning about the Holocaust, the emotional engagement that will be explored will be both in terms of responses to the topic and the teaching of it, and the subject matter. According to the literature, negative and positive emotions can lead to higher attention and engagement in lessons although the positive emotions fare better in research at promoting engagement (Broughton et al., 2011; Heddy and Sinatra, 2013). The motivational constructs that can be explored within emotional engagement can also include perceptions of value. This is important in our exploration of student engagement as it will help us understand the value placed on the learning of topics like the Holocaust. Schunk et al. (2013) explain that the value perceptions are students' beliefs about the benefit that they will get from engaging in specific tasks, whether that is skills and knowledge that will help them in careers and later life, or values that will help their character development. For this research it is necessary to focus on the interest, meaning the enjoyment felt when engaging in a task, similar to intrinsic motivation (Eccles and Wigfield, 1995) and the attainment and utility value (Eccles, 2005; Eccles and Wigfield, 2002) in order to understand the emotional engagement when studying the Holocaust. Within this research, this theme will look at students' responses relating to how they feel when learning about the Holocaust, or their emotive reaction to it. Additionally, it will include how they feel about learning about the Holocaust and if they feel it is important for all students to.

### **4.3.3 Cognitive Engagement**

The most difficult strand of engagement to define is cognitive behaviour (Fredericks, 2011). If viewed through a psychological lens (Wehlage et al., 1992) many of the factors that could define cognitive engagement then overlap with dimensions of behavioural and emotional engagement. The psychological strand is the psychological investment used when expending cognitive effort to understand – using problem solving and choosing tasks that are challenging (Fredericks, 2011). This fits in with Dewey's idea of a felt difficulty (1933). However, if there is overlap here, for example within effort in emotional engagement then it

perhaps leaves the splitting of engagement into dimensions as pointless if there is so much overlap. Although we are aware that each dimension includes self-regulation and motivation, cognitive engagement encapsulates this more than the other strands. To ensure that using cognitive engagement is useful as a dimension to look at (and to avoid conflating it with other constructs), the focus will be on what students have learnt and their perceived relevance of learning it and their understanding of the relevance of learning about the Holocaust. With this research, this theme will focus on students' responses to what they have learnt, their perceived relevance of what they have learnt, their value and importance of learning about the Holocaust, and why they think it is taught.

#### **4.4 Behavioural engagement, the contextual background**

Whilst the research design had a focus on cognitive and emotional engagement, it was clear that behavioural engagement and the behavioural context needed to be included, even though it does not fit as well as the other two themes to the research questions. . It is clear that the data in this context cannot be ignored but it became clear through the analysis process that this would not be a substantive theme in itself.

Behavioural engagement draws on the idea of participation and includes involvement in activities in lessons, crucial for not only achievement but also understanding (Connell and Wellborn 1990; Finn 1989). The idea to focus on this was borne from reflecting on comments and behaviours that I observed in the classroom, and comments made in interviews. Fredericks (2011) discusses the importance of looking at atmosphere and instruction and classroom management from teachers, as well as student outcome. However, as this study focuses on students rather than teachers, the focus will be less on teacher management of the classroom, unless there are specific points to comment on. This study will focus more on the atmosphere in the classroom through conversations and comments made and student responses to questions asked, both in class and in interviews. One thing I did observe was students' on- and off-task behaviour and the time engaged in classroom settings on different tasks (Fredericks, 2011). What follows is a discussion and analysis of these findings, processes and ideas that evolved through observations and interviews.

##### **Before learning interviews and surveys**

As explored in Chapter 3, it was important for me to gain an understanding of the situational context both from teachers and students before they began teaching and learning about the Holocaust. This was done through interviewing students in groups to find out what they

knew and thought, and through surveys with teachers about their aims for teaching, perceived challenges and opportunities of teaching their classes about the Holocaust. In the group interviews that were had with students before they started learning about the Holocaust, very few comments were made that either showed a lack of behavioural engagement or acknowledged any that they were aware of. I am exploring these separately to the defined themes (Braun and Clark, 2006) as they provide the contextual understanding to the rest of the thematic 'map'.

The teachers, who were surveyed before teaching the Holocaust, cited some of the challenges they felt they might face as being "*The highly diverse nature of the classes also makes them very sensitive to difference*" (Teacher A) ; "*Lack of understanding/maturity of the experience of Jews*"(Teacher C); "*Some students may be put off by the shocking nature of the topic*" (Teacher C) and "*Initial misconceptions and very varied existing knowledge - often myths/hearsay they have gained from outside school*" (Teacher B). This was important to acknowledge as these comments suggest teachers were already entering the teaching of the topic with an idea of some of the challenges they thought they would face.

### **Lesson observations**

As mentioned, I observed all four History teachers over five lessons when teaching about the Holocaust, with a focus on resistance. In all classes the atmosphere was one that would be considered conducive to learning; students were encouraged to speak up and the classroom was considered a safe space to do so; the teacher was respected and instructions were followed; and at most points learning was focused on the task in hand by the majority of students (Findley and Varble, 2006). Classroom management - the procedures and routines that allow teachers to teach and students to learn (Wong, 2010) - does not include school or class rules but more the manner tasks are accomplished and the rationale behind them. According to this definition, the classroom management in all four classes was positive. This was echoed in the mid- and end of- scheme of learning survey taken by teachers. At the end of the scheme of learning, teachers were asked if the aims and objectives that they started with were met and all teachers agreed that they were. One teacher said that the best part of teaching the Holocaust was "*I found they were more engaged with the topic than they were with others. I think because they know bits and bobs from popular culture, movies, video games etc there's a natural curiosity there you don't have to work hard to cultivate*" (Teacher B). A second teacher agreed when he said, "*Students really interested in the human stories from this time - genuine interest*" (Teacher C) and a third stated, "*It is one of those topics*

*which really grabs students' attention - therefore, the questions that the students were asking were very incisive and curious"* (Teacher A). This indicates that the classroom management and environment were as good as they could be for student behavioural engagement (from the teachers' perspective), so not only were aims and objectives met, teachers noticed a genuine engagement from students in the lessons enough to comment on it. This is echoed by Short (2008) who comments that although there have been concerns about teaching the Holocaust in diverse classrooms, if addressed by the planning and understanding of the teacher, they are largely unwarranted.

Additionally, in terms of time taken on tasks, one thing that half of the teachers commented on in the surveys that took place in the middle of the scheme of learning was that one of the challenges was *"Time spent. Could need more time to do it!"* (teacher A) which was also echoed by all teachers reflecting at the end of the scheme of learning that the four or five weeks that they had to teach the Holocaust, was not enough.

### **Tasks and engagement**

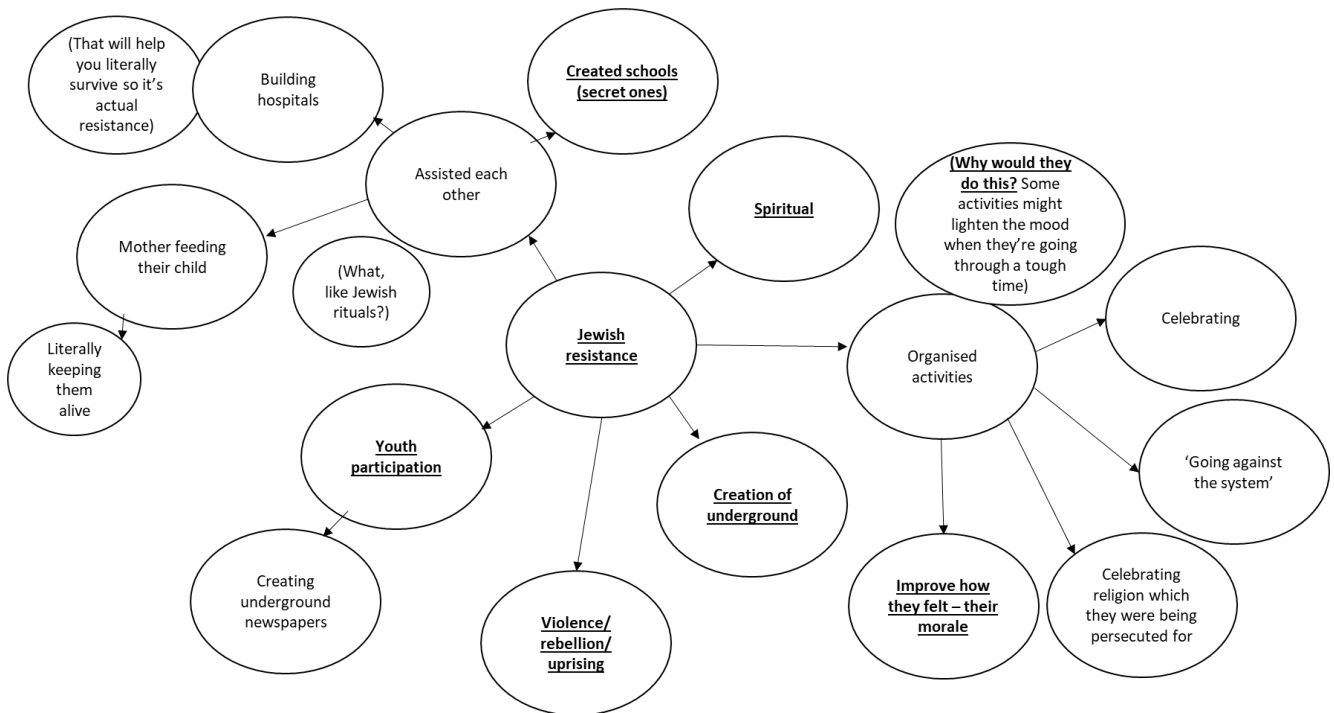
It is important to look at the time spent engaged in learning on tasks in the classroom setting to ensure behavioural engagement is studied fully and is focussed on the student learning. However, as the actions and outcomes fall under cognitive and emotive engagement, I will solely be looking at the tasks that created the most on-task discussions here, and comment, if necessary, on the teacher instructions or responses. The time taken on meaningful tasks (Frey and Fisher, 2010) when learning about the Holocaust in the classes observed were substantial (by this it means more than five minutes in a 55 minute lesson) and as Ausubel (1977) notes, with mixed ability classes the more successful tasks are those where students work together or involve discussion. The scheme of learning was designed to incorporate shorter tasks of different types to keep students on task (Murphy, 2003), which was overall successful.

### *On-task comments*

One example of positive comments and contributions that students made, whilst engaging in a substantial task was during a lesson looking at forms of Jewish resistance. After watching a video as a class, looking at some interpretations in pairs, as a class they contributed to a mind map on the board that they all reproduced in their own books. You can see from figure 2 a reproduction of what was written up on the board from student discussion and teacher questioning (from class 9D). In the below, those sentences in bold were written up on the board with some re-wording from the teacher after the students explained their points, and

those not in bold are responses from the class (with no arrows) or those sentences said by students that were added directly to the board. This would suggest that for all students the behavioural engagement was high, but there were comments that were on task - they stemmed from questions posed by the teacher, but some showed an immaturity or low behavioural engagement as it led to disruption and disengagement of others around them too.

**Fig. 2 Mind map of Jewish resistance by a Year 9 class**



Within some of the on-task comments made by students, it was sometimes difficult to unpick what are subtle misconceptions and what is antisemitism, but all of these comments were made in response to questions asked by teachers, so could be considered on task. There were a couple that were made to make others around them laugh, which could show a low behavioural engagement, as it immediately takes others off task and shows that they are not interested in the learning (Fredricks, 2011). For example, when talking about assimilated Jews, student 17 in 9A stated “*Sir, I live in a Jewish area. There are loads of Jews in Golders Green*”, which made other students around him laugh nervously. There is scope in the future in looking at why students feel the needs to respond in this way and whether it is the same across all sensitive subjects in History, or all religions, but for now this is focussed on what this means for engagement. A more complex example was in a discussion in 9D around the word “Jew” between the students, with the teacher waiting on hand to correct:

**Student 19:** *You Jew*

**Student 20:** *No, Jew is a nickname for the Jewish people that seems negative from the Nazis, it seems disrespectful*

**Student 19:** *YOU JEW*

**Student 21:** *it's the way you say it though, if you say, "I'm a Jew" or "you Jew" it's different, you could be like "I'm Jewish" more than "I'm a Jew".*

At this point the teacher (Teacher D) interjected to agree with student 20 and 21, and sanction student 19, but did not fully explain the sanction, leaving the same student to state "Jews were targeted because they were rich and successful, that's why they took their homes" in the next lesson when looking at Nazi persecution. In the same discussion in a different class, the dynamic was different, with the teacher insinuating that he felt the students were not being honest. In 9B the conversation went as such:

**Teacher B:** *Why do you think Jews were targeted?*

**Student 22:** *Because they were Jewish*

**Teacher B:** *OK, but let's say for example, were Jews targeted because they were powerful, rich and successful?*

[No answers]

**Teacher B:** *Show of hands for 'true' they were targeted for being powerful, rich and successful*

[6 students put up their hands]

**Teacher B:** *Show of hands for 'false' they were not targeted because they were powerful, rich and successful*

[7 students put up their hands]

**Teacher B:** *I think a few people are reluctant to put up their hands here which is fine. A common misconception again, a lot of this was propaganda, they were only 0.7% Germany's population and Jews were not all rich and successful. This was a bigger population in Eastern Europe, but they were poor there. So, this was a big part of antisemitism – racism towards Jewish people and the Nazis used this idea that the Jews were controlling things behind the scenes to justify the Holocaust.*

**Student 23:** *There's a lot of Jews in Poland, it's the same now, that's why they hate them*

There were on-task comments made that showed misconceptions but led to distractions in class too. So, although this should fall under cognitive engagement in terms of the understanding, it is worth considering the behavioural impacts of the comments. In one class (9A) when learning about Nazi persecution and anti-Jewish laws, one student (Student 24) commented “*what the hell they tryna [sic] starve these people, they not allowed to buy milk or eggs*”. Although this was exactly what he just learnt in a law, and could be considered empathetic (see emotional engagement Chapter 6), the response to this, aside from a ripple of laughter, was to cause some students to become off task and mess around for the rest of the lesson. In the same lesson, whilst looking at the anti-Jewish laws, a student (25) stated, “*OH they had to wear a yellow star, that’s how they track them down*”. This again was on task as it had related to what the student had just learnt, but the way she said it to interrupt the flow of the lesson and the giggles from her peers shows some form of low behavioural engagement. This will be further examined when I look at the maturity of students to deal with the topic in this chapter and in the emotional engagement chapter.

It is worth reflecting on the fact that looking at comments made whilst students are on task, it is complicated to pull out the comments made that show behavioural engagement rather than cognitive or emotional engagement, so that is why only the negative or lack of engagement comments are explored in this section.

#### *Off-task comments*

The behavioural disengagement from these off-task comments could be categorised in to two different types, those that were disrespectful to the topic or others around them, including comments that are not necessarily relevant to the topic and could have been carried into the classroom from outside (Beaman et al., 2007). The second being those that students deem to be related to the topic but are not and are detrimental to others’ learning. For example, one task in 9D was looking at photos from the Warsaw Ghetto, and Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, where students went around the classroom looking at what they could learn from the photos. At one point, the teacher had to stop the lesson as a group of girls were stood in front of a photograph and were giggling over it. The teacher told them off for disrespect and had to explain why their behaviour was wrong. Although this does not suggest anything like hostility to learning or antisemitism, it could be argued that they were not emotionally mature enough to deal with the content, or perhaps did not understand the context, and laughed as a coping mechanism (Pollak and Freda, 2012). In another lesson, in

9A their first lesson on the topic of the Holocaust, an introductory task and slide with “This term’s learning: The Holocaust” was on the board. When students entered most followed school protocol of coming in in silence and getting on with the task on the board after unpacking their equipment. There were a number of students who came in looking to disrupt after seeing what was on the board, with comments such as “*Jews, yay*” (Student 18) in a sarcastic manner, and one seeing a list of victims of Nazi persecutions yelling across the classroom “*you gypsy*” (Student 26). As mentioned before Beaman et al. (2007) suggest that this could be for several reasons, either as a reaction to not knowing how to deal with the nature of the topic, for emotional reasons or held beliefs, or, because they are disengaged. As the start of this comment from a student in 9B shows, she started off relating to the topic and then not realising the impact of what she was saying or the cognitive links “*I want to watch The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas Sir, I like that movie, do you like movies that make you cry? I want to watch End Game*” (Student 27).

The second type of these off-task comments, showing a behavioural disengagement of sorts, were those that the students deem to be related to the topic but are not. Moreover, they are not explored in ways that link them to the topic, merely as an understanding that they do not offer out loud. For example, when discussing the Nazi persecution of Jews in 9D, one student (student 18) shouted out “*did you know the Palestinians aren’t allowed to swim on the beaches*”. Although ignored by the teacher, the student then continued this conversation quieter with her friends around her in the class. She later shouted out again, when looking at turning points in the anti-Jewish laws, “*Public humiliation and removal of territory was an important turning point – just like in Palestine TBH<sup>82</sup>*”. From this, it was clear to me that this student, who was in the group interviews by coincidence, was going to be one that I wanted to interview in a more in-depth face to face interview. Despite these comments and other quieter, less obtrusive comments in other classes, as Carr (2012) also found, the students never doubted the historicity of the Holocaust. Short (2013) suggests that the students who antagonise and disrupt the lessons are “reluctant learners” (Short, 2013:1). As a lot of these students were Muslim students, Short suggests that many are reluctant to learn about the Holocaust and are most unlikely to learn from it because of their own antisemitism, but these comments show that perhaps some of this was not underlying antisemitism but more situational beliefs. Short also notices that in classrooms with a

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<sup>82</sup> TBH is the colloquial slang for “to be honest”



majority of Muslim students, teachers are more wary of teaching the Holocaust, which could be said of the teachers in this school too.

There were a lot of instances where students made comments that although off-task and therefore could be considered to show low behavioural engagement, they were engaged with the learning or addressing questions the students had about the wider topic. Many of the off-task but relevant questions focused on the idea of why it was the Jews, for example in 9A, one student (28) asked *“Sir do lots of people still hate Jews?”* and the teacher (Teacher A) rather than provoking a discussion or completely ignoring it did answer with *“Not so much in the same ways but there is still antisemitism, yes”*. Additionally in 9C, on multiple occasions there were questions asked that were not related to the specific task *“But Sir, why is it just the Jews”*(Student 29) and *“Why did people kill them, surely they didn’t all agree with it, did they get killed if they didn’t or what”?* (Student 28) In both instances the teacher (teacher C) acknowledged the questions and promised to come back to them later in the lesson or next lesson (which he did), in order to keep the conversations on task. These interactions show more about the cognitive engagement students have, rather than highlighting low behavioural engagement, but it is valid to mention as researching behavioural engagement does incorporate students’ thinking processes as well as behaviour (Kahu, 2013). These related comments relate more to students’ behaviour and following of school and classroom rules rather than disengagement (Fredericks, 2011).

Short’s discussions around reluctant learners (2013) can be seen to be relevant with some of the classroom behaviour, although the classrooms were well managed by the teacher, and a teaching assistant where appropriate. Being able to observe as an outsider from the back or side of the classroom meant that there were conversations and interactions that I could observe that I would not have been able to notice as a teacher. It was at these points that I needed to reflect on my interactions with the students as I was aware that some were aware I was there to watch and others had forgotten, so understandably there may have been a change in their behaviour in the class. This was one of the reasons I decided to observe multiple lessons with multiple classes, to get a more general understanding (Kane, 2012).

### **Interviews**

As mentioned in Chapter 3 there were two rounds of interviews. It was interesting to me that some students made comments in the group interviews about how you should not learn about the Holocaust too young, so I wanted to follow this up with individuals. For example, Student 2 in the group interview stated that he had learnt about the Holocaust

*“here and in primary school, and I know that because it’s not a nice subject not a lot of kids learn about it in primary”.* In a different group interview, one student (Student 18) said they learnt about the Holocaust *“in Year 6 and 5 we would look at like small facts and stuff ‘cos we were so young so the teachers would think like it’s too early for us to learn about stuff like this”.* Rather than interrupt the flow of the students, particularly when I was completely new to them, I thought it would be something to follow up at a later point. In the individual interviews, with student 11, a student whose parents are from Bangladesh and was EAL and spoke Bengali as his first language, went into detail, unprompted, when asked about if it was important for young people to learn about the Holocaust. He said,

*“Yeah, but not too young but I think it’s important to know so that they can respect people and they can respect and know what’s happening to get us here.”.*

I asked, “You say not too young, how young is too young do you think?” and he responded,

*“Probably Year 4 and above maybe... in Year 3 like, you just came from like Year 2 to Year 3, like you’re still a kid but when you’re in Year 4 you’re growing up like you know what’s happening around you. I think they’re just a bit more mature isn’t it”.*

This student himself was very well engaged in all senses with the Holocaust, clear from his conversations in the group and individual interviews as well as in lessons. One student who was more disruptive in lessons, making off-task comments and refusing to do some tasks, was student 10, who when asked why people should learn about the Holocaust stated *“obviously they like, not too young”* so when asked for what age that was said, *“I don’t know, like ten or something, but maybe like someone in terms of like a teenager or something maybe”.* This was echoed by another disruptive student, student 18, from a different class, who said that students that study the Holocaust need to be *“old enough to understand it and not be like silly about it, so like towards the years of Year 10 and Year 9 because that’s the years they start to mature even more”.* These comments show that some students had an awareness of behavioural concerns, and engagement from this. This could have been from experience in the classroom as was seen in several observations, or through experiences in other subjects with difficult topics too (Burnett, 2002). There were also some students that were aware of these issues fully and understood the ramifications for their own learning. One such comment was from student 12 who commented on behaviour from her peers which in turn shows some lack of behavioural engagement that was not seen in most lesson observations:

*“Not everyone should learn it because there’s some people that can’t really like, if they see such information, they probably laugh at it, and you can’t have people like that in such an environment, then it starts to throw you off and stuff like that is very bad when you’re learning such a sensitive topic.”*

#### **4.5 Conclusions**

It was important to include the behavioural engagement as context, to understand the two major themes – cognitive and emotional engagement. The next chapter will look at the findings in terms of cognitive engagement, discuss and analyse the data and use examples of what was learnt to illustrate, referring to the behavioural engagement where necessary.

## **5. Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion – Cognitive Engagement**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter defined the behavioural engagement of students when learning about the Holocaust to set the research findings in context. This chapter will explore the first full theme of cognitive engagement. The theme will contain sub-themes relating to the cognitive engagement of students learning about the Holocaust, which includes their knowledge and understanding; the important parts of what students learnt; why students think they learn about it; and if, and why, they think it is relevant to be learning about.

### **5.2 Cognitive engagement**

As discussed in section 4.3 cognitive engagement concerns what students learn, their understanding of why they are learning about it and what they find important. This is central to understanding the preconceptions and misconceptions students bring to the History classroom; what teachers need to know about students to teach effectively; whether student experiences affect their engagement with the subject and whether their experiences change their understanding of the relevance of learning about it (Wehlage et al., 1992; Fredericks, 2011). From using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six stages of thematic analysis, I decided on the themes, their names and what they would include. Each presented below.

Within this section I will be exploring the data to examine what students learnt and why this was important, whether there were any patterns in the responses and what these patterns could mean (Denscombe, 2007). I will be looking at students' learning journeys in terms of prior learning and encountering of the Holocaust. Here there is an overlap with behavioural and emotional engagement as it explores their awareness and understanding of behaviour for learning and age appropriate sensitive subjects. I will examine where else students have learnt or talked about the Holocaust and what that means, how that shapes their learning and engagement in the classroom and whether it varies depending on the students' background. I will explore why students think they learn about the Holocaust and what they think is important that they have learnt. Whether or not students think there is value and importance in learning about the Holocaust will also be examined. In addition, any patterns and trends in student answers will be examined to elicit any possible theories (Denscombe, 2007). Finally, I will analyse the students' responses to why they think they learn about the Holocaust and whether they think it is relevant to learn now, both to see these answers as

standalone pieces of evidence of cognitive engagement but also to see if there are any links with other parts of the data (Denscombe, 2007).

### **5.3 Knowledge and understanding**

The Constructivist perspectives of learning state that learning relies on meaningful interactions of the learner with the content, context, experienced others, and knowledgeable and even novice peers (Crotty, 1998; Donovan and Bransford, 2005; Lee, 1984) as well as direct, meaningful interaction between the learner and the content (Zhu et al., 2009). I am taking knowledge and understanding as meaning the students' learning and their perception of learning, the former showing their cognitive engagement in terms of what they have learnt and the latter to show the cognitive engagement in terms of their meaningful interaction (Fredericks, 2011). Within this I will explore what they know, what they think they know and their learning journey. In the group interviews, all students were asked what they thought the word 'Holocaust' meant. This was a question asked to gauge knowledge before they started learning the topic (so that I could see where their learning had developed) and also to highlight any misconceptions that students brought to the classroom that may be missed in a classroom setting (Robson, 2004). This was also asked in the individual interviews to see how their knowledge and understanding had developed, and provide me with a chance to further question their understanding, for example the Jewish specificity of the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009). Additionally, students were asked how confident they were with their knowledge of the Holocaust to understand more about their perception of their learning and understanding (Gregory, 2000; Richardson, 2012; Short, 1995). Students were also asked about where else they had learnt or talked about the Holocaust in order for me to consider whether there were any misconceptions or preconceptions held by individual students, and whether their lived experience impacted on their understandings in comparison to other participating students (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Roxas, 2011).

#### **Defining the Holocaust**

In the group interviews, students were asked to define the word 'Holocaust'. There were a range of answers, showing that even if the students had learnt about it before the interviews, there was no one definition that they all gave. Some of the definitions were accurate in content, and one group (A) focussed on the word 'genocide' with three of the five respondents using the word as their definition with no further explanation. The uncertainty in answers shows that students were not wanting to be wrong for the interview

(Drever, 2003), but also that they had some idea of previous knowledge and experiences that they could recall on (Cole, 2008; Foster and Gray, 2014; Hein, 1996; Short, 1991; 2008). For example, Student 5 stated that she thought the Holocaust was:

*what they call the whole thing that happened...Basically the Germans, especially Hitler, he put Jewish people in concentration camps and made them work but then killed them after...so they can just take people out and put them on a train and they're thinking that they're going to go work but ... they would go on the trains to their death.*

There was also a lack of parity across all the groups when it came to whether they mentioned that it was about the murder of Jews. This could be because they had not learnt about the Holocaust before, or because of the focus of the teaching from the limited amount of information about the Holocaust that students claimed that they had learnt in the past. This would reflect the HEDP's 2016 study which showed that not only did teachers have little confidence in their knowledge but did not have historical accuracy in their aims of teaching (Foster et al., 2016). This is reflected in the fact that a small number of students mentioned the word "*genocide*" but could not explain what that meant. In the discussions with the History teachers about what students had learnt beforehand, Teacher B stated that in exploring the Second World War, one lesson focussed on how the war allowed genocide to happen. It was not my intention to question the teaching and curriculum development of the department, but on reflection at the end of the data collection we did speak about students' understanding and how this develops. Teacher C highlighted that to understand how the Holocaust was able to happen it was necessary to understand the Second World War, to understand the developments in the Holocaust. Additionally it was important to understand the Holocaust to be able to comprehend how it was able to happen. It was clear from some students' mentioning "camps" that these had been explored in assemblies, mainly around Holocaust Memorial Day as whole school commemorative events (See Burtonwood, 2002; Cesarani, 2001; Critchell, 2020; Kushner, 2002; Stone, 2000 for more around Holocaust Memorial Day). As these were done in isolation to any learning about the topic, some of the students had several questions about the camps and processes, that were seen across the observations too (For example Burtonwood, 2002; Kushner, 2002; Stone, 2000).

One thing of interest was the Jewish specificity of the definitions during the group interviews (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Richardson, 2012; Supple, 2006). Group A, who all considered themselves to be around the '4' mark in terms of their confidence in what they knew, all claimed the Holocaust meant "*genocide*" but none of the students mentioned anything to

do with Jews. This coincides with Davidowicz's 1990 study as the unspecific history and the confusion around the victims perpetuates misunderstandings of the Holocaust, although in this case it was from a lack of learning. Understandings are perhaps compromised by reading or viewing resources such as *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (Gray, 2014) as explored below. These students clearly had an understanding of the Holocaust and in some cases a deeper conceptual understanding of it as an event. There were some that did have an understanding of the fact that it was specifically Jewish persecution too (Bauer, 2001; Cesarani, 2001), but what was clear from these answers was that students did not understand why that was (Supple, 2006), the way in which it was done (Cesarani, 2015), or the anti-Jewish and antisemitic motivations behind it (Cesarani, 2015; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Supple, 2006). Those that did mention Jews could only explain that Hitler did not like them and did not want them in his world as he was threatened by them. As just under half of the students in the group interviews did mention the Jewish specificity, on reflection I wanted to check this understanding during the individual interviews (Clements, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2009) to see if it was something they were avoiding talking about, or a lack of knowledge in general.

Additionally, only one quarter of the students mentioned anything to do with perpetrators, with most of those mentioning Hitler. This is unsurprising, as students had not yet learnt about the Holocaust fully in the school curriculum, and it reflects the CHE's study in which they said overwhelmingly, students saw the Holocaust perpetrators as solely Hitler or, sometimes as an unexplained conception of the 'Nazis', with very little awareness of the complicity of anyone else, even after learning about the Holocaust (Foster et al., 2016). Three of the mentions of Hitler were in direct answer to asking about what the word Holocaust meant, with Student 7 stating, "*Hitler being racist and him not liking the Jews or something and then just killing them, he doesn't want them in his world*". Student 5 in the same interview responding to Student 9's definition of the Holocaust being "*genocide, for Jews*" stated "*I think Hitler might be threatened by them*". The other two instances were more vague. During a dialogue between two students, when asked about their definition Student 18 asked,

*What confuses me ...is... why was it so easy for Hitler to gain everyone's brain and like stuff, to get them to gather all Jews and just like murder them, I wanna know how he did that cos like if he could do that then surely anyone can do that in like this generation.*

She went on to refer to China killing Muslims in concentration camps and how she thought it was "*Holocaust 2.0*" yet did not offer a description to what the Holocaust was and scored herself a "0" when asked how much she thought she knew. As an Iranian refugee, this was particularly pertinent as she ignored the other student's reply of "*I think that Hitler could do it because he had the support of the Nazi party and they were in charge of Germany at the time, because they won the election*" (Student 30). This emphasises Gilhooly's work (2015) which showed that refugee students were considered to have a lack of knowledge, without teachers considering the cultural capital that these students bring to the classroom. It was obvious from this interaction that this student was aware both of what was going on in the news at the time, but also how this links to what she was being questioned about and about to learn in her History classroom. The first thought about a culturally and ethnically diverse classroom is how to teach history so that it would be meaningful to all students, irrespective of their backgrounds (Virta, 2009). Perhaps the relevance to students comes from their engagement not just in what they are learning, but how it links to their experience of their own world, which will be explored further below.

