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EDUCATION AFTER AUSCHWITZ

– Educational outcomes of teaching to prevent antisemitism

Isabella Pistone, Lars M. Andersson, Allan Lidström, Christer Mattsson, Gustaf Nelhans, Tobias Pernler, Morten Sager & Jennie Sivenbring

University of Gothenburg, The Segerstedt Institute

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Education after Auschwitz – Educational outcomes of teaching to prevent antisemitism

Isabella Pistone, Department of Philosophy and Theory of Science, University of Gothenburg
Lars M. Andersson, Department of History, Uppsala University
Allan Lidström, Department of Philosophy and Theory of Science, University of Gothenburg
Christer Mattsson, the Segerstedt Institute, University of Gothenburg
Gustaf Nelhans, Swedish School of Library and Information Science, University of Borås
Tobias Pernler, Biomedical Library, Gothenburg University Library, University of Gothenburg
Morten Sager, Department of Philosophy and Theory of Science, University of Gothenburg
Jennie Sivenbring, the Segerstedt Institute, University of Gothenburg

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Introduction and Executive Summary

Theodor Adorno gave a speech on West German radio in 1966 that attracted a lot of attention. It was entitled “Education after Auschwitz” [Erziehung nach Auschwitz] (Heyl & Schreier, 1997). The opening sentence has become emblematic:

The premier demand upon all education is that Auschwitz not happen again. Its priority before any other requirement is such that I believe I need not and should not justify it. I cannot understand why it has been given so little concern until now.

The talk was not mainly on teaching about the Holocaust, Auschwitz or antisemitism. It focused on how to maintain an education system that would raise democratic individuals able to resist racism or totalitarian ideologies. This is still a goal that is pursued in democratic countries. Teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) as well as educational efforts to prevent antisemitism are crucial parts of this endeavour, or as Lindquist (2011) puts it:

. . . studying the Shoah becomes a vehicle that allows students to engage in sophisticated conversations that stretch their understanding of the world and their ability to evaluate the many complex, multi-layered moral situations they will encounter as adults. (p. 28)

Thus, when Sweden’s prime minister Stefan Löfven invited political leaders, policymakers and scholars to the Malmö International Forum on Holocaust Remembrance and Combating Antisemitism, it was of political importance and scholarly interest to learn about how educational initiatives within this area have developed. On behalf of the Ministry of Education, the Segerstedt Institute at the University of Gothenburg, in collaboration with Uppsala University, carried out a systematic review of research that evaluates the effects of educational efforts in preventing antisemitism. The systematic overview was based on the following questions.

What kind of research involving educational outcome analysis has been conducted on educational initiatives to prevent antisemitism, and what kind of knowledge about success factors can this research show?

To answer this question, a scoping review was conducted. Scoping entails a systematic and broad search for studies in a specific research field. The method is suitable if the research literature is unexplored, if it includes a variety of initiatives in different areas of society and is aimed at different target groups; or if knowledge gaps are expected. It can also highlight how a research field is advancing, and whether research in the field is building on the findings of previous research (i.e. cumulativity). For this systematic scoping review, a broad, structured search was conducted in 19 international bibliographic databases to identify research that evaluated educational initiatives to prevent or counter antisemitism. A supplementary manual search was performed. The findings yielded a total of 21,236 publications of which 1892 were considered relevant. Strict criteria for inclusion and exclusion of studies were set before assessing the identified publications and these specific criteria were used to guide the inclusion of studies for the review. The abstracts of the 1892 publications were read to determine whether they fitted the purpose of the study. After the review, 37 publications were found to be relevant to the study. Since only a limited number of research publications that evaluated educational outcomes related to antisemitism education were identified, it was decided to extend the mapping to include research that evaluated all types of educational outcomes of Holocaust education (teaching and learning about the

Holocaust or TLH). This search led to the identification of a further 99 publications. The material was then analysed and compiled using bibliometric analysis, manual categorisation based on learning theories, and educational outcome analysis. A total of 136 unique publications were analysed.

Important findings from the systematic review

1. **A lack of reliable studies that evaluate educational initiatives to prevent antisemitism.** Schools have implemented numerous initiatives including study trips to Holocaust memorial sites, school visits from survivors who share their experiences, various kinds of citizenship education initiatives, collaborations with museums, projects in which teaching is supported by artistic portrayals of the Holocaust across various genres (e.g. ballet, theatre, film, graphic novels), and other types of educational programmes. However, information on the effects of these initiatives is insufficient.

2. **Few studies have evaluated TLH for consistency of educational outcomes over time.** Studies of TLH are fragmented and difficult to compile because they differ greatly in study design, type of intervention, population, and evaluated educational outcomes. This indicated a serious lack of reliable knowledge about the effects of TLH in the research field.

3. **A disconnect between educational research and other research orientations concerned with the Holocaust and antisemitism.** The textual analysis of the studies showed that research on educational initiatives had yielded limited benefits when it comes to research conducted within the fields of history and the history of ideas. The Holocaust and antisemitism are mainly analysed by historians, historians of ideas, and genocide researchers, while educational initiatives are designed and evaluated by various kinds of education researchers. This suggested that environments to accommodate both subject matter experts and experts in education and teaching needed to be created.

4. **A gap between descriptive studies and studies evaluating educational outcomes.** There are numerous studies of TLH, antisemitism or the Holocaust in general. In total, 1892 studies concerning TLH and antisemitism were identified. These included theoretical discussions, descriptions of initiatives without evaluation, evaluations of curricula or syllabuses, and prevalence studies. However, only 37 (2%) were evaluations (i.e. studies of educational outcomes related to antisemitism), and only 117 (approximately 6%) were practical studies of TLH. This indicated that educational research in the field had been neglected and needed to be developed.

5. **Bibliometric analyses of the material showed that the studies identified did not build or develop on previous research** (with a few exceptions, including some studies conducted in Scotland, England, Germany and Poland). In this respect, the study of TLH differed from many fields in which systematic reviews had been conducted. The findings indicated that there was almost no cumulative development across studies, at least not if development is taken to mean using and refining previous findings. The authors' scoping review of the studies revealed that there are very few suitable environments for this type of research. Most researchers publish only one study in the field.

6. **Bibliometric analysis of keywords showed that TLH educational initiatives were only weakly related to antisemitism.** In 43% of the TLH studies, antisemitism was not mentioned at all or it was only mentioned in passing or briefly addressed. This meant that efforts that could potentially prevent antisemitism were more focused on human rights, or racism and homophobia in general. The invisibility of the obvious role of antisemitism leading to the Holocaust clearly hindered the potential of TLH in preventing antisemitism and could, in the worst-case scenario, contribute to antisemitism.

7. **Only in a limited number of cases does TLH touch on contemporary antisemitism.** In general, there seems to be a sharp divide between research on TLH and on antisemitism.

8. **The scoping review revealed that many reports published in the field have not been included in scholarly databases.** It was observed that, generally, studies in the form of short-term evaluations were not published in academic channels. This is not conducive to the development of an academic field in general or the TLH field in particular. Therefore, it is important for policymakers to consider stimulating research in the field by doing more than simply commissioning disparate short-term reports.

9. **An academic initiative in Scotland, in particular, is an instructive example of an effort that strengthened TLH and generated research on its implementation and results.** This enabled researchers and teachers to collaborate in developing improved forms of TLH.

Concluding reflections

In the material reviewed, antisemitism was not seen as a specific structural problem that needed to be counteracted with systematic measures. Rather, it was partly perceived as a form of racism and partly as an isolated expression of intolerance by individual students. However, racism and other forms of intolerance *were* regarded as structural phenomena requiring systematic educational interventions. Furthermore, when teaching students about the causes of the Holocaust, antisemitism was usually not discussed as a starting point. Even less common were lessons on how antisemitism contributed to the rise of Nazism and the Second World War. Discussions of the connections with how antisemitism is expressed today were extremely rare. It should be noted that there are some studies that do underline the importance of understanding the long history of antisemitism, but what could have been anticipated to be a common point of departure instead appears to be the exception.

The present study underlined the need to further analyse the limited focus on antisemitism within educational research, especially when there was an obvious policy-driven desire to engage teaching and teachers in combatting antisemitism. There is also a need to critically examine the purpose of TLH. Even if the studies included in this scoping review were only marginally representative of the whole of TLH conducted in classrooms worldwide, the findings of this review should raise major concerns about how TLH is conducted and for what purposes.

Finally, the few examples of TLH initiatives whose educational outcomes were validated by researchers, particularly those from Scotland, England, Germany and Poland, could serve as benchmarks for both researchers and decision-makers.

Purpose and disposition

The overall purpose of this systematic review of research was to map existing research on educational initiatives and programs implemented in order to prevent antisemitism conducted worldwide between 1946 and 2020. The question asked was:

What kind of research involving educational outcome analysis has been conducted on educational initiatives to prevent antisemitism, and what kind of knowledge about success factors can this research demonstrate?

While the original purpose was to identify research that evaluated educational outcomes related to preventing antisemitism, it became obvious early in the process that there were very few studies that analysed these outcomes related to antisemitism. Therefore, we made the decision to also include research that evaluated interventions within TLH as a second part of the systematic review.

This report begins with a description of the study's theoretical starting point, methodological starting points and how the review was conducted. This section is followed by the findings from the scoping review: Part I specifically concerned with research related to antisemitism, and Part II specifically concerned with TLH. Then follows Part III containing the results of the analysis of what learning theories the different educational programs were based on, and narrative synthesis of these educational outcomes in Part IV and Part V. Part VI presents an analysis of different definitions and usages of the terms antisemitism and the Holocaust. The report ends with conclusions and recommendations in Part VII.

Theory of systematic reviews

In order to answer the question, a combination of systematic review methods were used, namely methods for scoping reviews and a narrative review inspired by a realist perspective (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005; Pawson, 2006; Sager & Pistone 2019). Systematic reviews first emerged in the mid-1970s under the term "meta-analysis". The phrase was coined by Gene Glass who conducted syntheses in the areas of psychotherapy and education (for example, Glass and Smith, 1979). Although these early syntheses were conducted in the social sciences, systematic research synthesis soon started growing most rapidly in the fields of medicine and health (Bohlin, 2012).

These methods are based on a number of basic epistemological assumptions (Gough et al., 2017; Bohlin, 2012; Bohlin and Sager, 2011). By transparently applying formal rules for searching, screening, including and analysing scientific articles in the review: 1) all or almost all of the available research on a particular issue can be found, thereby increasing cumulativity and minimizing the risk of knowledge waste; 2) the objectivity and validity of the findings are improved and the risk of personal bias or "cherry picking" reduced; 3) replicability of the research process by other parties is made possible; and 4) depending on representativity, aggregated quantitative results may indicate how fitting it is to generalize the interventions to similar populations.

Some drawbacks of these methods have also been highlighted however (Gough, Oliver & Thomas, 2017). Reviews where extensive formalization is required favour well-established issues that can be clearly delineated beforehand and curtail inquiries into the meaning and configuration of complex issues. The removal (or belief in the possible removal) of personal aspects in the review processes risks depriving the analysis of necessary professional expertise, including tacit knowledge, and thus reducing the objectivity and validity of the findings (Wieringa et al., 2018). Lastly, formal generalization based

on the relative effects of programs fails to include a deeper understanding of both the theoretical contributions and the differing contextual circumstances of particular studies of interventions which might help practitioners to draw on these findings for use in new situations, i.e. naturalistic generalization (Stake, 1978; Bohlin, 2010). Alternative formats that are more configurative than aggregative address some of these concerns and can substitute for or complement the traditional systematic review. These formats include scoping reviews, meta-syntheses and realistic syntheses.

The methods used in a scoping review aim to provide a broad overview of a particular research field and are therefore appropriate for less clear-cut issues than traditional systematic reviews. While a scoping review is useful in its own right in providing a map of the research within a field, it can also help to identify gaps in knowledge where researchers can focus their efforts in more depth. Thus, a scoping review provides a broader research context within which to interpret the findings of such evidence syntheses (Gough, Oliver, & Thomas, 2013; Oakley, Gough, Oliver, & Thomas, 2005; Bates, Clapton, & Coren, 2007). In a widely adopted framework for scoping reviews by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), and extended by Levac, Colquhoun and O'Brian (2010), a more iterative process is endorsed, which allows for objective and valid findings with less formalization (Sager & Pistone, 2019).

Meta-synthesis can identify increased cumulativeness within fields with many qualitative studies while still considering the unique contributions of each of these studies (Noblit & Hare, 1988). Comparing the importance of themes and metaphors across different studies can show mutual reinforcement, refutation or new ways of conceiving of a problem, thus generating a deeper understanding of the problem. A related approach, realistic synthesis, assumes the existence of underlying mechanisms that mediate the effects of interventions. A realistic synthesis aims to reveal these mechanisms and presents combinations of contexts, mechanisms and educational outcomes. In both meta-synthesis and realistic synthesis, the disadvantages of formal generalization are resisted and the conditions for a more naturalistic generalization are improved.

The basic question of this review is broad and open-ended: –" what research with educational outcome analyses have been carried out on educational interventions to prevent antisemitism? In addition, there is a special focus on what can be learnt from this research about the success factors for such interventions. Such questions do not lend themselves easily to formal generalization, but *possibly* naturalistic generalization. In order to optimize cumulativeness, transparency and replicability, we have assumed the need for a scoping review with relatively formalized searches, screening and inclusion of studies (see more in Methods below). However, for the extraction of data on educational outcomes and the analysis of the success factors of interventions, we have applied a realist approach to educational interventions with attention to the mechanisms presumably at work in these. In addition, antisemitism is historic in character and a highly contested issue involved in multiple societal dynamics. In order to understand these dynamics, an iterative account of how studies interpret and use the notion of antisemitism was undertaken, more in line with the epistemology of meta-synthesis. These multiple ambitions involve an epistemological assumption that professional, pedagogical, didactic and historical expertise cannot and should not be avoided in syntheses of this particular literature. Consequently, the objectivity and validity sought in this review combine the epistemological assumptions of traditional, more aggregative systematic reviews and alternative, more configurative reviews. Objectivity and validity are assumed to depend on *both* extensive formalizations *and* the involvement of expert opinions in the different phases of the review processes, without unduly compromising the transparency and replicability of the synthesis offered here.

Methods

Systematic reviews follow clearly formulated questions and use systematic and reproducible methods to identify, select and appraise all relevant research that speaks to the questions under study. Two methodological principles are important for maintaining the systematics of the review: 1) The structured and comprehensive searches for literature, 2) The strict criteria for inclusion and exclusion of studies that guide the inclusion of studies for the review, reducing the risk of the selection of studies being subject to personal biases or “cherry picking”.

In order to answer to the purpose of this study, a systematic scoping review method was used. This systematic scoping review uses the framework for scoping reviews suggested by Arksey and O’Malley (2005). In the narrative synthesis of educational outcomes, attention to mechanisms according to the tenets of realist syntheses is applied (Pawson, 2006). The historical analysis of the uses of different notions of antisemitism adds an interpretive dimension in line with meta-synthetic approaches (Noblit & Hare 1988).

The overall procedure for this scoping review followed the steps outlined in the framework for scoping reviews:

- Develop the research questions
- Search the literature in bibliographical databases
- Perform screening and relevance assessments according to pre-defined criteria for inclusion and exclusion of studies
- Categorize and analyse.

The methods for each of these steps are presented in the sections below. Since the aims, research questions, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and literature searches differ between Part I and Part II, these steps in the method are provided separately in the two parts. Screening, relevance assessment and analyses of the included material were done using the same methods, which are provided together at the end of the Methods section.

Scoping methods in Part I: Educational interventions for the prevention of antisemitism

Aims

The overall purpose of this part of the scoping review was to map existing studies that evaluated the effects of educational interventions on educational outcomes related to antisemitism.

Research questions

- What kind of research exists within this field? What types of studies and how much research has been conducted?
- What kinds of interventions (initiatives) have been evaluated in this research?
- How is antisemitism defined in this research?
- Are there important nodes of research, researchers and/or interventions?
- What tendencies in effects could be traced in the synthesised research material?

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

In systematic scoping reviews, it is essential to formulate well-focused research questions. Without well-focused questions, it can be difficult and time-consuming to identify appropriate resources and search for relevant literature. Population/Problem, Intervention, Comparison, and Outcome (PICO), a well-established tool used to conduct systematic reviews (Schardt, Adams, Owens, Keitz, & Fontelo, 2007), helped us to focus the research questions and clarify the criteria for inclusion and exclusion (Table 1). In the PICO framework, you define specific populations or problems, interventions, comparisons and outcomes that are going to be the focus of the review.

Population: There were no limitations applied in the form of targeted populations for the interventions: all kinds of populations were included, e.g., pupils in all grades, teachers and the public. We excluded studies that targeted Jewish populations.

Intervention: Educational interventions that aimed to prevent antisemitism. Interventions that specifically targeted the Israel-Palestine conflict were excluded from the scoping review.

Comparison: There was no requirement that the studies must include a comparison with alternative interventions or control groups for inclusion in the scoping review.

Outcomes: The studies had to evaluate educational outcomes explicitly related to antisemitism, e.g., knowledge, attitudes and behaviours related to antisemitism.