In the group interviews, students were asked how much they felt they knew about the Holocaust, before they started learning about it. Answers ranged from 0 to 7, with most students placing themselves at a '4' out of a possible 10. This confidence level is difficult to explore further, and does not need to be (Drever, 2003). It was placed in the interview questions to give the students a level of self-confidence from hearing and understanding the variety of perceptions of knowledge in the group around them (Drever, 2003). It showed that there were some students that felt that they were almost expert in their knowledge of the Holocaust, even if they claimed they had never studied it before. Additionally, one student placed themselves at a '0' and two students placed themselves at '7' with no one scoring themselves higher than this. Although some of this could be group interview mentality (Drever, 2003), with the copying of scores for closed questions, or not wanting to put their confidence in their knowledge as lower than their peers, the levels of self-confidence in their knowledge versus their lack of definition demonstrates that students bring misconceptions to the classroom before they begin learning about the topic (Supple, 1993). What is worth pointing out is that although there were very few patterns with this answer, the students that show high cognitive engagement through other questions, rate themselves as low as "0" and "2". The refugee students in the group again showed no real pattern, with their answers ranging from "0", but mainly being around the "4" point (Lee



and Hannafin, 2016). Table 2 below, shows the students' perceived knowledge on the Holocaust, alongside their learning journeys both in formal education and extra-curricular.

There were some students that focused on the idea of "*racism*" rather than antisemitism when describing laws and actions of the persecutors. This language is interesting as it ties in with the results of the HEDP study (Pettigrew et al., 2009) in which the teachers surveyed before the terms' learning began stated their aims. All the teachers stated that they wanted to tackle misconceptions and preconceptions. No teachers mentioned aims linked to tolerance or citizenship. From this, and my lesson observations, it is clear the students were not being taught the Holocaust for antiracism aims, as seen by the teacher surveys and the scheme of learning (**Appendix C and D**) (Carrington and Short, 1997; Short, 2005). These themes are explored further below, where the use of the language and aims links to the cognitive engagement of the students. One part of the data that remained unclear from this study was whether there was a purposeful avoidance of the Jewish specificity of the Holocaust. During the individual interviews, as seen below, this was explored further. There were increased conversations about the Nazis and their collaborators in their systematic persecution of the Jews because they had learnt more, and they now had better historical understanding. It was clear, therefore that to understand the development of the students' learning and clarity of cognitive engagement, it was important to understand where the students had learnt about the Holocaust or come across the Holocaust in both formal education settings and at home (Gray, 2014; Roxas, 2011).

To further my understanding of students' definitions of the Holocaust, during the individual interviews, held towards the end of the scheme of learning, students were again asked what the world Holocaust meant and their answers showed a clear development of knowledge and understanding.

### **Students learning journey**

Students were asked where they had learnt about the Holocaust and the responses varied greatly. The students that felt that they had learnt about the Holocaust elsewhere focussed on three main things: other subjects; other schools; out of school learning. In the group interviews students were asked where they had learnt about the Holocaust before (Cole, 2008; Short, 1991). Six students said that this term's History lessons was the first time they could remember learning about it, having never learnt about it before. This reflects the difficulties around teaching the Holocaust, both in the fact that it only appears as an instruction in the History Key Stage 3 curriculum (DfE, 2014), but also over the arguments of

what age the Holocaust should be taught<sup>83</sup>(See Burke, 2003; Carrington and Short, 1997; Cowan and Maitles, 2002; Short, 2003) . Two students also said that they were not sure where their prior knowledge was from, but they did have some. For example, Student 13 stated *“I don’t know if I did it when I was younger or not but somehow, I do know it before today”*. Over half the students stated that they had learnt about it in Primary school, with most saying this had been in Year 6<sup>84</sup>, but some saying that they think they learnt it in Year 5<sup>85</sup> or Year 3<sup>86</sup>. When prompted about what they learnt at Primary school, results varied from learning *“just a little bit about it”* (Student 4) to *“Just...when it happened and how long it happened for...They described it as like being racist to like a group, a religion and just that a lot of killing happened in concentration camps. We mainly focussed on concentration camps”* (Student 2). Student 12 learnt about it *“in primary in art”* and went on to explain that they learnt *“mostly about concentration camps...and how Hitler got the vote and stuff”*. This not only shows that there is a discrepancy in student knowledge when they enter the classroom to learn about the Holocaust in History in Secondary school, but additionally in what and how students are taught about it in Primary school (Cowan and Maitles, 2002, 2007; Maitles and Cowan, 1999; Short, 2003). Two students, in different groups, both focussed on the fact that they had learnt about it at Primary school but did not necessarily think that was right. Student 11 stated that *“we did it every year at primary school because our headteacher commemorated them every year...but we didn’t properly learn about it until Year 6 because there was mass murder”*. This echoed student 18 who said that she learnt about it in *“Year 6 and 5 we would look at like small facts...cos we were young so the teachers would think it’s too early for us to learn about stuff like this”*. It is important to consider this for two reasons. Firstly, it shows that students engage with their past learning as a way to justify what they think they know (Edwards and O’Dowd, 2010). As discussed in Fredericks (2011), when students use their prior learning out of context, this increases their engagement. Secondly, both students were from refugee backgrounds, one first generation

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<sup>83</sup> The debate over the appropriate-ness of teaching the Holocaust to students under the age of 13-14 is one that has been around for a while. It has been revisited more recently as many schools moved to teaching the GCSE content over three years instead of two, so the content that was taught in year 9 is now taught in year 7 or 8 depending on the school. The schools that do this argue that as it is on the National Curriculum, they need to teach it. Additionally, the IHRA principles for teaching the Holocaust (2019) state that it is fine to teach the Holocaust at earlier ages, as long as it is “age-appropriate” (p.24). Short (2003) agrees that there are lessons that can be learnt from the Holocaust at an earlier age, but there are other aspects to consider, such as what students know about Jewish culture and identity, the objectives of teaching about the Holocaust, and the resources that are used to teach. This is echoed in Carrington and Short (1997) and Cowan and Maitles (2002) additionally.

<sup>84</sup> Age 10-11; the final year of Primary school

<sup>85</sup> Age 9-10

<sup>86</sup> Age 7-8

and one second generation. Although most literature around refugee education is around needs, integration and achievement (Bloch, 2018; Brenner and Kia-Keating, 2016; Rutter, 2003 & 2006 as examples), engagement is just as important to consider. As Oliver (2012) showed, refugee students were dealing with normal adolescent problems, problems of someone resettling and other refugee issues. He explained that refugees used these problems to engage with people and academia, relating to themes of identity, resilience and optimism (Oliver, 2012). These interactions of students learning about the Holocaust in this study show similar understanding and affective learning about the Holocaust.

It is worth pointing out that the students that claimed they had not learnt about the Holocaust before, did not place their learning at zero. This is interesting and although needs further exploration, could also be to do with students' awareness of the Holocaust from outside of school. It reflects studies that show that students come to lessons with preconceptions of the Holocaust already (See (Foster and Gray, 2014; Hein, 1996; Short, 2008 for examples). Table 2 shows the relation of confidence of student knowledge, prior learning and other learning about the Holocaust from the group interviews. Some students changed or added to what they had learnt outside of the classroom and their Year 9 History learning in the individual interviews. This shows students were not always aware of their prior learning or did not count learning knowledge from outside the classroom as "learning". Additionally, they could have remembered it later in the interview but not thought about it in the original scale.

Table 2: Student's learning journeys and confidence (group interviews)

Student	Confidence level (1-10)	Prior learning (In education; other)
1	6	"Not before this year in History"; "In books fiction and non-fiction".
2	5	"Year 7 and Year 6"
3	4	Not before this year in History
4	4 or 5	"Year 6 and Year 3"
5	4	Not before this year in History
6	2	Not before this year in History
7	3	"Assemblies"
8	4	Primary School – watching a movie"
9	2	"Year 6"
10	4	Not before this year in History
11	3 or 4	"Primary School – every year; in detail in Year 6"
12	4	"Art in Year 6 and Year 5"
13	4.5	Not before this year in History; "On the internet and stuff"
14	4	Not before this year in History; "In movies and stuff"
15	6	Not before this year in History
16	4	Not before this year in History
17	7	"Year 6"; "Social media and YouTube and non-fiction books"
18	0	"PSHE, Assembly, Year 6"
30	7	"PSHE, Year 6 "
31	6S	Not before this year in History

### Primary school learning

In the group interviews if students mentioned that they had studied the Holocaust at Primary school, they were asked what they learnt, to see if there was a variety in answers. Most students mentioned they had learnt about Hitler and had a very Hitler-centric education about the Holocaust. For example, Student 11 stated that they learnt *"just the basics..They taught [sic] us that a lot of people were killed and Hitler did this and that...but they didn't go into details"*. This was the same with other students explaining that they *"just learnt about how Hitler used to kill them but we didn't go into detail"* (Student 16) and *"We learnt about Hitler himself and...why he did it and we learnt about...the camps, only one camp, I can't remember what it was called though"* (Student 12). It is important to remember these conversations are at the end of students learning about the Holocaust in their History lessons, so some of their reflections of what they had learnt at Primary school were surprising as they showed a lack of parity in their responses from six weeks prior. For example, Student 3 claimed that at Primary school they *"did an assembly, it was a memorial day we were learning all about Black power, Hitler, how Hitler's right to power led to how the Jews died...we saw some video, I don't think we should have watched it – it was a bit*

*graphic*". The awareness of the graphic images is interesting and will be returned to in Chapter 6, but more significant for understanding the cognitive engagement and misconceptions here, is the fact that this student placed learning about "Black Power"<sup>87</sup> in with his learning about the Holocaust, suggesting that either the teaching of the topic in the assembly was mixed, or more than likely the student had misconceptions over what Black Power was and how it fit in with the Holocaust. This links to the discussions around teaching the Holocaust and the role of the teacher in anti-racist education (see Ben-Peretz, 2003; Carrington & Short, 1997; Davies, 2000; Hector, 2000; Short & Reed, 2004). Secondly, this misconception was addressed in the interview and the student suggested that it meant something else, so their misunderstanding was not that the Holocaust and American Civil Rights activism were linked, but that there was some other misunderstanding of what Black Power was.

The other responses ranged from not learning much, *"Not really any depth but we just learnt about how the Nazis did things like the concentration camps"* (Student 2), *"in Primary school, I just learnt a little bit...the introduction to it like stories like the Boy in the Striped Pyjamas"* (Student 9) and *"Just statistics"* (Student 30) to remembering they had assemblies on the topic of the Holocaust. For example, Student 7, *"Well we had events in assembly"* and Student 11 who said that *"Our school would celebrate the day, not celebrate, commemorate, and we would learn a bit about it. Not too much because it's a bit...cos we were at primary"*. This shows that there was a substantial cognitive engagement as although students could not necessarily address what they had learnt well, be that through issues of remembering, the teaching or general articulation of what they had learnt, they had a strong understanding of why they had learnt about it and at least why the schools thought it was important for them to learn (Fredericks, 2011; Wehlage et al., 1992). It is clear from this that the students' prior learning from Primary school was very Hitler-centric (Hale, 2018). This reflected some of the behaviour and cognition I had seen in observations, with students readily engaged in the work they were doing, but at any opportunity asking questions about Hitler, from *"How exactly did it start that Hitler wanted to kill Jews?"* (Class A) to *"What was Hitler's personal hatred towards the Jews? Wasn't Hitler Jewish?"* (Class C) and *"Did Hitler kill himself?"* (Class A). This is expected especially as it is in line with the CHE's study about what young people know about the Holocaust (Foster et al., 2016), in which they found that the

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<sup>87</sup> Black Power was a revolutionary movement that occurred in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s. It called for equal rights for African Americans and emphasized racial pride, economic empowerment, and the creation of political and cultural institutions. For more see <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power> [accessed 17/4/2020].

majority of learning and understanding that students could recall when asked about what the Holocaust was, was to do with Hitler. It is interesting how this assumption of knowledge fits into the debates around teaching and learning the Holocaust in primary schools (Carrington and Short, 1997; Cowan and Maitles, 2002; 2012; Maitles and Cowan, 1999; Short, 2003). Students, reflecting on their prior learning have a lot of knowledge about Hitler, but the questions are where this knowledge was from. Although the Second World War is no longer on the Key Stage 2 national curriculum (DfE, 2013b), there are still schools that teach it as a turning point for Britain. Some focus on evacuation in Britain and some schools weave The Diary of Anne Frank into the literacy scheme of work too, so it is likely that they will have come across it at primary school. Additionally, schools mark Holocaust Memorial Day, or study the Holocaust in PSHE in Key stage 3. It is interesting that in the post-it note task, all classes had Hitler as the most reoccurring concept too. However, this was not the case when asking students in the individual interviews to reflect on what they had learnt this term.

### **This term's learning**

The next question in the group interviews was what they had learnt about this term. This would allow me to understand what they know about the Holocaust as well as see how my observations fit into their comprehension of their learning. Ten students used the word genocide in their answers this time, with most focussing without prompting on the specificity of the Jews. This could show a deep understanding of the knowledge through their learning in the term, or perhaps a learnt definition, that the specificity of the Holocaust is what made it what it was that they were studying. Over two thirds either offered up the fact that it was Jewish people that were targeted specifically or responded with that when asked who the victims were. For example. Student 30 stated straight out with *"It means the mass murder and genocide of 6 million Jews by the Nazi party"* whereas student 10 expressed their understanding as *"when Hitler punished the Jews because of their religion. I mean, that's what I think...Hitler didn't really like other people..but I feel like the Holocaust was focussed on the Jews"*. Student 17, after explaining the Holocaust as genocide towards the Jews, went on to explain *"when I think of Holocaust I don't really think of Nazi Germany and World War Two, it's kind of a separate topic, it's just the Jewish people dying"*. There are still some students who almost understood the definition given to them in its entirety, and the Jewish specificity of it, for example, Student 31 who answered that the word Holocaust meant *"mass genocide of Jews, during the World War Two"* so when I asked if it was just the Jews specifically they said *"not only Jews it's just the word itself is aimed directly at the*

*genocide of the Jews. It also did include other people that didn't meet the Aryan race and disabled people – people that Hitler didn't see in his vision for the future".* There were some that had an understanding of what they had learnt – *"the mass killing of Jews"* but still had misconceptions, so when asked if it was just Jews that were involved, stated *"it was Jews and I think it was hippies or something"* (Student 6). The fact that these students were from different classes, with different teachers, teaching a broadly similar curriculum, shows that their understanding has foundations in good teaching and learning, but that perhaps the focus of how the Holocaust is taught has changed since the nationwide study by the CHE in 2016 (Foster et al, 2016).

### **Other subjects**

It is necessary to point out that when prompted, in both sets of interviews, some students mentioned that they had learnt about the Holocaust in English lessons in Secondary school, or in PSHE<sup>88</sup> or in assemblies. It is shown that the majority of learning about the Holocaust does take place within History lessons, but that the approach to the topic in other subjects is focussed on the historical narrative. As these students did not study Religious Studies as a standalone subject, they did not study the Holocaust looking at some of the deeper philosophical and religious aspects of the Holocaust (Brown & Davies, 1998; Davies, 2000; Short, 2001) so the focus on History is therefore unsurprising. It was understandable that students' answers varied on what they had learnt at their Primary schools and extra-curricular learning. These would be different depending on where the students went to school and what they did outside of school. The interesting part is students were not sure about how much time, and when they had learnt about the Holocaust in their Secondary school (only two mentioned their current school not being their only Secondary school). This could have been affected by teacher absence, lack of curriculum time or teacher avoidance, all factors to consider in the 2009 HEDP Report (Pettigrew et al.). What is clear however, is that the topic had more resonance with some students than others, and this will be explored in the 'Relevance and Importance' section of this chapter below.

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<sup>88</sup> Personal, Social and Health Education –in National Curriculum (2014) states 'all schools should make provision for personal, social, health and economic education (PSHE), drawing on good practice'. For more information, visit the PSHE association at <https://www.pshe-association.org.uk/curriculum-and-resources/curriculum> [accessed 16/04/2020]

## Conversations outside the classroom

Some students mentioned having conversations with friends or family about the Holocaust. It was important to explore these avenues to understand why students perceived the Holocaust in the ways that they did, both through understanding what attitudes students brought to the classroom and what they did with their learning. A small number of students said that they had not talked about the Holocaust with friends, family or at home, mainly because they *“Just haven’t really thought about it”* (Student 6) or *“It just hasn’t come up in conversation”* (Student 4). There were however those that went into detail about their conversations with friends and family that showed some interesting developments both in cognitive understanding and in patterns between students in a diverse classroom. Some students said that they spoke about their learning or the Holocaust at home if it came up, for example Student 11 said *“if it comes up on the news, we talk about it a bit but not that much”* and Student 3 said *“when we learn about events like Sudan then maybe we talk about it”*, so when asked what he meant, he explained that both at school and at home he talks *“about how it’s linked...when someone rides to power in a dictatorship and it turns into a bit like the Holocaust situation like Hitler but in Sudan, their president is a bit overpowering everyone and they all scared, they live in fear”*. This use of the word Holocaust, although showing a lack of understanding of the difficulties behind his statement does show some deep cognitive engagement with the topic. This student has used his knowledge from the classroom to apply to situations he has deemed as relevant and has engaged with it on a level outside of the classroom. It is pertinent that this student is not Sudanese, but his family are Bengali, himself being a second-generation refugee. This is interesting as so is student 11 and their remarks are a striking contrast to students that are white British or mixed British, who all said that they do not talk about it with friends or family at home.

Student 17, a Kosovan refugee, strengthened the above statement further. He initially detailed how he spoke about at home because of video games (see below), how he talked about the Holocaust at home with his brother, *“cos we’re twins, me and my brother, so we think about the twin experiments...and how it would be if we were in Nazi Germany and Jewish at the time”*. Although (as part of the IHRA 2018 principles) it is discouraged to get students to empathise with victims of the Holocaust and what they went through, it is important to acknowledge that these are conversations that they have had away from the classroom and demonstrate a really high level of cognitive engagement. It could be to do with the fact that they are acknowledging the reference in their lives and making parities to what they have learnt. The student went on to explain that he had family that were involved



in the war. His mum had told him about the Holocaust as his great-grandpa was *“involved in the whole war situation in Europe”* when I prompted him to explain more he was not too sure. Knowing that the Albanians and Kosovans were involved he added *“it’s communist past, and the German people they used to like Albanians”*. Although he had a family narrative of the Second World War that was spoken about a lot at home, this did not mean that this was the reason why his cognitive engagement with the Holocaust was so high. His comments on the relevance to his community and the topic’s resonance with him will be explored in a later section. This was the same as Student 5, an Albanian refugee, who although her knowledge and understanding was lower, was completely engaged in the learning and her cognitive engagement in terms of the importance and relevance of what she had learnt through discussions at home was high. She spoke about how at home they discussed the effect of the war on Serbia and how it linked to the Holocaust. Her examples were that *“firstly we talked about what happened in the area...and I mentioned the Holocaust...Serbians were involved in it because apparently they took some Jews”* when I asked what she meant by took some Jews she stated that *“Serbians would kill Jews”* she said that her family were willing to talk about it often and in such a matter-of-fact way because of the family involvement in the Serbia-Kosovo war. Her understanding was that her family were involved in that war (her uncle was a national hero after rescuing many people) because of what happened to her grandparents during World War Two. Her grandpa was involved,

*“He wasn’t really in the war but he got held captive for nine years, by the Serbians...my grandma she hid in the forest as well and she would go to different houses every day and ask for food and she would hide in the forest, and then when they came back...our house was bombed. [She was hiding from] the Serbians, because she was Kosovan... they joined with Russia because Russia and Serbia were alliances, that’s how they went against Kosovo. And then Turkey and America helped us”.*

It is clear here that there is some semblance of understanding through previous experiences both lived through by students and their families, making their way into the students understanding and conceptualisation.

Somewhere that this is more evident, albeit opening more questions, is through the three students that discussed it at home who brought in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or their families’ antisemitic beliefs. Here we will touch on what they said but leave the relevance of the topic to the section below. All three girls mentioned that they had spoken about it at home with parents. Two students, student 18 and student 1 are first-generation refugees,

the other is a second-generation refugee. Student 1 in the group interviews mentioned that she spoke about Israel at home, *“because the Holocaust is a strong link between Israel”* when I asked her to explain what she meant, she explained that *“...the Israeli and Palestinian conflict, sometimes I talk about it as my family argue about...what’s happening at the moment”*. I felt that this was something that I would pick back up on in the individual interviews if she did not want to explain more in front of her peers, but to clarify I asked how the Holocaust was related to that. Her response was,

*“they say things like maybe if the Holocaust had never happened then Israel would never have been formed, it’s because the Jews wouldn’t have...there wouldn’t have...well after the Holocaust they felt they were really scattered and they wanted to be together in one place and find that place”*.

It naturally arose again in the individual interviews when she was talking about the books she borrowed from her sister. This time she went on to say that they do not really talk about the Holocaust per se, but they talk about the Israel-Palestine conflict. I asked again why she thought they were related and she said,

*“because of the Holocaust, Israel was formed so it’s...linked and we just talk about who is the land rightfully to and should it just be given back to the Palestinians or should the Israelis have total control or should it be split”*.

Throughout our conversation she disclosed that her family were from Algeria<sup>89</sup> and her family spoke often about Israel at home because their experiences. This was echoed by Student 10, who considered herself Palestinian (but born in England). Student 10 it is important to note, in observations, made a lot of on and off-task disruptive comments that could have suggested a low behavioural engagement, but in both the group and individual interviews it was clear that this was because the emotional and cognitive engagement was at a high level. Some of the comments she made were specific to the treatment of Palestinians, talking over the teacher and other students about this. She also exclaimed *“Jews, yay”* at the beginning of the first lesson about the Holocaust. In the group interviews, she said that she thought she had spoken about the Holocaust once with her mum, when I asked what they talked about she said *“I think we were talking about...Jew-Israelis, Jewish*

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<sup>89</sup> Algerian-Israeli diplomatic relations do not exist. Algeria is part of the Arab League boycott of Israel, and officially does not recognise the State of Israel. In 1962 Algeria passed the “Nationality Code” in which any non-Muslims in the country were deprived of their Algerian citizenship. At this time there was both anti-French and anti-Jewish rhetoric and 130,00 Jews, approximately, left Algeria. See Abadi (2002) for more.

and that...what Jewish people would feel about what Palestine would feel". I asked how the Holocaust came into that and she said,

*"Oh... first we were talking about Palestine and what was going on and then I was talking to my mum and I was saying...it's not Jews who have taken over the country, it's Israelis and I told her...Jews have been through a lot of things the Holocaust and stuff...so ...I don't think we should be blaming...the Jews".*

This echoed what she said in the individual interviews, when asked why talking about Palestine was related to learning about the Holocaust she said,

*"Palestinians think that it's all because of what happened to Palestine, they think they can just blame it on the Jews, but really, it wasn't really the Jews, Jewish people don't want this to happen, it's the Israelis that came...I don't believe that every single Jew hates Palestine or wants Israel to take over Palestine or anything like that. I think that each person, it doesn't matter what religion you follow it's just about what you think about it, it's not a religion thing. It helps you see the history and like after the Holocaust some Jews went to live in Israel and start a family there, so it is kind of relevant".*

This understanding of what she was learning and tying it into the conversations she was having at home are important to consider in terms of cognitive and emotional engagement. Not only has she understood and engaged with the content of the lesson, developed her knowledge and understanding - she is now confident in questioning her parents' views – something that was important in forming her world view and knowledge.

Student 18, an Iranian refugee had similar views coming through in her understanding from home, however hers took a different perspective. In the group interviews she expressed that she had mentioned she was studying the Holocaust with her cousin and they went on to talk about how,

*"we're Iranian I don't know but like Iranians they don't like Jewish people, I don't know why, but we were just speaking about how Iranians dislike Jewish people and how we thought that maybe the Iranians helped the Nazis because they don't like Jewish people".*

Student 18 showed a lack of willingness and engagement in class, behavioural, cognitive and emotive, so I was keen to find out if anything resounded with her from the topic, as it had for the previous students. After explaining what she had found interesting learning about she explained that when she has been discussing it at home with her cousin and mum they have talked about *"the Jews and Iran and how bad that relationship is and sometimes the conversation hasn't been very nice"*. She was not sure why the Iranians held the views that they did, saying *"some Iranians they really dislike Jewish people. I don't know what the reason is....Even though there's like Jewish Iranians. We were just talking about that and we*

came up to the Holocaust". When I asked what they had said, she talked about the fact that Jews had moved to Israel after the Holocaust but did not make any further connections as to how the conversations she had had about Iranians and in some cases, members of her family, had been antisemitic, linked to the Holocaust. This shows engagement with the topic, but a very low level of cognitive engagement and knowledge and understanding. She has some perception of why it might be relevant but at this point was still unable to articulate this.

One student (Student 2) also touched on antisemitism when he reflected on the fact that he spoke about the Holocaust outside of class with his friends when they made jokes about it:

***"Did you talk about the Holocaust at home or with friends when you were learning about it or afterwards?"***

*Erm, if it comes up.*

***What sort of situations might it come up in?***

*I don't know like when people try to joke about it, or something like that*

***What sort of jokes?***

*I don't really have any, but like if you hear it.*

***What do you do if you hear the jokes?***

*Well if they're funny I laugh*

***And do you think its antisemitic, do you know what that means?***

*Against Jews?*

***Yeah, do you think laughing at Holocaust jokes is antisemitic?***

*Not really cos it's just a joke and like people make a joke out of like my religion all the time and like being Somali,*

***So, what do you do about that?***

*I laugh, because its funny most of the time but if it's not I ignore it.*

***And do you think that people should be making these jokes? Do you think they help spread the ideas that people have in their heads about different religions more?***

*No not really, I don't think it matters if they make the jokes. People are always going to like make them anyway".*

Considering this student was quite vague in his understanding of what the Holocaust was, and had not remembered what he had studied previously, he was very articulate in excusing himself for the jokes that were made. He felt it was fair because others make jokes to him about his heritage. When we spoke about making correct choices, he was very reflective on the process, which perhaps changed his ideas of why the Holocaust is relevant and

important to learn about (explored below). This reflects some of the studies that show that when learning about the Holocaust, students are faced with dilemmas over the choices they are making. Their sense of justice changes, placing events in the past on the same level as what was happening to them at the time (Short, 1995; Bradshaw, 2006; Bloch, 2018).

### **Extra-curricular learning**

One final way in which some of the students said that they had learnt about the Holocaust, was through extra-curricular means such as books, movies and social media or the internet. A few students had been on a trip the same week of the interviews to Anne Frank House as part of their commitment to History. Others mentioned that they had read about the Holocaust in books, with Student 1 talking about how she read books recommended to her by her 19-Year-old sister, just “*because*” she wanted to read it. When I asked what the books were about, she explained,

*“it was set in France when it was Nazi occupied, and it was about how the Jews got rounded up and how slowly their rights were taken away from them...then they had a curfew and they got taken away completely. So, it was about how slowly the Nazis were manipulating their lives”.*

She also mentioned watching films but could only remember *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008) “*I read the book as well, yeah and I...really really liked the book but it’s really really sad as well...*”. Many of the other students mention that they had watched the film too, and it was mentioned in one of the off-task comments in one of the observations, in class B, one student called out “*I wanna watch the Boy in the Striped Pyjamas Sir. I like that movie. Do you like movies that make you cry? I wanna watch End Game*”. Another student of note, Student 17, mentioned in the group interviews that he and his brother were reading books,

*“about World War Two and they’re kind of fiction... it’s a real story but based on World War Two, it’s about a child and how he’s a spy, but when he’s caught he gets his tooth taken out and he gets put to prison and almost dies. It doesn’t matter if you don’t like Jewish people or if you like Jewish people, but like obviously back in 1945 and the time of World War Two, everyone like cultures kind of stayed to themselves, like if you compare London, how it was, to what it is now there’s a massive difference and I think that’s like the main difference to why Jewish people were seen as evil and you can’t justify what they did ever”.*

It is fascinating that this student is so engaged in the subject area – his knowledge and understanding, perception of relevance and definition of the Holocaust all show high levels of cognitive engagement. When thinking about extra-curricular reading and watching, it is

well documented that films develop student engagement on topics (For example Brina, 2003; Richardson, 2012; Shaw, 2004). However, there are issues with the complexities of the Holocaust with some of these films. In particular, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008). Teachers and Holocaust education practitioners that understand the difficulties within the story and know that it is not suitable for students under 9. Teachers are dissuaded from using it in class without discussions around why it is not historically accurate nor appropriate for use in teaching about the Holocaust (see Cesarani, 2008; Gilbert, 2010). Other films that are regarded as more historically accurate have also been criticised for use within the classroom, because of the mistruths the directors and screenwriters have projected to make a “good” film (see Cohen, 2000; Manchel, 1995). However, as will be discussed in the implications, the necessary discussions over such complexities are difficult to have if students watch the films in their own time, as this can not be monitored.

Student 17 mentioned above was also one of the students that was very open about how he engaged with the Holocaust outside the classroom through the internet, games and YouTube. When asked when he had learnt about the Holocaust he stated *“You could use the internet...And on YouTube as well, I saw videos on History and it’s...interesting, in a bad way it’s fascinating to see how Hitler, or someone would do this and the final solution”*. When I probed to see how he used the internet he said

*“It’s usually from YouTube, and me and my brother, he told me about it, and it’s a really weird concept, to think about that many people dying in one place. And obviously, we’re a fan of video games, and the whole concept is like something out of a game, it’s ridiculous that someone would do that”*.

I was interested in how he knew that what he was going to watch would be alright, being aware not only of the risks of YouTube for antisemitism but also for atrocity images, something that the IHRA guidelines (2019) advise keeping away from students learning about the Holocaust. I asked what he typed in and how he knew that it would be OK to watch. His reply was

*“I wasn’t really aware, that it was to do with these dark topics, I just wanted to know about it more, it was more what was recommended to me on the YouTube algorithm...and it just catches my eye and I would watch the videos. It was a bit difficult to understand when I was younger, because I didn’t really understand some of the concepts, I didn’t really understand what racism was and why someone would kill someone else”*.

This echoes student 31's research that he did at home because *"I wanted to get to know the actual subject"*, he said he used *"websites like the BBC, articles...that just show the information context of what happened during World War Two and the Holocaust"*. Although it is positive and shows high levels of cognitive engagement that these students wanted to further their knowledge outside of the classroom, it is not without its own issues. As mentioned, the internet and YouTube are a hotbed of atrocity images and antisemitism, conspiracy theories and shocking testimonies that students under 16 should not be viewing without supervision or a chance to reflect on what they have seen and learnt. The fact that there were only a few mentions of students reading or researching, visiting museums or watching videos outside of class is not unusual. These instances will have increased the cognitive engagement of these students (Fredericks, 2011) but in most cases the resonance of the topic would have been there already for them to have taken the learning outside of the formal classroom. Although they were not a significant source of learning for the majority in this study, it is worth considering the reasons behind these students' interest in the topic, and their understanding.

#### **Knowledge and Understanding: Reflections**

The students' learning journeys before learning about the Holocaust in this school, this term, were unsurprising. The students' awareness of what they had learnt, where they had learnt it, and their knowledge and misconceptions were also in line with many previous studies (For example see: Foster et al., 2016; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Short, 2003) and the lack of engagement outside of the formal classroom was also unsurprising. This is not only because of the subject content, but also because students from disadvantaged backgrounds, those that are Pupil Premium, Free School Meals or EAL, have a lack of cultural capital and difficulties in engaging parents in academia, particularly outside English and Maths (Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). This means that it was highly likely that the cognitive engagement would have been low in relation to what students learnt and understood. However, what was seen here was that students not only bought into learning about the subject, but understood it. This learning had developed their understanding of the Holocaust. Clearly those that had some resonance with the Holocaust outside of lessons, from refugees that had been displaced, to refugees whose parents spoke angrily about Israel or Jews, to those that had an awareness and a heightened sense of community had higher cognitive engagement than those that did not.

As a researcher it is interesting to see if the patterns of increased cognitive engagement amongst the refugees in the group still stands in the following sections, and whether it is also the case with emotional engagement too. As a teacher it is important to recognise that early misconceptions do not mean that students are unwilling to change their knowledge and even question their understanding and constructs outside of the classroom. The next sections will explore students' perceptions of what they have learnt, why they think they have learnt it, and if they think it is relevant to now.

#### **5.4 Perceived importance**

In this part of the discussion about cognitive engagement, I will be exploring what students felt they had learnt, what the most important or most interesting parts were to them and why. Through asking them these questions in the individual interviews I hoped for them to reflect on what they had learnt as well as understand how their understanding had developed. Additionally, to analyse their cognitive engagement, it was necessary to see what, if anything, the students deemed to be the most important part of what they had learnt and whether this matched the teachers' aims or the lesson objectives. I will be analysing this in two parts, first through looking at what the students learnt, what patterns, if any, arise and what misconceptions still remain. Then through looking at what the students deemed the most important part of what they had learnt, exploring patterns in their answers to show different levels of cognitive engagement amongst the students interviewed.

##### **What they have learnt**

One part of cognitive engagement that is worth exploring is what students state that they have learnt about during their most recent period of study of the Holocaust and why. It is important to see whether their perceptions of learning the Holocaust vary and to understand their levels of cognitive engagement with the subject. In the individual interviews, many students mentioned Hitler and the Nazis, but there were only two occasions this was mentioned individually and not in relation to any other parts of their learning (Students 10 and 18). Most students spoke about Jewish resistance. This had been a focus of many of the lessons, and a key aim of the teachers, wanting to look at "*Jewish agency and resistance*" (Teacher B). The detail students went into ranged from "*resistance and stuff like that*" (Student 1) to "*the Bielski brothers, how they managed to fight and save lots of Jews and how they managed to stay in the forest for so long and survive*" (Student 9). Some students mentioned camps and ghettos in different instances, interestingly, some of



those that did, focussed on the atrocity of the situation. Student 1 noted that they *“learnt what happened in the camps, and how so many Jews were forced to clear up the dead bodies, even though they were going to get killed as well”*. Some students focussed on anti-Jewish laws and dehumanising process, mentioning pre-war Jewish life and others on the politics of these laws, and Hitler coming into power. One final thing that two students mentioned was memory, the effect on today and how much time has changed. For example, Student 3, as well as mentioning the Bielski Brothers and their resistance movement, also mentioned how *“how the effect of Holocaust has changed the world”*. Student 12 also mentioned how she learnt that the Jews are *“standing strong still today and how so many people were affected but then they have memory”*. Although both these students touched on this, it was not what they considered the most important aspect, but, as discussed in the next section, many more students focused on the memory, and the effect of today and change over time as one of the most important things they learnt, showing a tangible difference in their understanding of “what did you learn” and “what did you find important”. This shows that there was clearly a high level of cognitive engagement of understanding and development of knowledge across most students.

This is not simply a matter of engagement for these students. As with all student learning, it is impacted by the classroom teaching and curriculum design. This is a reason, as seen in the literature review, that many studies on Holocaust education focus on teachers and not on students. As we have seen in previous discussions, the aims of teaching the Holocaust are vastly different and contested. They vary, but aside from historical knowledge and understanding, the aims range from anti-racism, citizenship and human behaviours such as stereotyping and scapegoating, and being upstanding citizens (Burke, 2003; Clements, 2006; Davies, 2000; Hector, 2000; Salmons, 2010; Short, 2005; Short & Reed, 2004). These link heavily to intercultural education, not the historical aims, and Salmons (2010) warns that to not miss out other lessons and other cultures, anti-racism should not be the main aim of Holocaust education. From what the students have stated that they have learnt above, even with a considered curriculum, they did not learn what the teachers aimed the “lessons” of their teaching to be (see section 3.4). The “lessons” as explored in chapter 2 vary and shift with the political climate. However, this school had a focus on Jewish agency and resistance, and that shows in what the students remembered learning. As Clements (2006) suggests, the lessons learnt from the Holocaust have parallels in how the Holocaust is taught.

What was clear in the lessons was the teachers had understood the different backgrounds and some of the cultural beliefs of students in their classes, as well as their abilities. This not

only makes the teaching learning centred and helps evaluate progress but ensures that misconceptions are addressed swiftly (Donovan and Bransford, 2005). It was clear in lesson observations and through the interviews that the differences in knowledge and cultural understanding between staff and students were clear, but the meaningful student-teacher relationships ensured that the teachers, even with misconceptions about the students in their classes, managed to challenge preconceptions that students came to lessons with – some that we saw in the discussion of what students thought they knew about the Holocaust in the group interviews at the beginning. Avraham (2010) questions how you teach a multi-cultural staff how to teach the Holocaust to multi-cultural students and it would be interesting to have been able to question students after each lesson. To be able to ask about what they had learnt, tracking the development of their knowledge and misconceptions, would have been powerful to see whether misconceptions were dealt with fully or just replaced with knowledge that was at the forefront of students minds in interviews. Additionally, it is clear both in the depth of understanding and the articulation of what they have learnt, that the preconceptions of students from different backgrounds, as Short (1991) argued, are key obstacles to effective teaching – in terms of all three strands of engagement. The teachers were trying to implore that the Jews being studied were equal to other people, but it was clear in interviews and observations that some students had preconceptions on this matter already. As seen in much literature (Foster and Gray, 2004, Hein, 1996, Short, 2008), the students studied here have often acquired many ideas before they formally come across them in school and it is difficult to correct all preconceptions with 30 students in the classroom. This, however challenging, does not seem to affect the cognitive engagement of *what* students learn, but perhaps more influences what they perceive to be the most important part of what they have learnt.

From the beginning of the scheme of learning, when students were interviewed in groups about what they knew, most students can show a huge development in knowledge and understanding, both understanding the contextual factors and more specific knowledge about certain aspects of the Holocaust that they have been taught. Naturally, as will be the case across all classes and schools, some students, when interviewed at the end of the scheme of work, could not articulate what they had learnt, such as Student 8 and Student 2. This could have been for various reasons, whether they were apathetic (showing low engagement with the topic across all three strands) (Corno & Mandinach, 1983); they genuinely did not know (showing low cognitive engagement); or perhaps it was more to do

with the interview and fears around getting answers wrong and getting themselves or teachers into trouble (Drever, 2003).

At this point it is very difficult to notice any patterns between refugee students and non-refugee students when looking at what students learnt, and their development. It is easy to generalise, but except for two refugee students (those who brought up talking about Palestine) all the other refugee students talked about resistance being a large part of what they learnt about and the most interesting part. However, there were non-refugee students that also picked up that aspect as the most interesting part that they learnt about too, so it could be more important to look at the bigger picture at this point. What these conversations do show, however, is cognitive engagement, looking at what students have understood to have learnt, shows high levels of engagement across the board with the topic of the Holocaust and the lessons they have been in.

### **What was the most important thing learnt and why?**

To gauge the cognitive engagement of knowledge and understanding of the students about the Holocaust, it was important to ask them what they felt was the most important thing they had learnt was. This meant it would be possible to understand not just the surface level learning of the students, but the actual understanding and cognition about what was important to them and why (Bradshaw, 2006). Many of the students who talked about the resistance being something that they learnt about, additionally expressed it as the most important thing they learnt too, but some explained why for different reasons. For most students that expressed resistance of the Jews being the thing that was most interesting, it was for reasons such as *“even though they were getting attacked they still like held their heads high, they still had pride and they still fought for themselves”* (Student 1), *“it was mostly confined to Germany and places where the Nazi party had already invaded and although they tried to resist it didn’t help”* (Student 30) and *“I think it’s about the resisting...because even though everything was going on. They still had hope to fight”* (Student 5). Student 1 expressed her reasonings for finding that the most important eloquently, explaining that *“Because it shows that even though the Nazis were doing something mean to them, they still fought and resisted and fought for what they believed was right”*. Student 17 justified his reasons as *“that was the one question in my head why would people allow it to happen, and that was answered”*. This shows some of the teachers’ aims of exploring Jewish agency were met, but also that the students understood the basic ideas behind resistance. There is still further work to be explored here as the justifications

behind why it was the most important thing they had learnt shows that students were challenging their preconceptions about Jews, going as Student 17 says as *“sheep to the slaughter”*. This shows the teaching and learning was solid, the foundations and aims were met and the cognitive engagement levels, particularly within these students was high. Not only could they recognise what was most important in their learning but explain why and relate this back to their previous understanding. This was shown in more detail, at a higher level, by those who understood the uprisings and resistance groups as part of their wider understanding of the context of the Holocaust. Student 31 when talking about how he did not realise that Jews *“actually did fight back, like the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising...and how when they were in the ghettos how they still managed to sneak food in and still managed to keep themselves alive until the last breath”*. When explaining why he thought it was important he said,

*“I would think that the Germans they killed them, but they didn’t actually wipe out all of them. They only wiped out like two thirds... I wouldn’t have known that before. I only knew from every single assembly from when we do Holocaust remembrance they died, the Nazis killed them so all the stuff about resistance and uprising is really important to remember too”*.

From this it is clear the preconceptions students had from before their learning still existed, even though they had been challenged and developed from their learning and discussions in the classroom.

Although acknowledged earlier in this chapter, the common misconceptions (Pettigrew et al., 2009) about the Holocaust, Jews and the Nazis were not explored in enough detail in the group interviews to be able to assess the extent of those of each individual. However, it was clear some of the more regular ones that Foster et al. (2016) found in their study existed in this school too. This can be seen from the process of explanation that students went through to explain why they found their selection of learning the most important. Five of the students interviewed individually spoke about Hitler, the Nazis, Camps and ghettos as their most important part. For some, it was *“the Nazis at the end when they were getting beaten, they tried to break the buildings and plant trees on them to hide what they were doing”* which was important because *“I thought that they thought they were doing good stuff that’s why they were doing it”* (Student 6). Student 16 said that he found learning about the ghettos the most important part as *“before I didn’t obviously know about it...I think it’s important to learn about it”*. Although comparatively this does not show that his cognitive engagement in terms of understanding was high, knowing that something you have learnt

about is important as you did not know it before, most definitely shows that he is engaged with the learning and understanding (Zhu et al., 2009).

For some, this was to do with their understanding of the process of dehumanisation. Student 12 said that she found *“what was so bad that Hitler treated them that way and it doesn’t make it right for anyone to do it”* interesting, but she explained that the most important part was *“this may sound wrong and how they were dead in a way, because when they were dead they were treated like animals...being burnt...and that’s really upsetting to see because that’s a human and not someone you can treat like that.”*. This was interesting as she was the only student that focussed on the dehumanisation aspects of the Holocaust. As a refugee student it is interesting to see that her empathy and understanding was far deeper than those in her classroom in the same lessons. It could be that this is based on her lived experiences and experiences that those at home have shared and talked about (Roxas, 2011) or it could be an empathetic view of the world that underpins her cognition with all topics and subjects. An interesting comparison is student 10, a second-generation refugee of Palestinian heritage had very different things to say about the most important thing that she had learnt. At first, she refused to engage with the question, so I attempted to reword it to find out more and told her it was OK if she said nothing. After a longer pause than normal, she said *“how they surrounded the Jews with walls or something I don’t know, and they kept them in one place. Which was kinda weird, why do you have to separate them? Why can’t they just live with other people?”*. When I asked why, she said *“Because they, right now...different types of people, imaging back then, they weren’t allowed to mix with other people is weird...it’s not fair.”*. Although as a standalone explanation this seems almost as empathetic if slightly less articulate than the other student, it is important to understand the context which the rest of the conversation turned to. As will be seen below, this student goes on to make comments and criticisms of Jews in Israel and the treatment of Palestinians, something that she also brings up in multiple lesson observations (see **Chapter 4**). Perhaps then, her reluctance to answer the question originally was not a lack of cognitive engagement but more of a high level of cognitive engagement has formed from what she has learnt from home, underpinning what she has since learnt in the classroom. Those more complex foundations and preconceptions she had coming in to the classroom, were not left at the door, or swept aside when new knowledge was learnt, but she engaged with the learning at a high level to show what she knew was right from her learning (Montenegro, 2017). She also speaks about her attitude at home and how this does change over time, so much so that she challenges the views of her parents by the end of it. As we understand that

knowledge is made up of experiences and interactions, it could be that engagement is too. Engagement could develop along a scale depending on experiences and interactions and understanding of the people or processes studied.

A contrasting example are the students that said the most important thing was around the memory of the Holocaust. Student 3 stated that the aftermath was important *“it’s mad, it’s showed how you shouldn’t have dictatorships and the things like capitalism and communism and the fall of Germany”* and student 7 said that to him, important means *“the thing that’s going to help me most in the future”* so it was *“what happened before, and how it’s been affected and how brutal people were in those days”*. Both these students were EAL with different heritages. They were able to explain what they thought was important, but their cognitive engagement with what was important to them from the topic, was completely different to students with different life experiences. For them, the ideologies and dictatorships were important, or the brutality of the regime. It is also important when thinking about misconceptions and preconceptions to consider these things. We know from numerous studies (Gallant and Hartman, 2001; Brina, 2003, Gray, 2011; Gray 2013; Foster and Gray, 2014) that preconceptions about Jews and Jewish life before the war exist for students. Although we know that these were challenged throughout the scheme of learning, student 4 stated that her most important part was *“about them having curfews and things”* because *“I never learnt that before. I just thought maybe they got dragged off one day and killed or they would be put to work, but it always starts with something small”*. Student 18 does show these thoughts in a different light, however. She is a refugee student and her lived experiences and interactions with people at home explain her misconceptions. As seen in the observations, her behavioural engagement was low which probably helps to explain why these misconceptions remained mainly unchallenged at the end of the scheme of learning. For Student 18, the most important thing she learnt was that,

*“they made some of the Jewish people workers for them but they would kill them after a month, the little children dentists they would...after they were burnt to death...they would make them search for gold teeth or silver tooth or something like that and put it in the water”*.

This would suggest too, a lack of cognitive engagement with the subject, perhaps borne from preconceptions that she did not want to part with, or due to a lack of developed understanding of the topic. Additionally, there was not a high cognitive engagement of all students interviewed. Student 8, who will be explored further in Chapter 6, did not find

anything interesting, and the most important thing she had learnt was that “*They were innocent, and Hitler saw them as a threat*”. There was no context to the “them” or “they” and throughout her interview she avoided the word “Jewish” or “Jew”. This might not have been purposeful, it was clear from the observations that some students did not know whether using the word “Jew” was an insult or not, and it could be a cognition and knowledge aspect too. It was just worth noting that not all students could explain what was important.

### **What they have learnt and why: reflections**

In this section I explored the students understanding of what they had learnt and what was important, feeding into the idea of cognitive engagement being not only about knowledge and understanding, but understanding what they have learnt and being able to place some importance on it. From the individual interviews and other data, it was clear that there was a variety of cognitive engagement levels both of what students found interesting and important and how they could explain this. The fact that students engaged with this at this level is unsurprising. In accordance with Gray’s (2013) findings in his study, the learning was good, the teaching well thought out and planned and the teachers’ aims were clear so the understanding of the students developed. What was more interesting were the start of some patterns between different groups of students and how they viewed their learning, but in particular how this changed the focus of what the students thought that they had learnt. This is important not only as it develops from the literature in existence already, but also as, on a larger scale across more schools, it could show that there are some key theories to pick up about refugees learning about difficult topics in History, particularly the Holocaust. Additionally, as a teacher these patterns are interesting for thinking about the misconceptions that teachers have of students before they enter the classroom, and how although encouraged not to, they exist. This existence is normally seen as a negative aspect to teachers’ pedagogy, some arguing that it causes bias in the classroom (Gray, 2015; Pearce, 2020) but here it could be seen that if it is kept general, it leads to all students preconceptions being unpicked through the staff knowing their students well and understanding what engages them. Furthermore, the understanding of students’ backgrounds and lived experiences, even if not available to the teacher are clearly key to their understanding about topics. It would be interesting to see whether they would be similar in topics that are out of living memory, such as the Transatlantic slave trade, but moreover, it needs teachers to be thinking about what and how they teach a classroom with refugee students a subject as difficult as the Holocaust. With greater empathy levels, and

cognitive engagement at its highest among refugee students, perhaps the understanding for teachers here is to use this to develop the students that are not interested and do not seem to understand the importance of their learning.

The next section will take the understanding of cognitive engagement and the patterns found to explore students' perceptions of what they have learnt, why they think they have learnt it, whether it is important and resonant with now.

## 5.5 Value and importance of learning the subject

Another aspect of cognitive engagement in this study is the students' perceptions of why they learn about the Holocaust and why it is important to learn. This is different from what they felt it was important to learnt about. This is because it shows their understanding of the time taken on the curriculum and why they have sat through lessons about it, developing the meaningful interaction between the learner and the content. In this section, students answers to "is it important for students to learn about the Holocaust?" and "why do you think we learn about the Holocaust?" are explored to see what it shows about their engagement and if there are any patterns of interest that arise.

### Why do you think you learn about the Holocaust?

For some students the answer to this question was answered as simply as *"To learn about what happened in the past"* (Student 10) and Student 6 *"So that we know what happened"*. Student 8 agreed, *"So you're aware of what was happening before we were born"*. This shows that they understood that they had been learning it in a History lesson and that some students felt this was what they needed to know and why they learnt about History. Additionally, some students shared the same aspect of the importance of understanding History but took that further in their understanding of the significance of the Holocaust. Student 3 said he felt that the Holocaust was taught because *"some people say it's one of the most important events of the last 200 years"*, reiterated by student 31 who said,

*"It's one of the more significant events in History that should be known by everyone...in History we learn about how you think of a thing as significant...if it's remembered, if people actually fought back, resisters ... it's one of those topics that should be learnt by everyone during this time at school"*.

This shows again the student's knowledge and understanding of the topic, that area of their cognitive engagement was high, but they were conflating the historical ideas with their own understanding of why they were learning it. Something that is not always easy to separate



unless made explicit in the classroom (van Driel, 2003). However, the object was to see what students felt for themselves. Some students focused on the importance of the event in history but with emphasis on learning to commemorate. Student 11 explained that it was an *“important moment in history because imagine that happened in modern day now, we would all be horrified, so we should all commemorate the people that died for no good reason”*. Student 17 also thought about the commemorative part of why they are taught about the Holocaust. He said,

*“because you can’t forget. 6 million Jewish people being killed. 6 million people in like general it’s something that needs to be known. And although Hitler doesn’t deserve to be remembered, we still need to make people aware that it still affects some families in my community as well to this day”*.

This shows the students do not necessarily understand the teachers’ aims even though there is clear evidence in the previous section that when students were asked what they learnt and what was important they had a clear understanding that reflected the teachers’ aims. It is not that this shows these students have low cognitive engagement, but more that their thinking was aligned with that as seen earlier. Because these students had been studying the Holocaust in History lessons, and they knew that I was a History teacher, they automatically think of the topic in its historical setting, as a part of history, which may have influenced why the themes of significant events, commemoration and to learn about the past were rife here (Drever, 2003).

The language used by other students showed their insecurity with their answers, almost like they were looking for answers that they thought that I wanted to hear (Drever, 2003). These students still had a Historical focus in their answers but were more forward looking in their answers. All three students felt that they were taught about the Holocaust to *“prevent it from happening in the future”* (Student 2) which Student 9 developed, *“to inform students that something that bad happened not that long ago*. Student 1 agreed, stating that it,

*“affected so much people...and so much people died...it affected more than just Jewish people. It was a world war so it’s important that it doesn’t happen again, so we learn about the mistakes that they made”*.

Student 4 acknowledged similar, agreeing that *“If we could in some ways stop these things, change how things are happening. Like speaking out against things”*. These almost stock phrases of never again and to stop it happening in the future are so ingrained in society and the awareness students have of the Holocaust through events such as Holocaust Memorial

Day, that this almost overlooks the historical aims of teaching about the Holocaust in History lessons. The citizenship and personal skills gained, or the aims of teachers from teaching about the Holocaust have been studied by many (see for example Short & Reed, 2004; Cowan & Maitles, 2007; Pettigrew et al., 2009). What was explored here shows that although the teachers' aims were not to make these students 'better humans' this came out in the students understanding of why they were learning about it in school. Whether this is a comment on their cognitive engagement, or, more likely, a reflection of the British narrative and external emphasis around learning about the Holocaust (Pearce 2020b); when it's portrayed on TV and also deeply set in teachers' subconscious (Pettigrew et al., 2009), it is difficult to tell, but interesting that these are the reasons that students thought they learnt about it, which are echoed in Foster et al.'s 2016 study (see chapter 2). What was interesting, was that most of the refugee students from the individual interviews did focus on the historical importance of knowing, and it never happening again. Again, this could be a coincidence, but it could link back to the themes of empathy and understanding, a deeper connection and meaningful interaction with the topic that led to higher cognitive engagement with the topic. Just because the answer is not intellectually developed does not mean the higher-level thinking and engagement is not there (Zohar & Dori, 2003).

A small number of students explored ideas of religion and the relevance of today in their answers. Most of the answers, similarly to the above, started with how tragic or significant the Holocaust was, and to ensure it never happens again. The difference with these students was the explanations why, the inclusion of the examples that they gave. For example, Student 7 said *"It affected lots of people and stuff like that still happens today and if you look at people in other places dying...because of their religion or skin colour is like that"*. Students 16, 12 and 5 said similar. These three students were refugees, and as well as focusing on Islamophobia, they also mention people moving from their homeland. Student 16 said he thinks they learn about the Holocaust in school because you need to know things like this and

*"there are so many issues in the world with people doing things because of other people's religion like Islamophobia...and it makes people move from their homeland which is difficult. But the things that are happening in the world, that are like the Holocaust don't seem to be dealt with"*.

Student 12 focused too on the aspects of understanding, saying it was

*“to teach kids my age that it doesn’t make it right what ethnicity you are to make someone feel bad about themselves just because of where they came from or where they’re born and also how they’re going to live and you’ll be sympathetic”.*

Student 5 however said learning about the Holocaust was done to learn about different religions, *“You learn about Islam, Christianity, everything. In History, that’s a part of History, and it’s also about just learning about different cultures and how everything affected them”*. When I asked who she meant by “them” she said, *“how people got affected, like cos of their cultures and what they believed in, like Muslims, they would get attacked because they were Muslims”*. When I asked her to clarify if she meant during the Holocaust she said,

*“No, not in the Holocaust. But nowadays. And it’s a part of History, everyone had that religion, everyone had that hope that kept them going, and Jews was one of them. If people have to move or get attacked for their religion, we need to know about it”*.

It is clear from these students’ interaction with the topic of the Holocaust that the religious hatred was a large part of what they felt was important. This could be for something that was resonant with them in their lived experiences. However, many students had not met a Jewish person or had any knowledge about Judaism of any form, except for what they hear and read about in the media and culture. This could therefore make the topic more relevant to them when thinking about what they already know about to make a connection with the subject (Smart and Marshall, 2013).

It is interesting that there is no real pattern in what students felt about why they learnt about the Holocaust in school, but this could be for many reasons. It is interesting the articulation of the questions was difficult for all students, and the reasons given varied slightly. The historical and citizenship aspects have been explored, and it is important to see that refugee students were in both of these. What is important to note is the ideas of movement of people and people being attacked because of their religion was much more prominent in those explanations from refugee students. Whether this reflects lived experiences in this country or their country of origin, or that they are more aware of situations in the world where this is happening, is the question. This again shows empathy is a large part of the meaningful interaction students need to have with learning to show high levels of cognitive engagement. Therefore, students were also asked questions about why learning about the Holocaust was relevant.

### **Why is it important to learn?**

There were many attempts by students to answer this question, it was clear they found it more difficult to articulate their answers than with other answers throughout the interviews. This could be because it requires a higher level of thinking and metacognition (Desautel, 2009) but additionally because they may not have had to consider questions like this before and lacked the scaffolding to develop their answers themselves (Drever, 2003). In cases where it was clear that the students wanted to say something, I attempted to give them some scaffolding to their thought by starting a sentence (If I was to go to the government and say it is *important* for all school children to learn about the Holocaust because...) so that they could develop their thinking.

All students when asked about why it is important for students to learn about, or whether they felt it was important that all students should learn, said that they believed that it was. For many, they could not explain this more than to understand what happened. For example, Student 1, 6 and Student 7, who said *“So they can know what happened in the world and how bad it can be”*. Some students felt that it was important to learn from mistakes in the past, including Student 10 who said, *“they need to know about what people were, what some people went through”*. From here our discussion went on to home, and her conversations on the Israel-Palestine conflict and how these led into her opinions about learning about the Holocaust. Unprompted, she stated that people of all heritages around the world *“should learn about the Holocaust no matter what”*. Considering some of her behaviours and comments throughout observations and both sets of interviews, it was interesting that she placed such importance on all students learning about the Holocaust. This shows although her behavioural engagement was low, her cognitive engagement – her meaningful interaction and understanding of the Holocaust – was high. This was not always the case in other similar answers. Student 8 stated it was important for people to learn about *“so they’re not just naive and think that everything was all good before they were born”*, which is like Student 3 and Student 31’s view on learning from the past *“that’s very helpful in the future because then you’ll know...oh like that’s happened before in history so you would know what to do in case that’s starting to happen”*. Some students, rather than express this as learning about the past, said it was important to learn from the past. Student 12 said everyone should learn about the Holocaust because *“most people my age wouldn’t see other people’s point of view,...but if you put yourself in other people’s shoes it will show you how life was hard before”*. Student 2 put it more bluntly, saying *“so they can’t hate Jews for it, or certain races or religions”* and student 4 stated that *“if you weren’t to learn about*

*the History, then what's stopping you from letting anyone else do the same thing*". In many studies (See, Salmons, 2003; van Driel, 2003; Short & Reed, 2004; Cowan & Maitles, 2007; Pettigrew et al., 2009) teachers' aims reflect these ideas, but it is interesting that these students pick up the learning 'from' the Holocaust about being a better citizen, even when that is not the teachers' aims, nor the lesson foci.

There were students that felt it was important for students to learn about the Holocaust because of how we see the world today. This differs slightly from learning 'from' the Holocaust as they explain it is more about commemorating the past and the changes that 'it' made on the world. All three students that focussed on this were refugee or second-generation refugee students. Student 17 said it is important to learn as *"It still affects people to this day and you need to understand that 6 million deaths of innocent people is not something that history can forget"* and Student 5 who said *"it's a part of who so many people are today, how it affected them and how they think now"*. Student 10's response was slightly more loaded considering the conversations we had been having about Israel-Palestine and her understanding of the situation from conversations at home, matched with her opinion of the fact that it was because of the Holocaust that more Jews moved to Palestine and pushed for Israel's independence. However, she was adamant that it was necessary for all students to learn about (see above) because *"it was...a big deal - it had a lot of knock on effects"*. Even without being taught about the relevance to contemporary issues, students find links through their meaningful interactions with the topic and their prior knowledge, which shows high levels of cognitive engagement (Smart and Marshall, 2013). Student 18 also felt it was important for students to learn to understand things better, but also to *"teach people about what's happening in our world, what's happening around us and where it's coming from"*, after some factually incorrect explanations about resistance and survival, she went on, unprompted, to explain that

*"It's actually happening again, in places like China, but imagine it happens to Christian people, people will pay more attention to it cos it's a big majority...There's lots of Christians in London and in England as well and for people to understand it they need to understand it from every direction- Jewish Muslim, all of these"*.

This relevance is explored further below. It is, however, unsurprising that these were the main topics of importance for the students. As Maitles (2008) found in his study, the placed importance of understanding of citizenship values, is very different to the deeper understanding that is needed for these values to be learnt and acted upon. This is clear here,

where there are still many misconceptions in the students' knowledge, but they have concluded that learning about values is intrinsically linked to their learning about difficult subjects in school.

### **Resonance and Reluctance**

It is clear the topic was important for most students to learn, by asking them to connect with the metacognition of their learning of the Holocaust. The majority of students explained that they understood why they learnt about it and why it was important to learn about, even if they expressed varying aims for this. This resonance does not mean that there was no reluctance within the students. Although touched on when exploring the behavioural engagement context, it is worth acknowledging that the behaviour was not always excellent for the staff in lessons, nor was it always easy to elicit answers in the group interviews. There were reluctant learners: those that were passive and did not engage and those that were more actively behaving badly and off task. This shows their cognitive engagement was also low as they were not learning, not interested in learning and saw no value in the importance or relevance of learning about the Holocaust. Short (2013) suggests that in classrooms with a large number of Muslim students, the majority are likely to have encountered antisemitic sentiments at some point in their home lives, however this in most cases, does not seem to have impacted on their willingness to learn about the Holocaust (Short, 2013:130). The important thing to remember is that students in diverse classrooms are not a monolithic entity, and "no matter how amenable some Muslim students might be to learn about the Holocaust, teachers ought to be prepared for a hostile reaction from others" (Short, 2013:130). This is important to reflect on within this school as it resonates with the students observed and interviewed.