Additional inclusion and exclusion criteria:

- Only practice-based research was included in the scoping review. This meant studies that in some way evaluated the effects of an intervention conducted in practice. Theoretical, philosophical and historical studies were excluded. Studies that investigated antisemitism in different settings and populations were also excluded if they did not evaluate a specific intervention. The studies had to be evaluative using a qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods design.
- Studies that evaluated TLH without any outcomes explicitly related to antisemitism were excluded.
- Literature written in all languages was included.
- Studies published before 1945 were excluded.

Table 1 PICO structure

Population	All kinds of populations were included, e.g., pupils in all grades, teachers and the public. - We excluded studies that targeted Jewish populations.
Intervention	Educational interventions for the prevention of antisemitism - not interventions that targeted the Israel-Palestine conflict
Comparison	No requirement to use comparison groups
Outcome	Outcomes explicitly related to antisemitism
Study design	Practice-based research using quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods design
Language	No restrictions on language
Year	Not studies published before 1945
Publication type	No restrictions on publication type

Literature searches

Comprehensive and structured searches for relevant literature were performed in 19 international bibliographic databases: CINAHL, Education Research complete, MEDLINE, ASSIA, Criminal Justice Database, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, Education database, ERIC, IBSS, PAIS, Political Science Database, PsycARTICLES, PsycINFO, Social Science Database, Soc Serv Abstr, Sociological Abstracts, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts and Web of Science. The search terms used are provided in Table 2. Bibliographic records imported from the databases were stored in Endnote®. The literature searches were conducted in January 2020 (a detailed description of the searches is available in Appendix 1).

In addition to the structured database searches, manual searches for relevant literature were conducted in April and May 2020. The manual searches included searches in reference lists in articles excluded in the relevance assessment phase (e.g. literature reviews), reference lists of included articles, asking subject experts to provide references to important studies, and searching for publications on key organizations' websites (a detailed description of the manual searches is available in Appendix 1).

Table 2 Search terms used in the structured database searches

antisemiti* OR anti-semitism OR anti-semitic OR judeophobi* OR antijewish OR anti-jewish OR antijudaism OR anti-judaism OR anti-judaic OR Holocaust OR antisionis* OR anti-sionism OR anti-sionist OR anti-sionists OR anti-sionistic OR antizionis* OR anti-zionism OR anti-zionistic OR anti-zionist OR antizionists OR shoah

OR

(Jew* OR judai* OR semiti* OR Zion* OR Sion*) **NEAR** (Hate* OR hatred OR prejudice* OR bias* OR precon* OR racis* OR discriminati* OR xenophobi* OR violen* OR program* OR atrocit* OR assault* OR enmit* OR demoni* OR harass* OR hostil* OR antipath* OR antagonis*)

AND

educati* OR interventi* OR school* OR prevent* OR combat* OR strateg* OR initiat* OR program* OR awareness OR campaign* OR training OR effort* OR counter* OR preempt* OR pre-empt OR pre-emptive OR pre-emption OR reduc* OR "best practice" OR "best practices" OR informat* OR teach* OR address* OR policy OR policies OR literacy OR literate OR curricul* OR resilien* OR learn* OR universit* OR evaluat* OR assess*

Scoping methods in Part II: Teaching and learning about the Holocaust

Aims

Early in the process it became obvious that there were very few studies that evaluated the effect of educational interventions on educational outcomes related to antisemitism. We therefore made the decision to broaden the scope of the review to also include a second part which aimed to map existing research that evaluated interventions within the field of TLH. The specific research questions and study inclusion and exclusion criteria are provided below.

Research questions

- What kind of research exists within this field? What type of studies and how much research has been conducted?
- What kinds of interventions have been evaluated this research?
- Are there important nodes of research, researchers and/or interventions?
- What tendencies in effects could be traced in the synthesised research material?
- How is antisemitism approached when teaching about the Holocaust in the interventions studied?

Literature searches

The structured literature searches conducted for Part I (see p. 13) were also used for this part. While the search terms were mainly chosen to find literature about educational interventions for the prevention of antisemitism, search terms for Holocaust education/TLH were also included.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

As described previously (p. 11) we used the PICO framework for structuring the research questions with

well-defined inclusion and exclusion criteria (Table 3).

Population: There were no limitations applied in the form of targeted populations for the interventions: all kinds of populations were included, e.g., pupils in all grades, teachers and the public. We excluded studies that targeted Jewish populations.

Intervention: Educational interventions that included components of TLH. Interventions that specifically targeted the Israel-Palestine conflict were excluded from the scoping review.

Comparison: There was no requirement that the studies must include a comparison with alternative interventions or control groups for inclusion in the scoping review.

Outcomes: We did not include any restrictions concerning specific outcomes, i.e., all outcomes of TLH that were evaluated in the studies were of interest so long that they could be related to antisemitism. There were studies, specifically within educational research and arts research, that had a component of TLH, but where the purpose of the studies was to investigate specific research questions that were not related to TLH, these were excluded.

Additional inclusion and exclusion criteria:

- The studies had to evaluate an intervention, but there were no restrictions regarding specific quantitative or qualitative study designs for the evaluations. By evaluate we mean that the study had to investigate the outcomes of an intervention in terms of measured or observed changes in the targeted population. For example, this could be by exploring the process of conducting the intervention in a classroom, or by measuring quantitative outcomes after the intervention by means of a survey.
- Only practice-based research was included in the scoping review. This meant studies that in some way evaluated the effects of an intervention conducted in practice.
- Theoretical, philosophical and historical studies were excluded.
- Literature written in all languages was included.
- Studies published before 1945 were excluded.

Table 3 PICO framework

Population	All kinds of populations were included, e.g., pupils in all grades, teachers and the public. - We excluded studies that targeted Jewish populations
Intervention	Educational interventions that included components of TLH - not interventions that targeted the Israel-Palestine conflict
Comparison	No requirements for comparison groups
Outcome	No restrictions on outcomes
Study design	Practice-based research using quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods design
Language	No restrictions on language
Year	Not studies published before 1945
Publication type	No restrictions on publication type.

Screening and relevance assessment

The titles of the identified records – in both Part I and Part II – were first screened by one reviewer. This screening excluded duplicates and records that were clearly irrelevant to the study. The abstracts of the remaining records were then screened by two reviewers independently of each other. The remaining records were retrieved in full text and assessed by the two reviewers. Any differences of opinion regarding inclusion or exclusion of studies were discussed and resolved between the reviewers and in some cases the studies were also discussed in the research group. The relevance assessment was done using Rayyan, a web-based tool designed for the screening process (Ouzzani, Hammady, Fedorowicz, & Elmagarmid, 2016).

Categorization and analysis

The first step in the mapping of the studies identified in Part I and Part II was to extract relevant data from the included studies. The initial data extracted were author, year, country, title, publication type, study design, intervention type, description of intervention, population and outcomes. This information was used in order to get a descriptive overview of the studies included in each part.

After this initial step, the included material was examined using four different analytical approaches in order to answer the research questions: 1) Bibliometric analysis of the two research fields (Part I and Part II); 2) Thematic categorisation of learning theories used in the included studies (Part III); 3) Narrative synthesis of research outcomes (Part IV and Part V), 4) Analysis of the notions of antisemitism in the included studies (Part VI).

1. Bibliometric analysis of the two research fields

Bibliographic data from the included material was analysed based on authorship and keywords. These visualizations were then used in order to analyse the bibliometric aspects of the research based on metadata. The aim of this kind of bibliometric analysis is to identify patterns within the covered research based on the content and shared reference patterns between documents.

The text-based analysis of keywords and key terms in the titles and abstracts used keywords registered at the article level by the publisher, often chosen by the researchers themselves, but sometimes chosen from a list of pre-determined keywords. The algorithm takes into account pairwise relationships between all keywords identified in the articles, citing the institution's publications based on how often the terms occur together in the "author generated" keyword list. For the authorship analysis, a bibliographic coupling algorithm was used in order to show the research fronts (Persson, 2005) of the researchers. Since this data is aggregated at the author level, the clustering is often more distinct here. Node size is based on the total of shares of articles for each author, meaning that authorship of a paper with four other authors yields a share of 0.25 for the author. Self-citation data is not removed, since, for informational purposes, self-citation is not an issue. The records were exported in RIS format and the software tool VOSviewer (van Eck & Waltman, 2014) was used to analyse the data and present the findings in visualizations.

As a complement to the bibliometric analyses in VOSviewer, manual searches by author, research network, node of researchers, organization and centre was done using different search strategies on the internet. This was done by one researcher.

2. Thematic categorisation of educational approaches

One way of discerning possible connections between input and outcome within systematic reviewing is to analyse the programme theories behind the interventions (Pawson 2006). Programme theory is not necessarily a term that is frequently used within educational research. However, it is a key term in evaluation studies on how interventions of various kinds may bring about a desired result (Funnell & Rogers, 2011). A programme theory is often defined as a theory or a model of how an intervention is supposed to operate in relation to desired outcomes. Usually, a programme theory is assumed to consist of two different theories: a) a theory of change, i.e., assumptions about how a change can be achieved; and b) a theory of action, i.e., what sorts of activities need to be implemented to achieve the desired outcomes (Funnell & Rogers, 2011). In this study it was the former, a theory of change, that inspired our categorization. A theory of change is used to plan, communicate, manage, and evaluate interventions (Brown, Forssell & Roisner, 2020). In this sense it is a theory for evaluating the efficacy of interventions rather than mapping, analysing and comparing different kinds of interventions. However, Mayne (2005) describes a theory of change as a way to discern a model for the mechanisms that bring about the change. Thus, in this study, reconstructing a theory of change implies searching for the mechanism(s) assumed to be at work in an intervention; mechanisms that supposedly make change happen in the target population. Key mechanisms for effecting change are more or less implicitly assumed in many pedagogical approaches and their learning theories.

Drawing on systematic reviews that use analyses of programme theory, we suggest that the analysis of pedagogical approaches embedded in different educational programs, methods and curricula is a path to discerning possible connections between input and outcome. Pedagogical approaches include ideas on the factors that are supposed to drive and lead to change, knowledge and a better understanding among students. Even though education is always meant to facilitate learning, learning is a multifaceted process.

There are as many theories of what learning is and how it is facilitated as there are ideas about the quality of educational outcomes in the shape of facts, competencies, skills, familiarity, abilities, and so on. In Blooms' taxonomy (Bloom & Krathwohl, 1956) for instance which is general in nature but often utilized, learning is an expanding process where development is dependent on increasing cognitive challenges. For instance, teachers lecturing about and students studying facts in textbooks mainly activate basic thinking skills like remembering and recognizing. Such basic thinking skills are believed to be key mechanisms by which students are able to incorporate teaching that departs from more critical inquiry and reflection. The latter facilitates higher-order thinking skills like the abilities to analyse, evaluate and elaborate. With this in mind, it is important to scrutinize the teaching and what we in the coding process have chosen to refer to as key mechanisms that are assumed to bring about a change in learning and their potential for doing so.

With our attention focused on learning theories and the notion of a theory of change, we have read and coded all publications extensively and repeatedly in search of these key mechanisms and the pedagogical theories implicitly or explicitly assumed in the interventions studied. The initial categorization was conducted by two educational researchers who independently analysed the included studies. The categories were inductively identified but informed by the two educational researchers' (CM and JS) previous knowledge of established learning theories. The process was then cross-checked by a blinded reviewer (RM) who identified inconsistencies. The inconsistencies and potential rationales for these were discussed and the categorization changed accordingly. These discussions made it clear where inconsistencies were due to interpretation, whereas the categories were elaborated on to help distinguish between how we had defined the learning theories and the most important mechanisms. In brief, the five categories were defined by these terms: self-reflection, meta cognition, learning about the Holocaust, constructivism/pragmatism, and aesthetic and emotive learning. A sixth category was added for studies where we were unable to discern pedagogical intentions, theories of change or the actual use of mechanisms beyond intervening as such.

3. Narrative synthesis of research outcomes

The outcomes from the included research material were compiled by narrative synthesis (Snilstveit, Oliver & Vojtkova, 2012; Dixon-Wood et al., 2005). The overall aim of the narrative synthesis was to examine if it was possible to draw any conclusions about the effectiveness of the educational interventions evaluated in the included research material.

The first step in the narrative synthesis was to extract information about what types of interventions were evaluated in the studies and the results of these evaluations. Information about the findings of the studies was gathered manually by one researcher and summarized in Microsoft® Excel charts. The synthesis of the outcomes was structured according to the five (+one) categories of learning theories that were teased out in the thematic categorisation of learning theories (see above). Within each of these categories, the studies were gathered in subcategories according to which intervention type or type of outcome they had evaluated.

The summary of the state of knowledge for each of the categories was based on a qualitative analytical approach where four main parameters were taken into account: 1) the study design and overall quality of the included studies; 2) if the effects of the interventions reported in the studies were consistent or if there were important inconsistencies across studies; 3) the heterogeneity of the included studies; 4) the characteristics of the evaluated interventions; and 5) the effect sizes. These parameters were then used in order to draw conclusions about any tendencies in the effects of the interventions.

4. Analysis of the notions of antisemitism in the included studies

This section focuses on the definitions and understandings of antisemitism in the studies analysed and what they entail. Two things are studied: firstly, the focus or lack thereof on antisemitism; and secondly if and how antisemitism is defined. To find out if, when, and how the term “antisemitism” is used and thus to identify the explicit definitions of the term as well as the implicit understandings of it, the 136 texts in the sample were scanned using OCR and systematically surveyed using several search strings.

The first step was to go through the 117 studies in the TLH sample to see how many used the term. To find “antisemitism,” each text was searched using the following keywords: ”anti,” “anti-,” “Antisemitism,” “antisemitism,” “anti-Semitism,” “anti-Semitic,” “antisemitic.” In the German texts, “Antisemitismus,” “Judenhass,” and “Judenfeindschaft” were added to the search and “Judéophobie” and “Antisémitisme,” “antisémitisme” and “l’antisémitisme” to the text in French. These additions, however, turned out to be unnecessary. When these searches did not yield any results, the words “Jew,” “Jews,” “Jewish,” “Jew-hatred” were tested to see if synonyms to “antisemitism” were used. The result showed that “antisemitism” was used in 87 (74%) of the texts and thus not in 30 (26%).

After that, the process started over for the 19 texts not included in the TLH sample. It turned out that another two texts did not use the term, making the total number of texts not using the term “antisemitism” 32 (24%).

The remaining 101 texts were then systematically searched, looking for mentions and definitions of “antisemitism.” In order to ensure that no definitions were missed, an additional search using “definition” and “define” was conducted. For each text, every finding was read, and the ones relevant to the study were copied. Furthermore, all articles were skimmed from beginning to end, and the abstracts and conclusions read. The sections on concepts, terms, and definitions were read in the monographs, as were the abstracts. The conclusions were skimmed. Some copies of poor quality, where the keyword searches did not give any results, were skimmed. There is, of course, a possibility that we missed some examples and that consequently, texts categorized as not including the term mention it once or twice. However, this should not affect the overall picture.

FINDINGS

PART I: Educational interventions to prevent antisemitism

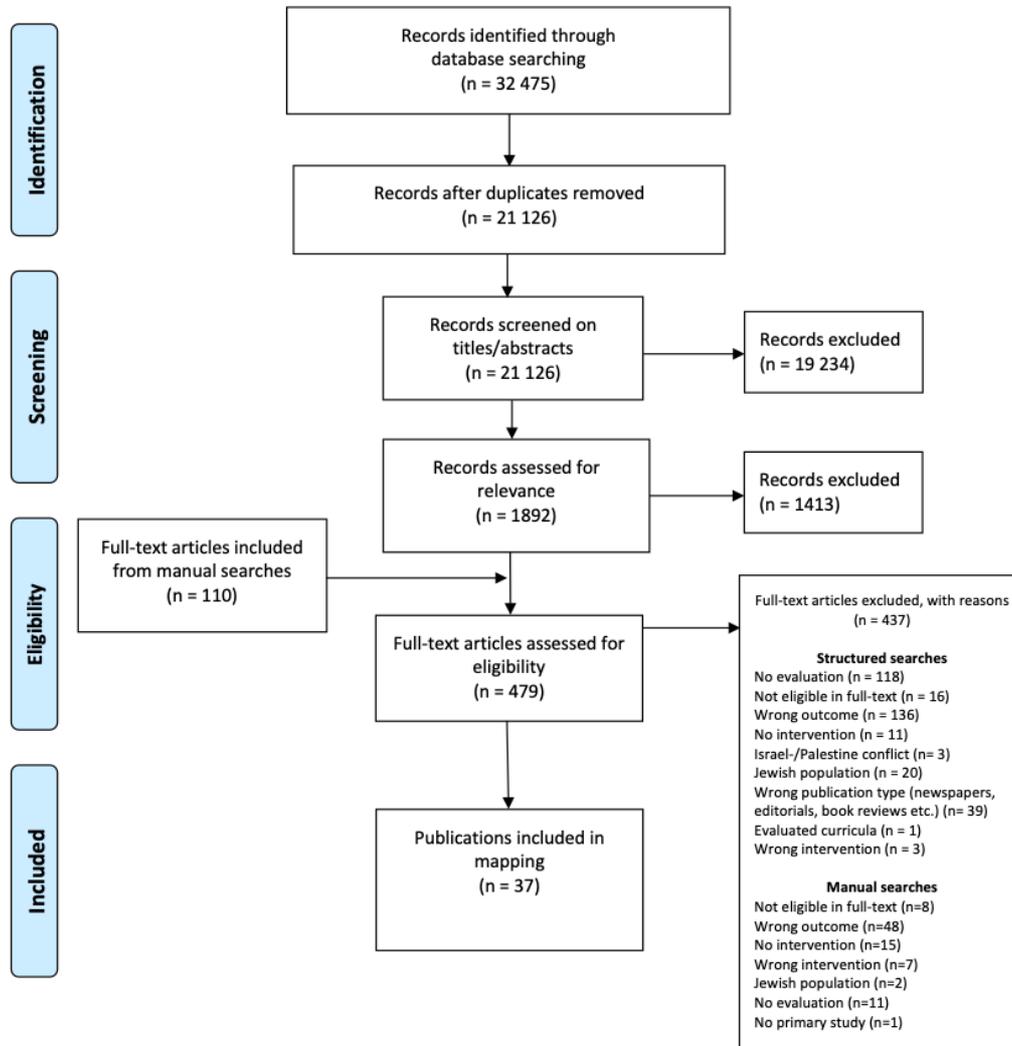
In this section the findings of the systematic mapping review in Part I are provided, which focused on reviewing research that evaluated the effects of educational interventions on educational outcomes related to antisemitism. The findings specific to this part are provided in three main sections: 1) The results of the literature searches and relevance assessment; 2) Overview of the included studies with basic descriptive information; and 3) Findings from bibliometric analyses.