### **Value and importance: Reflections**

From the data the students engaged with the Holocaust on a deep cognitive level. Understandably this varied in terms of each students' understanding and their ability to articulate this learning, but the questions asked and conversations that evolved ensured that the students could express their thoughts in ways appropriate for them. The reasons varied, and there was nothing surprising in the reasons that students felt they learnt about the Holocaust or why it was important to learn about, but what was interesting was the differences in the groups of students and the slight patterns that emerged. Szuchta (2005) explores reasons why he teaches the Holocaust, which ranges from commemorating lives lost, to ensuring it is not overlooked so his students do not have an incomplete or false

knowledge and to ensure that his students can evaluate things like the Holocaust's uniqueness themselves. Additionally, he says that a by-product of his teaching about the Holocaust as it was an important event in world History is to teach them not to be silent in the face of evil. These are all reasons covered in the students' perception of why they learnt about the Holocaust and why they thought it was important to be taught to all students. It was interesting that the teachers did not touch on many of these themes as their aims or even by-products of their teaching, so they were student generated. There were links between lived experience and interactions with people at home or in the past that influenced the way that students looked at their learning about the Holocaust. The themes of family and community that came out in the interviews also provided an important backdrop to those students that seemed to be the knowledgeable, eager and able to articulate the importance of this learning. There are things that may have affected this that are not to do with the students' background, or whether they are refugees, it could be down to curriculum time or teaching hours, but being in lessons to observe for myself the differences in teaching helped assess this. It is more likely that the topic had greater resonance for some pupils than others and therefore affected how much time they spent thinking about it and therefore their perception of the topic's importance. For example, the student that lived in a Jewish area was more forthcoming about his learning and understanding of the Holocaust than some of his peers.

As a researcher these patterns are important as they show a difference in the learning of students from refugee backgrounds, showing that the recommendations made by Rutter (2006) and subsequent studies (Virta, 2009; Magro, 2016) are not only important considerations, but require serious consideration, particular in relation to teaching subjects such as the Holocaust. It also shows that teachers, aware of the diversity of students in their classroom and the challenges this brings, teaching about sensitive topics, such as the Holocaust, can teach in a way that means that students, such as the refugee students studied here, can understand the topic, empathise with the citizenship values rather than the victims, and therefore have higher levels of cognitive engagement with the topic, through meaningful interactions with the subject. As a teacher there is always a fear that your preconceptions of your students will affect what and how you teach about the Holocaust (Short, 1995). What this research shows is that with the focus on different aspects, such as Jewish agency, or rehumanising victims and perpetrators this can be done. Furthermore, when this is done without drawing any parallels for the students, but instead

equipping them with historical knowledge and critical thinking skills, the students can make meaningful interactions and correct misconceptions themselves.

## 5.6 Relevance of learning

This final part explores students understanding of the relevance of learning about the Holocaust. This is explored through their understanding of why it is relevant to be learning about now, but additionally through pulling out observations and comments made elsewhere in the interview to show the relevance of learning about the Holocaust to them as individuals, their family, or their community. This understanding of the relevance of learning about the Holocaust is the final part of exploring the cognitive engagement of the students by focussing on the meaningful interactions that students make with the topic in all ways.

### Is it relevant now?

To cement the understanding of the cognitive engagement of the students, it was important to understand their meaningful interaction with the topic and their understanding of the world at the moment – through understanding why they thought it was relevant to learn about the Holocaust in 2019. This question differed from understanding why they learnt about it as it not only examines their cognition, but also why they thought it was important. The lessons they gained from learning about it were also explored – why they felt that 14-year olds should be learning about it in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. There were two students (1 and 7) that said that they did not feel it was relevant to 2019 in any way. Student 6 was not sure about its relevance, *“It might be cos I don’t really see that many Jewish people around, so it might be that there’s now less Jewish people than before, I don’t think there’s any messages or anything that are relevant though”*. Student 17 also felt that it was relevant to the Jewish community, he had commented a lot on his community and the affects he knows that the Holocaust had had on the people that lived around him, said that *“if you’re not Jewish it might not affect you as much, but if you are and you’ve had people who were part of it then definitely it is still relevant”*. This was stark contrast to Student 12 who felt that it was relevant to 2019 to explain some things happening today, *“for example knife crime”*. When I questioned what she meant, she spoke about being able to understand people you know dying and seeing the consequences of your actions. Student 5 suggested that it was relevant because *“in London itself we have so many different cultures around us, and then like it’s not easy to accept...the story behind it and then once you know the story behind it then you get to understand it more and you get to accept it more”*. These responses are evidence that even though these students could give interesting answers to why they learnt about the



Holocaust and all suggested that it was important to learn about, they could not explain why it was relevant. This is not to suggest they did not engage with the learning. As Eckmann (2010) explains, there is no need to find relevance with the Holocaust to anything that is happening now, it could be deemed misappropriation. However, it is important for students to be able to place the relevance of it with why they think it is important to learn about. This again, could be a difficult thing for the students to have to do, as they never have to do this sort of reflection on their learning in school. Additionally, it could be a way of saying that they fully understood the concepts behind the Holocaust and therefore there was nothing relevant today in what they had learnt because of its perceived uniqueness, which could again raise questions about how the Holocaust is taught.

The most striking part of many students' responses to the question was how many of them found relevance to current world events and what they were learning about in their History lessons. Student 16 said it was relevant as *"there's always racism and discrimination"* but could not think of any examples, student 2 was similar *"because conflict...could happen again with another religion or race"*. Student 8 said she thought it was relevant because *"nothing's happening to the Jews now but like the genocide part, people are still being killed"* again without being able to give any examples. There were students that knew a lot about examples across the world though. Student 31 stated that,

*"everything is relevant in history, it's very important, cos if you don't know history, if you don't know the past, how can you move in the future, it's very important that you learn the past"*.

He then proceeded to give an explanation about North Korea, comparing Kim Jon Ung's control of North Korea to Hitler's: *"Hitler controlled Germany in a dictatorship type of way and did exactly what was happening in North Korea"*. This sentiment was also reflected in Student 3's explanation. He stated that in *"Sudan they're being persecuted and discriminated... so we try and learn and fight for what's right"*. Student 4 mentioned Sudan in her explanation too, saying that it was more relevant now than it had been for a while,

*"because of recent events like Yemen and Sudan and stuff, I feel it is relevant. If you think of one thing that happened you could stop so many others...you know concentration camps, it's obviously a thing that affected everyone – you could stop them – concentration camps are still around, and if you're aware of things you could stop them happening just by you being aware of it"*.

Another instance is the two students that mentioned China as their examples of relevance, student 9 who stated that *“there’s stuff like that going on as we speak in China the government is imprisoning Muslims and killing them, it shows that although something that bad happened, it is still going on”*. Student 18 went into far more detail about this, stating,

*“to be honest with you It’s happening all over the world. In China there’s...a concentration camp for Muslims and they’re killing Muslims, and not many people are realising this but it’s like the Holocaust coming back. It’s being recreated”*.

She went on to explain that the reason no one cares about it is because the victims are Muslim and people only think of Muslims as terrorists and *“I feel it’s something that nobody really cares around the world...even though I think a lot of people do, because it’s been about a lot on the news ... but like no one is really paying attention to it”*. When I asked her to try and explain the relevance between what she had learnt and this situation to understand more, she explained that *“it’s really similar...there was bystanders in the Holocaust...they would just watch... and no one would help”*. This is interesting because if we were looking at this from a Holocaust historian perspective, it could be deemed misuse of the word Holocaust, and a poor comparison (Bloxham, 2013). However, as a teacher and educator, these comparisons have slightly more importance. They show good cognitive engagement with the topic being studied (Fredericks, 2011). Through two, not particularly academic conversations about the students’ perceptions of the Holocaust’s relevance, showed an understanding of factual knowledge of what they had learnt. This underpinned values of citizenship, good knowledge of contemporary affairs and that they have taken what they have learnt out of the classroom when they are watching the news. Perhaps, the resonance with these students is high here as the students themselves were Muslim, but this again does not detract from the engagement with the subject. What it does show, even more so, is that the experiences of students outside the classroom, is as important as what they learn inside the classroom in their engagement with the topics. It is key that without underplaying the topic, especially one like the Holocaust, teachers are aware of the conversations that could be happening outside of the classroom and take these into account when planning (Virta, 2009). It is also important that the way that a topic such as the Holocaust is taught is done so leaving room for students to assess the importance and relevance of their learning as well as to bring in their own experiences themselves. It could be that some of these students, including those that are not refugee students, can use experiences from their lives or from people at home’s stories, or even those they see on the news to make what they learn more relevant for them.

## Individual relevance

After analysing the relevance and importance of learning about the Holocaust for these students, I realised it was important for me to explore comments and discussions that showed why some of the individuals felt that learning about the Holocaust was relevant to them (Denscombe, 2007). This was not a question that was asked in interviews, observations or a standalone question in any discussions that stemmed from questions and interviews, but it was important to ensure that these comments and reflections were noted. Part of this links to the understanding of the cognitive engagement levels of the students, but also in moving towards reflecting on this chapter, as there were some meaningful patterns that arose from it. In the reflections by the students of why learning about the Holocaust was important, whether positively or negatively in their opinion, it shows a meaningful interaction with the topic, their peers, and external influences and therefore once again high levels of cognitive engagement (Zhu et al., 2009).

There were some patterns that arose that are enlightening in terms of my research questions. All the refugee students, except for one anomaly in this – student 6 – engaged in conversations above and beyond most of the non-refugee students in the study- about ways in which the Holocaust was relevant to them. Student 9 was similar in that he struggled to articulate what he wanted to talk about. He did discuss why he thought it was relevant, but his main focus was on what he found interesting and spoke about outside of the classroom with friends – that being the idea of resistance and the Bielski brothers, as it fascinated him *“how they managed to survive and build a community and after the war just continue a normal life”*. Student 2, a shy student that did not like to say much was an interesting balance. Although not lucid in all answers, there were some parts that stood out where it was clear that learning about the Holocaust had been meaningful for him, he had gained that nugget of meaning. He was very sure of his correct explanation of the Holocaust but struggled in explaining what he learnt and found interesting or important. Instead he explained what he did not like – the curfews put on the Jewish people in the 1930s and the laws that were put in place that meant that things were not fair between Germans and Jewish Germans, as he felt it was *“unjustified”*. It would have been interesting to explore his background more to understand why he was so vehemently against this, but ethically that would not have been sound in a situation like this. He felt like it was important to learn about as it could *“easily happen again with another religion or race”*. Student 16 was similar. For him, the focus of conversation, the part that he was the most animated about in conversation was when discussion why they learnt about it in school, for him it was

important that as “*there are so many issues in the world with people doing things because of other people’s religion like Islamophobia and things and it makes people move from their homeland which is difficult*” – a clear insight into what he felt happened in the Holocaust and how he felt this was relevant and equivalent to what refugees in current society face- the meaningful interaction where he could compare something that he knew a lot about to what he was learning. Student 12 was a lot more invested, finding that there were many parts of the learning she found important and resonated with her and her experiences. She was key in understanding that if the Holocaust is taught in a meaningful way, not showing the victims as solely victims, there is much more that the students can relate too, and in her case, empathise with, which led to this student eventually saying that studying the Holocaust made her feel “*inspired*”. Student 5’s relationship with the Holocaust was deeper on a much more personal level. Although not entirely due to her status as a refugee student, her family history helped her feel that this topic was relevant and important for her to learn, therefore meaning that she could project her cognitive engagement into explaining why it was important to learn about. This familial involvement was also echoed in student 17’s interaction with the topic, but on a deeper level it was his outward empathy, his awareness of his “*community*” that meant that he felt that learning about the Holocaust was so relevant and important. For student 17 it was important to remember what people had been through, how the world had changed but also to be aware of things that are still going on and how it was possible for this to happen again. For student 18 the situation was slightly different. It was still due to her background, family and lived experiences that she managed to find relevance with learning about the Holocaust, but they were for perhaps more negative reasons. Negating her ideas about why it was important to learn and that people were “*stupid*” to follow Hitler, she went on to explain about her understanding of Iranian-Jewish relations and how it was in her family, and how her learning has helped her understand that it might not be the full story that she understood beforehand. Student 1 also had family ties with the topic, she expressed her extra-curricular interest in the subject and that she talked about it at home, tying in the Algerian-Israeli relations to how she spoke about it at home. She also offered up in the interview that it made her more interested, and although there was no antisemitism in the family, there were heated discussions between them about the right of Israel’s existence, she said that learning about the Holocaust helped her join in with these conversations that her family were having. The success of the teaching of the topic was through accessible teaching, ensuring that the aims of the teachers were

cemented in their lessons, the lessons being accessible to all and relatable and keeping the rehumanisation of all involved central to the lessons.

There were two non-refugee students that also fit this pattern – and were themselves both second generation refugee students – student 10 and student 11. Student 10, whose family were Palestinian found relevance also in the conversations that her family were having, and expressed that learning about the Holocaust had changed how she joined in with these conversations, now understanding that *“it wasn’t the Jewish people’s fault, they wanted somewhere they were safe from the things that had happened to them because they were Jewish”*. Through observations as well as interviews, student 10 came across as quite uninterested until she explored the things that she found relevant to her life experiences. Student 11 had a far more positive engagement with learning about the Holocaust, with a real focus on the fact that he felt it was important for all students to learn, in depth, about the Holocaust, and his knowledge and understanding was the most captivating in interview, with his cognitive engagement showing from the relevance he found with the subject and his understanding and experiences.

In comparison it is interesting to look at student 8 and student 2, both non-refugee students. Student 8 as seen above was focussed in most lessons. However, in the interviews it was clear that she also had not engaged fully at the same level as the other students above, on a cognitive level. Her verbal explanation of her knowledge and understanding was much lower, even though on paper and when challenged, she is deemed to be a high ability student. She felt that the reason that she learnt about the Holocaust was just to understand that not everything was good in the past, and that students should learn about the Holocaust, but *“not forever”*. Additionally, although she thought it was relevant to now, it was just to relate *“the genocide part - people are still being killed”* as she believed that *“nothing’s happening to the Jews now”*. Her interaction with me on these topics was not different to her interaction in the classroom I had seen through lesson observations, and although she understood the topic, it held no resonance with her. Although this could be because of emotional reasons that will be explored in the next chapter, it did seem like she had no meaningful interaction with the topic, her peers, teacher or even external factors. This lack of meaningful interaction showed her low cognitive engagement with the topic and therefore she was not as articulate, nor did she find the topic as interesting as other students.

## 5.7 Conclusions

From analysing the knowledge and understanding, reflection of their learning and understanding of the importance and relevance of what they had learnt, it was clear that there were some patterns emerging in the different groups of students. Particularly when looking at the cognitive engagement of students, those students from refugee backgrounds were more engaged than those that were not.

The patterns that have emerged from looking at cognitive engagement were very clear in some areas. What has been explored is whether previous knowledge in any form, at any level, that was brought to the classroom, gave students some meaningful interaction with the subject, even if these preconceptions were negative. For refugees that had been displaced, those whose parents spoke angrily about Israel or Jews, and those that had an awareness and a heightened sense of community, had higher cognitive engagement than other students. Additionally, the lived experience and interactions with people at home or in the past that influenced the way that students looked at their learning about the Holocaust was clear too. Through the students' metacognition and explorations of relevance of learning, themes of family, community and citizenship values all came up, themes that are clear throughout much literature about refugee education (See for example Candappa, 2002; Rutter, 2006; Block et al, 2014; Bloch, 2018)

By taking what was explored in the behavioural engagement dimension too, it is clear that although they may not have been the most behaviourally engaged students, for whatever reasons, it did not mean they were reluctant to learn, or in some cases, did not learn or relate to the topic. In a few examples, the refugee students that were cognitively engaged on a higher level were low level behavioural engagement students. This could be to do with access to the work and material used as in conversation their cognitive understanding was much higher than what was observed in lessons.

These are important as both a researcher and teacher. As a researcher to fill the gaps in the literature around engagement of students with the Holocaust, and refugee student education, these patterns of increased cognitive engagement even if the meaningful relationship with the content and peers is not positive, as well as the values that are projected onto the learning without the teachers teaching or developing those skills. It is important to see if these still stand in emotional engagement too. As a teacher it is important to show that teacher knowledge of students is of the utmost importance and that different information should be available to teachers to address these. Rather than doing so

on and individual basis, ensuring that all learning about a subject like the Holocaust is accessible and more importantly takes into account to what students may already know – whether these are misconceptions or not. The cognitive engagement was highest when students worked these out for themselves and were challenged on these beliefs out of school, and also when they understood the agency and lives of the victims – rather than just seeing them as “victims”. This led to increased empathy, understanding and in some cases relatability, and increased engagement with the topic. As mentioned, it is perhaps not all about the historical understanding, but providing students with the critical History skills for them to make the discoveries and their own understanding of the topic themselves.

Cognitive engagement has added a strand to the understanding of the engagement of students learning about the Holocaust, to build on the behavioural engagement context that was set. The chapter to follow will explore the data collected and discuss and analyse the findings in terms of emotional engagement, referring to behavioural and cognitive engagement where necessary.

## **6. Chapter Six: Findings and Discussion – Emotional Engagement**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 5, the cognitive engagement of students learning about the Holocaust was explored through the data collected in observations and interviews. This chapter will investigate the theme of emotional engagement. The theme will contain sub-themes relating to the emotional engagement of students learning about the Holocaust, including how they feel, how they think others feel, the lessons and values they take from it and whether they think all students should learn about it.

### **6.2 Emotional engagement**

As discussed in section 4.2, emotional engagement is the students' emotional reactions to academic subjects or school in general (Pekrun and Linnenbrink-Garcia, 2012; Skinner and Belmont, 1993). Here it refers to the responses to the topic, the way it is taught and the subject matter. Not only am I researching how emotionally engaged the students are and their emotional responses, but also their own awareness of their emotional engagement and that of other people. The motivational constructs that can be explored within emotional engagement can also include perceptions of value – the beliefs about the benefit that students will get from engaging in specific tasks, whether that is skills and knowledge that will help them in careers and later life, or values that will help their character development. Through exploring students' emotional engagement alongside their behavioural and cognitive engagement, I can ensure a thorough exploration of students' engagement with Holocaust education. It will help understand what awareness teachers need to have of students' backgrounds, how the preconceptions and lived experiences of students affects their engagement with the topic and their perceived relevance of learning about it. Within this chapter I will be exploring the data to understand students' awareness of their emotional engagement, their considerations of others' emotional engagement and how this links to their understanding of whether learning about the Holocaust is important. This will provide a bridge between understandings from both behavioural and cognitive engagement in the process.

### **6.3 Emotions and language**

The Holocaust is a particularly difficult subject to teach and learn about. The nature of the Holocaust, the loss of life and culture and the means of murder is difficult for students to learn about as the emotions involved are complex, and the topic could cause significant



distress (see Brina, 2003; Short 1995; Short, Supple et al., 1998). As noted in the literature review there have been debates over whether this is an outcome of teaching that is either desirable or necessary (see Barnett, 1997; Clements, 2006). This was something that I needed to be aware of when speaking to the students about it in interviews too. Students were asked about how they felt about learning about the Holocaust and how it made them feel. Surprisingly no students outwardly expressed being 'moved' in any way by the experience. This differs to other studies (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Richardson, 2012) in which the encounters had moved the students in some ways and triggered their emotions. However, there were similarities in the negative connotations of their experience. Most students understood its importance but spoke about how sad it was, with responses that ranged from student 16, *"It is sad, but... it has been interesting to see the things I didn't know about"* to *"it makes me really sad because I don't think it should have happened"* (Student 1). Other students expressed their sadness about *"the lives that were lost but I am interested in the facts around it more"* (Student 30) and student 4 who said she gets *"kind of upset because there were so many countries affected by it"*. She did go on to explain that *"so many people were affected and not just Jews but so many other people"* but when asked if she could explain more she could not. Student 6 did not use sad or upset as his language of choice, but he did feel that it was *"unfair to the Jews cos they were just hunted and killed like they were animals for no reasons, they had nothing to do"*. This is interesting as it shows that he has grasped that the victims were not just victims, especially not out of choice, but is still using oppressive language to show a difference between Jews and others (Kushner, 2002). Interestingly, student 5 and student 12, both refugee students, said that it made them sad but also hopeful. Student 5 said that *"it's very sad to see what happens, but it's also proof that shows everyone can... prove something. They can fight back, and... never to give up"*. Student 12 said that she found it *"Upsetting, I feel like I want to fight back too, cos I'm that person who would stand up for that person and stand up for their rights..., almost inspired"*. This was interesting because it situated her emotions in what she had learnt, and inspired actions for now. She did not elaborate as to why it made her upset but did use what she had learnt about resistance in her understanding of why she had learnt about it – as a call to action. The discussions around whether Holocaust education is taught for making students better citizens or for historical understanding is ongoing (see Brown & Davies, 1998; Carrington & Short, 1997; Cowan & Maitles, 2007; Salmons, 2003; van Driel, 2003). This shows that although at no point were the lessons aimed at citizenship, but the student took it upon herself to interpret the importance of the lessons in this way.

Other students had varying answers. Student 10 said it makes her *“angry because how people were treated just because of their beliefs”*. Student 16 also said that it made him feel *“sorry for them obviously,...it’s interesting at the same time because you get a lot of knowledge out of it”*. This idea of knowledge was echoed by student 17 who said it made him feel like *“it’s a necessary topic and ...it has to be taught”*. Although in agreement with the need for it to be taught, when asked how it made him feel, student 31 stated that,

*“I think it’s quite a sensitive topic...not everyone should learn it because there’s some people that can’t...if they see such information, they probably laugh at it, and you can’t have people like that in such an environment”*.

This links with ideas touched on earlier and will be discussed below further. It also shows an awareness of the emotional needs of students, and links to Pettigrew et al’s., findings in 2009 when teachers were upset when their teaching did not elicit an emotional reaction from students. Student 3 perhaps demonstrates this as he says that it was distressing learning about the Holocaust, *“seeing scenes sometimes when...some of the Jews were forced to work for the Nazis and like pick up the bodies, it’s a bit distressing that they have to betray their own kind just to survive”*. This is interesting as here he must be referring to the sonderkommando<sup>90</sup> that were taught in the scheme of learning when learning about resistance. Or, it could be that the student had done his own research. If it was the more likely option, referring to what he learnt about the sonderkommando, it is unsurprising that he said it was distressing (Landau, 1994) but it is interesting that he viewed this as the betrayal of Jews, by Jews to survive. This shows that although he was somewhat more articulate about his emotions learning about the Holocaust than before, misconceptions still existed at the end of the learning period.

Other students related their emotions to the rest of the world. Student 18, said it made her *“realise more that our world was very...evil and stupid.... they listened to Hitler for what reason”*. Her justification for why it was stupid was that there was no reason except the loss of World War One as to why other Germans accepted what Hitler had to say and adopted antisemitic sentiments. This stands out from this particular student as although it is another

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<sup>90</sup> The USHMM states Sonderkommando is German for “special command unit,” used in many contexts. Jewish Sonderkommando in camps were forced to participate in tasks involving prisoners’ bodies before and after deaths. Sonderkommandos were usually killed after a few months, replaced by new arrivals. There were very few Sonderkommando survivors. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/sonderkommandos> [accessed 5/06/2020].

misconception, some of her other answers as have been seen in Chapter 5, are antisemitic in nature, showing the difference between what she learns in school and is subject to at home (Brina, 2003; Burke, 2005; Short, 1995). Additionally, it could be seen that these students were making what Brina (2003) calls the theoretical retreat – avoiding dealing with emotions by clinging to the security of theory, whether because they understood that they could not articulate the emotions well, or because they did not want to get it wrong. This is also a History-centric response as they studied the Holocaust in History where they do not normally have to deal with emotions (Milchman and Rosenberg, 1996). Student 2 also avoided talking about his emotions, instead taking the question to think about why the Holocaust happened and what he felt about it,

*“It could have just not happened or it could have happened to any other religion or race, and it could have happened to Somalis or Muslims or anything, anyone they want to be prejudice to, and there’s not really like many Jews left”.*

This shows that there are many misconceptions still around, both that the event was particularly religious in nature, but also that prejudice was the key motivation behind it. This could have been something student 2 explained from his own ideas or that he picked up from being taught, that the Holocaust was an act of prejudice (see for example Clements, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Short 1995). This is a misunderstanding that is common, and in some ways, it undermines the complexities of the Holocaust (Harris, 1989). This is the message that has stood out for this student the most. The other prominent emotion from these conversations was student 8, who stated *“I don’t really mind...stuff with blood in it...But it didn’t make me sad”*. This stood out for two reasons. First, the complete lack of emotion or connection to the subject which could be either a complete disengagement, as is probably the case. Second, there is the possibility that an argument to say that that amount of disengagement could be due to a deeper sensitivity and not wanting to acknowledge this in a space the student does not consider safe (Short, 1995). Additionally, the fact that the student had assumed that the question wanted her to explain how sad she was about learning about it throws up more questions than it answers (Drever, 2003).

The notion of sadness and the expectations of answers about emotion are difficult to analyse because some students are not emotionally aware enough to reflect at this age (this is where the debate around the age to teach the Holocaust sits, see for example Burke, 2003; Clements, 2006; Landau, 1994; Pettigrew et al, 2009; Short, 1996). Additionally, some students do not want to be emotionally engaged with the topic because of their

backgrounds and lived experiences, (Gallant & Hartman, 2001) and so shut out the emotion in favour of History or knowledge that they think that people want to hear. It is also seen with the words that students used when discussing their emotional engagement. The reactions of disgust and repulsion towards the Holocaust was clear through language used with words such as “...unfair killing”, “...horrible”, “...harsh”, “...deadly”, and “...disgusting” showing that they linguistically distanced themselves from the event (Richardson, 2012). Richardson also discusses the uneasiness over these expected and learned responses, which can be seen also in student 8’s response to how it made her feel. It is, in some ways, like the students chose words that they thought were what was expected of them to say – some form of societal norm, or what they thought I as researcher wanted to hear (Drever, 2003). It was as if they knew that they had to show that they understood that the event was one they needed to be shocked and outraged by, and to show that they did not agree with it, by using language to show their understanding and disgust. This seemed to be something the students felt the need to express as part of their understanding of the Holocaust, even though it does not need to be included in any definition.

Student 31 described the Holocaust as “*so saddening, a lot of death and makes you think. It’s so harsh*” and student 11 called it an “*unfair genocide*”. There was also an anonymous post-it note from teacher C’s class describing the Holocaust as “*the most deadly time ever*”. This was quite representative of the language and sentiment of most students, both describing the Holocaust and their own reaction to it. The words used in interviews, when talking about what they had learnt and understood also pointed out their emotional engagement, even if it was not deliberate. As Richardson (2012) found, the negative words that most students used showed how they felt as well as the complex emotions that they felt and experienced when learning about the Holocaust. These negative words included “...unfair”, “...horrible”, “...evil”, and “...awful”. There was more emotionally aware language such as “...stressing”, “...distressing”, “...scary”, “...confusing”, “...saddening”, “...horrifying” and “...just too much” (student 4). There were students that focussed on the sadness that the topic brought, but not necessarily their own sadness, such as “*it is sad what happened*” (student 30). Although there is a very subtle difference between these, it is interesting when looking at the language that students use (Clements, 2006). Although there were no directly angry reactions to learning about the topic, there were many students that justified their feelings with the knowledge of why it was important to learn. Student 17 responded to Student 12’s comment of “*it’s scary*” with “*it might be scary, but it’s more important than forgetting something completely*”. It is important to remember that these students are only

in Year 9 so asking them to deal with a complex topic and complex emotions is challenging in itself, additionally to articulate feelings and emotions when they may not have eloquent expression is difficult (Burke, 2003). There were students that put forward evidence of a more outraged reaction. For student 11, he felt *“horrificed”* and went on to explain that if you had to explain it to someone that knew nothing about it *“we would all be horrificed”*. Student 18 slightly less articulately explored her ideas of how *“evil and stupid the Nazis were, it was unnecessary for no reason”*.

Some students focussed on the necessity and importance of learning about the Holocaust as their way of engaging emotionally with the topic. It is of note that most of these were refugee students, perhaps this is tied into their explanations of the relevance and importance of the topic. Students 31 and 6 both thought that the Holocaust was *“relevant”* and student 9 stated that he *“found it interesting”*. Student 10 said that she thought *“it’s kind of important”*, but perhaps the most interesting description was from student 17. On our first meeting in the group interviews, after explaining what he thought the Holocaust was, not what it meant, he explained why it was so important and still taught about today, stated that *“it’s just important it’s a key moment in History and remembering what those people went through is really important”*. What was interesting is that in both the group interviews and his individual interview, student 17 kept separating the ideas of what the Holocaust was, or its importance and relevance *“for me”* and *“for Jews”*. This was in no way of malicious intent. Moreover, it was done in a way that suggested that although he may not have a personal connection to the topic, it is important to him, for reasons ranging from the magnitude of the event to the effect it had on his *“community”*. However, his wording shows that the reason he separates the two is his nuanced understanding that his local Jewish community were affected by the event and therefore the meaning and relevance may be different for him and them. The only other comment that was similar to this was in the group interviews, when asking about the meaning of the word Holocaust, when student 13 said, *“It’s remembered still today but I don’t know how Jews feel about it today”*.

All the above responses collectively are unsurprising. The wide range of responses from students and the way that they decided to show it, reflect Brina’s (2003) findings. She explained these responses were natural given the size, scale and complexity of the event. It is worth further exploring the semantics of the words chose by students. Words like ‘horrifying’ show that the students are aware that the event and actions were bad, but that they are trying to not let it in to their emotional engagement, or more likely cannot (Clements, 2006). This does not detract from the students’ emotional engagement with the

topic but does show the barriers to it. One of the ways that this can be overcome is through teaching and learning that does not shock students, but allows students to process what they are learning and place it into their realm of thought alongside other experiences they may or may not have (Brina, 2003).

### **Reflections**

There were no patterns in the words that students of refugee backgrounds used. There were some similarities in the awareness of emotional engagement that refugee students used in that most fell into the category of emotional awareness and shock at the topic, both in acknowledging the wrongness of the event and residual emotional distress, through some of the wording. As Richardson (2012) recommends, when this is the case, educators need to be aware of this, and think about their role in helping students understand the Holocaust both cognitively and emotionally to move students past the horror of the topic.

This shows that although the students engaged emotionally with the topic in different ways, most students had an awareness of the emotional complexities of studying the Holocaust (Baum, 1996; 1998; Richardson, 2012). It is important to understand that emotional engagement is not just whether the student was sad, or even could recognise their own emotions in response to the topic. Emotional engagement is also the recognition of emotions in others, the understanding that it is a topic that needs care and diligence, and how this learning will help them in the future (Fredericks, 2011). As a teacher, more could be done to ensure these links to learning are clear, through adding to their existing worldview, if not on a curriculum level. It is also clear from some of these comments that this was the first time these students had had to talk about their feelings and understanding of what they had learnt. It is imperative that meaningful reflection is built into learning about the Holocaust (Davies, 2000). It is also important to remember that students from refugee backgrounds, who used the more empathetic language, nuanced and with 'feeling', perhaps have more experience, through conversations or lived experience of discussing traumatic events, or even the complete opposite. This has shown if anything, that teachers too, need to be aware of their misconceptions of students' experiences and understanding too.

#### **6.4 Emotional awareness and age awareness**

As seen within the contextual background of behavioural engagement, many students showed their understanding of at what age, students should learn about the Holocaust. The awareness of emotional 'readiness' and age (Burke, 2003; Carrington and Short, 1997;

Cowan and Maitles, 2002; Short, 2003) was something that arose in both interview sets. In the group interviews, student 2 and student 18, both refugees, were vocal about the age appropriateness of the content. Student 2 stated *“it’s not a nice subject, not a lot of kids learn about it in primary”* when discussing his prior learning of the topic. Student 18 said of her primary school knowledge that, *“we were so young so the teachers would think it’s too early for us to learn about stuff like this”* and when recalling about where she had learnt about it in secondary school so far, she mentioned two students who had visited Auschwitz on the ‘Lessons from Auschwitz’ programme<sup>91</sup> and then did an assembly to all year groups about their visit. She mentioned that it *“puts some scary thoughts through someone’s brain”*. This awareness of the fact that the Holocaust is difficult to learn about and should not be taught to people that are “too young” was picked up by many students in the individual interviews too.

This perceived understanding of the Holocaust being ‘adult’ knowledge shows that the students felt that as they were all learning about it in Year 9 and they saw themselves as mature enough. It demonstrates that these students felt that they were now mature enough to cope with the realisations of the world that were no longer embedded in the safety of what they used to know, and the past (Bartov, 1996; Pettigrew et al, 2009; Richardson, 2012). This seen perfectly in student 30’s expression of what he meant when he said *“all young people”* should study the Holocaust. He said it should be learnt *“when you go to secondary school because you’re more mature and you can understand what exactly happened”*. Student 11 said that in primary school they commemorated the day and *“would learn a bit about it. Not too much because...we were at primary”*. When discussing what he had learnt this term, after hearing stories of real people and more detail about things *“you feel it’s more real now”*. This is a testament to how the curriculum was planned to ensure that students were not just fed facts, but real stories and rehumanisation (IHRA, 2019). This self-reflection, a form of metacognition for the students (Desautel, 2009) was something that two other students did on their prior learning in the individual interviews. Student 3, on a video that he had seen in assembly, said *“I don’t think we should have watched it – it was a bit graphic”*. I gave the opportunity for the student to discuss this further if he wanted to, but he wanted to move on to discuss other things. Student 17, when reflecting on his prior learning said that he learnt about the Holocaust in Year 6, where he was *“surprised to see*

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<sup>91</sup> This programme from the HET offers to take two pupils from every state Secondary school in the UK to Auschwitz for a day each year. More information: <https://www.het.org.uk/lessons-from-auschwitz-programme> [accessed 12/06/2020]

*the teachers were very sensitive around the topic...I was more interested in finding it out than learning about the sensitivities behind it*". When I asked more about what he had learnt about at Primary school, he unpicked what he had learnt *"It was more about how we should feel sorry for them, it wasn't really the history, it was just about...being kind"*. He also went on, unprompted to say *"I remember that this girl cried, I'm not sure why, but I'm not gonna judge, they basically rarely touched upon the history of the Holocaust in Nazi Germany and I think it stuck with me. I wanted to know more"*. There is so much in this to unpick, but for an unplanned stream of consciousness it is important to acknowledge his emotional engagement, his awareness of others, and the links to his high levels of cognitive engagement (Fredericks, 2011). When compared to student 17, separating his experience and perception of the relevance of the topic to how he thought it was a different experience for Jews is fascinating. The student clearly is tuned into his emotional awareness and that of others too. His keenness to know more was something that he then took upon himself as seen in theme 2, through YouTube videos. When I asked how he knew what he was going to watch was going to be appropriate he explained that he did not always, but he felt that he was *"old enough"* to explore it himself as,

*"It was a bit difficult to understand when I was younger, because I didn't really understand some of the concepts, like I didn't really understand what racism was and why someone would kill someone else, but I understand more now"*.

The idea of becoming more mature, and adult knowledge, is reiterated in an awareness of other people (Burke, 2003; Clements, 2006; Short, 1995). Like student 17 reflecting on his Primary school learning, student 31 reflected on his learning at Secondary school this term. He understood that the Holocaust is *"quite a sensitive topic"* so when I asked what he meant he said, *"not everyone should learn it"*. Thinking that this would be a response like other students had given, it was actually far more reflective on the behaviour and his learning in secondary school this term. As seen above, When asked why, he said,

*"I because there's some people...if they see such information, they probably laugh at it, and you can't have people like that in such an environment, then it starts to throw you off and stuff like that is very bad when you're learning such a sensitive topic"*.

Brina (2003) reflecting on higher education,<sup>92</sup> explores reactions that students have to the Holocaust when learning about it from crying, to laughing. As the aims of Holocaust

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<sup>92</sup> Higher education is above school/college level in the UK, undertaken through a university.



education vary from rehumanising to life lessons of tolerance, racism and indifference (Stern et al 1982; Landau, 1994; Supple, 1993), the reactions of younger students become unpredictable. There are many students that are politicised, far from ignorant, and there are students that have far less cultural capital and societal awareness, but neither really prepares them for the knowledge or thought processes involved in learning about the Holocaust. Even in this study, where the IHRA (2019) principles were followed, the complex thought process of how 'bad' the world can be, can be a stark realisation at this age (Clements, 2006; Crane, 2008). In some ways, student 31's comments reflect the outrage over the students in Giroux's (1995) study that laughed during a trip to see *Schindler's List* (1993): the nervous, uncontrolled, focus shifting laughter in the Year 9 classrooms was a similar coping mechanism. This was seen in some observations, for example, in teacher D's lesson on ghettos, a group of students were giggling over one of the pictures. They were told off for disrespect and apologised. It was also noted, by some of the students in interviews. The school prides itself as anti-racist, pro-equality but the instant apology from students could link with the learned responses from anti-racist teaching or from understanding the school does not tolerate racism (rather than values-based anti-racist education) (Ben Peretz, 2003; Davies, 2000; Hector, 2000). Although it could be seen that the students that respond in this way do not conform to the school's values, it could be argued that the students are not old enough to be dealing with the content, as these reactions are a mixture of embarrassment and an attempt to process something that does not seem logical to them (Brina, 2003). This idea of school culture will be explored further in the next chapter.

Without expressing their own maturity to deal with the topic that they considered 'adult', three other students mentioned the emotional maturity of young students in studying the Holocaust, or that they should not study the Holocaust. Student 11 again expressed that he felt it was important for all young people to learn about the Holocaust, as long as they are "not too young". He did feel however, that it is "important to know so that they can respect people and they can respect and know what's happening to get us here". When questioned about what he considered "not too young", he said,

*"Probably Year 4 and above maybe. I mean, cos in Year 3 you just came from Year 2 to Year 3, you're still a kid but when you're in Year 4 you're growing up you know what's happening around you. I think they're just a bit more mature isn't it".*

It is interesting students' different perceptions of what age they feel the Holocaust is appropriate to learn and their justification which ranges from 'interest' to 'sensitivity'; 'maturity' to 'too upsetting'. There could be some link here to prior experiences, as all the

students that focussed on this idea of “too young” were not refugees and perhaps felt more sheltered in their knowledge and experience of the world (Burke, 2003; Clements, 2006; Short, 1995). Student 10 also agreed that students should not learn about the Holocaust “too young” because “they are not going to be able to understand it”. In her opinion, too young was difficult to pin down, “ten or something, but maybe someone in terms of a teenager...maybe because they will be more understanding and...be interested”. The crux of this is less about the emotional engagement in terms of the awareness of the sensitivity of the subject, but more about students too young will not understand or be interested. This removes the emotional aspect completely, either purposefully (Clements, 2006), or because she does not think it is an important consideration, something that could reflect her understanding and experiences from home. In interviews and lessons, she was very outspoken about the Israel-Palestine conflict, although not antisemitic, did have some disdain towards learning the topic. Landau (1998) posits, if the Holocaust is taught well it can help socialise and civilise students, but if taught badly, can traumatise and encourage a negative view of Jewish History, people and all victimhood. Here, the Holocaust was not taught ‘badly’ but conversations from home and 14 years of the student’s background was more important to her beliefs here. Student 18, a refugee student, had similar sentiments in observations and in interviews. For her, it was important that students were “old enough to understand it and not be silly about it” – focusing on the maturity of students rather than the emotions, she went on to qualify this as “towards...Year 10 and Year 9 because that’s the years that they start to mature even more...because GCSEs are coming up...people will start to understand things more clearly”. Here it is difficult to say if she only added on Year 9 as that was the year she was in at the time of the interview, having studied the Holocaust and so did not want to imply that she was not mature enough to be learning about it (Drever, 2003). This was, however, roughly in line with Burke’s (1998) survey of pupils and Pettigrew et al.’s (2009) assessment of teachers’ opinions.

Student 18 did also say that she was unsure whether there was point in younger students learning about it,

*“In English for example they can read about Anne Frank’s diary, that will help them a bit for future years, but I feel like they’re a bit too young and a bit too silly and they won’t understand it fully to understand what affects it had on people and what it still does”.*

Firstly, it is interesting that this student mentioned younger students being “too silly” as she herself had been disaffected, off-task and had generally low behavioural engagement in most observations. Secondly, she focussed on their maturity to “understand things more

*clearly*". The 'things' that she alluded to could be simply the knowledge, the understanding of the horror, trauma and destruction, or even just the importance of why they were learning about it (Brina, 2003; Clements, 2006; Roxas, 2011). This metacognition, or almost lack of, is particularly interesting when the student is elusive, particularly as a refugee student, as I am unsure of her own experiences and whether these 'things' could be from her understanding instead of simply what she learnt in the classroom (Brina, 2003; Clements, 2006).

This reflects on students' engagement with the topic, and also highlights the role of the teacher. It is imperative that they are aware of students' backgrounds before teaching the Holocaust (IHRA, 2019). They have a responsibility in the classroom and beyond to not only help students place the topic contextually within History, but to find and acknowledge their emotions around the topic too, without shocking students in the process (Burke, 2003; IHRA, 2019; Short, Supple et al, 1998). Bartov (1996) suggests that through teaching the Holocaust we open their eyes to what the world and humankind is capable of, a world of trauma, torture and negativity that is previously unimaginable for most. What teachers need to ensure, is the opportunity to talk about what they have learnt, to integrate the knowledge into their developing worldview, something neither rational nor simple to analyse (Richardson, 2012; Shatzker, 1980). The issue again is whether teachers are willing to, or have the skills to, engage with their students emotionally (Weiner, 1992).

### **Reflections**

The patterns between refugee students is subtle, but I would argue does exist. Again, empathy and understanding of others is at the heart of most answers, but there is a fine line between what they believe students should know and understand at what age. Opposed to the thoughts that the Holocaust was taught at this age because the work is complicated and cognitively difficult (Brina, 2003), the students of refugee status clearly understood the complexities in the emotional understanding of studying it and the need to be 'mature'. Most refugee students are fully engaged in learning about the Holocaust and understand their reasons for learning it. As a researcher it was particularly difficult not to probe more in some interviews, but understanding the boundaries and safeguarding ensured that I did not. It would be good in some cases to further explore how students' lived experiences affect their outward emotional engagement in lessons but additionally, and more importantly, what that means for refugee students. It could be possible that an unrelated story, discussing atrocities and trauma, even sensitively in classes, could stir up emotions that

make it difficult for students to engage, or more traumatic to re-live past experiences (Roxas, 2011; Rutter, 2006). If it is the case that the lived experience and the learnt experience are separate, is enough being done to ensure that these students can explore their emotions, reflect and unpack? Further exploration is needed as to whether teachers can do more to individualise learning for students, which, with current budget (NEU, 2020) and time restraints seems difficult, so what content can we ensure that, when taught, does not have a negative emotional impact on the students?

Good practice states that it is important for teachers to consider the images and stories they show and talk through with students (IHRA, 2019). However, I would argue that an exploration of emotions and reactions is important to have with the students before and during learning about the Holocaust. As Richardson (2012) explains, the Holocaust should be taught as an emotional encounter and teachers need to be more aware of the emotional impact learning about the Holocaust has on students. Students have struggled to understand fully the horrors of what they have learnt and how they feel about it, but are aware that they are only just old enough, or others are too young to learn about it. As teachers, it is our moral duty to ensure the safety and well-being of all students, topics like the Holocaust need to be considered well before teaching. In diverse classrooms this job is more difficult. We can not just let students enter into learning about the Holocaust without preparation, or leave them without the space and skills to discuss it afterwards. It is worth considering some of the good work that has been done on refugee student education in the UK (Bloch, 2018; Haines et al., 2015; Rutter 2006 as examples) as well as the engagement of students in the classroom when looking at the Holocaust and sensitive topics in History education. It is important to consider students' backgrounds, the affect that this has on their learning (Burke, 2003; Gallant and Hartman, 2001) and the emotional impact of learning about the Holocaust (Brina, 2003; Burke, 2003). As Richardson (2012) argues that there is so much still to do to ensure that teachers do not leave students traumatised from their learning.

## **6.5 Links to value and importance of learning the subject – emotional**

In this section, I am exploring how students' understanding linked to their worldview and more importantly, the emotions that were tied to that. This includes the positivity and necessity behind answers about whether it was important to learn about the Holocaust.

In selecting the aspects of the interviews to include at this point, except for two, the students' responses were all from refugee students. This shows both the emotional engagement that these students have with the subject and the considerations needed to

ensure the wellbeing of all students when teaching subjects like the Holocaust. Student 4, not a refugee student, acknowledges that learning about the Holocaust makes her upset, but also has a level of engagement with the topic that shows that she understands that she has learnt about it to show her how she could *“in some ways stop these things”* and *“speak out against things”*. Student 12, a refugee student, had similar sentiments. She was upset by learning about the Holocaust but stated that it made her *“feel like I want to fight back too, cos I’m that person who would...stand up for their rights and stuff”*. Student 16, also a refugee, felt the same, he was saddened by it, but listed off other issues in the world that were happening, and how *“the Holocaust don’t seem to be dealt with”*. This reflects the studies into why the Holocaust is taught (See as examples Hector, 1999; Pring, 2001; Short, 2010) and is fascinating as the students were not taught this so have picked it out from their learning themselves. Although studies show that positive emotions in subjects lead to more engagement (Broughton et al., 2011; Heddy and Sinatra, 2013), this is not always the case as seen here. Student 5, also a refugee student, found it sad to *“see what happens...it’s proof that shows...everyone can fight back, and they can never...give up”*. However, her understanding of why it was taught and why it was relevant was far more to do with her outlook on the world: experiences of bullying, movement for not being accepted. She felt that as London was so multicultural, it was more accepting because people understood people’s different stories, therefore *“accept it more”*. The negative emotional engagement that these students felt, the sadness and upset, was counterbalanced by a sense of inspiration or positivity and drive to stand up for what is right and question other things happening in the world, showing their engagement in the topic (Clements, 2006; Fredericks, 2011). It could be argued that without the space to prepare for and reflect on the sadness and trauma in lessons, they should not be taught. These opportunities would mitigate the trauma from learning about the Holocaust and perhaps even inspire the students and invite them to form their own understanding of the contemporary relevance and reasons for learning about it themselves.

One student worth exploring in more detail is student 17. A refugee student with some insightful comments, seemed to be really positively affected by his learning about the Holocaust. Although some of his comments show areas that teachers need to explore more when teaching (being explicit about not empathising etc.) it is interesting that he was adamant throughout the interviews how important the Holocaust was to learn about. Before having learnt about it in Year 9 History lessons, to him, the importance of learning it was because *“it’s a key moment in history and remembering what those people went through is*

*really important*". Not able to clarify this further at that point, after having studied more about it at school he went on to understand that it was important "*necessary...it has to be taught*". He did however separate the relevance into learning about it to learn and understand, and for Jewish people, who it means more to, as "*if you're not Jewish it might not affect you as much*". His emotional engagement here was in multiple parts. He had his family experience, their involvement in the Second World war and therefore his understanding of why it was important to learn; his local community understanding and engagement with the Holocaust, living in a Jewish area showing him the relevance and importance; and then what he had learnt in lessons and on the internet had shocked him into finding out more and talking about it at home. This is the exact opposite of how the Holocaust is supposed to be taught in terms of shock factor and creating emotional responses (Brina, 2003; Schwartz, 1990). However, for him it worked as a catalyst to talking more about his learning, something that needs an amount of confidence and understanding to be successful (Bloch, 2018; Pask, 1975).

### **Conversations at home**

Some students stated having conversations about the Holocaust at home. Students 12 and 17, both refugee students, mentioned what they had learnt about with people at home with surprisingly emotional responses. Student 12 discussed with her sister how they might survive if they were in that situation. Although teachers are discouraged from getting students to do (IHRA, 2019; Schwartz, 1990), there is no controlling what students talk about at home. Perhaps there is the opportunity for teachers to discuss the reasons why they do not ask students to empathise in the classroom, so they can learn why not to do it at home. This metacognition is perhaps not going to be understood by all, or it may have the opposite effect. It was also interesting that student 12 said that she spoke about it with her parents as they spoke about their experiences and she put together the fact that they "*had to move because of violence and it was a very difficult time for them too*". This emotional engagement is different to that of engaging with the learning, and reflecting on its value (Fredericks, 2011), but more about the individual, their own trauma or experiences. As we have seen with cognition and behavioural engagement, refugee students have been far more engaged on all levels and perhaps this relative importance, this engagement on a personal level is why. Student 17 also discussed the Holocaust at home with his parents, about history and where he was from as discussed earlier. He said that they "*think about the twin experiments...and how it would be if we were in Nazi Germany and Jewish at the time*". This again shows the emotional engagement and the levels of empathy discouraged in the

classroom. It is not easy to discourage when breaking down their reflection on what they are learning, unless this is also done in the classroom with time and space provided to do so. The potential dangers of the current limitations are when the students are not supported in these discussions or thought.

## 6.6 Other emotional observations

### Israel, Palestine and other countries

The most complicated parts of exploring emotional engagement, were conversations around Israel and Palestine, and what could be interpreted as antisemitic comments within them. Palestine was mentioned a few times during my observations. This shows a direct link that a certain number of students were making between being told they were going to learn about the Holocaust and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There are elements of emotional engagement that are critically tied up in the cognition of students and their awareness of the world, and this affects how they emotionally engage with the topics in the classroom (Brina, 2003; Burke, 2006; Clements, 2006; Fredericks, 2011). This ranged from *“Jews, yay”* to multiple comparisons of Nazi actions against Jews to Israeli actions against Palestinians. These comments were never for the class to hear in whole class discussion, so the teachers could not approach it unless they heard it too. This is one time where being an observer left me understanding the culture and comments in the classroom more than I ever had as a teacher. An additional example was in teacher D’s classroom, where they were discussing the term ‘Jew’ and whether it was derogatory. A student stated that it seemed *“disrespectful”* as a *“nickname for the Jewish people that seems negative from the Nazis”*. Another student disagreed, stating it was *“the way you say it though, if you say “I’m a Jew” or “you Jew” it’s different, you could be “I’m Jewish” more than “I’m a Jew”, you would say “I’m British” not “I’m a Brit””*. Seemingly out of context at this point, student 10 shouted out *“did you know the Palestinians aren’t allowed to swim on the beaches”*. This comment was ignored by the teacher and the rest of the class, except the student next to her. The reason that this has been raised here is because of the emotional engagement context. As a Palestinian student, the reason she felt the need to make these comments was not just to distract others, or because she knows a lot. It is because of her personal connection with it, the emotional aspect of the topic and the links she makes with it personally (Heddy and Sinatra, 2013; Pekrun, 2006). The context of this comment was then realised when the teacher went on to talk about the humiliation of the anti-Jewish laws that were introduced. Student 10 also added at this point *“Public humiliation and removal of territory was an*

*important turning point like in Palestine*". It is important here to realise that the emotional trauma therefore is not necessarily just realised by refugee students who have a lived experience of similar things, but also those whose families are closely tied to aspects that they believe are related (Burke, 2003). It is not the place at this point to discuss the antisemitism involved in conflating the "Jews" and "Israeli government" but it will be discussed more in the conclusions and implications.

There was much discussion in both sets of interviews around Israel-Palestine relations. For this focus, the interesting part is the emotional engagement that these students show around the issue, their life, home influence and lived experiences (Cabrera, 2013; Darling-Churchill and Lippman, 2016; Pearce, 2020). It is fascinating that the students that spoke about this issue were refugee students (or a second-generation Palestinian refugee) which shows the reason for their interest. It makes sense that they would have the knowledge and understanding from influences outside of school that the topic they were studying and the conflict they were talking about were in any way linked. Student 1's experience with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was through her discussions at home about Israel, as she believes that there is a *"strong link between Israel"* and the Holocaust. In both the group and individual interviews, she spoke about her conversations about *"what's happening at the moment"* and that her *"family argue about it"*. In her understanding through these discussions, it was because of the Holocaust that Israel was *"formed"*, so that Jews could *"be together in one place"*. None of student 1's connotations were themselves explicitly antisemitic (Lipstadt, 2018) or against learning about the Holocaust, but were deeply linked with her family's experiences and beliefs, which from what she implied in the discussions, could have been antisemitic. This was more explicit with student 18, a refugee from Iran. In the group interviews she boldly explained that *"we don't, not me, but, we don't like Jewish people"*. This went on to become more antisemitic by saying *"they're like very rude, they think they're above everyone else"*. This shows that although this student was happy to engage in the lessons, she was not learning that the Jews that she was studying about in pre-war Jewish life were the same people that she was generalising about in her comments – there was a large disconnect (Brina, 2003). Additionally, the disconnect is so large that the Jews that she speaks about *"most Iranians"* not liking was at odds as *"there's Jewish Iranians"*. This emotional attachment, or, disaffection with the subject of her studies is interesting as it stems solely from lived experience and discussions at home, not from the classroom. Student 10 also explained how she had discussed the Holocaust at home with her mum, again making links to Israel and the Holocaust. Her explanation was her justifying to



me why she was talking about the Holocaust at home, and how it linked, as her mum had never learnt anything about it before and found it *“interesting”* and *“nobody should be treated like that”*. It shows that she has discussed some of the more difficult aspects of it with her mum, but also that emotional connection must have been present for her to consider talking about it at home, as she mentioned that she does not normally talk about school work at home. She did explain that they were talking about *“Israelis, Jewish and that kinda stuff, like what Jewish people would feel about what Palestine would feel”* but stated that this links into the Holocaust as they were talking about Palestine and how she was explaining to her mum that it was *“not Jews who have taken over the country, it’s Israelis”*. In terms of emotional engagement, this was the most complex to unpick. Student 18’s belief was that *“Jews have been through...a lot of things like the Holocaust...I don’t think we should be blaming...the Jews”*. This shows how complex the situation is for students to understand but as well as the additional pressures being put on them and their beliefs from home, particularly as a second-generation Palestinian refugee. She very eloquently went on to explain that *“I don’t believe that every single Jew hates Palestine or wants Israel to take over Palestine or anything”* and that it was *“not a religion thing”*. The immense conflict that this student must feel with her competing ideas of what is correct is fascinating, and means that I need to question whether she was saying this to me as it is what she thought I would want to hear (Drever, 2003). When she was asked to make the connections between Palestinians, Jews and the Holocaust, she did state that *“after the Holocaust some Jews went to live in Israel and start a family there”* and when I asked why, she said, *“because it’s more of a safer place for them”*. This shows that perhaps the lived experiences and information from home are challenged in the classroom but can be ignored or adjusted, and the culture within the classroom needs to be explored further.

### **Awareness of content in Social media, videos and books**

As seen earlier, students commented on some of their extracurricular learning from movies, books and social media such as YouTube. The film that many students mentioned was *Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008). When talking about what they had learnt from the film most could not remember much of the vague historical details from the film, more that *“his dad was doing something really horrible, and the kid actually made friends with his dad’s enemy”* (student 1). Student one said that she *“really liked the film and the book”* but it was *“really, really sad”*. Student 18 in an observation also pointed out to the class that *“I like that movie”* because she liked movies that made her cry. Arguably, most of the reasoning behind why that text or film should not be used with students is around the students’ inability to

separate fact and emotion from fiction, and it's historical inaccuracies (Ceserani, 2008). Of all the books and films spoken about and used, the most frequently used word to describe them was "sad". This adjective in itself is unremarkable, but the fact that even though these films may fit the guidelines of teaching the Holocaust<sup>93</sup> (IHRA, 2019), as teachers and educators there is a duty to protect students (Burke, 2003). It is worth considering that what might be entertaining for one student could be traumatic for another (Brina, 2003). Additionally, student 1, who had read non-fiction accounts and other Holocaust related novels, stated that she really liked the film, which shows that there is so much work to do around understanding the authenticity of films as without this it could lead to discussions and debates that the students are not ready for. It was mainly refugee students that spoke of the engagement with the topic in extra-curricular means. This shows that not only was their engagement in the topic high, but their emotional engagement was at a level where they wanted to learn more. This could be positive and negative. It is positive that students are engaged to take their learning of the topic further, however the "Hollywood Holocaust" (Cole, 2000:79) is now such a part of the student's lives, whether in the classroom or not that this could lead to confusion, misunderstandings and trauma (Brina, 2003). It is therefore necessary for teachers to plan in time to teach students how to be critical, through having enough knowledge of the era as well as understanding other factors that could be confusing. Finkelstein's (2000) ideas of the Holocaust industry explains why filmmakers have not documented history accurately to tell a good myth.

This is now more of an issue than it was with the rise of students getting information from social media, especially YouTube. YouTube as a platform is problematic anyway (Ekman, 2014). As of June 2019, the platform banned content promoting Nazi ideology, glorified fascist views or material that denied the existence of the Holocaust from being hosted on the website<sup>94</sup>. This came after years of criticism over YouTube's role in spreading far-right hate and conspiracy theories (Eckman, 2014). Videos still exist on the platform that show atrocity images and videos, testimony and accounts of trauma that are unsuitable for Year 9 students to be watching. Student 17 provided a perfect example of how difficult the

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<sup>93</sup> Guidance 3.2.3 on p28 of the 2019 IHRA principles states that when teaching, educators should "Be reflective about purpose and rationale when using written and visual materials – especially those of a graphic nature", advising educators to avoid shocking students through graphic images, as "Images can also be insensitive to the sensibilities of learners in the room regarding human trauma or modesty".

<sup>94</sup> "YouTube bans videos promoting Nazi ideology" Jim Waterson, The Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/jun/05/youtube-bans-videos-promoting-nazi-ideology> [accessed 19/6/2020]; "YouTube is deleting videos on Nazi history as part of its hate speech crackdown" Charlotte Jee, MIT Technology Review <https://www.technologyreview.com/2019/06/07/883/youtube-is-deleting-videos-on-nazi-history-as-part-of-its-hate-speech-crackdown/> [accessed 19/06/2020]

YouTube landscape can be to navigate as a 14-year-old. He said that he got most of his knowledge of the Holocaust from his family and from the internet as it was *“mentioned a lot and on YouTube”*. He acknowledged that he just typed things into YouTube as he was interested in learning more. He said, *“in a bad way it’s fascinating”* and explained that he was so interested in learning more that he was not too worried about the values behind it, but he wanted to know more facts. When he told me that he and his twin brother had been learning about it together, he said that the more they watched, they realised that it was a *“really weird concept to think about that many people dying in one place”* and that they like video games and *“the whole concept is like something out of a game”*. Student 17’s account showed the challenging duality of the role of filmic and social media representations of the Holocaust to inform and to entertain and the complex nature of authenticity (Walden, 2019). Thinking of the IHRA (2019) guidelines, I was interested how and why he felt what he was watching was appropriate. His response was particularly challenging, *“I wasn’t really aware, that it was to do with these dark topics, I just wanted to know about it more, it was more what was recommended to me on the YouTube algorithm”*. Alongside his mature reflections on how he picked what to watch from the algorithm<sup>95</sup>, *“it just catches my eye and I would watch the videos. It was a bit difficult to understand when I was younger”*. This raises so many complications that add to those from the discussion of films in teaching and outside the classroom. It is good that students want to take their studies further, but problematic when this is not policed (which raises other questions around free speech and awareness in itself). When the student compares some of the atrocity images and videos he has watched to the computer games that he plays, we reach new levels of where boundaries between home and school blur, and what does and does not sit as a teacher’s responsibility to students’ well-being.

The number of films, documentaries and videos concerning the Second World War and the Holocaust is extensive and expanding (Darlow, 2005). This raises issues concerning students’ emotional engagement and preparedness, or the emotional challenges that students with access to these will face (for example, Schwartz, 1990; Short, 1995; Weiner, 1992). This could be challenging for all students, for refugee students who have past trauma to deal with, or around modesty; or for students that have had very standard living experiences where learning about the Holocaust is their first encounter with human atrocity. Although most students spoken to did not appear to be traumatised by what they had watched, it was

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<sup>95</sup> On YouTube, the algorithm automatically generates videos to pick to watch next based on your history of what videos you have been viewing.

clear through the language used and the reluctance to talk or engage about them that they may have struggled with particular parts, whether this was through making sense of the violence by using the narrative structure of the films (Shaw, 2004). As educators in class, we must decide, what to show students (IHRA, 2019; Langford, 1999) and what is authentic, factual and useful testimony. It is important that we select materials that are factually correct to avoid manipulating students and the history of the Holocaust (Lisus & Ericson, 1995) and ones students can deal with emotionally to not unintentionally assault them (Brina, 2003). It again, raises the question of how teachers prepare students for what they will see outside the classroom, whilst having no control over it, and without encouraging students to search out atrocity.

### **Engagement in observations**

There were some other aspects of emotional engagement that were interesting, that I noticed during lesson observations. To start with, there were a few occurrences where students made comments that were not related to the lesson and could have been rude and disrespectful (linking to behavioural engagement). In teacher D's lesson, as mentioned above, students that were giggling over pictures of the ghettos, and the teacher told them off for being disrespectful. This interaction between teacher and students was in line with school behaviour policies, but if the staff had training, awareness of the students' backgrounds, and if students had time to prepare and reflect for exploring the complexities of the Holocaust, perhaps this would have been avoided. In teacher A's class the comments made on entrance from students, when seeing what they were to be learning about were complex, and ignored by the teacher. "[Student name], you gypsy!" and a very sarcastic and loud "Jews, yay" were both made by separate students. The teacher's choice to ignore these comments could be part of their behaviour for learning model (Ellis and Tod, 2004), to keep the rest of the class on task. However, by not doing so, teacher A left room for questions about the appropriateness of similar comments, and for some antisemitic and discriminatory views to go unchallenged and develop further (Pettigrew et al., 2009).