Results of the literature searches and relevance assessment

The structured database searches resulted in 21,126 unique publications after duplicates were removed. The manual searches resulted in the identification of 110 additional publications. The titles and abstracts of 21,126 publications were screened for relevance by one reviewer and resulted in 1,892 articles constituting the outlines of an extended field of research concerning TLH and antisemitism. The abstracts of these articles were assessed by two reviewers. A total of 479 publications were assessed by two reviewers in full text, independent of each other's judgements, and 37 of these were included in the scoping of practice-based research on educational studies on antisemitism. Thus 37 out of 1,892, i.e. 2% of the studies on TLH and antisemitism concern antisemitism specifically. A detailed illustration of the process of literature searching and relevance assessment are provided in the flow chart in Figure 1. A list of the articles excluded after full-text assessment is provided in Appendix 2.



PRISMA 2009 Flow Diagram



From: Moher D, Liberati A, Tetzlaff J, Altman DG, The PRISMA Group (2009). Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement. PLoS Med 6(7): e1000097. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed1000097

For more information, visit www.prisma-statement.org.

Figure 1 Screening and relevance assessment phase.

Overview of the included studies

A total of 37 publications were included in the final review. Of the included literature, 20 were journal articles, three were doctoral theses, six were book chapters, five were research reports, two were conference papers and one was a book. There is no obvious cumulative growth of research in later years, which otherwise is common in many other research areas. Figure 2 shows the number of publications per year. A table with information about the included literature is available in Appendix 5.

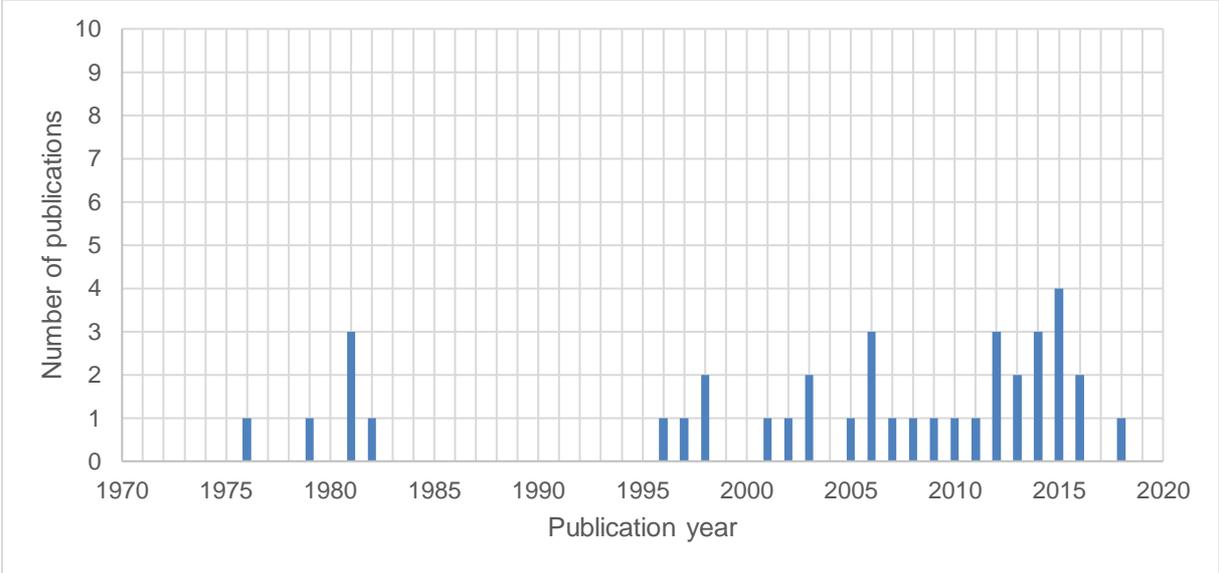


Figure 2 Number of publications presented by year of publication.

The research was conducted in different countries (Table 4), but the majority of the research was conducted in the USA (n=10), Scotland (n=8), UK (n=6) and Poland (n=6). No research was conducted in the Nordic countries. The interventions mostly targeted pupils in formal school (n=31), and within this category the age of the pupils ranged from preschool to 18 years old. There were also interventions that targeted teachers (n=3), preschool teachers (n=1) and the general public (n=2) (Figure 3).

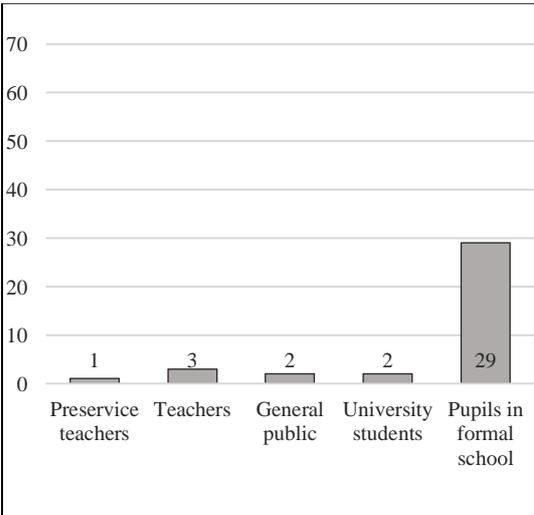


Figure 3 Targeted population in the interventions

Table 4 Included studies sorted by country

Included studies sorted by country (n)	
USA	10
Scotland	8
UK	5
Poland	6
Netherlands	2
Germany	2
Poland/USA	1
USA/Germany	1
France	1
South Africa	1
Australia	1

Description of evaluation methods, intervention type and outcomes.

The studies used a range of different study designs (Figure 4). The majority of studies used quantitative methods (57%). Among these studies, the most common study design was pre- and post-intervention measurements using surveys (n=9), but there were also quasi-experimental studies (n=5), survey studies (n=4), randomised controlled trial (n=1) and a longitudinal study (n=1). Among the qualitative studies (26%), there were ethnographic studies, case studies and interview studies, using data from interviews and classroom observations. The most common data collection method for studies using mixed methods was a combination of interviews, documents and surveys. The evaluated outcomes are shown in Table 5, the most common outcome metric being “attitudes towards Jews” (n=12), “knowledge about antisemitism” (n=7) and “Jews” (n=7).

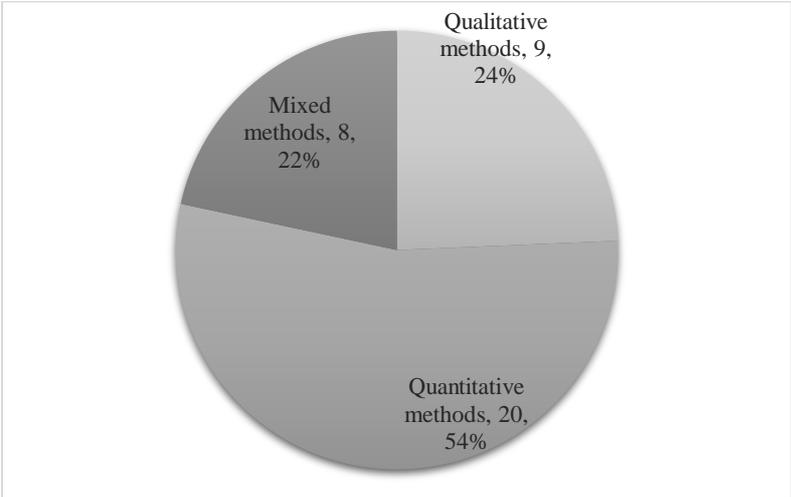


Figure 4. Study designs of included studies

Table 5. Evaluated outcomes in the included studies

Evaluated outcomes (number of studies)	
Attitudes towards Jews	12
Knowledge about antisemitism	7
Knowledge about Jews	7
Ability to recognize antisemitism among students	1
Factors influencing pupils in Holocaust education	1
Areas of improvement of Holocaust education	1
Understanding racism and the value of Holocaust education	2
Themes emerging after Holocaust education	3
Different kind of learnings about Jews	1
The nature of pupils' attitudes towards Jews	1
Lack of antisemitism in TLH	1

Bibliometric analysis of included studies

The findings of the bibliometric analyses of the included material area provided in this section. Bibliographic data from the included material was analysed based on authorship and keywords. These visualizations were then used in order to analyse the bibliometric aspects of the research based on metadata. The aim of this kind of bibliometric analysis was to identify patterns within the covered research based on its content and the shared reference patterns between studies.

Active researchers, research networks and co-authorship

Within the research area mapped by this review, most researchers seem to only publish single studies or reports. Figure 5 shows how many first author publications that researchers within the included material have published within this particular research area. This way of visualizing the included material can give an indication of where there appear to be active researchers important to the development of knowledge within this research field. Since it was only possible to include first author publications in this kind of description of the material, we also produced a co-authorship map that visualized how researchers within the included material have co-authored the publications. This makes it possible to also identify important nodes of researchers and research environments.

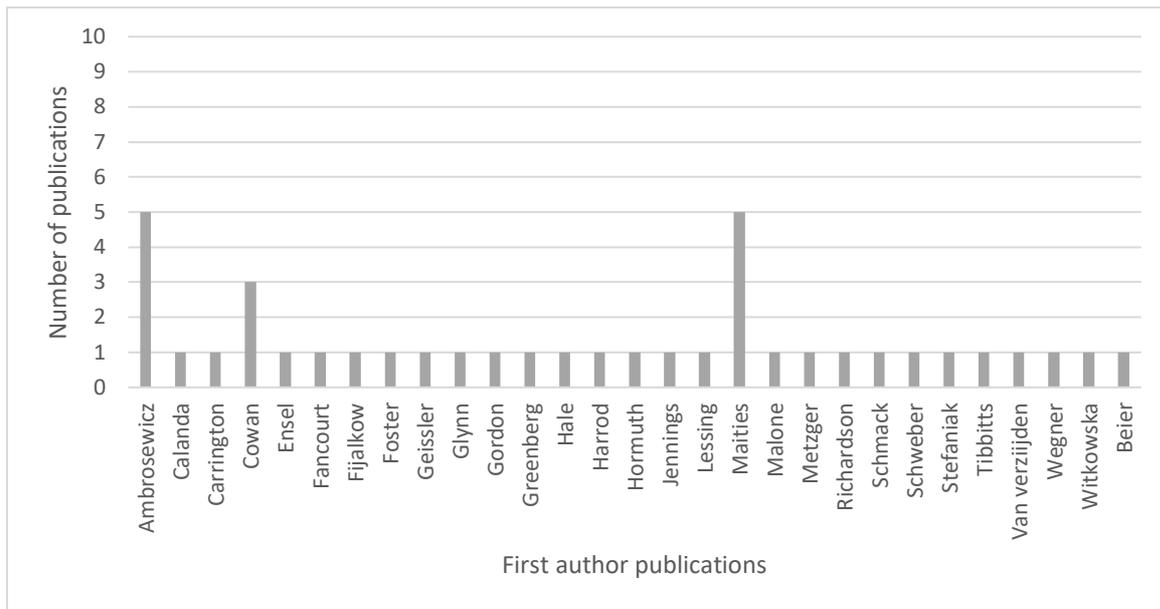


Figure 5. Number of publications per first author.

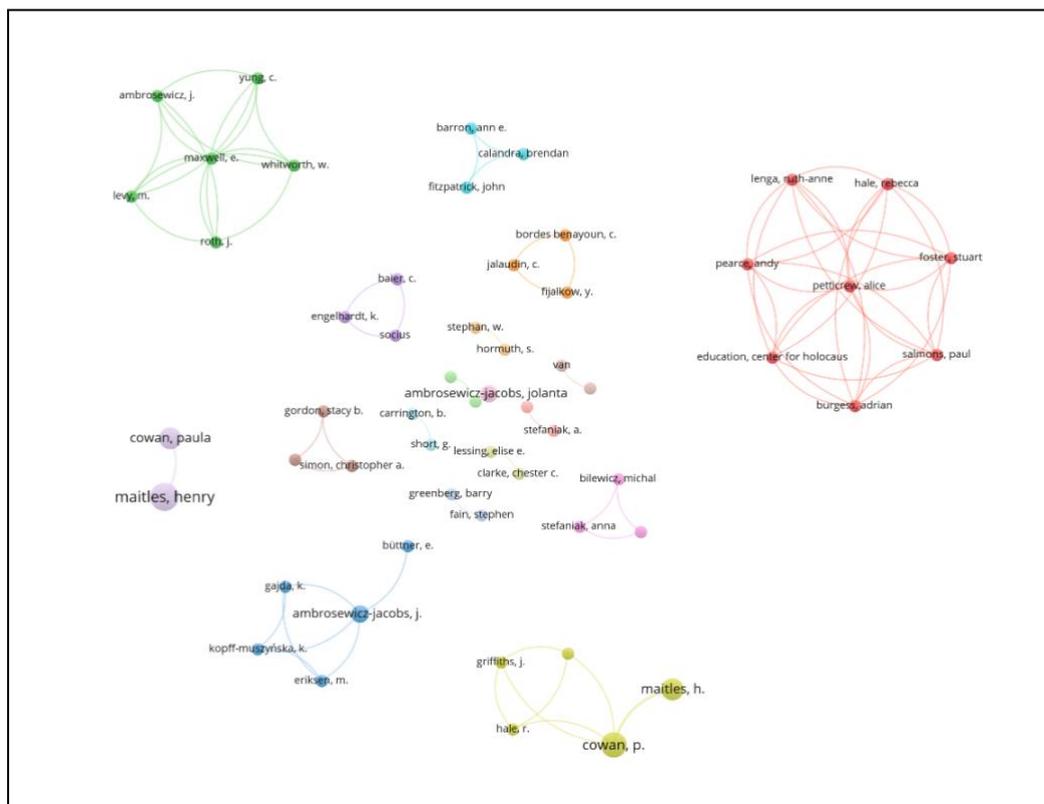


Figure 6 .Co-authorship map.

The co-authorship map (Figure 6) shows the lack of connections between the researchers who have authored the included studies. This indicates that there is a lack of research environments that focus on the kind of research addressed in this review. But, as is also visible in the Figure, there are some exceptions, with small nodes of researchers. The symmetrical red and green clusters visualize the co-authorship of one joint publication. However, the yellow, blue and purple clusters with larger nodes show that there is co-authorship of more than one publication. The manual analyses of the included

material show that there are three small nodes of research where there seem to be researchers who are specialized in TLH and antisemitism. This is visible from their several publications where they evaluate the effects of educational interventions on educational outcomes related to antisemitism (see Figure 5). Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs in Poland has published both qualitative and quantitative research within the research area (n=5). As shown in Figure 5, Paula Cowan (n=3) with Henry Maitles (n=5) have conducted several projects (some of this research was part of Cowan's dissertation with Maitles as her main supervisor). In the included material, there is one publication from the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education (Foster et al., 2016). This publication is a comprehensive report that evaluates initiatives on TLH in schools in UK.

A peripheral area that only partly relates to the research field mapped in this review was found in a research environment called the Center for Research on Prejudice at the University of Warsaw. While most of the research conducted there was excluded because it focused on intergroup interventions (which were a criteria for exclusion in this review), two publications still fitted the criteria for this review (Stefaniak & Bilewicz, 2016 and Witkowska et al., 2014).

The rest of the included research is comprised of single studies conducted by researchers who are otherwise active in other research fields such as religious studies, educational science, social studies and sociology. The manual analysis indicated that these researchers have not focused on practice-based research about antisemitism but are/were active within other research areas. Taking into account that there are a number of major academic institutions around the world that conduct research on antisemitism it might have been expected that there ought to have been more efforts to study the relationship between educational initiatives and antisemitism.