There were some fascinating questions asked that showed the emotional engagement of the students on different levels. In the post-it note activity to understand what students wanted to find out from their learning, in teacher B's class one student asked, "*Why did they hate Jews so much*" and another commenting that "*millions of people suffered or died*". This illustrates that students had an awareness of what happened but their emotional engagement at this point was low, revolving on wanting more 'facts'. It was interesting that

in teacher A's class two students were interested in something similar: "*I want to find out what are the survivors' experience*" and "*I want to find out what it was like from the perspective of a victim*". These both show that the students already had an understanding of what the Holocaust was, perhaps from a very perpetrator-centric view, and were interested in finding out more from the view of the victims. It also shows a high level of emotional engagement, thinking about not only how their knowledge will help them learn, but thinking about others' perspectives (Fredericks, 2011; Short and Reed, 2004). Additionally, in a lesson about the Bielski brothers creating a community and orchestrating escape from the ghetto<sup>96</sup> a comment that stood out to me was when student 29 asked "*if the woman was pregnant would they have taken them? If they broke the rules what would have happened to them?*". This shows that students were engaging with the learning on an emotional and empathetic level (Clements, 2006) and that they were thinking about 'what would happen if' questions (Fredericks, 2011). It was also interesting that this question was from a refugee student in the class (not involved in the interviews), and so could bring up more things to research further in terms of emotional engagement, lived experiences and how the two affect each other and then others around them. This question, although innocent in being asked, could cause trauma to others, through reliving experiences or thinking about things for the first time (Crane, 2008).

There were some examples of good practice through teacher questioning and explanation, engaging with students on a cognitive and emotional level (Short, 1995). In teacher A's class, in the first lesson, through questioning students' prior knowledge to gauge their understanding and misconceptions, teacher A managed to elicit that students in the class felt that before the war "*Jews were happy*" or "*living their own happy lives*" but Germany "*lost WW1 and blamed it on the Jews*". This was a good way of understanding how students felt about pre-war Jewish life and what sentiments there were within the class, as Foster et al. (2015) proved most students described the Holocaust by the actions and perpetrators rather than victims. In teacher C's class, he took a more emotionally preparatory route with his students. In the very first lesson he opened to explain about what they were to be learning about, how it links to people's lives, and they need to show respect, take note of their emotions and be careful of what and how they say things and how they act as we do

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<sup>96</sup> The USHMM states the Bielski partisans were a group of Jews operating in Belorussia 1942-1944, one of the most significant Jewish resistance efforts against Nazi Germany during World War Two. As well as fighting, the Bielski group leaders emphasized providing a safe haven for Jews, particularly women, children, and elderly persons who managed to flee into the forests, eventually saving more than 1200 Jews who survived the war. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-bielski-partisans> [accessed 20/06/2020]

not know about people's history and family involvement. By doing this, he gave students a chance to understand that it was not going to be an easy, factual topic to learn about and gave them the space to reflect on their emotions and behaviour before it happened. This was reflected in students' conversations they had when discussing different emotions of others they were studying along the way. In one lesson discussing anti-Jewish laws, a student mentioned that it was "*humiliating that they couldn't buy milk and eggs*" so he asked them to explain why. The students' response was "*it makes you stand out for negative reasons and they couldn't do things Germans could do*". At this point another student (10) stated that they felt that not being allowed to leave the house after 8pm was also humiliating because "*a curfew is horrid if you can't do what you want especially as an adult*". This awareness of the Jewish humiliation was not only a way for students to understand the process of dehumanisation that occurred, but also it provided an opportunity for students to engage emotionally with the topic without the trauma. This gave students of all backgrounds the opportunity to safely discuss what was happening and why (Brina, 2003). Another point of emotional engagement happened in teacher D's class. When learning about the ghettos, after viewing pictures of life in the ghetto, asked to give a title to the photographs, one student put their hand up to call it "*a horror story*". The teacher used this opportunity to talk about the emotions present in the room by unpicking the word horror to try and understand what the student meant. Although the students in the class were not all engaged in the conversation, it did give an example to others of the emotions that were present, giving them a chance to reflect on how they felt (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Rutter, 2006). It is clear that there need to be more opportunities for this built into all studies of learning about the Holocaust.

## **6.7 Reflections on analysis**

Thinking of where I started and the influence of both Buber and Finkelstein throughout my analysis is important. To start with Buber, his recognition of how it is imperative in education to see the student as a whole student and teach the whole student (Buber in Hodes, 1972) was one of the reasons that the three themes of engagement worked so well for me. It made me think further about what education is for, reflecting on Buber's work (2014) and therefore think about the questions that I wanted to ask of the data. It was something that was clear from looking at some of the students' answers on why studying the Holocaust was important, that the ideas of active citizenship and being a good human came out, but I could really question this alongside the obvious contemporary national

narratives of education in general but particularly Holocaust education, which also relates to some of Finkelstein's ideas in the Holocaust Industry (2000).

## **6.8 Conclusions**

From analysing the outward emotions expressed, reflecting on learning and understanding and emotions, as well as the language and awareness of the sensitivities of the topic, it was clear that there were some patterns emerging in the different groups of students.

Particularly when looking at the emotional engagement of students, those students from refugee backgrounds were more engaged than those that were not. For refugees that had been displaced, to refugees who had discussions about Israel at home, those who had a sense of community and perhaps the idea of the world being a bad place already, had higher emotional engagement than those that did not. Additionally, the lived experience and interactions with people at home or in the past that influenced the way that students looked at their learning about the Holocaust was clear too. Through the students' metacognition and explorations of understanding, themes of empathy, resistance and standing up for things that are right arose.

Using what was explored beforehand, refugee students have a slightly different understanding of the history, particularly the history of 'others' (Glăveanu & de Saint Laurent, 2018). This could be as they already see themselves as othered within the school, community or even classroom. The refugee students engaged on a highly emotional level with empathy being the most common emotion expressed from refugee students. However, there was a great degree of sadness and upset common across student responses, something that also came up from non-refugee students, and was seen in the way students behaved in lessons too.

This is important as a researcher and teacher. As a teacher it is necessary to further the ideas of preparation and reflection when teaching about the Holocaust. In some ways these ideas have been explored (see for example Pettigrew et al., 2009; Short, 2005) but reflection is not given enough time nor is it something that all teachers are confident in doing well (Short, 2005). Additionally, as we have seen through these discussions, the preparation of students for what they are to learn about, without ruining any enquiry-led learning, is so important for both their safety and well-being and to lay the groundwork for discussions about the way that students should think about history like this. For example, discussions that are needed to be had about empathising with victims and 'putting yourself in their shoes' are questions that students in Year 9 can be having, if they are explained well and

prepared for. It could be argued at an extreme level, that if the Holocaust causes trauma and upset, and teachers do not have the time or confidence to teach it well, should it be taught at all? Short (1996) found that there were teachers that would rather not teach the Holocaust, than teach it badly, but now it is a compulsory part of the Key Stage 3 National Curriculum for History in England, not teaching it is no longer an option. What then needs to be explored further is the culture within the classroom, the way that the national narrative is taught in classrooms where this is easily dismissed and how it links to other histories and the awareness that we need to have. What this research has shown, is that there are antisemitic sentiments that still exist in the classroom, and are ignored or not picked up by teachers, even if the students are taught about the Holocaust and what antisemitism is. The language and discussions in the classroom need to be considered too. I will now explore the conclusions and implications to come from this, looking at refugee students, narratives behind learning about the Holocaust and diverse classrooms, and what this means for classrooms that are not diverse, as well as learning and teaching other sensitive topics in the History curriculum.



## **7. Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Implications**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter will present a summary of the findings of this study, together with a consideration of implications for future practice. The chapter will be presented in two parts: the first (Section 7.1-7.3) will present conclusions drawn from the findings of the study, based on the data and the literature that exists; the second (7.4-7.6) will consider the implications of the study's findings and present four key suggested amendments to current practice to help develop a better understanding of how the subject can be most effectively taught to refugee students in particular.

#### **Reflections on the process**

As I reached this final chapter, I decided that it was important to include some reflexivity to capture my thinking process and show my own engagement (Luttrell (2010). The writing of this thesis has been a difficult experience, but throughout which my thinking has developed. My processes of thought and writing were constantly informed, challenged and advanced by emerging data, analysis and interpretation and more importantly my wider professional experiences (Denscombe, 2007). In line with my ontological and epistemological standpoints, it was important to me to be open to what the data revealed as well as acknowledging and attempting to mitigate my positioning, both professional and philosophical (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Nathaniel and Andrews, 2010). Once faced with writing the conclusions and implications of my study, where I intend to bring all the strands together (Denscombe, 2007), I realised to contextualise them, I needed to address my changed professional opinions (Charmaz, 2006). Some of these opinions were difficult to process, others had changed significantly, and positively, throughout the study. The important part was to ensure these opinions remained discrete from the data, in order for the data to tell its own story (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

### **7.2 The significance of the study in 2020-21**

The conclusion of this study could not have come at a more complex time for education, given the Coronavirus pandemic. The study remains as relevant now as ever. There are still conversations around whether, how and why the Holocaust should be taught (Chapman, 2020; Pearce, 2020), as there have since 1989 and the beginning of the National Curriculum

(Crawford, 1995; Fox, 1989; Pearce, 2017; Short, 1995). The newest Ofsted framework<sup>97</sup> explores curriculum and teaching and learning at a deeper level than it has before, exploring teacher and curriculum designers' intent and impact of the stated curriculum (Ofsted, 2019). This means that discussions over the Holocaust remain prevalent and meaningful, with a new UCL publication on the "challenges and controversies" of Holocaust education (Foster et al., 2020) suggesting that it is still at the forefront of discussions, with few answers to some of the questions that have been around for many years, and more questions being generated from additional research all the time (see Lawson and Pearce, 2020 as an example). Therefore, it is clear that teaching and learning about the Holocaust is still as relevant as ever.

However, 2020 brought a different view of education and relevance of this study. The discussions of the contemporary relevance of the Holocaust have increased in recent years (Pearce, 2014, 2020; Sicher, 2000; Sievers, 2016) and in light of reports of antisemitism in UK politics<sup>98</sup>, in the US, and worldwide<sup>99</sup>, it would seem that research like this is significant if the aim of Holocaust education is anti-racist education (Short, 1995), or even just to learn from the past (Baum, 1996; Cohen, 2005). Furthermore, with the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, it can be debated whether the UK is anti-racist if movements like this have to exist. The movement in the UK was backed by many left-wing groups, and some high-profile members and activists were openly antisemitic<sup>100</sup>. This reinforces the relevance of this study however, as it suggests there is an awareness of the phrase "antisemitism" in the classroom, but antisemitism still exists, unchallenged, inside and outside of the classroom. It is worth

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<sup>97</sup> The 2019 Ofsted Education Inspection Framework

([https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/801429/Education\\_inspection\\_framework.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/801429/Education_inspection_framework.pdf) accessed 24/07/2020) means inspections can include subject "deep dives" which include an inspection of their curricula, their intent and impact. More information on the changes can be found on this educational blog here <https://thirdspacelearning.com/blog/new-ofsted-framework-2019-inspection-changes/> (accessed 24/07/2020).

<sup>98</sup> Antisemitism in UK politics examples can be found here with an overview of the Labour party claims <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-45030552> (accessed 24/07/2020) and the on-going story after libel cases were won here <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2020/jul/22/uk-coronavirus-live-covid-19-latest-news-updates> (accessed 24/07/2020).

<sup>99</sup> Antisemitism is on the rise across Europe and the world, and this was before the world hit a global pandemic and recession, to which Jews are often the blame. See <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/06/04/alarmed-rise-anti-semitism-europe> [accessed 14 June 2020] and <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/01/seventy-five-years-after-auschwitz-anti-semitism-is-on-the-rise/605452/> [accessed 14 June 2020].

<sup>100</sup> The British political left often fronts itself as anti-racist. This has led to issues surrounding antisemitism in the Labour party, as the anti-racism includes antisemitic tropes and takes on Israel. Some of the BLM left-wing campaign leaders tweeted antisemitic tweets and gave antisemitic speeches at rallies. One example of this explained is here <https://www.glamourmagazine.co.uk/article/black-lives-matter-antisemitic-tweet> [accessed 25 August 2020].

considering the fact that this could be the same with other forms of racism (Carrington, 1990; Housee, 2000; Kundnani, 2018; Ladhani and Sitter, 2020). This therefore is important with calls for teaching more Black History, and a different version of Black History<sup>101</sup> than the empire-focused narrative that has been previously taught in schools. To teach about the slave trade, for example, the same principles as in Holocaust education need to be applied to rehumanise the victims and understand the loss. This study is also relevant for developing work on sensitive histories; thinking about the students that are present in a diverse classroom (and also who is not present in non-diverse classrooms), and the emotions, empathy and trauma that it could cause (Brina ,2003; Tavares and Slotin, 2012).

Additionally, we are moving to an age where they Holocaust is no longer within living memory, and there will be no survivors left to hear from (Clements, 2006; Hector, 2000). Advances in technology and the Coronavirus global pandemic, has meant that education, social events, commemorative events and others have taken place digitally for the last year, including teaching online. These online events and education means that new questions need to be asked on the teaching and learning of the Holocaust and the digital memory. Although this study starts to explore complications from students' preconceptions from social media and the internet, it did not explore Holocaust education though digital media (see Reynolds, 2019; Walden 2019, 2019a), but it can offer much to those discussions. For example, the challenges and opportunities of Holocaust education in diverse classrooms and the contemporary relevance of learning about the Holocaust can be applied to digital learning too.

From the outset, the aim of this study has been to make a new contribution to the field of Holocaust education in the UK. Its particular strength lies in its focus on students' views. This is different to many others, such as Pearce et al. (2020); Pettigrew et. al, (2009) and Foster et al., (2016) which focus on teachers, or what students have learnt, not what they feel, think or want. Through exploring the engagement, learning and views of the students, within the school context and the other significant influences of their Holocaust education, this study has shown that Holocaust education is a process not just an outcome. The focus on the experience and engagement of the students means that we can understand the process of learning and understanding in the classroom in more detail and can improve practice not only in Holocaust education but as History teachers teaching other sensitive histories. It has been said for a number of years, but is perhaps never more pertinent than now, that as the

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<sup>101</sup> See <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jul/13/black-british-history-school-curriculum-england> [accessed 25/8/2020].

Holocaust makes its final move out of living memory, Holocaust education has never been more important (Cesarani, 2001; Clements, 2006; Hector, 2000; Richardson, 2020).

## **7.3 Conclusions**

### **7.3.1 Summary of the main findings**

The findings of this study have been outlined in detail above. It is my intention here to contextualise and explore the findings and conclusions of the study. The key findings of the study were as follows:

- The Year 9 students at this school had received a well-intentioned and thorough programme of Holocaust education and the teachers were well informed of current practice.
- The students observed and interviewed had sound academic understanding of the Holocaust, but there still remained some errors and misconceptions.
- Learning about the Holocaust had an emotional impact on some students, but more students were inspired to change their actions and stand up for the actions of others through what they had learnt. This was not from the teaching, but what they had implicitly understood.
- All students were engaged with learning about the Holocaust. The behavioural engagement was not as high as the cognitive engagement, which in turn was not as high as the emotional engagement. This was similar for refugee students and non-refugee students.
- The non-refugee students that misbehaved in lessons were the ones that were most disaffected by the subject.
- Refugee students' engagement and understanding of the Holocaust centred around an empathetic understanding, often shrouded in misconceptions of Jews and the consequences of the Holocaust.
- Refugee students held more sympathy and empathy with their learning; non-refugee students saw their learning as an understanding that they were considered mature enough to learn about the evils of the world for the first time.
- For the majority of students, learning about the Holocaust had been an emotionally difficult and distressing experience.
- Students were not prepared for their learning beforehand, nor given time to reflect on their learning, emotional or otherwise. This led to emotional complexities for students.

- In some cases, students gave the responses that they believed were expected of them when talking about their emotional learning and the Holocaust, but this was not the case with refugee students.
- Many students, mainly refugees, knew what antisemitism was in the context of the Holocaust, but still held antisemitic views and gave antisemitic responses.
- Refugee students showed the most understanding of what they perceived as the contemporary relevance of the Holocaust, the reason they learn about it and why it is important to learn about it, as well as linking it to other current events.
- Many students questioned the national narrative of learning about the Holocaust, as it contrasted with their lived experiences and influences from home.

### **7.3.2 Considerations of current practice, in light of the main findings.**

The current scope of Holocaust education has shifted significantly over the last five years. It is possible to view some of these findings as failures of Holocaust education within this school, it is also yet another way of understanding the complexity not only of the event, but of teaching about it. While it might be reasonably assumed that all teachers aim to teach their subject with accuracy and passion, this will not always be how students develop their learning (Pearce, 2020; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Foster et al., 2016). There have been significant developments that have caused setbacks to the development of Holocaust pedagogy. Schools, facing huge budget cuts and increasing costs are meeting timetable needs through getting non-subject specialists to teach History, which means inevitably, non-subject specialists are teaching about the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Foster et al., 2016). Academies, free schools and independent schools still do not have to follow the National Curriculum, and two terms of online learning due to the global pandemic of COVID-19 might mean many schools avoided teaching the Holocaust as they were worried about teaching such a sensitive topic online<sup>102</sup>. This pandemic also has meant that there is an educational focus on ‘catch up’<sup>103</sup> and a fear that this will take up time from non-core subjects (English and Maths). This means that the recommendations from the implications of this study may be more difficult to enact due to a lack of curriculum time in the coming

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<sup>102</sup> As this is relatively new there is not much published. One teacher’s reflections on this for the CHE can be found here <https://www.holocausteducation.org.uk/teaching-holocaust-lockdown-teacher-reflections-challenges-opportunities/> [accessed 17/11/2020]

<sup>103</sup> Children in England are set to benefit from a £1 billion Coronavirus “catch-up” package to tackle the impact of ‘lost teaching time’. The government announced £650 million to be shared across state primary and secondary schools over the 2020/21 academic year, headteachers deciding how to spend the money. The government press release here <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/billion-pound-covid-catch-up-plan-to-tackle-impact-of-lost-teaching-time> [accessed 17/11/2020]

months and years, but I will argue below that if there are extraneous pressures on the curriculum then it is even more important that processing time is given to all students when studying the Holocaust.

Having presented an overview of the contemporary field of Holocaust education and current practice, alongside the empirical data in the study, I am suggesting four recommendations for amendments to teaching about the Holocaust to develop students' learning. They are:

1. Ensure adequate preparation and reflection time are built into the curriculum around encountering the topic of the Holocaust.
2. Embrace the diversity in the classroom and teach national narratives in an international classroom.
3. Ensure the culture in the classroom recognises the aims of teaching about the Holocaust. Ensure the culture in the classroom is safe and inclusive, and one where there is no space for antisemitism. This will ensure all students experiences are incorporated and diversity is embraced.
4. Develop ways in which understandings of the culture and make-up of the classroom can impact positively on teaching about all sensitive topics in History and other subjects.

This study has shown the Holocaust cannot be taught with just facts alone. The evidence from the data of this research has shown that not only is learning about the Holocaust an emotional experience for students, it can bring up old traumas, create new ones and still leave questions for students around their learning. Although this study has purposefully focussed on student experiences, the implications need to be actioned by teachers, institutions and governments, rather than students. Students need support to ensure that their learning of the Holocaust helps them understand the world better, and through amending the process of Holocaust education in the ways recommended above, teachers can ensure they help the students understand their learning and assimilate this new knowledge.

### **7.3.3 Strengths and limitations of the study.**

In Chapter 3 I explained and justified my epistemological and ontological standpoints and believe that I have remained true to these principles throughout this study. I have made every effort to ensure the research design was robust, the sample was representative, and the results analysed with thoroughness and care, however, this research possesses limitations that I need to acknowledge (Shacklock and Smyth, 1998). The most important of

the limitations is the understanding that the results and implications from this study cannot be universalised (Denscombe, 2007; Nind, 2014). The findings from this sample may not mirror those from a different sample of students, for example a group of refugee students in a White-British school in another part of the country may have had different lived experiences, learning experiences and educational awareness (Block et al., 2014; Candappa, 2002; Closs et al., 2001). Consequently, I have attempted to explore the constructed realities of others (without generalising), to not seek a certainty, but rather to gain insight into each participant's answers. Another limitation is the involvement of my own subjective human agency (Crotty, 1998). Throughout the study I have acknowledged my research position and the fact that I am a History teacher and work as a professional in the particular field of education. A specific aspect of human agency in this study is through my interpretations of the responses from the students. The data I explored were truths as they were experienced as reality for the participants (Crotty, 1998; Denscombe, 2007; Schwandt, 1994). As mentioned in Chapter 3 I tried to ensure that these truths were given as freely as possible and I have no reason to believe they were given under duress or undue influence. The lived experience of the participants (Schwandt, 1994) was interpreted through my eyes and experience (Crotty, 1998). The responses were categorised on the basis of how I interpreted them. I may have misunderstood a student's answer to a particular question and drawn conclusions from my interpretation of this which are not an accurate representation of their ideas on the Holocaust or their learning, although I sought to be transparent and explicit in my processes throughout. This does not prevent error of judgement or ambiguity which I am aware of and have acknowledged in the analysis. It is also important to recognise that this research did not focus on the specifics of students' backgrounds and how that impacted their preconceptions and misconceptions, far more work needs to be done on this area to understand this, and therefore knowing their engagement with it in that present time is only part of the issue. Finally, it is important to acknowledge the open-ended and complicated nature of interpretivists' explanations and conclusions (Denscombe, 2007). This research does so, and perhaps leaves more questions than it answers, such is the nature of both the research and the field.

#### **7.3.4 Future research**

While there is a wealth of research about teaching, learning and remembering the Holocaust (see the review of literature in chapter 2; Cowan and Maitles, 2002; Foster et al., 2016; Pearce, 2020; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Short 2012 for example), there are several key questions that come out of the findings of this study that could add to this field. Rather than

explore these questions again here, I believe that the key areas for future research based on the findings of this research are:

- Emotional preparation and reflection: Research is needed into the time and space given to students to prepare and reflect in History learning, particularly around the Holocaust (Brina, 2006; Burke, 2003). This might include exploring different ways that work for reflection for different students, investigating teacher skills to support them, curriculum time dedicated to reflection and preparation, and the impact of preparation on trauma and emotional engagement before learning about the Holocaust (Carello and Butler, 2014; 2015; Crosby, 2018; Montgomery, 2011).
- Refugee engagement – misconceptions and empathy: Research could be conducted into why the misconceptions that refugee students have exist and what exactly the understanding and messaging about the Holocaust is at home (Bloch, 2018; Roy and Roxas, 2011). Further research could be undertaken into refugee students and empathy to other sensitive topics in History to see if it exists in similar ways. Finally, research needs to be conducted into the contemporary relevance of the Holocaust and what this means for the students and their understanding of events in the world ( for example, Burke, 2003; Clements, 2006; Short, Supple et al., 1998), as well as the prevalence of antisemitism and other racism. It would also be interesting to see what differences exist (if any) in findings in schools where there is a lack of diversity.
- Technology and social media: Research could be conducted around the use of social media to discuss the Holocaust and events surrounding it (Reynolds, 2019; Walden, 2019a; Wight, 2020). This might include monitoring the search terms used and the videos and atrocity images that young people are faced with on the internet. It is also worth exploring the comments sections of social media and the awareness or engagement of young people with that (Cowart and Cowart, 2002; Magro, 2009). It is important to know how significant a role the internet and social media play in students' preconceptions and knowledge from outside the classroom of the Holocaust, and how, if at all, teachers are preparing students to critically assess what they see as well as preparing them emotionally for what they might see (Walden, 2019).
- Teacher confidence addressing antisemitism and racism in the classroom (Pearce et al., 2020): this study purposefully focussed on student experiences, as there is very little research that focuses on the students and not the teachers in the field of Holocaust education. Research into teacher awareness and confidence of addressing



antisemitism and racism in the classroom needs to be explored further (Pearce et al., 2020). This could include awareness of what to look for in the classroom and how to combat it and teacher knowledge of antisemitism and racism. Research could also look at how the curriculum can shape attitudes in the classroom and ways of challenging misconceptions in the classroom (Ross, 2000; Sheldon, 2012).

There are clearly myriad other options of further research that are born out of the results of this study, but these are some particular issues of Holocaust education that I feel should be addressed in light of my findings. By exploring these areas, it will help develop Holocaust education both through helping students learn more effectively, but also ensuring teachers can develop positive classroom practice.

### **7.3.5 Conclusions of part one**

There are many questions that come from these findings. There were points through the study when I felt that teaching the Holocaust badly to a diverse group of students was worse than not teaching it at all, thinking of the difficulties faced both with behaviour, emotions and understanding. I did understand, however, that to not teach the Holocaust at all would do damage considering the work that has gone into getting it to be a part of the curriculum and was an indefensible decision from a professional in the field of Holocaust education (Cesarani, 2001; Eckmann, 2010; Pearce, 2020). Therefore, after reflecting, and discussion (Crotty, 1998; Doncaster and Thorne, 2000), I understood that this crucial turning point in my thoughts was one that was needed to help deliver the implications of the study, and ensure that the Holocaust was taught well, or at least better than it often is (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Salmons, 2003). Holocaust education is not easy to get right, it is complex and varies depending on the circumstance of the school (Foster et al., 2016; Pearce, 2020). As professionals it is easier to understand that the Holocaust is complex and therefore teaching and learning about the Holocaust is complex, as perhaps we could argue it should be. As Dewey (1933) said, the felt difficulty is the important part of education, and therefore the complexity of education is important. The issues arise more when History teachers have limited time (see for example Pettigrew et al., 2009), other pressures and do not understand the difficulties of teaching the Holocaust and other sensitive topics. It is amplified when schools are understaffed and under-financed and a non-specialist teacher is teaching it. The implications of this study suggest there needs to be a consideration of all sensitive topics in History education, not just the Holocaust. This complexity of diverse classrooms (Aydin, 2013; Cole, 2008; Lo Blanco, 2009; Virta, 2009) is one to be proud of, not afraid of, and I will

offer an understanding and amendments for teaching a national narrative in an international classroom, as well as principles for reflection and preparation for all students, based on what this study revealed. Additionally, I will argue that learning about the Holocaust alone is not enough - the culture in the classroom needs to change. All these aspects link, as will be seen below, to the teaching of other sensitive topics in the History classroom.

## 7.4 Implications

What follows are four suggested amendments to the way that we teach about the Holocaust in the UK, rooted in the empirical data presented in this study, the research that has gone before and the contemporary context.

### 7.4.1 Preparation, Reflection and Refugees

There are clear principles for teaching about the Holocaust in the UK. As with some of the other issues in Holocaust education, a lack of clear guidance means that a level of ambiguity encompasses all work created by teachers and educators. The significant IHRA principle (2019) in light of this research is principle 3.2.2 (in Section 3.2 Learning Activities and Comprehensive approaches):

***3.2.2 Be responsive to the background, emotions and concerns of the learners***

*Classrooms are rarely homogeneous, whether in terms of religious, cultural, social or ethnic origin. Individual learners bring their own backgrounds, preconceptions, personal emotions, and concerns. Additionally, public debate and current political issues will affect how learners approach the topic. The diverse nature of each classroom and ongoing public debates offer multiple possibilities to make the Holocaust relevant for learners and engage them in the topic. Be sensitive to the feelings and opinions of learners, especially on issues of real concern to them. Create opportunities to discuss these issues openly. Be prepared to examine other histories of genocide, racism, enslavement, persecution, or colonialism in the modern world. Take care to clearly distinguish between different cases including the causes and nature of each. Discuss the difference between “comparing” and “equating.” Some learners who feel that the historical or contemporary suffering and persecution of groups they identify with has not been addressed may be resistant to learning about the persecution and murder of others. Ensure learners have the opportunity to learn about other such issues, in different learning contexts and ensure that such considerations avoid becoming exercises in weighing relative suffering (see 3.5.2).*

IHRA (2019:27)

It is this principle that needs developing to ensure that diverse classrooms (those that hold children with any form of trauma and in particular refugee students), are prepared for

learning about the Holocaust. My recommendation is to ensure there is adequate preparation and reflection time, which may lead to some difficult conversations. It is paramount that reflection time is built into the curriculum time devoted to the Holocaust (see for example, Meseth and Proske, 2014; Richardson, 2012; Short and Reed 2004; Stevick and Michaels, 2013), but this needs to be meaningful. It is not enough to simply ask how students are at the end of the learning or ask them to think about what they have learnt. It is important to ensure that they believe, and are, in a safe learning environment to explore the complex history and their own emotions about it. There needs to be preparatory work with students, before exposing them to the topic. It was clear from the findings presented here that students did not know what to expect when they were learning about the Holocaust which furthered some of the trauma experienced. It was important for them to have had conversations about empathy and comparisons, which, although difficult, are necessary. It is understandable that with enquiry-based learning in History (Mohamud and Whitburn, 2016; Wong 2010) teachers may not want to have some of these preparatory conversations at the beginning of the learning for fear of 'ruining' the surprise of the enquiry. This however is easy to avoid by being more general with explanations and preparatory conversations. It is important to remember that these conversations will help enhance the learning and engagement for all students in the classroom, rather than decrease their engagement. As the IHRA recommendation shows, the diverse classrooms "offer multiple possibilities to make the Holocaust relevant for learners and engage them in the topic" (IHRA, 2019:27) and this will still be the case with these conversations, if not more so, as it gives students an opportunity to understand each other more.

Empathy is important to discuss here too. It was clear from the research that refugee students in particular empathised significantly more throughout the learning and on reflection than other students. This is novel when looking at refugee students learning about the Holocaust. In looking at trauma and the Holocaust, Marrus (2002) explored the inability of Allied military personnel assigned to Displaced Persons' care to comprehend the backgrounds or sensitivities of the displaced people. Despite being horrified by the sights at Belsen, liberators often failed to see the victims as fellow creatures because horror has very little to do with sympathy. Sympathy demands some common experience, which is what some of these students may relate to. Papadopoulos (2002) focuses on refugee trauma and psychotherapy, where the ideas of empathy, withdrawal and engagement are looked at further.

In the classroom, it is important to remember the diversity of students that are present, refugee or not. What was clear from this research was that there were very few 'what about me' conversations that students had, and more of a realisation that the Holocaust was relevant and important to learn about because of the similarities to their worldviews. As Critchell (2016) suggests, the increase of discussion surrounding memories of the Holocaust has meant that other stories of victimisation have been heard within the national narrative. This is because the memories of different groups interact to enhance each other (Rothberg, 2009). This is clear in this research and showcases the idea of 'othering', raised when looking at refugee student education (Eisenbruch, 1988). This links to the IHRA point above, as it encourages educators to be sensitive to all learners, opinions and feelings, and the issues that concern them. For many, this may be their identity and suffering that they may have experienced (IHRA, 2019:27). If ignored completely they may resist learning about the persecution of Jews in this context, but it is also important to ensure that comparisons are not made, and empathy is not used as a tool. This can happen through appropriate conversations.