The content of the research

The bibliometric illustration below shows which keywords are used in the 37 studies and how they refer to each other, as well as how their frequency has trended over time (Figure 7). The clustering by colour is based on the average publication year for the studies that include the keyword. “Holocaust” “Jews” and “education” are, not unexpectedly, common keywords; hence the size of these nodes. Apart from these keywords, the visual map shows the diversity of research areas where this kind of practice-based research that evaluates educational outcomes related to antisemitism pops up. There are many different small nodes of diverse keywords and this corresponds to the finding above: that the research is carried out in many different research areas and that there is a lack of any research environment that focuses on this kind of research in a systematic way. It is also interesting to note that there are not any strong links to antisemitism as a contemporary issue. Most of these links are to the Holocaust. A surprising finding in the analysis of co-occurrence of keywords is the rare use of the word antisemitism in the included studies. While the studies all in some way measure educational outcomes that relate to antisemitism, few authors seem to use antisemitism as a keyword when describing their studies.

PART II: Teaching and learning about the Holocaust

In this section, the findings of Part II of the systematic scoping review are provided. Part II focused on reviewing research that evaluated the effects of educational interventions within the field of TLH. The findings of the review specific to this part are provided in three main sections: 1) The results of the literature searches and relevance assessment; 2) Overview of the included studies with basic descriptive mapping; and 3) Findings from bibliometric analyses.

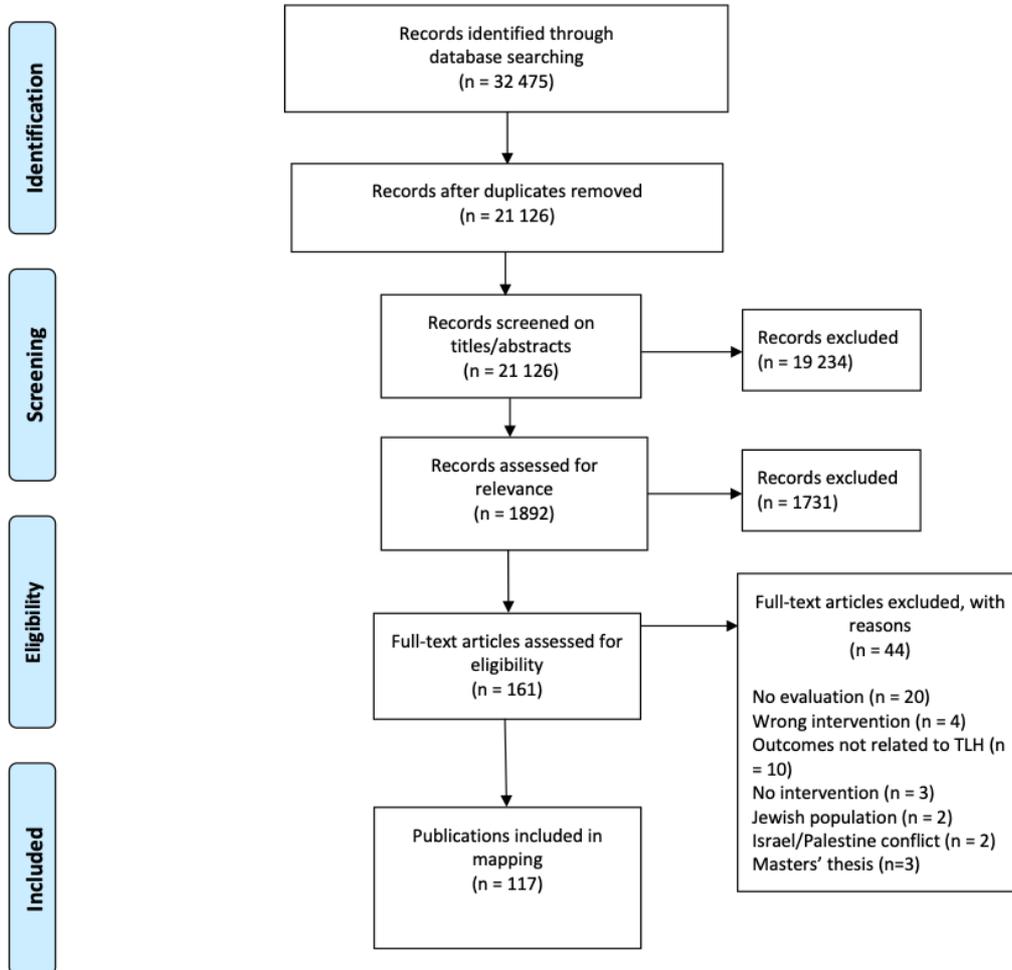
Results of the literature searches and relevance assessment

The structured database searches that were conducted for the purpose of the broader project resulted in 21,126 unique publications after duplicates were removed. For this part of the review, we did not conduct any manual searches for literature that may not have been found in the structured database searches. The 21,126 publications were screened by title and abstract for relevance by one reviewer which resulted in 1892 articles constituting the outlines of an extended field of research concerning TLH and antisemitism. The abstracts of these articles were read by two reviewers. A total of 161 publications were then read in full text by two reviewers, independent of each other's judgements, and 117 of these were included in the scoping review of educational studies related to antisemitism. Thus 117 out of 1,892 (6%) of the studies of TLH and antisemitism concern practice-based studies of TLH specifically. Sixteen of these 117 articles also directly concerned antisemitism and were thus included already in Part I.

A detailed illustration of the process of the literature search and relevance assessment is provided in the flow chart in Figure 8. A list of the articles excluded after full-text assessment is provided in Appendix 1.



PRISMA 2009 Flow Diagram



From: Moher D, Liberati A, Tetzlaff J, Altman DG, The PRISMA Group (2009). Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement. PLoS Med 6(7): e1000097. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed1000097

For more information, visit www.prisma-statement.org.

Figure 8 Screening and relevance assessment phase.

Overview of the included studies

Of the included literature, 65 were journal articles, 35 were doctoral thesis, 11 were book chapters and 6 were research reports. The majority of the included literature was published within the last 20 years. Figure 9 shows a growth in the number of publications that evaluates TLH in recent years. A table with information about the included literature is available in Appendix 5.

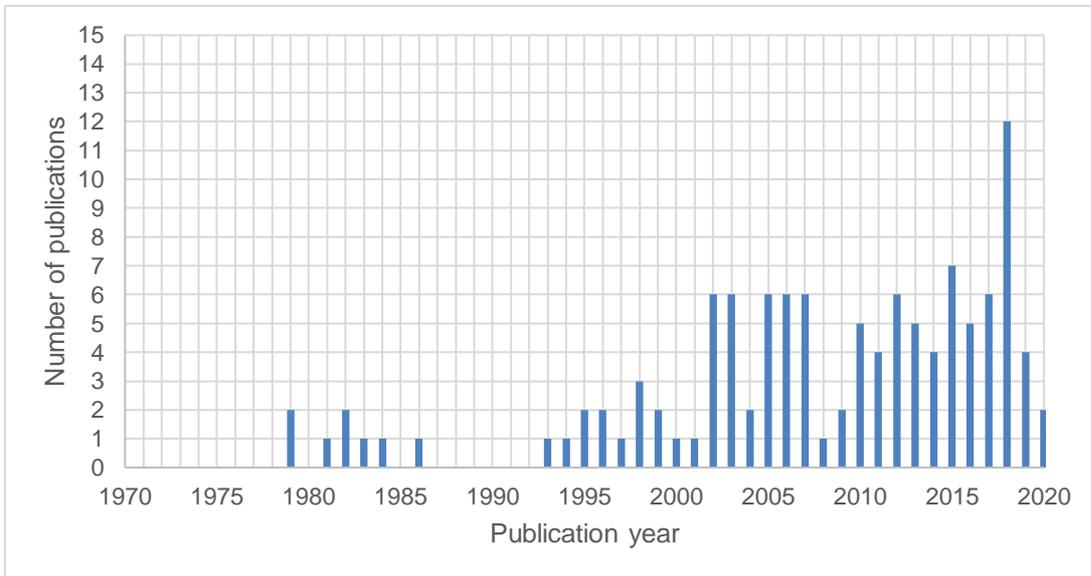


Figure 9. Number of publications presented by year of publication.

The research was conducted in different countries (Table 6), but the majority of the research was conducted in the USA ($n=77$), followed by the UK ($n=13$). No research was conducted in the Nordic countries. The interventions mostly targeted students in formal school ($n=64$), and within this category the age of the students ranged from kindergarten to 18 years old. The interventions also targeted teachers ($n=15$) and pre-service teachers ($n=5$), university students ($n=15$), whole communities ($n=4$) and the general public ($n=2$), the latter being mostly museum exhibitions and art projects. One study focused on investigating how parents reacted to their children's learning about the Holocaust (Figure 10).

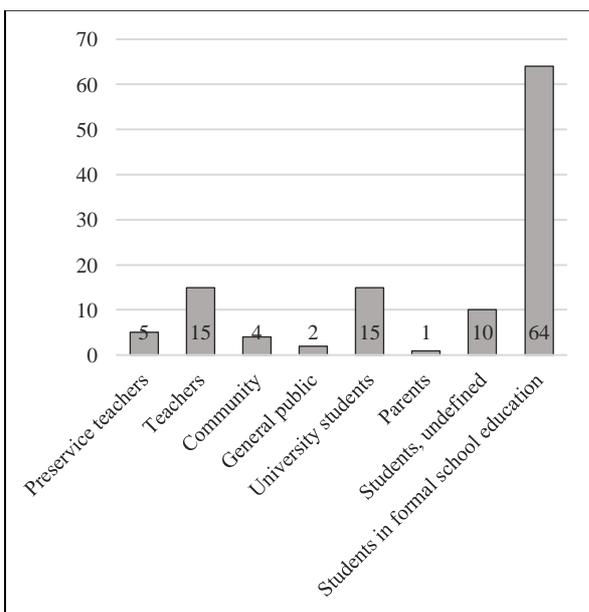


Figure 10: Targeted populations in the interventions

Table 6. Included studies sorted by country

Included studies sorted by country (n)	
USA	77
UK	13
Israel	1
Scotland	7
Canada	3
Netherlands	3
Poland	2
Germany	7
UK/USA	1
Latvia	1
South Africa	1

Description of evaluation methods and intervention type

The studies used a range of different study designs (Figure 11). The majority of studies used qualitative methods (57%). Among these studies, the most common study design was case studies using data from interviews and classroom observations. Among the quantitative studies (29%), there were four randomized controlled trials, ten quasi-experimental studies and other studies using surveys to evaluate interventions. The most common data collection method for studies using mixed methods was a combination of interviews, documents and surveys.

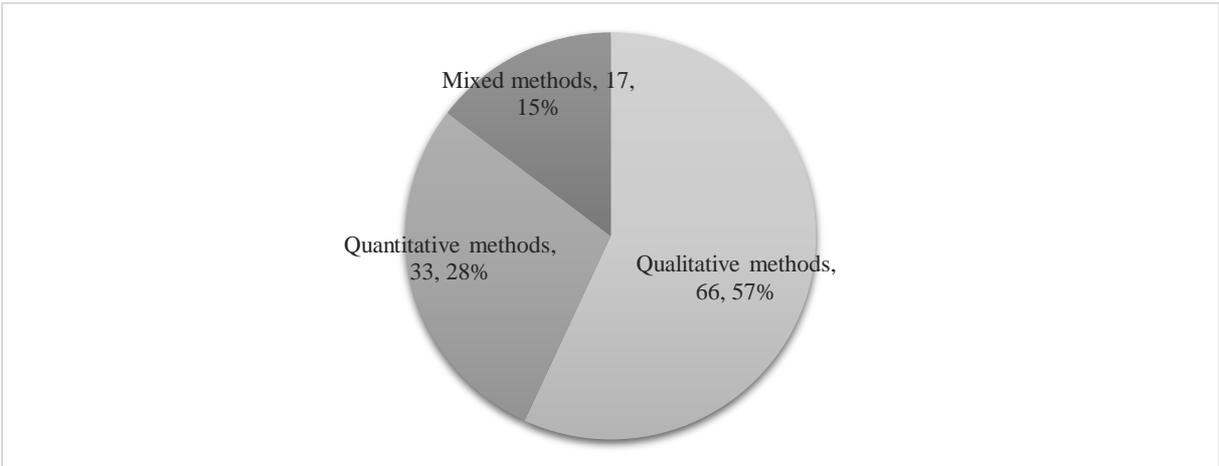


Figure 11 Percentage of included studies presented by study design.

Bibliometric analysis of included studies

The findings of the bibliometric analyses of the included material are reported in this section. Bibliographic data from the included material was analysed based on authorship and keywords. These visualizations were then used to analyse the bibliometrics of the research based on metadata. The aim of this kind of bibliometric analysis was to identify patterns in the content and shared reference patterns between reports in the included material.

Active researchers, research networks and co-authorship

Within the area of practice-based TLH research mapped by this review, most researchers seem to only publish once. Figure 12 shows how many first author publications that researchers within the included material have published within this particular research area. This way of visualizing the included material can provide an indication of where there seem to be active researchers important to the development of knowledge within this research area. Since it was only possible to include first author publications in this kind of description of the material, we also mapped co-authorship of the publications. This makes it possible to also identify important nodes of researchers and research environments and therefore functions as a complement to the first author publication analysis.

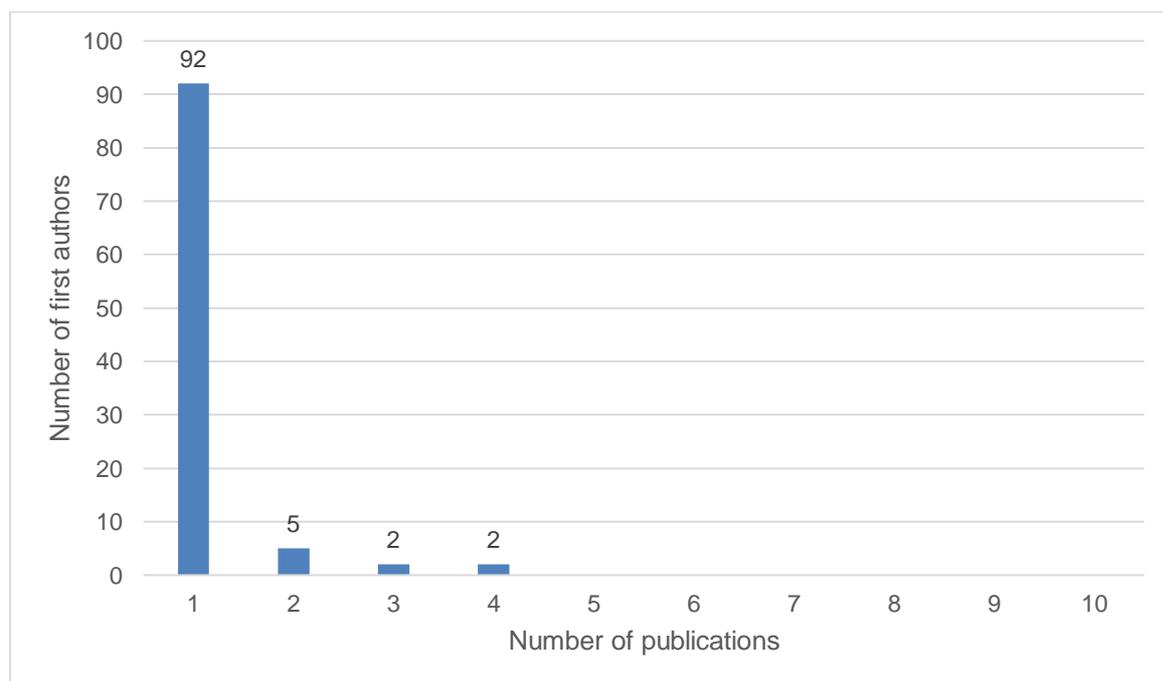


Figure 12 Number of publications per author.

Among the 117 publications that were included in the scoping review, few researchers were found to have published more than one report (see Figure 12). Many of the authors seem to have published a single article or a doctoral dissertation without continuing to conduct research within this area. There were 15 doctoral dissertations in educational science included, where the doctoral student does not seem to have continued their research (other publications were not found in manual searches). Of those who have a research career, most are active in areas other than TLH. Several of them are active or have been active in other parts of educational science ($n = 17$). Several researchers are also active or have been

active in social justice, tolerance, and multicultural education (n = 10). There are also a few researchers in history, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and Jewish studies who have a single publication in this field (n = 8).

As can be seen in the co-authorship map in Figure 13, Paula Cowan with Henry Maitles and others have co-authored some publications and seem to form a kind of network. Manual searches showed that Cowan seems to be active within the area and after her dissertation. The co-authorship map shows that except for the above-mentioned researchers, there seem to be few connections between researchers who have published studies within the area of practice-based TLH. This indicates that the research carried out does not appear to be based on previous research. The authorship map thus shows that there is almost no research environment for this kind of research. The majority of researchers only publish one work in the field and then leave it at that.

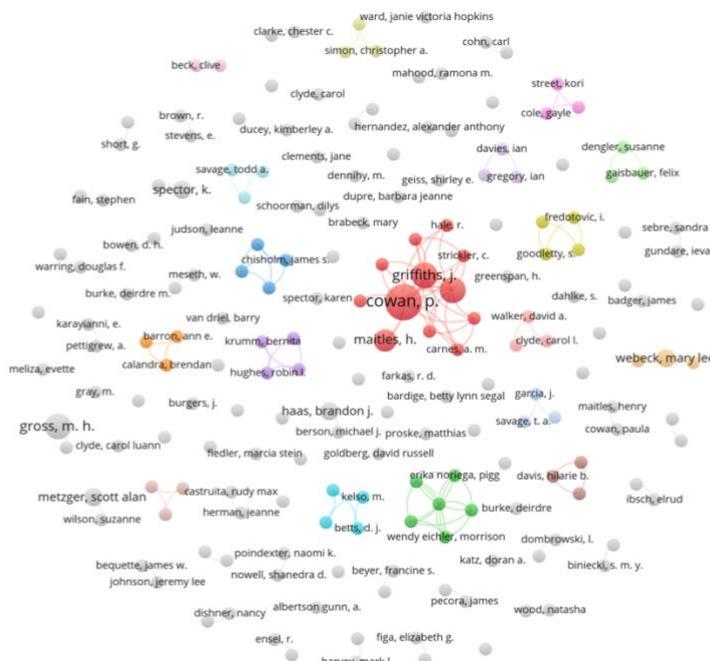


Figure 13 Co-authorship map.

The content of the research

The bibliometric illustration below (Figure 14) shows which keywords are used in the 117 studies and how they refer to each other, as well as how their frequency has developed over time. Not unexpectedly, "Holocaust" is a common keyword, hence the size of the node. The keyword is strongly associated with "education", "history", "empathy" and "teachers" but very weakly associated with "antisemitism", which is also a very small node, i.e. rare among the keywords used to represent the content of studies. "Jews", on the other hand, is common and it is strongly associated with "death" but not at all associated with antisemitism. In 32 of the 117 TLH studies, antisemitism is not mentioned at all and in 27 it is only mentioned in passing or treated rather briefly. In total in 43 % of the studies, antisemitism is either not presented at all or is not a part of the analysis. This indicates that initiatives that could potentially prevent antisemitism seem to be more about human rights in general or racism and homophobia in general. Furthermore, this pattern could indicate an expectation that the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust will be used as an educational resource to arouse empathy in relation to how other groups are suffering

PART III Educational approaches in the reviewed studies

The categories were mainly inductively identified and categorized according to established learning theories or ideas about the relationship between teaching and learning. We have elaborated on these to differentiate somewhat how we have defined the theories of change found in the articles. Within this scoping review, we are interested in how education may reduce antisemitism and how TLH may lead to more insights than just historical knowledge. Some of the studies are clear about mechanisms or means that are crucial for the teaching and learning process in relation to desired goals. These include co-operative learning, role play, Socratic dialogues and so on. In other cases, there are no aspirations to theorize on how, when and why intellectual and emotional development can or will take place as a result of the teaching. In those cases, we have chosen to interpret what sort of mechanisms have been assumed. Based on this we have categorized the 136 studies in relation to how the educational interventions have been scrutinized, and present the mechanisms on which the teaching was constructed.

1. Self-reflection

Several of the studies imply an intention to sustain or create a willingness and capacity for the development of self-reflection among the students. The teaching process is aimed at guiding the students to become aware of themselves by engaging in the content as well as in discussions with their peers, teachers and significant others. This approach can be recognized in most teaching, but specific to the framework is the intention that students should not only learn *about* the Holocaust but also *from* the Holocaust. Thus, the potential for learning is dependent on how the teaching facilitates the student's opportunities and capacity for self-reflection as a higher-order thinking skill. In the analyses of the research on TLH, we have found that *self-reflection* holds two similar sub-categories. The first contains more localized initiatives where teachers in their classrooms, schools or local areas implement curricula or projects whereas the second category is based on an established pedagogical practice with a proven self-reflective and transformative agenda.

A) Encouraging self-reflection within the first sub-category is based on individual **or social psychological point of departure**. This entails an understanding of human life as a product of relationships between history, society and biographical changes (Mills, 1959/2000). In this case the students are encouraged to reflect upon how humans act and interact in specific social settings either in the didactical setting or based on the subject content (or both). Key issues are the meaning of identity, collective responsibility and social positioning in a specific context. By understanding and reflecting on these social aspects, students are encouraged and expected to understand the individual's scope for action during the Holocaust. The educational goal is that students can come to individual conclusions about themselves, their actions and their relationships to others, and how they can make meaning from and utilise the lessons from and about the Holocaust.

B) The second sub-category focuses on a specific pedagogical programme or model named "**Facing history and ourselves**" (FHAO) developed by US teachers in 1976. It is a long lasting, widespread and, within the TLH field, a well-known program. It is also well-researched. In our sample, a total of 12 studies focused on the FHAO programme alone, or on interventions where it was amended to adapt it to a certain project (the FHAO core content always remains intact). The programme is situated somewhere between an individual and a social psychology perspective with the mission to use the

lessons of history to challenge teachers and their students to stand up to bigotry and hate. By engaging students of diverse backgrounds to work with issues such as racism, prejudice and antisemitism, it aims to promote a more humane society.

2. Metacognition

The second category are programs that encourage students to develop their Meta cognitive abilities, to use and to challenge their intellectual capacities, and to reflect on others' thoughts and worldviews to develop their own ability to make connections and draw conclusions. Metacognitive learning is associated with self-regulation and self-regulated learning (Densomere et al., 2008) where active engagement with an object affects the subject. In contrast to the self-reflection category, students are expected to reach these conclusions and develop these abilities without being deliberately challenged in the educational context. Instead, students are meant to identify the cognitive goal of their learning and think about how they can achieve their goal. It follows that this is focused on *higher order thinking skills*, whereas teaching is based on *basic skills* and consequently students' abilities to recognize what knowledge they are lacking, and how to develop it and translate it into action are not sustained (Kaplan, 2008). Thus, these are programs that encourage or assume that students cognitively translate the historical content, i.e. the history of the Holocaust directly into societal concerns today such as racism, prejudice, and homophobia and even matters like bullying, violence and so on. By recognizing and learning about the “patterns”, “mechanisms”, and “structures” that led to the Holocaust, it is anticipated that students will be able to identify contemporary issues which, while they may not lead to a genocide, are likely to undermine democracy and human rights.

3. Learning about the Holocaust

In this category, we have identified studies of programs that foreground the content - factual and historical knowledge about the Holocaust. The interventions often target basic thinking skills such as remembering names and important years and events. This is often seen as traditional teaching in the sense that it is straightforward and its aim is a QAR (question, answer, response) structure focused on gaining knowledge of the content without any particular assumptions about individual growth or insights.

4. Constructivism or pragmatism

Some of the studies have focused on teaching that have been inspired and influenced by constructivism or pragmatism based on notions of an intrinsic urge to learn that can be challenged and stimulated by making teaching meaningful to the students. These interventions aim to harness “learning by doing”, or encouraging students to make their own inquiries or to interact with materials or peers to construct their own knowledge. Theories of change based on social constructs are often related to ground-breaking theories developed by the poster children of pedagogy: John Dewey's pragmatism and Lev Vygotsky's sociocultural theory. Both these influential theories are based on how knowledge can be adapted for pragmatic use and learning as a process dependent on culture, context, interactivity and the support of competent others who can guide learners or help them to scaffold their learning (Säljö, 2014). These practices are very common points of departure for teaching in the Western world and it is no surprise that some models are based on these kinds of collective, social learning theories, which are themselves often based on problematization and challenge. Within this scoping review, we understand models that encourage research-oriented and peer learning processes, initiated and supported by a teacher who instructs, informs and evaluates, as the most vital basis for learning from the Holocaust.

5. Aesthetic and emotive learning

A vast number of studies of programs have applied art and drama to teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Art and drama are frequently interwoven in programs in the other categories as well, often with the purpose of multisensory learning. Within this specific category, art and drama serves the purpose of getting the students more engaged with the topic of the Holocaust. It is not so much about making the lessons from the Holocaust stick, nor is it about learning more about the Holocaust. It is mainly about getting more involved on an emotional level. Occasionally emotions are at the core of the intervention and emotive responses to TLH are researched.

6. Uncategorized

Some of the studies were of programs that we could not categorise. There are several reasons for this, ranging from lack of information (or our inability to comprehend the information provided) to the absence of a theory behind the programme or lack of analyses of the program, i.e. a descriptive study.

All in all, apart from “Facing History and Ourselves” model, there are very few examples of how aspirations such as promoting tolerance, and combating racism and prejudice and in rare instances antisemitism, can be achieved by teaching and learning about the Holocaust. This could be seen as counterintuitive when, at a policy level, particular emphasis in various ways is place on sustaining and reinforcing teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Increasing educational initiatives such as TLH with a particular aim such as preventing antisemitism without any scientific evidence to back up for the connection between what is being done, what the desired outcomes are, and what the actual outcomes are, is woefully inadequate. A good and recent example of a more productive trend is the studies carried out in Scotland by Paula Cowen and others. In this case there is interaction between the researchers and the teachers, meaning that the findings of the studies inform the teaching process and this better-informed TLH then becomes the subject of further studies.

PART IV Narrative synthesis of outcomes of antisemitism studies

This section provides a narrative synthesis focused on the outcomes of the included studies of antisemitism. The narrative synthesis is structured around the five (+one) categories of learning theories that were found in the search for key mechanisms assumed in interventions: 1. Self-reflection, 2. Metacognition, 3. Learning about the Holocaust, 4. Constructivism/pragmatism, 5. Aesthetics and emotive learning, and 6. Uncategorized. The categorisation was conducted as a step in the analysis of the included studies and a more comprehensive description of the results of this categorisation are provided in Part III in this report on p. 36 ff.

In addition to the categorisation into learning theories, the studies were further divided into smaller subcategories of types of interventions and outcomes within each of the six learning theory categories. The aim of the narrative synthesis was to summarise and compile the findings of the included studies concerning the outcomes related to educational initiatives to prevent antisemitism in order to explore if they had any important tendencies or effects.

1. Self-reflection

Two studies were included in this category (which is divided into two subcategories). The studies are conducted in Germany (n=1) and USA (n=1). Both studies used mixed methods.

Hence, **only two studies evaluated interventions within the category of self-reflection**. One of the studies indicated that FHAO resulted in an increase in students' abilities to recognize antisemitism. The other study, while drawing interesting conclusions about antisemitism, did not provide any measures of the intervention's effects on antisemitism. Based on this thin material It is not possible to draw any conclusions about effectiveness. More research about how interventions based on this category of learning theory impact outcomes related to antisemitism is needed.

1a. Encouragement of self-reflection

One publication was included in this subcategory.

Baier and Engelhardt (2016) described the initiative 'Out-of-school education activities conducted by NGOs'. The aim of the study was to evaluate ongoing or regularly repeated metrics, scheduled to run for at least two years, and implemented in Germany. This study comprised the evaluation of the ongoing project. One of the findings of this evaluation of the ongoing implementation phase was that the implementers were hesitant about being evaluated.

1b. The standard model: Facing history and ourselves

Tibbitts (2006) evaluated a variant of FHAO called "Facing the past, transforming our future". The aim of the programme was to support teachers in addressing human rights and individual responsibility in democracy. In a survey, the teachers indicated that the programme increased their ability to recognize racism, antisemitism, prejudice and other forms of bigotry in themselves and others. The survey results were confirmed by anecdotal information collected during classroom visits.

2. Metacognition

A total of 18 studies were included in this category. Eleven of the studies were conducted with quantitative methods, four with qualitative methods, and three using mixed methods. The studies were conducted in Poland (n=2), USA (n=4), Poland/USA (n=1), UK (n=2), Scotland (n=5), Scotland/Poland (n=2), France (n=1), and Germany (n=1). These are divided into the following kinds of interventions: General TLH, Extracurricular interventions and films to boost knowledge and influence attitudes towards Jews.

The research on educational interventions designed as general TLH showed that the effects of TLH on educational outcomes related to antisemitism are uncertain. There are inconsistencies in the findings of the quantitative studies, where three of the studies showed no significant effects while two showed some effects. The differences in effects could probably be explained partly by the heterogeneity of the interventions, participants and settings. The findings of the qualitative studies correspond to the findings in the quantitative studies. One study indicated that students lacked knowledge about antisemitism and Jews after the intervention, while another showed how students were very keen to distinguish themselves from people with antisemitic tendencies.

The tendencies in the effects of extracurricular interventions on educational outcomes related to antisemitism are uncertain. The findings across the quantitative studies are inconsistent with two studies showing no statistically significant effects on students' perceptions of Jews, and two studies showing slightly positive changes in students' attitudes towards Jews. But the findings were not subject to statistical significance testing. The evaluated interventions did differ in character which could explain the inconsistency in reported effects. The qualitative study explored important effective components in an extracurricular project but did not focus on educational outcomes related to antisemitism.

The studies that focus on using film as a pedagogical tool did not provide any general tendencies in the effects of film as an educational tool on educational outcomes related to antisemitism. The inconsistency in effects indicates that the content of the film as well as the context in which the film is shown could play a role in how effective this intervention might be.

Interventions influenced by metacognition and their outcomes related to antisemitism

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of outcomes in this category of educational interventions.

General TLH in school

Seven studies (in eight publications) evaluated the impact of general TLH on students' knowledge of antisemitism and attitudes towards Jews. Five were quantitative studies and three were qualitative studies. The studies were conducted in Poland, Scotland, USA, England and France.

Two studies, which were reported on in three publications (Cowan & Mailes, 2005; Maitles & Cowan, 2006; Maitles, 2008), evaluated the effects of TLH as a part of the WW2 topic for students in primary 7. In one of the studies, the students' perceived knowledge about human rights, racism, antisemitism and genocide was measured before and after the educational intervention (Cowan & Maitles, 2005). The findings of the study showed that the students' still had a lack of understanding of what antisemitism and genocide are after the intervention. In the other study, an assessment of students' knowledge about antisemitism after TLH was conducted in two schools. In one of the schools, the findings showed that only 3.7% knew what antisemitism was, and in the other school only 39% knew the meaning of

antisemitism. Feedback from the teachers revealed that the second school had used and displayed flashcards of key terms related to the Holocaust, including antisemitism. Another finding in the study was that students who had studied the Holocaust in grade 7 tended to have more positive values and attitudes than those who did not. In neither of these studies were the findings subject to statistical significance testing, it is thus not certain if the findings are due to chance or not.

Simon (2003) evaluated the effects of a course devoted to the study of genocide and the Holocaust in comparison to an introductory course in American politics on knowledge about the Holocaust, levels of antisemitism and general political tolerance. The findings showed no statistically significant effects for any of the measured outcomes. Knowledge about the Holocaust did not differ between the groups, and there were no significant effects on levels of antisemitism or general political tolerance. One reason for the lack of effects could be that the students had low levels of antisemitism before the interventions; there was thus little scope for the intervention to produce less antisemitism and more tolerance.

Carrington and Short (1997) reported on some emerging themes in a qualitative evaluation of regular TLH in year nine in England. They concluded that one in five students were not aware of the image of the Jew in Nazi ideology, and few students stated that the Holocaust taught them nothing about racism. Others stated that the Jews were oppressed because of their religious beliefs. However, two thirds of the included participants in the evaluation stated that they felt changed by the educational intervention since they were now more aware of racism targeting Jews.

Witkowska et al. (2014) evaluated the effects on a sample of students of TLH in high schools in Warsaw, Poland. The findings of the study showed a negative effect on students' willingness to contact Jews. The findings indicated that the methods used to teach about the annihilation of Jews were insufficient since they not only proved to be ineffective, but also worsened the students' attitudes toward Jews.

Fijalkow and Jalaudin (2014) evaluated the impact of TLH in high school. The findings of the study indicated that the students who received the educational intervention were less prone to agree with the statement that Jews use the Holocaust to benefit themselves.

The use of a course on Judaism which included a unit on the Holocaust was analysed by Schmack (2015). During the course, the students were very aware of negative attitudes to Jews, but they were also keen to distinguish themselves from the perpetrators of negative behaviours.

In a qualitative study based on observations, Schweber (1998) investigated TLH as a moral endeavour by observing the teaching of four different teachers. While the study describes the cases in rich empirical detail, it is hard to extract any general conclusions about educational outcomes related to the prevention of antisemitism from the study.

Extracurricular interventions and educational programmes

Four studies evaluated the effects of extracurricular interventions and other educational programmes outside of regular education on educational outcomes related to preventing antisemitism.

In a book chapter, Ambrosewicz and Yung (2001) reported on two quasi-experimental studies. In the first study, extracurricular activities designed to teach young people about tolerance, prejudice and xenophobia were evaluated. The findings of the study indicated that a smaller percentage of students in the experimental group agreed with the statement that "on account of their origin, Jews never were and never will be true Poles" (12.3% mostly and 2.5% strongly agreed), compared to the control group

(where 20.4% mostly and 22.4% strongly agreed). In the second study, an educational programme developed by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre was evaluated for its effects on student attitudes towards Jews. The findings indicated that the programme did not seem to have a significant effect on students' attitude toward Jews. Furthermore, the findings indicated that having a Jewish friend seemed to be more strongly correlated with the student's attitude towards Jews than with having attended the programme. Ambrosewicz (2014) analysed the impact of extracurricular projects about the Holocaust and Jewish history in addition to formal TLH in secondary schools. After the project, teachers frequently emphasised the importance of creating a relaxed atmosphere where students were assured that they were not being graded. Opportunities for students to discuss and reflect upon moral choices in different situations were also an important component of the project. Another factor that was identified as effective was motivating students to learn through getting them to plan an event where they could present the findings of the project to others.

In a prospective study of an intervention, Maitles (2010) explored the impact on students involved in a dedicated, intensive citizenship programme in one large secondary (high) school in Scotland in terms of their attitudes toward Jews. Before the study, 14% agreed with the statement that there are too many Jewish people in Scotland. After the program, 11% agreed with this statement. The findings were not subject to statistical significance testing.