Firstly, it is important to ensure that students understand that emotions are a source of knowledge. By using trauma-informed teaching practice (Carello and Butler 2014, 2015; Crosby et al., 2018), teachers can recognise students' existing trauma and ensure that nothing further is caused that could be avoided. Conversations need to recognise and acknowledge that learning about mass violence can be traumatic and reassure students they are in a supportive and safe learning environment. It is paramount to examine the historical and contemporary connections without comparing them and is vital that students know that learning about the Holocaust is complex, and their educators will not be simplifying it for them. Educators need to not dictate any expected emotions from the students. This research has shown that those expectations, when not met can cause disengagement, and they do not allow for the fact that all students react differently when learning about the Holocaust.

Secondly, it is important to explore the idea of empathy and its complications. This research has shown that refugee students showed more empathy towards the victims in the Holocaust and so experienced more emotions and emotional discomfort during their studies. Because of this, conversations must be had with students before they start learning about the Holocaust. Teachers must ensure that their teaching helps students understand and rehumanise attitudes and actions in a historical context, both of victims and perpetrators. Teachers must, however, explain and explore why it is important for students

to not imagine themselves in the situation, put themselves in victims', rescuers', bystanders' or perpetrators' shoes (Clements, 2006; Gubkin, 2015). Rather, they should be encouraged to see these people as individuals, and, using testimony, understand why they made the decisions or held the attitudes they held. Students do not need to not have empathy for the victims, as this understanding helps students discuss the complexities of the Holocaust more meaningfully, and keeps students emotionally and cognitively engaged. The conversations held must explain to students that as they were not there, and can never be, they cannot empathise with victims or others fully, and it is dangerous to do so as it loses the historical accuracy of how these things happened. Students must make connections with what they are learning to contemporary events without making comparisons (Cowan and Maitles, 2002; Short and Reed, 2017; Short, 2000). It is important here to distinguish between the history of the Holocaust, and what can be learnt from that history. These conversations need to take place *before* learning so that students can feel involved, emotionally, cognitively and behaviourally, and can ensure that they are not put through emotional turmoil learning about the Holocaust. This is particularly important with refugee students as teachers often do not know their stories and situations and it is important that the suffering of others is not compared or appropriated.

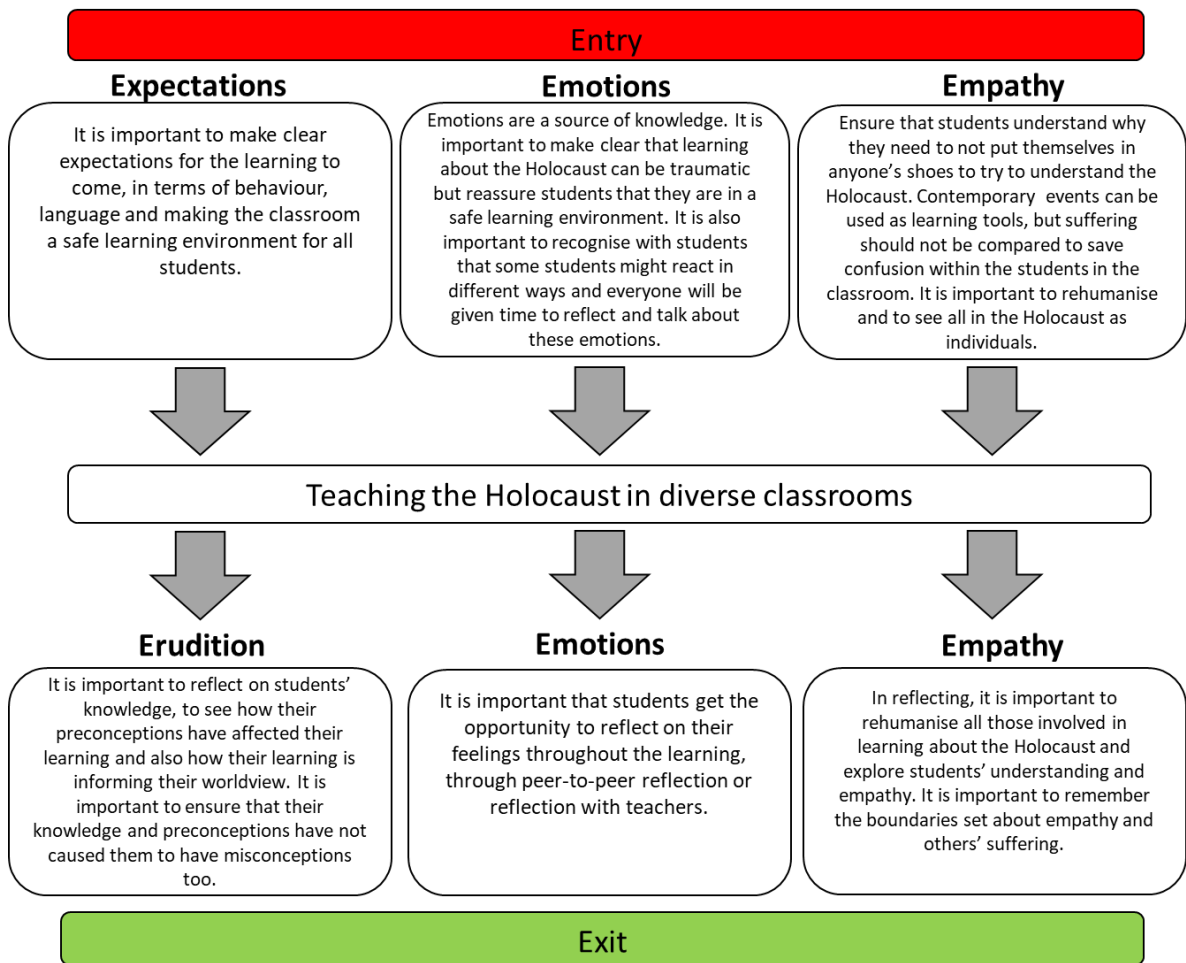
There are organisations elsewhere in the world, for example 'Echoes and Reflections' based in America<sup>104</sup>, whose guidance to teachers states that they need to "ensure that we bring them "safely in and safely out"" of their learning, particularly when they are "studying the Holocaust virtually and also experiencing greater stress and uncertainty in the world"<sup>105</sup>. The problem here is that they too, provide no more guidance on what this entails. Their "safely out" guidance states that as teachers and educators, we need to "help students reflect on their emotional reactions to this history. Encourage them to debrief after lessons by structuring text-to-self and text-to-world connections" both individually and in groups (especially when online learning is involved). This research has shown that there is a gap in what exactly might be needed for the preparation stage. Therefore, I am suggesting that for the preparation, or entry into learning, there are three considerations as seen in **Figure 3** below.

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<sup>104</sup> Echoes and Reflections founded in 2005 in the USA, partnered with the ADL, USC Shoah Foundation and Yad Vashem to provide training and resources to teachers about teaching the Holocaust. More information here <https://echoesandreflections.org/about/> [accessed 4/8/2020].

<sup>105</sup> The Guidance can be found online [https://echoesandreflections.org/wp-content/themes/twentyxixechoes/fileview.php?source=1&file\\_nm=2020/03/Guidance-for-Bringing-Students-Safely-in-and-Safely-out-of-Holocaust-Learning.pdf](https://echoesandreflections.org/wp-content/themes/twentyxixechoes/fileview.php?source=1&file_nm=2020/03/Guidance-for-Bringing-Students-Safely-in-and-Safely-out-of-Holocaust-Learning.pdf) [accessed 7/8/2020].

Fig. 3: The six Es model for entrance into, and exit out of Holocaust learning.



These recommendations ensure that all the emotional complexities evident in the research and the empathy and understanding from refugee students as well as the poor behavioural and emotional engagement that was explained by some students' attitudes in the interviews, are all prepared for and expectations are set for students and teachers. The reflection, or exit process needs to be similar. It is paramount that students feel that they are in a safe space to process their emotions throughout, and there needs to be space for students to reflect at the end of every lesson, not just at the end of the unit of work or day of study. As seen in this research, different aspects of the topic affected different students, which shows the importance of continual reflection, not just at the end. As discussed above, the reflection needs to be meaningful and ensure that the actions above are reflected on. Figure 3 above, shows these six Es for entrance and exit of Holocaust education.

These recommendations are not intended to replace the principles that exist for teaching and learning about the Holocaust, but to compliment them and provide additional guidance on how to ensure diverse classrooms are successful. This recommendation therefore is for

thorough and built-in preparatory conversations before learning about the Holocaust, and meaningful reflection afterwards to minimise trauma and ensure that the Holocaust is taught well, and safely. As the Holocaust slides from living memory, we need to ensure that it is taught well to ensure no disservice to those that died or survived, or to the students that learn about it for the first time. It is complex enough in its history and chronology that we need to help work through the emotional complications that come with it. After all, student well-being is a moral duty for all teachers and educators (Part Two of the Teacher Standards denotes the duty of teachers to safeguard student well-being (DfE, 2011)).

#### **7.4.2 National Narratives in an International Classroom**

There are clear national narratives around the Holocaust (Critchell, 2016; 2020; Finkelstein, 2000; Fracapane and Hass, 2014; Pearce, 2020, 2020b). One example of this is *Holocaust Memorial Day*. The narratives in the UK around teaching, learning and remembering the Holocaust are developed around political foci and pressures. Holocaust Memorial Day has now been politicised (or de-politicised) to include seven other genocides<sup>106</sup>. The national narratives affect the Holocaust in the classroom because the national narratives reflect the mood and government influence at the time, of which the educational policy and focus is shifted towards (Anderson, 2017; Grever and Van der Viles, 2017). Teachers are encouraged to teach the Holocaust in a way that manifests a perpetrator-down view, looking at victim agency and perhaps portraying the British in a positive light for their actions (Kushner, 2020; Lawson and Pearce, 2020) - removing the Holocaust from the realms of students of Year 9 age being able to understand. Additionally, the diversity that an inner-city school like the one in this study brings. One example is refugee students. As mentioned above with increased empathy and understanding, yet large misconceptions that these students had, without providing additional trauma or singling them out for being 'others' (Rutter, 2006) the diversity and understanding nature of the refugee students is one to be championed and replicated within the classroom. If we take into account the breadth of research, and the empirical data from this study, it is important to remember that the national narrative, although not untruthful, does not utilise the breadth of experience of all students in the classroom (Lawson and Pearce, 2020). Their diverse backgrounds and experiences are a resource to teachers and educators alike. Both this study and the CHE's 2009 study have shown that there are some teachers that feel a closer community or personal connection to

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<sup>106</sup> The Communities Department within the government decide what is commemorated, and what is or is not considered a genocide in the UK. This itself is political as even committees in Parliament favour the ruling party.

other historical events and therefore the Holocaust too (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Pettigrew, 2020). Moreover, in the 2009 study, teachers commented that diversity in the classroom should not, and did not affect the way that they teach the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al, 2009; Pettigrew, 2020). From the teachers' responses during this study, we can see that this changes throughout the scheme of learning. Teachers edit the way that they teach to fit the students in their class, as they should<sup>107</sup>, but when it comes to a topic such as the Holocaust, their preconceptions of the students' preconceptions seem to have more of an impact on the teaching. Eksner (2015) warned of this in a way, that as the students' identifications are in part dependent on teachers' (and others') expectations and constructions on their identity, there is no need to make this worse through teachers' preconceptions and through being unreflexive. This research has shown as much, and in some ways it is important to ensure that the emotive preparations are done before the learning starts so that the diversity within the classroom can be embraced, something that is important both to ensure that the students feel welcome, can develop their understanding of the Holocaust and additionally do not feel resentment or fatigue towards learning about others.

In terms of the diversity in the classroom, this research looked at refugee students, but it is important to note that the sample was socio-economically diverse, as well as diverse in ability and gender. All these have impacts on students' engagement with learning about the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009) but it was the students' opinions and preconceptions that this study focussed on. When teaching about the British, they are often portrayed in a positive light (Lawson and Pearce, 2020). Although the school that this research took place in, did not do this, it was still seen when students explored their understanding of why they studied the Holocaust.

What we have seen from this study is that the understanding of all students when they get to the classroom stems from primary school learning, home and the 'other' part – the part where they cannot recall where they have heard about it and where they have learnt the things that they have but an awareness of doing so. Importantly, refugee students, and the students whose parents were refugees mostly had a lot more to say about their opinions, understandings and empathies learning about the Holocaust. Conversely, we could look at the opposite, classrooms in other locations that are not as diverse, more white-British

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<sup>107</sup> Teacher standards in the UK are set by the government, to which all teachers need to adhere. Teacher Standard 5 states that "A teacher must: Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils". More information: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/665522/Teachers\\_standard\\_information.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/665522/Teachers_standard_information.pdf) [accessed 30/07/2020].



'national' classrooms learning about the national narrative on the Holocaust (Lawson and Pearce, 2020). Without the dialogue, the questions and well-challenged preconceptions, as well as the ideas and understanding that develop from diversity in the classroom, there may be more challenges than seen here (Cowan and Maitles, 2012; Pearce, 2020). The research shows some students, of British background that were reluctant to learn and completely disengaged in all aspects from learning about the Holocaust. From the conversations with these students it was the limited exposure to others and their cultural background leading to a lack of understanding of others that meant they came across as ignorant and insensitive, as well as reluctant (Short, 2013).

If the Holocaust is to be taught as a transformative tool (this will be explored below) it is important that teachers embrace the diversity and experiences of all students in the classroom, to ensure this. There will always be exceptions, students that are unwilling to engage through their own preconceptions, perspectives beliefs, or experiences – some refugee students were far more reluctant to talk about life at home than others. This needs to be dealt with on a case by case basis but is also something that with preparation and reflection, could be limited even more. Therefore, if the national narrative is to be followed in the classroom, it is important to ensure that Holocaust education can embrace the diversity in the classroom without it becoming a barrier. It is important to embrace all students' backgrounds and make the learning relevant where possible to their experiences. This is more difficult in classrooms where there is no diversity and perhaps can be made slightly better with the preparation time put in as discussed above, particularly as for students in this situation, this could be the first time they have learnt about how bad the world can be.

The recommendations for teaching the Holocaust in a diverse classroom therefore are to ensure that the preparation and reflection time is built in and to embrace the diversity of the classroom. Use students' knowledge and experience to enhance the learning rather than as a barrier to what teachers feel they can talk and teach about. The diverse nature of this school showed that more students were fully engaged with learning about the Holocaust as the classes' diverse make-up was embraced, the learning was made relevant, and the understanding was framed in a way to ensure that it was about learning that was relevant to them and therefore removed the sense of disengagement and resentment to learn from the majority of students.

### 7.4.3 Culture in the classroom

Through the discussions arising from the Black Lives Matter movement and subsequent outpouring of antisemitic social media posts from one of the biggest UK grime artists, Wiley<sup>108</sup>, that the importance of this study and its implications became clearer to me. In 2018, the CST recorded its highest number of antisemitic incidents reported since its establishment in the 1990s. The number has risen each year (Community Security Trust, 2018) and became particularly prevalent when antisemitism became part of political discourse and a media focus. The rise in reported antisemitism is not just a British issue. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018) conducted a 12-nation study on the perceptions and experiences of antisemitism, which showed that the majority of Jews had apprehensions that antisemitism was on the rise. In the USA in 2018 and 2019, there were two large-scale antisemitic attacks on worshippers at different synagogues in different states. Antisemitism has, as Pearce described it, “become a ‘persistent presence’ across the West” (2020: 19).

The most common way governments seek to deal with this is through Holocaust education (Schoen and Confino, 2019). If that is the sole aim of Holocaust education, what we teach needs to change to ensure students understand the history of antisemitism, antisemitism in pre-war Jewish life, during the Holocaust, and since liberation. However, addressing and dealing with antisemitism through teaching and learning about the Holocaust could be problematic and lead to more issues than it solves (Davenport, 2018; UNESCO and OSCE, 2018; Pearce, 2020). Nevertheless, the British government have used the rise in antisemitism to further their national narrative and legitimise Holocaust education to combat antisemitism (Pearce, 2020b; Pickles, 2015). If Holocaust education is the answer to combatting antisemitism then the nature of the antisemitism needs to be explored further, as Pearce et. al (2020) allude to. This is not new, or something that is exclusive to antisemitism. There have been increased calls to look at how British colonialism and Black History, in particular the Slave Trade, is taught to combat the issues of racism in British society<sup>109</sup>. To combat antisemitism in the classroom rather than just learn about the Holocaust and Nazism, it is important to explore what exists in the classroom and how this develops, as well as the schools’ cultures.

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<sup>108</sup> See <https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/wiley-tweets-anti-semitic-what-say-twitter-grime-artist-explained-563487> [accessed 15/8/2020]

<sup>109</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jun/08/calls-mount-for-black-history-to-be-taught-to-all-uk-school-pupils> [accessed 25/8/2020]

This research shows that students were aware of what antisemitism is, being able to give definitions of what it is and how it was part of the Holocaust. What it did show was that students explored a large number of antisemitic sentiments, in the interviews and in lessons I was present in. Some of the comments were not explicit or were off-task, so it was easy to see why teachers ignored this in the classroom, as a behaviour management tool (Parsonson, 2012) or because the teacher did not feel confident in tackling the problem head on, as seen by some of the teacher awareness of possible challenges that they expressed before the learning. This can be developed with teacher training, but also through making the links between antisemitism then and now explicit. If the Holocaust is taught even partly to educate against antisemitism then students and teachers need to be conscious of the similarities and differences, and teachers need to have the confidence to pull students up on antisemitic comments without fear of making them feel like their opinions or experiences are unimportant. This has been present in the politics of the Left and the Black Lives Matter movement in the last couple of years<sup>110</sup> and is seen in the classroom throughout this research. Without a hard line on antisemitism in the classroom from teachers, it is easy for students to learn about the Holocaust still holding contemporary antisemitic views which are not challenged by the classroom culture. This raises questions over whether the antisemitisms are different. Is the antisemitism that is learnt about with the anti-Jewish laws, the ghettos, the death camps, etc., over? Has that finished and is it different to the antisemitism that exists now? It is clear that in some cases in this research, students felt like there was no such thing as antisemitism anymore as Hitler lost the war.

The UCL studies (Foster et al., 2016; Pettigrew et al., 2009) showed that young people did not have an understanding of antisemitism. In both studies students said that they can define antisemitism, which could be seen as understanding it, but that students could not process the similarities or differences between historic anti-Jewish prejudice and more modern, secular antisemitism. The latter is similar to what was found in this research – the students knew what antisemitism was, but not that it still existed in similar forms for similar reasons. There are a few things to be considered here:

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<sup>110</sup> See discussion above about anti-racism. This adds to the topic when the left is virulently pro-Palestinian in so far that the comments made about Israel become antisemitic. There is also an issue within the 'Left' that means there is always a call to ensure no one is missed out of blanket explanations, there is no, other-ness or it could be argued, complete otherness, exploring everybody's individualism. For a more academic discussion on this, see Hirsch (2018).

- How comfortable are teachers teaching about antisemitism, do they understand the links and differences between the antisemitism from the Holocaust period and more contemporary antisemitism?
- How much are teachers ensuring that students are aware that the Holocaust was systematic, planned murder of Jews?
- The history of antisemitism is not something that teachers always consider teaching to students, more often than not (Pearce et al., 2020) and therefore it is difficult for students to understand how antisemitism was the cornerstone for the Holocaust and the answer to the “Why the Jews?”. It is worth teachers ensuring their own knowledge and planning in this lesson for students. Is there a way that teachers can become more confident in their knowledge to ensure antisemitism is taught to all students learning about the Holocaust?
- What are the teachers’ aims for teaching about the Holocaust, why do they teach it and how does this relate to students’ knowledge and understanding?

The problem here is not just the preparation and the narratives, or school culture, but also the use of the word *antisemitism*. Issues can be raised such as whether the word antisemitism is it too difficult, and whether it throws up too many complicated associations. There are other words that could be used in its place, but it is important to explore whether they contain the same history and understanding. It could be worth being able to explain the exact meaning of the history and persecution without complicating things for students already learning about something complex. When students learn about other racisms, it is easier for them to understand. Islamophobia, for example, explains on reading, exactly what it means much more than a word like antisemitism. A different word like ‘Judeophobia’ or ‘anti-Jewish’ could help students understand more. These questions, which have developed through some of the answers that came from this research link into the perennial question of the aims of teaching the Holocaust (for some examples, see Eckmann et al., 2014; Foster et al., 2016; Hector, 2000; Pettigrew et al., 2009; Russell, 2006; Supple, 1992). One thing is clear from this small study; without challenging and learning about contemporary antisemitism, it is problematic to use teaching the Holocaust as antisemitism education.

There are other aspects of classroom learning culture that are important to consider. The Israel-Palestine question, antisemitic comments over this and the what about ‘others’ (be that victims of Nazi persecution or studying other genocides). It was clear from the research that a number of students were very concerned about the Israel-Palestine connections to both their own story and of what they were learning. Some students held strong personal

views, but these students were also those who were most engaged and could articulate the relevance of learning the Holocaust the most, many being refugee students. The national narrative of learning about the Holocaust is also seen on a smaller scale when we look at the culture of schools (Pearce, 2020b). Schools, particularly those diverse, inner-city secondary schools often pride themselves on being anti-racist. It tends to be the thing that is presented to Ofsted, parents, teachers and students, and there are school certificates awarded as proof of this<sup>111</sup>. It could be the school is a values-driven anti-racist school with moral standards put on children, or so they can have a certificate to show that they once did some work on educating students on how to spot racism. Neither is any better than the other. It could be questioned that by imposing the schools' moral standards on students, we are expecting, in the case of refugee students as a clear example, students to be antiracist, but this blanket term does not allow for diversity and ignores individuals (Dei, 1996). A more contemporary example would be the phrase "All Lives Matter" used innocently at first by people who thought they were being inclusive. This phrase was then adopted by white opposers to the Black Lives Matter movement<sup>112</sup>. This blanket term ignores those who need their voices and cause to be amplified and ignores the diversity, important for success in a diverse society. Therefore, in the classroom, where Short (2008), Pearce et al., (2020), Foster et al (2016) and Pettigrew et al. (2009) state that there are no antisemitic sentiments in the classroom, this could be because of the time, the geopolitical situations, and the lack of recognising it by the teachers as seen in this research. Some students were unaware that their comments and views were antisemitic, as no one had explained that to them or corrected them. This anti-racism culture in schools therefore expects students to take part in being anti-racist, and for some refugee students holding these views, if not explained properly because of the lack of understanding of the diversity of students in the schools, they could be amplified when learning about the Holocaust. Some students, as seen in this research, did not think that they were being racist with their views, it was just their experience. By listening to the story of Jews in the classroom and being told to withhold their views, or not acknowledge them, this might cause those antisemitic feelings to be pushed further underground and be harboured until those students are out of the 'anti-

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<sup>111</sup> There are a number of awards that schools can supply evidence to receive. One is a new award for anti-racism from Leeds Beckett (<https://www.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/blogs/carnegie-education/2020/10/schools-eligible-for-award-launched-to-promote-anti-racism/> [accessed 17/11/2020]) but other organisations such as "Show Racism the Red Card" have been doing work with schools and providing certificates for work done for the last 10 years. <https://www.theredcard.org/education> [accessed 17/11/2020]

<sup>112</sup> See <https://www.vox.com/2016/7/11/12136140/black-all-lives-matter> [accessed 24/8/2020] and <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/philosophy/black-lives-matter-essay-why-is-saying-all-lives-matter-wrong> [accessed 24/8/2020] for more information on All Lives Matter discussions.

racist' environment. To counteract this, meaningful antiracist education is needed, antiracist education that does not cover over, or belittle the experiences of refugees or other students in the classroom who may have experiences that lead to their worldview. It is one of the fundamental parts of refugee education, to embrace the diversity (Rutter, 2006) and if this means to acknowledge racist views in the classroom before exploring them more, then this is necessary.

The recommendation here is that once students have been prepared for what they are studying, the diversity of the classroom has been embraced and reflections built in, students need to learn about antisemitism. The long history of it, to not just know what the word means, but to see how this is relevant to their learning but also contemporary understanding of antisemitism. Resources can be created for antiracism, antisemitism, those that teach about other victims of Nazi persecution and other more contemporary genocides, and contemporary antisemitism. This means that the diversity of the classroom and other experiences can be taught, and the relevance of learning about the Holocaust can be explored. It also means that students will be able to understand why the Jews perished in the Holocaust and how modern antisemitism still exists in society, but students do not feel like they are only learning about Jews. Information sheets should be widely available for teachers to be able to answer questions that come up often and widely, about Israel-Palestine and Jewish conspiracies, to give them confidence in broaching the subject and calling out antisemitism and racism in the classroom, to ensure that the culture of the classroom is antiracist. There is an element of teacher confidence that comes in to play here (Foster et al., 2016; Pettigrew et al., 2009) but there is also a need to change what is taught when teaching about the Holocaust.

As Mohamud and Whitburn (2016) state, doing justice to history is different to doing justice to other disciplines because of the moral and intellectual dimensions, and as justice arises in all topics. Throughout this research, even the students with blatant antisemitic views, did not have a lack of engagement or enthusiasm in learning about the Holocaust. There was also very little resentment of learning about the Holocaust from students who believed their backgrounds should be studied too. Significantly, this gives hope and excitement that learning about the Holocaust is as relevant now as it ever has been.

#### **7.4.4 Other sensitive histories**

Through preparation, reflection, embracing diversity and changing the culture in the classrooms, the development of Holocaust education for all students will improve. In the

climate of 2020-21 the usefulness of these these guidelines for other histories needs to be considered. This is mentioned in the IHRA (2019) principle above, in that teachers should “*be prepared to examine other histories of genocide, racism, enslavement, persecution, or colonialism in the modern world*”. This way, students who identify with other groups<sup>113</sup> who have suffered or been persecuted, and who may be resistant to learning about the persecution and murder of others (Lawson, 2014) will have an opportunity to study and discuss this too. This is not about the exploration of other histories and creating an opportunity to compare relative suffering. ‘Sensitive’ histories here, means the histories that are tied into pain, suffering and identity. Those that are not as over-simplified as the white British slave-owning, colonialising histories of the past that teachers were used to teaching. For example, Black British History, and Black History in general. Using this as an example, we can see how the principles for Holocaust education and the findings from this research are relevant to other pedagogies within History.

Britain’s past of being on the “wrong side of history” (Marr, 2009:34) has led to much resentment about how History is being taught in schools, including calls for reform of how Black History is taught<sup>114</sup>. Although developing fast (see Mohamud and Whitburn, 2016 for example), there is still resentment from both teachers and students to how History is taught, and which histories are favoured<sup>115</sup>. Pearce et al. (2020) explored some of the resentment from students learning about the Holocaust, where A Level students discussed why the Holocaust was studied. One student suggested that the Holocaust was included so “you see Britain, as like they are doing a good thing, so you do not really think about the bad things they might have done” (p190). Other students spoke about how it was more important to learn about the British Empire and what the British Empire did (both good and bad), rather than learning about the Holocaust as much as they did. A final student said that the National Curriculum just talks about “how our tiny island ruled this many countries, which shows its power. It does not tell you about all the people who died, and ...lost their freedom” (p191). What was clear from this research too was although these students do not articulate any resentment at learning about the Holocaust, there is a need to learn about other histories too. Other sensitive histories need to be taught with the same amount of rigour, interest,

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<sup>113</sup> other than ‘White British’ or those being studied about when learning about the Holocaust – namely Jews

<sup>114</sup> As discussed above, additionally see <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jun/08/calls-mount-for-black-history-to-be-taught-to-all-uk-school-pupils> [accessed 25/8/2020]

<sup>115</sup> Not for discussion in this thesis but it is worth thinking about how the perception of “favoured” histories – those that are noted in the National Curriculum, versus those that are not – could help to further cement ideas of antisemitism in the wider society.

and defining principles, as the Holocaust. To teach these other histories well, we need to ensure a “secure position for the field...a vibrant exploration of neglected histories, calling upon History teachers...to establish strong connections” (Mohamud and Whitburn, 2016:7).

What we do not want to create is a situation where students in the classroom are “othered” as was avoided in the creation of the research instrument. To create an inclusive environment rather than exclusive, where histories are not compared for relative suffering or future impacts, but as historical events that are about people. Mohamud and Whitburn during the 2020 History Association conference, posited the idea of ‘reckoning’. This adds an ethical dimension to all History teaching, but the understanding is that, for example with Black History, there has been no reckoning for the past, unlike for example, the Nuremberg trials. This is why there is such unrest and disagreement over Black History, and why organisations such as the Black Lives Matter movement argue for increased education. A search for reckoning can be through education – something that we have explored with the idea of abolishing of antisemitism through learning about the Holocaust, so the development of other histories should be based on similar, relevant principles to that of Holocaust education.

This research is relevant because of the understanding of refugee students in the classroom. Most refugee students have not had their ‘reckoning’ and this puts their learning in a separate place to other students in the classroom. However, as Spafford (2016) discusses, students are not empty vessels, we need to not see them as such, as this research shows. Students have wisdom and experience that teachers can add to. His classroom, one where they tackled the question of why refugees in Britain were treated differently, is an example of how the classroom should be. A place where difficult issues are tackled by adults and children simultaneously, so issues can be faced, the students can grow and understand. As both Spafford (2016) and Richardson (2012) explored, students are underestimated in their intelligence, creativity and solidarity, all of which need space in the classroom to grow. Exploring sensitive histories can do this. As recommended, it is important to remember that refugees have their own story, which teachers should be aware of, when teaching about any history.

To ensure change, both within Jewish and Black communities in the UK, we need to be prepared to think radically about the way that we teach sensitive histories, through research and planning to develop curricula and reform pedagogy (Mohamud and Whitburn, 2016). Racism and xenophobia are not synonymous (Wistrich, 2013), but both prevalent in British



society (and classrooms) (Mohamud and Whitburn, 2016). People of colour are not subject to the same treatment as white foreigners to Britain and if the most popular way of affecting change in these systematic issues is through education (Daventry, 2018; Pearce, 2020) then we need to ensure that it is done well. For Black History, for example, teaching about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (a topic which many schools do superficially for Black History) needs to be taught better (Mohamud and Whitburn, 2016). Thinking about the language and the people involved, providing a history and impact of the loss (Gordon, 2020). Preparation and reflection time is needed, the culture in the classroom needs to be developed and individuals in the classroom considered in the teaching of these topics to make them meaningful and relevant. Therefore, the implications from this research, and the guiding principles for teaching about the Holocaust can be used for teaching about other sensitive topics in History, from the Haitian revolution, to the Slave Trade, the Holocaust to the Israel-Palestine conflict and others in between.