In an RCT, Calandra et al. (2002) evaluated a web-based resource for teachers to use when teaching the Holocaust. The findings showed no statistically significant effects on changes in students' affinities towards diversity, Holocaust knowledge or perceptions towards Jews in the intervention group compared to the control group.

Two studies reported on in three publications evaluated the effects of a field trip to Auschwitz and a following de-briefing were evaluated on students' personal growth in terms of their social, moral and emotional development were evaluated in a study (Cowan & Maitles, 2011; Maitles & Cowan, 2009). One outcome that was evaluated was students' experience of how the visit helped them understand antisemitism, genocide, human rights, WW2 and refugees. The findings show that students perceived that the visit had contributed to Citizenship Education in terms of their understanding of antisemitism, genocide, the plight of refugees and human rights, and their historical understanding of WW2. The highest growth areas were human rights and genocide, followed by antisemitism, WW2 and refugees. About 85% of the students thought that the visit helped them understand antisemitism. The impact of the field trip resulted in next step activities such as students writing articles for school magazines, speaking at school assemblies and making displays of photos for the schools. Maitles and Cowan (2012) evaluated the impact of the visit on teachers' personal growth. Although the intervention was not specifically designed to contribute to teachers the findings show that more than 90% of the teachers considered their main gains to be in their knowledge of Auschwitz and the Holocaust and of genocide. The teachers valued the orientation seminar and thought the Holocaust survivor talk was particularly effective. They perceived the follow-up seminar as a reflective experience, although a number of the teachers felt that its tight control by the HET educators, limited student involvement and interaction.

Films to effect knowledge of and attitudes towards Jews

Two studies examined the impact of film on knowledge and attitudes toward Jews. Both studies were quantitative.

Geissler (1981) examines the impact of the film "Hitler eine kerriere" on knowledge and attitudes towards national socialism, racism and Jews. The participants were asked what they thought was the

bad side of national socialism. After seeing the film, the proportion of students mentioning racism and the extermination of Jews decreased from 71% to 58%, which indicated that the film seemed to divert attention from the crimes of national socialists during World War II.

In a prospective intervention study, Harrod (1996) evaluated the effects of a combination of video and lecture material in a class about antisemitism and Jews on students compared to before the intervention. The findings of the study showed statistically significant increases in both knowledge of and attitudes towards Jews after the intervention compared to before. But, out of three items assessing antisemitic tendencies only one showed a statistically significant reduction while the other two showed only a marginal reduction.

3. Learning about the Holocaust

Two studies were included in this category. The studies were conducted in Poland and in the UK. One was conducted with a qualitative study design and the other one was conducted with a quantitative study design. **Accordingly, there is a lack of robust studies that evaluates the effectiveness of interventions that focus on teaching factual knowledge about the Holocaust and antisemitism.** The result of the cross-sectional study which included a large population indicates that the meaning of antisemitism is largely unknown for many of the students included in the study, also after TLH in school. When compared to the number of students that stated that they knew the meaning of islamophobia, homophobia and racism, this finding is interesting and should be further analysed in research. The study that evaluated the annual programme held at the Jagiellonian University did not draw any general conclusions on educational outcomes beyond possible improvements in the specific program.

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of educational outcomes in this category of educational interventions.

Interventions influenced by Learning about the Holocaust on educational outcomes related to antisemitism

In the cross-sectional study by Hale (2018), survey responses of year 7 students (aged 11–12 years) who indicated that they had learned about the Holocaust in primary school but not yet learned about it in secondary school were analysed to explore their knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust. The survey consisted of 7,952 secondary school students aged 11–18 years from 74 schools across England. In the survey, students were asked to identify what was meant by the term antisemitism, as well as what was meant by the terms: racism, homophobia, genocide and Islamophobia, to allow for making comparisons. Only 16 % of the year 7 students knew what antisemitism meant, and 26.7 % knew what genocide was. This compared to 44.9 % who correctly identified the meaning of Islamophobia, some three-quarters of students who knew what homophobia referred to and 90.7 % who knew what racism was.

Ambrosewicz-Jacobs & Kopff-Muszynska (2015) evaluated an annual programme held at the Centre for Holocaust studies at the institute of European Studies of the Jagiellonian University. The objective of the programme was to provide Polish teachers with the present research about the Holocaust and its impact on the present and the future. The evaluation identified three areas for improvements of the program. One of the areas was “absence and abnormality” which highlighted the lack of strategies on how to address polish-Jewish history and real time activities with Jewish people, Jewish culture and Jewishness.

4. Constructivism or pragmatism

Five studies were included in this category. Two studies were conducted with qualitative designs, two with quantitative design and one with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=2), Poland (n=1), Scotland (n=1) and Netherlands (n=1).

There are few studies that evaluate the effectiveness of interventions influenced by social constructivist learning theories on educational outcomes related to antisemitism. The risk of bias in the studies has not been assessed. In the material included in this category some tendencies of effects are visible. **The findings of the studies indicate that these interventions could increase students' knowledge and attitudes toward Jews.** The only study that did not show positive effects evaluated a television series and thus differs in kind from the other interventions which were different courses about the Holocaust and field trips. It has to be acknowledged that these are only indications and tendencies and that the character of the studies included did not enable any firm conclusions about effectiveness. Instead, more research is needed in order to be able to draw more robust conclusions.

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of educational outcomes in this category of educational interventions.

Interventions influenced by constructivism on educational outcomes related to antisemitism

Cowan and Maitles (2007) evaluated the effects of TLH integrated into a topic on World War II. At one year follow up the students own perceived knowledge about what the Holocaust were sustained (at 95,3%) and higher than the control cohort of students that had not yet been taught about the Holocaust (61,9%). The students that got the Holocaust education still, at 1-year follow up, had a higher own perceived knowledge about what antisemitism was (22,1%) and higher than the control cohort (3,5%). Among the students that got the intervention, their increased positive attitudes toward Jews were not sustained at 1-year follow up. After the intervention, 78,1% of the students disagreed with the statement that “there are too many Jews in Scotland today”. At 1-year follow up, this percentage had decreased to 62,8%. This indicates that the sustained knowledge about antisemitism did not seem to affect long-term attitudes towards Jews.

Ensel & Stremmelar (2013) explored a teaching package called “World war II in perspective” which combined Holocaust education and education about the middle east conflict. The programme aimed at provoking discussions and debates among the students. One distinct aspect of the programme was the peer educators. These were two students: one with Jewish background and one with Muslim background. The qualitative analysis showed that the students were fascinated by their peers. The Jewish identity of one of the peers provoked many comments and stereotypical associations.

Jennings (2005) analyse the impact of a social justice and responsibility citizenship course that included an in-depth focus on the Holocaust for 5 months. The qualitative analyses show how responsibility was shared among teachers and students and multiple perspectives were valued. Content analysis of student essays and other texts show how students' understandings of social justice and their language and actions for enacting those meanings were expanded across the learning period (Jennings & Green 1996). By making personal connections to events in the texts, students could better see the significance of the Holocaust and examine tolerance and intolerance in their own lives (Jennings, 2005).

In a prospective intervention study, Stefaniak & Bilewicz (2015) evaluated an intervention comprising four workshops and field trips. The objective of the intervention was to raise awareness for the local

Jewish material heritage and the multicultural history of currently homogeneous Polish communities. The findings show a statistically significant increase in the participants' positive attitudes towards Jews. A path model of indirect effects indicates that changes in inclusion of the Jewish people in the Self had a significant effect on the change in attitudes toward Jews.

One prospective intervention study evaluated the effects of a docudrama television series (the Holocaust) on pupils' knowledge and attitudes towards Jews and the Holocaust (Wegner, 1998). The study was conducted in five schools with pupils in tenth grade (n=390). Before the intervention 40% of the pupils disagreed with the statement that it was inappropriate behaviour of the Jews that led to the Holocaust, 40% were uncertain and 20% agreed with the statement. After exposure to the television series the 20% of the pupils that agreed with the statement had not changed their attitudes. The study does not report on the effects on the 40% that were uncertain. The author suggests that in light of these findings, television viewing alone will not alter belief systems of tenth graders and if television series are going to be used in teaching they have to be complemented with other teaching strategies.

5. Aesthetic and emotive learning

Three studies were included in this category. All studies were conducted with a quantitative study design. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=1), USA/Germany (n=1) and the Netherlands (n=1). **Followingly, there are very few studies that evaluate the effectiveness of art and aesthetic interventions on educational outcomes related to antisemitism.** All studies included in this category evaluated the television series "Holocaust" which by now has become very old. All studies were conducted approximately 40 years ago which makes it hard to make any implications of the findings.

All studies in this category evaluated the effects of the television series "Holocaust" on attitudes towards Jews. Greenberg and Fein (1979) concluded that the minority of people (12-25%) that blamed the Jews for causing the Holocaust did not change their attitudes after watching the series in compared to before watching it. Hormuth and Stephan (1981) compared attitudes among people that stated that they had watched the series on TV compared to those who stated that they had not seen the series. The findings of the study showed no difference in attitudes between the groups. Van Verzijden (1981) examined whether the series would change students' attitudes towards being friends with a person that hated Jews. The study showed a small positive change in attitudes among the students, but the study does not indicate if the change were statistically significant.

6. Uncategorized

Seven studies were included in this category, or rather section. Two were quantitative studies, two were qualitative studies and three were studies conducted with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in Poland (n=2), UK (n=2), USA (n=2) and Australia (n=1).

There are several larger quantitative studies that evaluated the effects of educational interventions on knowledge and attitudes towards Jews. The findings of these studies are incoherent. While the two quasi-experimental studies indicated positive changes in students' attitudes towards Jews (Ambrosevicz, 2013, 2003), a large survey to over 7000 students indicated that a very large percentage of students did not know the meaning of antisemitism after general TLH in school (Foster et al., 2016). A fourth study indicated that changes in knowledge did not seem to result in changes in attitudes per se (Metzger, 2012). There are important differences between the studies that could explain the incoherence. Ambrosevicz (2013, 2003) evaluated extracurricular activities with specific focus on antisemitism and

prejudice while the two studies that did not show positive changes of knowledge about antisemitism (Foster et al., 2016) or attitudes (Metzger, 2012) evaluated regular Holocaust and religion education that did not have any specific focus on tolerance, prejudice or antisemitism. In terms of tendencies of effects, the findings from these studies indicate that extracurricular activities could have the potential to change attitudes towards Jews and decrease antisemitism among youth. But, since there are obvious risks for biases in the included studies, e.g., lack of adequate statistical analysis, more robust research is needed in order to further explore the effects of educational interventions that aim to prevent antisemitism.

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of educational outcomes in this category of educational interventions.

Effects of interventions on educational outcomes related to antisemitism

While the studies in this category did not fit into any of the learning theory categories, they all had in common that they measured educational outcomes related to antisemitism. Together, the studies evaluate a variety of different interventions but all interventions targeted school students.

In a conference paper, Ambrosewicz (2013) reports on a large quasi-experimental study (n=2110) that evaluated the effects of extracurricular activities compared to regular classes on educational outcomes such as attitudes towards Jews. The result of the study showed that the percent of youth that strongly agreed or agreed with the opinion that Jews are to be blamed for what happens to them were lower in the experimental group (16%) compared to the control group (26%) after the intervention. 62% of the experimental group disagreed with the statement compared to 46% in the control group after the intervention. There were no measures of the effects before the experiment and no assessment of statistical significance of the results.

In another quasi-experimental study by Ambrosewicz (2003) the effects of an educational intervention were evaluated on educational outcomes related to antisemitism. The intervention included teaching about tolerance, counteract prejudice and examine the history of minority groups in Poland. Focus was on the shared Polish-Jewish heritage. The intervention also included field trips to meet representatives of minorities. In two of the three experimental classes the positive opinions of Jews increased compared to the control class. In one of the experimental classes attitudes towards Jews became more polarized with both more positive and more negative statements than before the intervention. The study did not assess statistical significance.

In a large evaluation of the effects of TLH on students (n=7952) in secondary school in England, Foster et al. (2016) concludes that after regular TLH the majority of students knew that Jews were the primary victims of the Holocaust, but many had little understanding of why they were persecuted and murdered. 68% of the students did not know the meaning of antisemitism.

Richardson (2012) evaluated formal Holocaust education in year 9 in UK. One component within the education was a visit by a Holocaust survivor. The qualitative analysis was focused on different levels of learning according to learning theories. The visit by a Holocaust survivor seemed to have had a significant impact on the students.

Glynn et al. (1982) examined four different Holocaust curricula used by teachers in four districts in USA. In FHAO, the primary focus was the study of justice, antisemitism, racism and social responsibility. The teachers experienced that the curriculum had effects on students' ability to generalize

from a historical event to their own lives. In the social studies – Holocaust curriculum, the teacher felt that the studies helped to break down barriers between Jewish and non-Jewish students. In the curriculum “the Holocaust, a study of genocide” the teachers stressed that combatting prejudice, stereotyping and racism were major goals and teachers felt that the material had a very emotional impact on the students. In “The Holocaust - a teacher's resource” the main goal for teachers were to teach about prejudice, racism, antisemitism and inter-group relations. The teachers felt that it worked, the students could talk intensely about the effects of prejudice and the consequences of racism in historical context. Malone (2006) evaluated the effects of a course in religion on knowledge about religions and attitudes towards people of other religions. The study concludes that while the religion studies did increase the students’ knowledge about different religions. But the data in the study suggests that this increase in knowledge did not result in attitude changes towards Jews.

Metzger (2012) analysed the impact of a film-based lesson on the Holocaust, where the teacher showed the film “the pianist”. The students’ ethical conclusions after the film focused on the moral lessons of the Holocaust and the film provoked powerful emotions among the students. The antisemitism in the film also seemed to make the students reflect upon the racism of other groups today.

Summary of the narrative synthesis of outcomes across categories for studies on antisemitism

In this section, we will discuss the overall findings from the outcome evaluation across the learning theory categories. Overall, there are few studies that evaluate educational interventions on the basis of educational outcomes related to antisemitism. After systematic searches in 19 databases, we only identified 20 publications. In the manual searches, we were able to identify 17 more publications. Two general aspects stand out in the collected material which we will discuss in the following section: 1) inconsistent results from the quantitative studies, and 2) the potential to improve the quality of quantitative studies.

Inconsistent results from the quantitative studies

The evaluation of the quantitative studies showed that there is a large inconsistency in the findings of the studies concerning educational outcomes related to antisemitism. This could be due to many different circumstances. There is a large heterogeneity across studies in regard to the types of intervention, population and study design. Despite this, there are some tendencies in effects visible in the included material. There are some studies in the included material that include large study populations and the findings of these studies are interesting. Ambrosevicz and Yung (2001) found that extracurricular activities for Polish students were effective in changing attitudes towards Jews. These findings were confirmed also by other studies conducted by the same researcher on other study subjects. Other smaller studies that evaluated extracurricular activities focused on issues related to antisemitism also showed positive effects on students’ attitudes toward Jews (Fijalkow & Jalaudin, 2014; Harrod, 1996). Other large studies that evaluated the effects of regular TLH on educational outcomes related to antisemitism found small or no effects on attitudes toward Jews. Cowan and Maitles (2005) found that while the students’ perceived knowledge about human rights and racism was improved after the TLH, there was still a lack of understanding of what antisemitism and genocide was. In another study by the same researchers (2007), they found that while students had a higher perceived knowledge about antisemitism and improved attitudes towards Jews after the TLH intervention, the improved attitudes towards Jews were not sustained at one-year follow-up. While the students’ knowledge about antisemitism was sustained, this did not seem to affect their long-term attitudes toward Jews. Witkowska et al. (2014) also evaluated regular TLH in a school in Poland and concluded that the education seemed to have negative effects on students’ attitudes toward Jews. While no systematic assessment of study quality has been

done in this review, it is obvious that many of the studies referred to here have serious limitations that affect the trustworthiness of their findings. Despite this, there seems to be a difference between regular TLH and extracurricular activities as regards the effects on educational outcomes related to antisemitism and one conclusion from the outcome evaluation is therefore that outcomes related to antisemitism seem to be more sensitive to specific characteristics of the interventions. While regular TLH does not seem to be enough to contribute to lasting changes in attitudes towards Jews, extracurricular activities show some promising results on educational outcomes related to antisemitism. These tendencies need to be further explored in rigorous, good quality studies.

Potential to improve the quality of quantitative studies

Overall, the studies included in this review had serious limitations with regard to study design and these limitations inhibit the trustworthiness of their findings. While it is hard to conduct studies according to traditional evidence-basing quality standards within this research field with randomization, blinding of participants and robust outcome metrics, more can still be done to improve the internal validity of studies within the research field. Many of the included studies have made simple calculations with percentages, some do not have pre-testing or other forms of comparison alternatives, and many of the studies do not include statistical analyses or significance testing. The reason for this could be that many of the studies are reporting the results of practice evaluations which were not primarily meant to become research. It is of course very important to evaluate larger educational initiatives in order to learn about their effects, but more effort should be put into making these evaluations more systematic, with higher internal validity in order to increase their trustworthiness and usability in research and syntheses of research. There are other fields that have more experience in conducting research evaluations of educational initiatives and research within these fields could function as inspiration. There are some main areas of potential improvement that should be considered when conducting practice evaluations or evaluative research in the future:

- Design studies with a comparison alternative such as a control group, a cohort or by pre-testing the group before they get the intervention.
- If possible, randomize participants into experimental and control groups. In larger school-based initiatives this is often hard to do on an individual level. But it should still be possible to block in randomizations of included schools.
- Choose reliable outcome metrics. For explainable reasons, it is difficult to measure the actual incidence of antisemitism except in very large study samples. However, more effort could be put into developing scales for constructs to use in surveys.
- Do statistical analyses that compare changes in effects before and after the intervention, and between the intervention and control group. And conduct significance testing.
- Plan the study so that it is possible to also measure effects over a longer period of time.

PART V Narrative synthesis of outcomes of TLH studies

This section provides the findings from a narrative synthesis that focused on the tendencies in effects of the included studies are provided. The narrative synthesis is structured around the five (+one) categories of learning theories: 1. Self-reflection, 2. Metacognition, 3. Learning about the Holocaust, 4. Constructivism/pragmatism, 5. Aesthetics and emotive learning, 6. Uncategorized. The results of the categorisation into learning theories are provided in Part III in this report on p. 36. In addition to the division into learning theories, the studies have been further categorised into smaller subcategories of types of interventions and outcomes within each learning theory category. The aim of the narrative synthesis was to summarise the findings of the included studies regarding different outcomes related to student learning in order to explore if there were important tendencies in the effects of the different educational interventions studied.

1. Self-reflection

Twenty-five publications were included in this category. Among these publications there were 18 studies conducted with a qualitative study design, five with a quantitative study design and two with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=19), Canada (n=3), Poland (n=1), Germany (n=1) and South Africa (n=1).

There is a lack of robust studies that evaluate the effectiveness of interventions that aim to foster self-reflection and encouraging students to not just learn about the Holocaust, but also learn from the Holocaust. There are many qualitative studies that give rich and detailed descriptions of the educational interventions. These studies are important for giving teachers and other stakeholders insights into the workings of these interventions. However, these studies give little information about the effectiveness of the interventions on a more general level; knowledge that is a crucial complement to these qualitative analyses. When comparing the two sub-categories, one important difference is that there are more quantitative studies that evaluate the comparative effectiveness of FHAO. In the first sub category, almost all are only qualitative studies or simple surveys. Witness testimonies stand out as a component that seem to be highly valued by students and identified as effective in the qualitative analyses. These tendencies in positive effects for this component merit consideration and while there are several qualitative studies that explore this type of intervention, there is also a need for studies of larger populations that evaluate the comparative effectiveness of the intervention on a general level and with long-term follow-ups., Some tendencies in effects are evident in the material about FHAO. The qualitative studies indicate positive effects of FHAO which is confirmed by the quantitative studies on educational outcomes related to moral reasoning and content knowledge. However, since the results of one important study showed no significant effects on a number of outcomes, this needs to be studied further in order to draw any firm conclusions about effectiveness.

The studies that examined 'Facing history and ourselves' (FHAO) show that this standardized programme can be used in a variety of ways. There were three studies that evaluated its comparative effectiveness. The findings of these studies indicated an increase in moral reasoning among the students after the FHAO programme. compared to before the programme started. There was also an increase in knowledge about the Holocaust and the Nazi period compared to the control group who received regular teaching and an increase in the understanding of the complexity of human nature. In one study, there were no statistically significant changes in self-esteem, internal/external locus of control, or acceptance

of self and others compared to the control group, indicating that the changes in the FHAO group could be due to chance. These findings are promising since the studies showed positive effects for both moral reasoning and content knowledge about the Holocaust, which are important educational outcomes. But the fact that one study did not show much effect of FHAO on educational outcomes such as “acceptance of self and others” indicates that there is a need for more research that evaluates the comparative effectiveness of FHAO in order to draw any firm conclusions about its general effectiveness. It is uncertain if the non-significant results are due to specific attributes in the studied context or choice of educational outcome metrics, or if it is due to characteristics of the FHAO programme itself. There is also a lack of research that evaluates the long-term effects of FHAO. The qualitative studies focused on experiences and individual changes among the students and they all describe positive impacts of FHAO. As in the first subcategory in this section, a witness testimony within the context of an FHAO course was identified as an experience that affected students’ ability to understand issues of racism today in light of the stories that the survivor told.

Interventions influenced by self-reflection

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of outcomes in this category of educational interventions. They are divided according to the sub-categories and then in line with the kind of intervention that was studied in each study.

1a. Encouragement of self-reflection

Witness testimonies

A common component in the interventions in this category is witness testimonies. Nine of the studies evaluated the impact of interventions that include this component. Eight of the studies were conducted with qualitative methods and one with mixed methods.

Three studies evaluated iWitness technology, an online application developed by USC Shoah Foundation Institute (Cole et al., 2012; Haas, 2015, 2020). Cole, Street and Felt (2012) examined digital storytelling within the context of iWitness. Findings based on interviews indicated that students found witness testimonies more memorable, meaningful and robust than other forms of learning. A survey distributed after the intervention indicated that students’ perceived knowledge about the Holocaust increased as a result of the use of iWitness. Haas (2015, 2020) focused the qualitative analysis on the impact of iWitness on students’ empathy and historical understanding and suggested that the personalized nature of engaging with iWitness promoted students’ development of empathy through interpersonal connections formed between the student and witnesses to the Holocaust. Cook (2014) evaluated a summer workshop at the USC Shoah Foundation Institute where one of the components was iWitness and drew similar conclusions to the other two studies. The study indicated that iWitness contributed to the humanisation of the Holocaust through connecting to stories from witnesses that evoke emotional and intellectual responses.

Different kinds of witness testimonies integrated in other educational interventions were explored in five studies conducted using qualitative methods and one using a survey. Dahl (2008) explored the impact of TLH with an “adopt a survivor” component. The results of the study indicate that the Holocaust survivor’s personal story was reflected in the student’s intention to bear witness and in their thoughtful and transformative language as they internalized the survivor’s words. The students also showed that they made connections between the Holocaust and other acts of violence.

Greenspan (2019) evaluated the impact of TLH using witness testimonies with a specific focus on

including the students in conversations instead of only being a silent witness. The findings indicate that the students were affected by the testimonies and that the conversations created an understanding that the survivors are not just symbols of the Holocaust, but also real persons living today.

Morgan-Consoli et al. (2016) explored a different use of Holocaust survivors in a community intervention programme that paired marginalized Latinx young people and Holocaust survivor mentors. The qualitative analysis of the programme indicated that the mentorship increased the young people's openness to diversity and increased empathy.

Strickler and Moisan (2018) evaluated teachers' satisfaction with bringing their classes to a study visit at a Holocaust museum. One component of the exhibition at the museum were recorded survivor testimonies. The educational material was designed to meet the educational needs of school students. The study showed that 98% of the teachers indicated that the guided tour met their expectations, and 98% stated that the visit met curricular requirements.

Offen (2017) studied a sequence of lessons aimed at fostering reflective historical-political awareness of Germany's post-war coping with its fascist constitution and the contemporary legal proceedings concerning the persecution and murder of Jews during the Holocaust. One component of the lessons was educational media with witness testimonies. The findings of the study show that these explorative learning techniques were able to bridge the gap from ignorance to learning. During the process, the students nuanced their knowledge and attitudes towards the Holocaust.

Hernandez (2004) explored the effects of witness testimonies in literature on students' sense of personal ethics and their perceptions of moral decision-making. The study followed several students during the course and did not make any general conclusions about the educational outcomes from the use of witness testimonies.

General TLH

Four of the studies evaluated different types of general TLH courses.

Albertson (2016) explored an adult literature course within preservice teacher education. The course was grounded in a social justice orientation in conjunction with the involvement of students in a civic engagement project. The results from qualitative analysis suggested that the course provided students with opportunities to cultivate a deeper understanding of diversity, social justice and their own beliefs and biases.

Ducey (2009) evaluated a course called "the Sunflower Symposium" which aimed to provoke discussions about legalized discrimination, the violation of civil rights, injustice, intolerance and civic responsibility, thus influencing students to connect the Holocaust to other world events. The evaluation of the students' written work and informal discussions together with course evaluations by the students indicated that the course was effective in meeting its stated objectives.

Gross (2014) explored the integration of photos related to the Holocaust in a history class about the Holocaust and how Polish students reacted to these photos. The study showed that most students shared cultural narratives about WW2, but a subset of students recognized features of the photos that most students overlooked and experienced a shift in understanding of the Holocaust.

Lock (2011) examined a professional development programme called "the Freedom Writers Institute".

The qualitative analysis suggested that the programme strengthens teachers' relationships with their students and provides a variety of pedagogical approaches for the teachers to use in their teaching.

1b. The standardized programme: *Facing history and ourselves*

The comparative effectiveness of FHAO was evaluated in three studies: two quasi-experimental studies and one prospective intervention study. The studies measured different educational outcomes and did not include follow-up metrics. Brabeck et al. (1994) evaluated the effects of FHAO as part of a compulsory social studies curriculum. The prospective intervention study evaluated moral reasoning, well-being, hopelessness and self-worth before and after the FHAO unit. The results showed that the FHAO curriculum increased students' moral reasoning and that the increase was statistically significant. Further analysis showed no adverse impact on students' well-being, feelings of hopelessness or self-worth. Subgroup analysis indicated a higher degree of empathy and levels of social interest among girls compared to boys. Boys have higher global self-worth. There were no statistically significant differences between girls and boys in their moral reasoning. Morse (1981) evaluated the FHAO programme on 12 variables related to self-esteem, internal/external locus of control, philosophy of human nature, and acceptance of self and others. The quasi-experimental study showed no statistically significant effects on any of the variables except an increase in the complexity of the human nature item for the experimental group after the intervention in comparison with the control group. Beyer and Presseisen (1995) evaluated the effectiveness of a six-week unit of FHAO compared to education as usual in a quasi-experimental study. FHAO showed a statistically significant increase in knowledge about the period of Nazi totalitarianism and the Holocaust compared to the control group. Different versions of FHAO were investigated using qualitative approaches or mixed methods in eight studies. The studies used different qualitative methods and theoretical frameworks.

Bardige-Segal (1983) evaluated the impact of a course based on FHAO on students' learning in terms of concrete, formal and early formal learning. The analysis was based on student journals. One conclusion of the study is that the students showed awareness in their empathizing, expressions of concern for others, and rejection of prejudice which revealed prosocial potential.

Feingold (1984) evaluated the implementation of FHAO in terms of the change process and dissemination in three different schools in the USA. The findings indicated a range in the degree of implementation at the different sites. The study identified several factors that contributed to a successful implementation of FHAO: intellectual and emotional support from the local school facilitators to the users of FHAO in schools; that the content in the curriculum dealt with real people and specific events in ways that spoke to the students; and the resources and services of the FHAO project provided support to the local site.

Fine (1995) explored the process of teaching FHAO in a classroom in the USA through an ethnographic study. The study described how FHAO was actually taught in the classroom and provided examples of an almost seamless integration of history lessons and more personal exploration of key moral, social and political issues.

Mahood (2002) explored a co-mentoring programme for beginning teachers. The programme involved teaming up to develop a unit on tolerance in order to deal with racial tensions among students. Many resources from FHAO were used in this unit. The survey evaluation after the intervention indicated improved student relations and that student groups in the cafeteria became less fixed. Some of the teachers were uncomfortable with working in a group and some of them felt that the project took too

much planning time.

Pecora (2006) analysed an FHAO course with integrated drama and theatre techniques. The qualitative analysis showed that the students enjoyed the dramatic activity and that the non-drama activities were important for student learning. The use of drama and other educational techniques created a classroom environment where control was shared at times.

Reed (1993) evaluated the FHAO programme within an anti-racist education setting. The findings from the qualitative analysis showed that the survivor testimony component within the programme was a powerful educational tool. Analyses of student journals revealed that the experience of speaking to someone who had experienced the Holocaust gave insights into the pointy end of racism in a way that a writing or reading assignment could not give in the same way. But at the same time, the students also acknowledged that the journal writing was the most effective part of the course.

Tibbitts (2006) evaluated a variant of FHAO called 'Facing the past, transforming our future'. The aim of the programme was to support teachers in addressing human rights and individual responsibility within democracy. In a survey, the teachers indicated that the programme increased their ability to recognize racism, antisemitism, prejudice and other forms of bigotry in themselves and others. The survey findings were confirmed by anecdotal evidence collected during classroom visits.

Ward (1986) explored an eight-week course of FHAO. The author concludes that the study design was insufficient to determine any changes in students' thinking about violence and that the thesis could serve as a first step towards an understanding of change by providing a thorough analysis of students' thinking about violence.

2. Metacognition

Twenty-two publications were included in this category. Among these publications there were ten studies conducted with a qualitative study design, eight conducted with a quantitative study design and four with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=13), UK (n=2), Scotland (n=1), Latvia (n=1), Netherlands (n=1), Poland/USA (n=2) and Poland/Scotland (n=2). In the following section, the findings from these studies are discussed in relation to three main types of intervention: 1) study visits, 2) TLH in the classroom, and 3) university courses.

There is a lack of robust educational outcome metrics and evaluation designs for this category of intervention influenced by metacognitive learning strategies. Both the interventions and the study designs are very heterogeneous which makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about effectiveness on a more general level. While the qualitative studies included in this material give important insights into the specificity of the interventions, they only give anecdotal evidence on the more general effects of these kinds of interventions and the impact on students in the longer run. Despite this lack of robust evaluations, it is still possible to mention some tendencies of effects visible in this material. The qualitative studies indicate that TLH in classroom has the potential to contribute to students' abilities to learn from the events related to the Holocaust and reflect upon those in relation to contemporary issues related to human rights, prejudice and democracy. The quantitative evaluations confirmed these findings by pointing in the same direction in terms of effects on prejudice and knowledge about human rights, genocide and antisemitism except one randomised controlled trial (RCT) that evaluated a web-based resource for teaching the Holocaust which showed no statistically significant effects of the intervention in comparison to the control group. Some of the studies targeted teachers or preservice (student)

teachers. In these studies, the assumption is that if the teachers understand these issues, it will result in more effective teaching practices. While studies indicate that the interventions had an effect on the teachers, only one study evaluated how this effect actually changed their teaching practices. None of the studies evaluated the effects of teaching the Holocaust on students.

The qualitative studies of study visits to Holocaust memorial sites found that the participants (both students and teachers) experienced that the interventions were valuable and deepened their understanding. One quantitative study found that a study visit increased students' knowledge about the Holocaust and increased their tolerance after the intervention in comparison to before the intervention and that this effect also persisted after four months. This finding corresponds to the findings in the qualitative studies. One study points in another direction in terms of effects since the findings indicated that the study visit alone did not have any impact on the majority of students being able to link events related to the Holocaust to contemporary issues of human rights. This finding indicates that students might need help to make these connections.

Furthermore, there is a lack of rigorous studies that evaluate the effects of university courses on student educational outcomes. While these studies indicate that the interventions were appreciated and that the students in many ways enhanced their knowledge and attitudes towards human rights and prejudice by learning about events related to the Holocaust, there are no systematic evaluations of bigger populations that show their effectiveness on a more general level and compared to other interventions. The quasi-experimental study did not measure educational outcomes related to human rights and prejudice, but focused on the teachers' self-perceived efficacy in teaching about the Holocaust.

There are only a few small studies that evaluate the effectiveness of interventions that aim to make students aware of structures and patterns that are likely to undermine human rights and democracy by learning about the events of the Holocaust. The risk of bias in these studies has not been assessed in a systematic way. In the material included in this category, some tendencies in effects are visible. There is a large heterogeneity regarding interventions, educational outcome metrics and study designs. And while the majority of studies find positive effects of the interventions, there are also few studies which indicate that the interventions did not have the intended effects of increasing awareness of human rights and marginalized groups and getting students to make connections between past events and the future. While these tendencies should be taken seriously, it has to be acknowledged that these are only indications and tendencies. The nature of the included studies does not allow us to draw any firm conclusions about effectiveness. Instead, more research is needed in order to draw more robust conclusions.

Interventions influenced by metacognition

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of outcomes in this category of educational interventions.

Study visits

Seven studies evaluated the impacts of different kinds of Holocaust-related study visits on educational outcomes related to tolerance, personal growth, moral lessons and understanding of contemporary issues of human rights. The participants in the studies were both students and teachers. Five studies used a qualitative design, two used a mixed methods design and one study used a quantitative prospective intervention design with pre- and post-metrics.

Badger and Harker (2016) explored the impact of a study visit to a Holocaust exhibition at a museum

on students' ability to understand the links between the Holocaust and contemporary debates on censorship and freedom of speech. Through data from interviews with teachers, the results of the study show that the teachers experienced that the study visit enhanced the students' ability to think critically, make connections between events related to the Holocaust and contemporary issues related to human rights, and engage with complex themes.

Cowan and Maitles (2011) evaluated the effects of a field trip to Auschwitz and a following de-briefing on students' personal growth in terms of their social, moral and emotional development. One educational outcome that was evaluated was to what extent the students' experience of the visit helped them to understand antisemitism, genocide, human rights, WW2, and refugees. The findings showed that students felt that the visit had contributed to their Citizenship education in terms of their understanding of antisemitism, genocide, the plight of refugees and human rights, and their historical understanding of WW2. The areas most impacted were human rights and genocide, followed by antisemitism, WW2 and refugees. About 85% of the students thought that the visit helped them to understand antisemitism. The field trip resulted in next-step activities such as students writing articles for school magazines, speaking at school assemblies, and making exhibitions of photos for their schools.