## **7.5 Future teaching**

The four amendments suggested above (7.3.2), the empirical evidence presented here and the body of research that existed already, show the Holocaust as a complex issue, and the teaching and learning around it reflects this. Although narratives within the Holocaust are diverse, when it comes to teaching about it in England there is a clear-cut national narrative evident, which is often at odds to the lessons being taught (Lawson and Pearce, 2020). Therefore, within the constraints of policy, academia and emotion, teaching the Holocaust is complex and needs to be nuanced. The four recommendations for teaching about the Holocaust are:

1. Teachers and curriculum leaders should ensure adequate preparation and reflection time are built into the curriculum around the Holocaust.
2. Teachers should embrace the diversity within classrooms to move away from national narratives in an international classroom.
3. Teachers should ensure that the culture in the classroom recognises the aims of teaching the Holocaust. There should be no space for antisemitism in the History classroom and this does not ignore other experiences.
4. Teachers should use these understandings of the culture and make-up of the classroom for teaching about all sensitive topics in History.

Through acknowledging and implementing these recommendations, Holocaust education can fulfil its goals of transformation and knowledge. Teachers' focus on Holocaust education has been to teach the knowledge and for some, it has been to change attitudes of those in the classroom (Pettigrew et al., 2009). This comes with issues, particularly when the classroom is very diverse, and includes students from refugee backgrounds. Their emotional learning has been acknowledged as far as an awareness of it, but not developed into practice, and therefore the emotional strains on all students learning about the Holocaust diminishes the learning that they could have had. By implementing these recommendations and finding a way to do so, students can begin to understand the complexity of the Holocaust whilst developing their diverse experience of learning about it with less trauma and more understanding of its contemporary relevance.

## **7.6 Conclusions**

At the start of this PhD journey, I had been on numerous teacher study visits, teaching the Holocaust in schools for seven years, a refugee mentor and trainer, an educator with the HET on their programmes such as Lessons from Auschwitz, and had completed the MA module on Holocaust education from UCL. Six years later, nothing had prepared me for what I have had to do for this research - stepping back from all these experiences, forgetting much of what I had learnt and really listening to the students. The moments of clarity in the process were few and far between, but powerful when they occurred, and I find myself now, returning to teaching after a break away as an education officer for the HET. After all this I am reflecting on the value and importance of this study. Thankfully I am confident that this research is contributing importantly to the field of Holocaust education. This has been in part through its dissemination at conferences and seminars (for example, the British Association of Jewish Studies, the British Association of Holocaust Studies, Boundary Crossing, and a Residential Teacher Training Course) and further papers summarising my findings are currently due to be published in *Holocaust Studies*, *Teaching History* and on blogs from the Refugee Outreach and Research Network and the Association of Jewish Refugees. This piece of doctoral research has practical implications for teachers and curriculum designers and if the findings are applied appropriately, the teaching and learning quality of the Holocaust and other sensitive historical topics can be improved. The Holocaust is a daunting subject to teach (Pettigrew et al, 2009), a controversial subject to teach (Finkelstein, 2000) and a difficult subject to teach (Foster et al., 2016). But, echoing Cesarani's sentiments (2001:54), that when "taught properly, the events of 1933-45 remain

disturbingly relevant”, Student 17 and 31’s words of wisdom explain why the Holocaust remains important to teach, to all students:

“yeah it might be scary [to learn about] but it’s more important than forgetting something completely”.

- **Student 17**

“everything is relevant in History, it’s very important, cos if you don’t know History, if you don’t know the past, how can you move in the future, it’s very important that you learn the past”.

- **Student 31**

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### **Films and TV**

Schindler's List (1993) Directed by S. Spielberg (film) Universal Pictures.

The Boy In the Striped Pyjamas, (2008) Directed by Mark Herman (film) BBC films/Miramax

## **Appendix A: Consent Form for Students**

### **Information sheet**

Thank you for your interest in taking part in the research about teaching and learning the Holocaust at XXX School. Before you decide to take part in this study it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. A member of the team can be contacted if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

### **What is the research about?**

The research will be conducted by Jessica Kempner, from the University of Winchester. She has been a History teacher for a while and is interested in how you learn about the holocaust. She will be looking at the different ways students learn about the Holocaust in schools. You have been chosen for the study as you are studying the Holocaust this term. By agreeing to participate, you will be allowing Jessica to come and watch four of your lessons, and you will be part of two half-hour interviews outside of your History lessons so that you can be asked about your understanding of the Holocaust and learning about it. The research will be completed by May half term (24<sup>th</sup> May 2019).

### **What happens if I am sad or upset by things I speak about?**

If you chose to participate, you will be helping research ideas around the teaching of the Holocaust in Secondary schools. Should you come across anything that leaves you feeling sad or upset, there will be people you can speak to and confide in at school: your History teacher, XXXXXXXXXX, Miss XXXXXXXXXX or Miss XXXXXXXXXX.

### **Do I have to take part?**

The most important thing to understand about the research is that your participation is entirely voluntary, you do not have to do it if you do not want to, and should you not want to participate, or want to withdraw from the project and stop being a part of the research, you can do so at any time, now or in the future, without any implications on you, your teacher or your school lessons. There are no benefits to you from taking part.

### **What happens with my data? Will people be able to know it was me?**

Your data will be collected and stored securely, and only necessary data will be collected. It will be confidential and anonymised – meaning no one should be able to tell that any of it is you, even when the research is published. All data will be identified only by a code, with personal details kept in a locked file or secure computer with access only by the immediate research team. The recordings from interviews will be identified only by a code and will not be used or made available for any purposes other than the research project. These recordings will be destroyed at the end of the study. The data that is collected could be re-used in the future for things like conferences and papers that Jessica may publish.

When the results are drawn up, school and your History teachers will be provided with a summary of the findings.

### **What happens if I am unhappy with the research or I have a question?**

Should you have any questions or queries, please contact Jessica on [j.kempner.15@unimail.winchester.ac.uk](mailto:j.kempner.15@unimail.winchester.ac.uk)

The project has been reviewed by the University of Winchester Ethics Committee. Should you have further questions, or have any concerns, you can contact Dr Samantha Scallan, Chair of the Ethics Committee and the University Data Protection Officer, Joseph Dilger. University of Winchester, Sparkford Road, Winchester, SO22 4NR or on 01962 827234.

### **Can I stop being a part of the research?**

Please be ensured, should you give consent and wish to continue with the research, you may withdraw at any time, you will not need to give a reason and it will have no implication on you or your school work.

Thank you for your interest, if you wish to continue, please fill in the consent form attached.

Jessica Kempner

### **Student consent**

**Research Title: Student engagement with Holocaust Education.**

**Researcher's Name: Jessica Kempner, University of Winchester.**

I have read the participation information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask the researcher any further questions I may have had.

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time from the study without affecting my treatment at school in any way.

I understand that the risks to me are minimal in this study and have read the information sheet and asked any questions I may have about the risks.

I understand that I will be involved in individual audio recorded interviews and that photographs may be taken of my work.

My name or photographs will not be used to identify my comments or work in the study.

If I have any concerns regarding the way the research is or has been conducted I can contact Dr Samantha Scallan, Chair of the Ethics Committee and the University Data Protection Officer, Joseph Dilger. University of Winchester, Sparkford Road, Winchester, SO22 4NR or on +44 (0) 1962 827234.

By signing below I am consenting to (please tick and initial in the large box):

- Taking part in a series of lessons about the Holocaust in my classroom with my teacher.
- Having audio recorded interviews with the researcher asking me about my work and learning experiences.
- Having copies and photos of my work taken for work samples demonstrating my learning experiences. (The photographs will only be of my work and not of me.)
- I understand that information from me will be used for a thesis and other published studies and I consent for it to be used in this manner.

**Signed:**

**Name:**

**Date:**



## Appendix B: Sample breakdown details

### Appendix 1: Sample breakdown details

Table 1 shows the breakdown of pupil premium indicated eligibility across the samples.

**Table 1: Sample by socio-economic status**

	Exit surveys	Group interviews	Individual interviews
<b>Pupil Premium eligibility</b>	<b>55.8%</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>58.8%</b>

### Gender

As seen in table 2, the gender balance in the sample was roughly equal of males to females.

**Table 2: Sample by gender**

	Exit surveys	Group interviews	Individual interviews
<b>Male</b>	<b>52.5%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>53%</b>
<b>Female</b>	<b>47.5%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>47%</b>

### Ethnicity and religion

Table 3 shows the ethnic mix of the sample.

**Table 3: Sample by generalised ethnicity**

	Exit surveys	Group interviews	Individual interviews
<b>Asian (other)</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>
<b>Bangladeshi</b>	<b>5.8%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>26.6%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>17.6%</b>
<b>Indian</b>	<b>0.8%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Kosovan</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>5.9%</b>
<b>Latin/South/Central American</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>

<b>Other (mixed group)</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>17.6%</b>
<b>Pakistani</b>	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>5.9%</b>
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>0.8%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>5.9%</b>
<b>White British</b>	<b>6.6%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>
<b>White other</b>	<b>14.1%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Refused/not obtained</b>	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>

### **Refugee status and EAL**

Table 4 shows the refugee status and EAL percentages of the sample. The reason that the EAL and refugee statistics are together is that is how they are grouped in the school reporting system.

**Table 4: Sample by English as an additional language and refugee status.**

	<b>Exit surveys</b>	<b>Group interviews</b>	<b>Individual interviews</b>
<b>EAL</b>	<b>72.5%</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>88.2%</b>
<b>Refugee status</b>	<b>35.8%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>52.9%</b>

## **Appendix C: Scheme of work overview**

ENQUIRY QUESTION: Why is it important to remember that Jews did not go “like sheep to the slaughter” during the Holocaust?

Lesson 1: Introduction. Introducing terminology, addressing misconceptions, introducing enquiry question.

Lesson 2: How did life change under the Nazis: Anti-Jewish laws.

Lesson 3: Ghettos: What were ghettos, what is resistance, why would resistance be difficult

Lesson 4: Who committed the Holocaust

Lesson 5: Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

Lesson 6: Bielski Brothers

Lesson 7: Sobibor Uprising: Extermination camps, resistance, sonderkommando, escape.

Lesson 8: Why was resistance not possible?

Assessment

## Appendix D: Teacher surveys

Before teaching the Holocaust:

<b>What are your aim s/objectives in teaching the Holocaust this term?</b>
*Re-humanise the Holocaust. *Tackle misconceptions and preconceptions. *Re-emphasise Jewish agency - show they did resist but that it was extremely difficult to in the conditions that existed.
I want students to develop a more complex understanding of the Holocaust than their initial ideas/ knowledge may give them. I would like to them to understand the root causes of the Holocaust, and how it was a gradual process, rather than a sudden upheaval. Finally, I want my students to view the Holocaust as much as possible from the perspective of the victims, rather than the perpetrators, hence our focus on resistance movements.
Make sure students have a solid understanding of the foundations of the topic while also finishing the unit with a clearer comprehension of common misunderstandings

<b>Thinking about the students in your classes, what learning or contextual opportunities do you think you might have during this term?</b>
*Developed understanding of Jewish experiences. *More nuanced understanding of the changing Nazi policies and Holocaust. *More nuanced understanding of agency - of various people/groups.
Several of the students across my Y9 classes have family origins in Eastern Europe and therefore may have family experiences which they can use to inform them. The highly diverse nature of the classes also makes them very sensitive to difference, which will give them a profound understanding of the injustices of the Holocaust.
Making links to PPS topics, such as racism

<b>Thinking about the students in your class, what challenges do you think may arise teaching the Holocaust this term?</b>
*Initial misconceptions and very varied existing knowledge - often myths/hearsay they have gained. *Lack of understanding/maturity of the experience of Jews.
Lack of knowledge and cultural capital will stand in their way - unfamiliarity with Jewish culture/ religion/ ethnicity. Some students may be put off by the shocking nature of the topic.
*Short amount of time for topic *Lack of foundational knowledge (e.g. of Germany and longer term anti-Semitism)

<b>How confident do you feel in your knowledge for teaching the Holocaust this term, where 0 is not at all confident, and 10 is very confident?</b>
8.5
10
5

<b>How much input did you have on curriculum design for this term?</b>
I was the sole/joint teacher designing the curriculum
I did not design the curriculum but I will be editing each lesson as I go along to suit my classes

I had no input in the curriculum and will be teaching what is there if it suits my classes

Mid-point of the scheme of learning:

**Are your aims/objectives for teaching the Holocaust still the same?**

Yes

Yes

No - Far more geared around resistance and Jewish agency

**What opportunities have arisen whilst teaching the Holocaust?**

The opportunity to broaden students' knowledge of European geography has arisen.

\*understanding of diversity \*understanding of agency \*links to wider community with trip to Anne Frank exhibition

Enrichment trip

**What challenges have you faced whilst teaching the Holocaust?**

Some students have found it difficult to process the multi-faceted motivations behind the Holocaust.

\*Misunderstandings of antisemitism

\*Misconceptions of Jewish experience

Time-spent. Could need more time to do it!

**How have you dealt with any challenges arising?**

I have tried not to overcomplicate these multi-faceted motivations and have had private conversations with students who are able to process several different factors driving the Holocaust. In short, targeted conversations geared around ability-level have been very useful.

Tackle them straight on - discuss the issue and think through reasons why their preconception was wrong

Doing what we do in more depth

**If you have changed your lessons in light of things occurring in the classroom please can you give details on the event and changes? (For example this could be spending longer on a concept that was not understood or ran out of time teaching, or addressing misconceptions from previous lessons).**

Respondent skipped this question

Respondent skipped this question

Far less focus on sensationalised aspects of the Nazis

After finishing teaching the Holocaust:

**What were the best parts (student learning/teaching experience) of teaching the Holocaust?**

\*It was nice teaching the nitty gritty of how the Holocaust happened but through the prism of Jewish. I found it allowed us to humanise them whilst not shying away from the brutality of the process (somewhat similarly to teaching the Transatlantic slave trade through African resistance).

\*It was nice building in space into lessons to discuss students questions and misconceptions in an open ended way.

\*I found they were more engaged with the topic than they were with others. I think because

know bits and bobs from popular culture, movies, video games etc there's a natural curiosity there you don't have to work hard to cultivate.

\*Students becoming aware of/understanding Jewish agency.

\*Students starting to understand the intricacies of the Holocaust and realising how complex it was.

\*Students really interested in the human stories from this time - genuine interest.

It is one of those topics which really grabs students' attention - therefore, the questions that the students were asking were very incisive and curious. It was also very uplifting to teach the Holocaust from a more positive point of view, focussing on resistance and survival. This gave students an insight into both the bravery of humanity in the face of adversity, and the luck that they have all experienced being born in the United Kingdom in the 21st century. I also found it highly enjoyable teaching the geography of mainland Europe (esp. Eastern Europe) while teaching the Holocaust by using the maps in their planners.

Raising the students' awareness about the agency of Jews during the holocaust

### **What challenges arose during the term of teaching the Holocaust?**

\*I think in hindsight we should have done a whole lesson on the history of anti-Semitism. Students main question was "why?" which we didn't make the focus of the SOL as we thought it would be too sprawling but it meant I had to take up that question throughout the lesson in a way that was more ad hoc and done less well as a result.

\*Occasionally issues around Palestine/Israel came up. Some students did research on some of the resisters and were not impressed they ended up fighting in the Israeli after the war.

\*Some students had anti-Semitic beliefs (such as being surprised there were poor/working class Jews). These views weren't generally held strongly or maliciously but they were there.

\*Dilemmas about how much or little to show or describe about the extermination camps. Some students had an interest which was bordering on salacious that it was important to keep in check.

\*Misconceptions/preconceptions different people had - take time to unpack but really good to - needed more time in reality to unpack all the questions/preconceptions students have.

\*Amount of time - need more than 4 weeks really.

As previously mentioned, the rationale behind the Holocaust is very difficult for some students to conceptualise. There are obviously a wide array of causes of the Holocaust, and bringing all of these to light for different students posed a challenge.

Lack of time to focus on (4/5 weeks)

### **How did the curriculum develop in light of the opportunities and challenges that arose?**

I think next year we will spend a lesson giving a brief overview of the history of anti-Semitism to front load the challenging of some common misconceptions. I think the overall framework of resistance was a good one though. I think a post-enquiry question about what happened after liberation would be interesting as well (we'll have more lessons to teach it next year).

\*Focus on resistance developed - tied in with persecution/change/opportunities in other SOW across the year.

\*With time (next year), wanted to develop understanding of the end of the Holocaust/what happened next - so they could set the resistance in context - liberation.

This was the first time that we have approached the Holocaust from a more positive perspective which thus took our curriculum in a novel direction, one with which I believe we will stick next year. We now have a new scheme of learning on resistance, which we hope to link in with cross-curricular themes, and the skill of resilience across the school, next year. My own practice of the curriculum changed in that I have endeavoured to have individual conversation with students of different ability ranges concerning the wide array of causes of the Holocaust mentioned above.

It's the beginning of a process - next year we'll have longer and do it better
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<b>If you teach more than one class, did these answers reflect on both classes?</b>
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Yes
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Yes
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Yes
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Yes
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## Appendix E: Student Post-it note activity

Teacher A

Know	Question
I already know that Hitler didn't like Jews and anyone that wasn't Aryan	I want to know why Germany were angry at the Versailles Treaty
Hitler killed many Jews in a genocide	What was going through his head when he set up concentration camps and decided to kill millions of Jews?
Holocaust was a mass killing	I want to find out what are the survivors experience
They gassed people in rooms they thought they would be taking a shower but instead they died	Why didn't the world take action against these camps?
The Holocaust targeted people who weren't "Aryan"	I want to find out what it was like from the perspective of a victim
The Kaiser was kicked out and then Germany was a republic	Did Hitler actually kill himself?
The Kaiser was kicked out because people thought it was the Kaiser's fault they lost WWI	What was the point of the Holocaust?
They would tell the Jews to go have a shower and then gas them and they burnt their bodies	How the first killing and the start of it started.
The Holocaust started around 1932	How many people survived the Holocaust?
Some Jewish children fr the Holocaust were secretly taken to Britain and lived with British families to keep them safe	Did Hitler have children?
The Holocaust began in 1942	Did Hitler have any kids? Did Hitler really kill himself?
Hitler tortured and killed Jew	How many have survived? How did they escape? How many were killed each day?
6 million Jews were killed in 6 years	Was Hitler's wife really a Jew?
The Holocaust started in 1939	I want to know if anyone of a high status died as a result of the Holocaust
Hitler became chancellor in 1933	How was the economic state of Germany after the Holocaust?
In the Holocaust around 20 million people died	
Wwl ended 1918	



Hitler became channer in 1933	Why Germany hated Jews and blame them for not doing anything bad
Millions died	What did anti-Semite think it would repair by killing the Jews?
They were targeting the Jews	Why did noone try to stop Hitler?
Jews were killed	Why did they kill them?
	Why did people hated the Jewish
Jews got tricked into going to camps which was propaganda from Hitler	Why did Hitler target the Jews
I know that the Holocaust affected Jewish people	I want to find out if anyone survived and how they did survive.

Teacher B

Know	Question
They killed people with gas	What was life like inside of concentration camps?
Holocaust was about killing Jews	Why did they want to kill the Jews?
	Why did they hate Jews so much?
Jews were killed in concentration camps, it was used to round them up as they weren't told where they were going	Why did Hitler hate Jews?
Dead bodies were thrown in shoes	Why was the Nazi
The Germans killed thousands of Jewish people	Why did the Germans kill the Jews?
One thing I know about the Holocaust is the Jews were killed	
Six million Jews were killed	
6 million Jews were tortured and killed	What was there reason for the Holocaust?
	Why were Jews targeted?
	Why was Hitler so obsessed with Jews?
The Nazis captured Jews and said to them that they will be taking a shower but actually they were putting gas into the chamber and killed them	How old was Hitler when he killed himself?
Adolf Hitler Killed Jews in camps	Why did he only kill Jews in the camps?
I know that Hitler wanted blonde hair, white and blue eyed people	Why was Hitler in love with people looking like that?
Millions of people suffered or died	Why did it happen? What was the thing?
I know that Aushwitz (?) was a concentration camp to torture Jews	Who gave Hitler the ideas of being prejudice against Jews?
	Did Hitler kill himself?
The Jews were involved	
There was a concentration camp in Poland called Auchwits	

Hitler killed himself	Why was Anne Frank so important that they made a whole movie?
	What was the main reason behind the Holocaust?
They killed Jews in concentration camps	
They murdered six million Jews	Why did they hate Jews?

Teacher C

Know	Question
The Holocaust was backed by the Nazis	What was Hitler's motivation and thought process?
Many Jewish people were brutally killed	Why did Hitler kill Jewish people? Why didn't he like Jewish people? How did he die?
Most Jewish people were sent to concentration camps for labor or death	What made Hitler believe in an Aryan race? What was the most successful act of Jewish resistance? Was there one?
The Holocaust took place in Eastern Europe	Did they fight back?
The Holocaust took place in Eastern Europe	Did the Jews fight back?
It murder six million Jews	Why did it target Jews?
They would kill the Jews in a room with gas	Why did it start? Would there be a different camp for kids? What age would they enter inside?
In the Holocaust, millions of Jew was killed also gays and people who participate in the war will get sent to a camp.	Why did Hitler hate Jews?
There were concentration camps where Jews were taken and killed. Adolf Hitler led the Holocaust.	What were the intentions? (Answered own question with: anti-semetic)
Adolf Hitler led the murder and torture of mainly Jews	What were Adolf Hitler's intentions? To what extent were the Jews successful in fighting back?
They made them think that their going to have a shower but they spray them with toxic gas	
They took Jewish people and made them werk until they died (even children)	How many people died in total?
That the Holocaust was the biggest massacre of a certain religion	What drove Hitler to start this crisis and why the Jews? was there any way we could have

	stopped the Holocaust faster it avoid starting it?
Hitler committed suicide	Why and how did the Holocaust start? How did the Holocaust end?
A lot of people died	What was the reason? (Answered own question with: "because Jews won the war")
Adolf Hitler was a painter	How did the Holocaust end?
	Would they die if they resist the Holocaust?
The Holocaust was in Germany	Why didn't any countries try to stop Hitler?
Hitler was trying to make a superior race	Why did he target the Jews?
	How come only Jews got taken and put in concentration camps? Why did Hitler hate Jews so much? What was so special about blonde haired blue eyed people that Hitler only wanted them?

Teacher D

<b>Know</b>	<b>Question</b>
The killing of millions of Jews by the Nazis in the 1930s and 1940s	Who took first action to release the Jews?
The Holocaust was punished	Why did the Nazis kill 6 million Jews
It was a genocide on Jews	When did it happen and why
The Nazis killed 6 million Jews and disabled and gipsys	If other races were targeted? If the Holocaust happened in other countries?
Nazi was runned by Adolf Hitler. Adolf Hitler killed himself. Boy in the striped pyjamas is a book based on the Holocaust.	Who helped Hitler and what was their punishment?
A situation in which many people killed, especially because of a war or a fire.	What happened to those who were accomplices of Hitler and the Nazi party?
6 mil Jews were murdered	Were German men forced to join the Nazi army?
It wasn't just Jews that were killed, it was anyone that Hitler didn't consider to be the 'master race'	How many concentration camps were there?
It was about the Jewish who were being killed and lied to about taking a shower (they were actually killing them and burning the bodies)	How did the Holocaust start and why?
Nobody knew the Holocaust was happening until the British soldiers freed the Jews	Why did they murdered the Holocaust?
Jews were overworked and underfed in concentration camps	Were rich Jews sent to the camp?
That there was a mass killing of Jews there was 6m	Why did the Holocaust happen?

Millions of people died because of it	What caused the Nazis to take such drastic actions towards the Jews?
Six million Jews were killed	What was the propaganda? What did it show?
I know that the Holocaust was done secretly and concentration camps were publicised as a safe place for Jews when really it was a place they'd be killed	Who were the collaborators?
Many people died, it was a tragic event	I want to know the secret experiments they did on them
People in Germany didn't know that Jews were being killed. They thought that camps were nice places through propaganda	Who were the Nazi governments' collaborators?
Anne Frank was a victim of this horrible persecution system.	Why were they being killed?
That millions of Jews were killed in Germany because Jews were the reason why Germany didn't win in WWI	Why did the Holocaust happen?
Jews were gradually deprived of their basic human rights and many of their fates was death in concentration camps	Why did Hitler feel these acts were necessary against the Jews?



You are invited to provide a written response to the points raised above, and please make amendments to this application /associated documents. Please can you resubmit the updated documents to [ethics1@winchester.ac.uk](mailto:ethics1@winchester.ac.uk), and these will be retained for our records. Should you need to make further amendments to your submission, then it would be to this updated document.

I look forward to receiving your updated documents, and I and the Committee wish you well in your research.

Best wishes,



Samantha Scallan  
Chair, RKE Ethics Committee

CC

Julie.Hampton; ethics1; Alasdair.Richardson; PGRAdmin; Vasiliki.Tsilbazi; Eira.Patterson

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## **Appendix G: Consent form for staff, parents and guardians**

### **Information sheet for staff**

Thank you for your interest in taking part in the research about teaching and learning the Holocaust at XXX School. Before you decide to take part in this study it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. A member of the team can be contacted if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

### **What is the research about?**

The research will be conducted by Jessica Kempner, from the University of Winchester. She has been a History teacher for a while and is interested in how students learn about the Holocaust. She will be looking at the different ways students learn about the Holocaust in schools. You have been chosen for the study as you are teaching the Holocaust this term. By agreeing to participate, you will be allowing Jessica to come and watch four of your lessons, and you will be part of four ten minute interviews outside of lessons so that you can be asked about your students' understanding of the Holocaust and their learning about it. Jessica will not be observing you for judgement and it will have no impact on your teaching career, but should a safeguarding issue be observed, it will be reported following X School procedures. The research will be completed by May half term (24<sup>th</sup> May 2019).

### **Who can I speak to if I am affected by things covered in the research?**

If you chose to participate, you will be helping research ideas around the teaching of the Holocaust in Secondary schools. Should you come across anything that leaves you feeling sad or upset, there will be people you can speak to and confide in at school. The school subscribes to an external teaching counselling service and you are free to discuss issues with other staff such as Ms XXX or Miss XXX.

### **Is participation mandatory?**

The most important thing to understand about the research is that your participation is entirely voluntary, you do not have to do it if you do not want to. Should you want to not participate now, or, want to withdraw from the project and stop being a part of the research, you can do so at any time, now or in the future, without any implications on you, your job or your responsibilities. There are no benefits to you from taking part.

### **What happens with my data? Will people be able to know it was me?**

Your data will be collected and stored securely, and only necessary data will be collected. It will be confidential and anonymised – meaning no one should be able to tell that any of it is you, even when the research is published. All data will be identified only by a code, with personal details kept in a locked file or secure computer with access only by the immediate research team. The recordings from interviews will be identified only by a code and will not be used or made available for any purposes other than the research project. These recordings will be destroyed at the end of the study. The data that is collected could be re-used in the future for things like conferences and papers that Jessica may publish.

When the results are drawn up you will be provided with a summary of the findings. All findings will be discussed with you before publication, and you will have the right of reply.

### **What happens if I am unhappy with conducting of the research or I have a question?**

Should you have any questions or queries, please contact Jessica on [j.kempner.15@unimail.winchester.ac.uk](mailto:j.kempner.15@unimail.winchester.ac.uk)

The project has been reviewed by the University of Winchester Ethics Committee. Should you have further questions, or have any concerns, you can contact Dr Samantha Scallan, Chair of the Ethics Committee and the University Data Protection Officer, Joseph Dilger. University of Winchester, Sparkford Road, Winchester, SO22 4NR or on 01962 827234.

### **Can I stop being a part of the research?**

Please be ensured, should you give consent and wish to continue with the research, you may withdraw at any time, you will not need to give a reason and it will have no implication on you or your work.

Thank you for your interest, if you wish to continue, please fill in the consent form attached.

Jessica Kempner

### **Staff consent form**

**Research Title: Student engagement with Holocaust Education.**

**Researcher's Name: Jessica Kempner, University of Winchester.**

I have read the participation information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask the researcher any further questions I may have had.

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time from the study without affecting my treatment at school in any way.

I understand that the risks to me are minimal in this study and have read the information sheet and asked any questions I may have about the risks.

I understand that I will be involved in individual audio recorded interviews and a number of lesson observations and that photographs may be taken of the work produced in my lessons.

My name or photographs will not be used to identify my comments or work in the study.

If I have any concerns regarding the way the research is or has been conducted I can contact Dr Samantha Scallan, Chair of the Ethics Committee and the University Data Protection Officer, Joseph Dilger. University of Winchester, Sparkford Road, Winchester, SO22 4NR or on +44 (0) 1962 827234.

By signing below I am consenting to (please tick and initial in the large box):

- Participating in teaching a series of lessons about the Holocaust.
- Having audio recorded interviews with the researcher asking me about my, and my students' learning experiences.
- Having copies and photos of my lessons taken for samples demonstrating my students' learning experiences. (The photographs will only be of my students' work and not of me.)
- I understand that information from me will be used for a thesis and other published studies and I consent for it to be used in this manner.

**Signed:**

**Name:**



**Date:**

**Parents/Guardians consent form**

**Research Title: Student engagement with Holocaust Education.**

**Researcher's Name: Jessica Kempner, University of Winchester.**

I have read the participation information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask the researcher any further questions I may have had.

I understand that my child's participation in this research is voluntary and they may withdraw at any time from the study without affecting their treatment at school in any way.

I understand that the risks to my child are minimal in this study and have read the information sheet and asked any questions I may have about the risks.

I understand that my child will be involved in individual audio recorded interviews and that photographs may be taken of their work.

Their name or photographs will not be used to identify their comments or work in the study.

If I have any concerns regarding the way the research is or has been conducted I can contact Dr Samantha Scallan, Chair of the Ethics Committee and the University Data Protection Officer, Joseph Dilger. University of Winchester, Sparkford Road, Winchester, SO22 4NR or on +44 (0) 1962 827234.

By signing below I am consenting to my child (please tick and initial in the large box):

- Participating in a series of lessons about the Holocaust in my classroom with their teacher.
- Having audio recorded interviews with the researcher asking them about my work and learning experiences.
- Having copies and photos of their work taken for work samples demonstrating their learning experiences. (The photographs will only be of their work and not of them.)
- I understand that information from my child will be used for a thesis and other published studies and I consent for it to be used in this manner.

**Signed (parent/carer):**

**Name:**

**Child's name:**

**Date:**

## Appendix H: The coding process - post it notes