In another study of the same intervention, Maitles and Cowan (2012) evaluated the impact of the visit on teachers' personal growth. Although the intervention was not specifically designed to contribute to teachers' personal growth, the findings showed that more than 90% of the teachers considered their main gains to be in their knowledge of Auschwitz and the Holocaust and of genocide. The teachers valued the orientation seminar and thought the Holocaust survivor talk was particularly effective. They perceived the follow-up seminar as a reflective experience, although a number of the teachers felt that its tight control by the HET educators limited student involvement and interaction.

In a prospective intervention study, Elmore (2002) evaluated a Holocaust museum curriculum trunk program, a "tolerance training" that focused on the Holocaust in relation to tolerance, acceptance, prejudice, moral and responsibility among other things. The outcomes of the intervention suggested that the students had increased their knowledge about the Holocaust, and developed more tolerant attitudes after the intervention in comparison to before the intervention. A follow-up showed that students retained these changes also after four months.

Short (2005) explored the impact of a study visit to two local synagogues where students were given an introductory talk on the Holocaust, listened to a survivor's testimony and watched a movie about Rwanda. The qualitative analysis showed that some of the students seemed to be able to distil meaningful lessons from the study visit. But only a few students pointed out that intolerance continues to be an issue today and the study showed that these kinds of lessons were referred to infrequently by the students, which indicates that the generality of students could not be relied upon to work these issues out for themselves.

Spalding et al. (2003, 2007) evaluated an interfaith trip to Holocaust sites in Poland as part of a teacher training programme in two qualitative case studies. The results indicated that the teachers interviewed experienced an effect of the intervention in terms of changes in their thinking about diversity and social justice (Spalding et al., 2007). Teachers also experienced that the intervention effectively imparted knowledge about the Holocaust and sensitized preservice/student teachers to issues of diversity (Spalding et al., 2003).

Teaching in the classroom

Nine studies explored the impact of TLH on students' ability on making connections to contemporary issues related to human rights.

Thorsen (2010) described the experience of a cross-curricular unit of the Holocaust and genocide in high school art students. The cross-curricular unit used non-discursive sources of testimony in a variety of forms of representation to inspire student-participant artwork. The study indicated that students were empowered by the freedom to interpret a variety of meanings in a personal and engaging manner. The findings showed that the students demonstrated an understanding of the complexities of genocide study as well as the antecedent actions of individuals and groups that can lead to genocidal events. The student-participants seemed to perceive their production of art as an act to prevent genocide by increasing awareness and action.

Cowan and Maitles (2005) evaluated the effects of TLH as a part of the WW2 topic in students in primary 7. The students' perceived knowledge about human rights, racism, antisemitism and genocide was measured before and after the intervention. The findings of the study showed that the students' perceived knowledge about human rights and racism had improved after the intervention, but that they still showed a lack of understanding of what antisemitism and genocide were.

Nowell and Poindexter (2019) examined a sequence of Holocaust lessons in a preservice teacher student classroom. The purpose of the lessons was to foster reflective historical-political awareness and making connections to contemporary issues. The analysis of the development of the student teachers indicated that the intervention improved their content and pedagogical knowledge and prepared them for becoming social justice educators.

Shah (2012) evaluated a teacher training programme called "HEP: The Holocaust and human rights education program". The findings indicated that teachers experienced that the programme contributed to their content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, attitudes and classroom practices. The teachers also reported that they changed their teaching practices after the intervention. This finding was also supported by statistically significant changes after the intervention compared to before. The results of the statistical analysis of the pre- and post-surveys indicated that the HEP programme contributed to helping the teachers to move from fact-based approaches to discussion-based approaches with a view to facilitating students' understanding about the connection between the past and the future.

Sebre and Gundare (2003) evaluated the effects of a complex instruction unit developed especially for Latvia and focused on the Holocaust. The results of the quasi-experimental study showed a reduction in prejudice among students in the intervention group, but also a reduction in prejudice in the control group. Further analysis showed that these findings could be traced to the history teacher who taught both groups of students. In a prospective study reported on in the same publication Sebre and Gundare (2003) used pre- and post-intervention tests to evaluate the same CI unit and the results showed an increase in civic responsibility attitudes after the CI unit in comparison to before the intervention.

Carrington and Short (1997) reported on some emerging themes in a qualitative evaluation of regular TLH in year nine in England. They conclude that one in five students did not know about the image of the Jew in Nazi ideology, and that few students stated that the Holocaust taught them nothing about racism. Others stated that the Jews were oppressed because of their religious beliefs. However, two thirds of the included participants in the evaluation stated that they felt that they had been changed by the TLH since they now were more aware of racism targeting Jews.

In an RCT, Calandra et al. (2002) evaluated a web-based resource for teachers to use when teaching the Holocaust. The findings showed no statistically significant effects in terms of changes in students' affinities regarding diversity, Holocaust knowledge or perceptions of marginalized groups in the intervention group compared to the control group.

Spector (2005) analysed the impact of Holocaust literature units in English classes, more specifically she analyses how students constructed meaning and interpretations of texts about the Holocaust through implicit and explicit religious narratives. The study shows how students' religious narratives can create problems for the diversity curriculum while simultaneously affording students powerful explanations of historical events.

In a qualitative study based on observations, Schweber (1998) investigated TLH as a moral endeavour by observing the teaching of four different teachers. While the study describes the cases in rich empirical detail, it is hard to extract any general conclusions from the study.

University courses

Four studies explore the impact of university courses on students' awareness of prejudice and tolerance. These studies were conducted in the USA (n=3) and the Netherlands (n=1). Three of the studies were conducted using a qualitative study design and one was a quantitative study.

Fiedler (2012) evaluated students' motivation to combat prejudice and their awareness of their own prejudices after a 15-week Holocaust and Genocide studies course. The findings of the phenomenological study showed that only a small number of students became aware of prejudice within themselves. However, a more significant number of students became motivated to combat prejudice and stated that they felt empowered to make a difference in society after the course.

Herman (2015) evaluated a university Holocaust course that included survivor testimony. The purpose of the study was to examine ways in which the lessons of the Holocaust might be used as a template in higher education to promote student learning. The study indicated that the Holocaust might not make sense to the students who did not explore the history of antisemitism.

Van Driel (2005) qualitatively evaluated the TLH programme "Coming to Justice". The purpose of the programme was to increase the understanding of human rights and international justice. The study shows that the intervention, especially a unit where the students attended a real trial, left lasting impressions on the students and a desire to focus on human rights issues.

Wolpow, et al. (2002) evaluated a university course for teachers in a quasi-experimental study. The participants in the group that took the university course had higher self-efficacy than the group that did not. Participants that took the course also stated that they thought that they could do a good job of teaching students about key issues in Holocaust studies.

3. Learning about the Holocaust

Eight studies were included in this category. Among these publications there were three studies conducted with a qualitative study design, three with a quantitative study design and two with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=3), UK (n=1), Poland (n=1), Poland and USA (n=1) and Germany (n=2).

In summary, there are few studies that evaluate the impact of TLH on students' factual and historical knowledge about the Holocaust. The diversity of interventions and study designs makes it hard to synthesize the results and draw conclusions about the effectiveness of these kinds of interventions on a general level. Some of the studies that evaluated different types of field trips showed promising findings; in the qualitative studies the participants seemed to value the field trips on an emotional level and found the interventions meaningful and insightful. These findings are confirmed in an RCT that found statistically significant effects on students' historical knowledge about the Holocaust as well as students' willingness to protect civil liberties in comparison to the control group. More studies that evaluate the effects of these kinds of field trips could further our understanding of their effects on these educational outcomes.

General TLH

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of educational outcomes in this category of educational interventions.

Learning outcomes related to historical knowledge of the Holocaust

In an RCT, Bowen and Kisida (2020) evaluated the effectiveness of a school-sponsored trip to a Holocaust museum in comparison with ordinary TLH in the classroom (n=865). The results showed that students that went on the field trip to the museum were more likely to prefer protecting civil liberties over efforts to maintain order and demonstrated higher levels of historical content knowledge about the Holocaust in comparison to the students that were not exposed to the intervention. The findings were statistically significant across all subgroups.

Gross (2018) evaluated the impact on teachers of a university summer course on teaching practices after the end of the course. The course was held in Poland and one important idea behind this intervention was that an increased knowledge about Polish-Jewish history would deepen the teachers' knowledge about important issues related to the Holocaust and that this knowledge would make the teachers better equipped to teach about the Holocaust. After the teacher training program, the surveyed teachers seemed to teach the Holocaust out of a personal obligation. Very few referred to specific teaching practices when asked about what they had implemented in their teaching since the programme ended, but instead provided emotional responses and stated that they thought that it was their responsibility.

Gross & Kelman (2017) explored the impact of the educational intervention "meaningful messages". The intervention consisted of a field trip to Poland and featured a combination of formal lectures and interactive tours, complemented by structured and semi-structured discussions. The field trips and the groups' confrontation with Polish history were supposed to give the students new perspectives on their own identity as well as a new understanding of Polish and Jewish shared history. In interviews, surveys, and focus groups, students stated that meeting survivors was not only the highlight but one of the most meaningful moments of the programme. Some students emphasized that the programme had helped them learn the importance of history; that it made history real, accessible, and interesting to a group of teens.

Nelle (2006) conducted an ethnographic study of students in the ninth grade and a 16 hour course on the rise of Nazi-Germany outlining its oppression of population groups and atrocities committed, including the Holocaust. The study was conducted in a context where a high number of students had immigrant backgrounds. The study focused on didactical points of departure for engaging students in a productive and meaningful learning process when few students were connected to the history as a part of their

family history. In his conclusion, Nelle points to the importance of connecting the historical past with expressions of racism and right-wing extremism in today's world.

Proske (2003) conducted a phenomenological study on the dialogue between the teachers and students in teaching about Nazi-Germany crimes and the Holocaust. The study underlines the importance of enabling and handling the historical context and the didactical context and thus it challenges the meaning of what it means to understand the past.

Educational outcomes related to antisemitism and general political tolerance

Simon (2003) evaluated the educational outcomes of a course devoted to the study of genocide and the Holocaust compared to an introductory course in American politics on knowledge about the Holocaust, levels of antisemitism and general political tolerance. The results showed no statistically significant effects for any of the measured educational outcomes. Knowledge about the Holocaust did not differ between the groups; there were no significant effects on levels of antisemitism or general political tolerance. One reason for the lack of effects could be that the students had low levels of antisemitism before the interventions, there was thus little room for the intervention to produce less antisemitism and more tolerance.

In the cross-sectional study by Hale (2018), survey responses from year 7 students (aged 11–12 years), who indicated that they had learned about the Holocaust in primary school but not yet learned about it in secondary school, were analysed to explore their knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust. The survey consisted of 7,952 secondary school students aged 11–18 years from 74 schools across England. In the survey, students were asked to identify what was meant by the term antisemitism, as well as what was meant by the terms: racism, homophobia, genocide and Islamophobia, to allow for comparisons. Only 16% of the year 7 students knew what antisemitism meant, and 26.7% knew what genocide was. This compared to 44.9% who correctly identified the meaning of Islamophobia, some three-quarters of students who knew what homophobia referred to and 90.7% who knew what racism was.

Davies et al. (1999) evaluated an exhibition about Anne Frank and the findings indicated that the visitors from schools and the general public were pleased with the exhibition. The study did not evaluate any other educational outcomes related to factual knowledge or other learnings from the exhibition.

4. Constructivism/pragmatism

Twenty-five publications were included in this category. Among these publications there were 13 studies conducted with a qualitative study design, eight with a quantitative study design, and four with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=17), UK (n=4), Scotland (n=2) and Netherlands (n=1). These are divided into the following kinds of educational interventions: study visits, multimedia interventions and teaching in the classroom.

When study visits are evaluated, the studies all reported similar findings indicating that the experiential components in these interventions were valued by the participants and raised awareness and nurtured reflection. Some studies indicated that the interventions also led to increases in emotional empathy. These findings, derived mostly from qualitative analyses, are important for understanding what components are effective and how participants experience these kinds of interventions. But there is a lack of robust studies that evaluate the effects on larger groups and compared to other interventions. In order to draw conclusions about effectiveness, the existing research within this area has to be complemented with studies that evaluate the comparative effectiveness of the

interventions in terms of robust educational outcomes, and in longer follow-ups and on larger populations.

There is a lack of robust studies that evaluate the effectiveness of multimedia interventions based on social learning theory in relation to educational outcomes related to different aspects of student learning. The few existing studies show promising results. The results from both the qualitative and the quantitative studies indicate positive effects on students' experience, educational outcomes and changes in emotional empathy and civic engagement, but these are only tendencies in effects. More research is needed to be able to draw any firm conclusions about effectiveness.

The findings of the qualitative studies indicate that teaching in the classroom influenced by constructivism or pragmatism seemed to evoke reflection and increase students' ability to think critically. The qualitative studies also seem to suggest that learning about the Holocaust by promoting students' internal urge to learn by interaction and reflection were successful teaching methods. The results of the quantitative studies correspond to those findings. The quasi-experimental study that compared a traditional learning method with a multisensory instructional resource found statistically significant positive effects of the multisensory intervention on students' achievements, empathy, attitudes and moral values. Another study compared two cohorts of students: one that recently learned about the Holocaust in school and one that had not yet studied the Holocaust. The study found an immediate increase in students' knowledge about the Holocaust and antisemitism and a decrease in negative attitudes towards Jews. A one-year follow-up showed that the students' knowledge about the Holocaust and antisemitism had been sustained, but negative attitudes towards Jews had increased to the same levels as before the intervention. This finding emphasizes the need for research that evaluates the long-term effects of TLH on a more general level.

There are only a few, small studies that evaluate the effectiveness of interventions based on social theory/pragmatism concerning educational outcomes related to knowledge, social lessons, personal development and empathy. The risk of bias in these studies has not been assessed. In the material included in this category, some tendencies in effects are visible. While the findings of the studies indicate that TLH influenced by social theory or pragmatism seem to foster a dynamic learning experience among students and enhance their ability to reflect and increase their emotional empathy; and that different types of experiential learning experiences seemed highly valued among students; there are some indications that the effects might not be sustained in the longer term. It has to be acknowledged that these are only indications and tendencies and that the character of the included research made it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about effectiveness. Instead, more research that evaluates effects on larger populations and with longer follow-up times is needed in order to be able to draw more robust conclusions.

Interventions influenced by constructivism/pragmatism

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of outcomes in this category of educational interventions.

Study visits (experiential learning)

Eight publications explored different kinds of study visits or other experiential learning interventions. All studies were conducted in the USA except one that was conducted in the UK. Two studies (one study published in three publications) were conducted using a qualitative study design, three studies were conducted by mixed methods and one study was conducted using a qualitative design.

In three publications, one doctoral thesis and two subsequent journal articles, Clyde (2002, 2010) and Clyde, Walker and Floyd (2005), evaluated the effectiveness of the March of Remembrance programme that focused on raising awareness and understanding among students and encouraging them to get involved in similar programmes. The findings of the study indicate that participants were influenced in the areas of world-view and leadership interests and abilities more so than academic interests. Participants who actively reflected on the experience were more influenced than those who did not (Clyde, 2002). In another analysis of the same material, Clyde (2005) showed that reflection resulted in the strongest impact on participants: the analysis indicated that 81% of the variance in participants' reflection activities could be directly related to the programme. Clyde (2005) suggested that the programme was most useful when a variety of reflection activities were available to the participants. Biniecki and Donley (2016) examined participants' experience of two traveling exhibitions about the Holocaust. The qualitative analysis resulted in the identification of three main mechanisms for how the participants made meaning of their experiences: through emotions, being challenged, and broadening their awareness.

Goldberg (2013) evaluated education programmes for teachers conducted at a Holocaust museum. The programmes typically lasted from one to six days and included a presentation by museum staff, Holocaust experts and survivors. Three categories emerged in the qualitative analysis: a hopeful narrative, identity (how the teachers' viewed themselves in relation to the particular context) and the emotional narrative of the Holocaust.

Gross (2017) evaluated the educational project 'Meaningful messages' which included a survivor's testimony. In both the interviews and surveys, the students stated that meeting the survivor was one of the most meaningful moments of the programme. Some students emphasized that the programme had helped them learn the importance of history. The study indicated that the programme's educational and social successes emerged out of its experiential component. The experiential component also seemed to challenge the participants to engage with a willingness to complicate their own historical narratives in light of their new experiences.

Lincoln (2006) evaluated a Holocaust museum traveling exhibition. The purpose of the exhibition was to intellectually challenge the participants in ways that could have far-reaching effects on their thinking and ability to identify political propaganda or show empathy for victims. The study compared the effects of the exhibition in online versus onsite format. A principal finding was that the use of an online exhibition provided a source of prior orientation and functioned as an advance organizer for students before the onsite exhibition. Students who viewed the online format received higher topic assessment scores. Both groups gave indications of positive changes in emotional empathy.

Burgers (2018) described the impact of a unit on Holocaust literature on students' capacity for critical thinking and understanding different perspectives of the Holocaust. The study showed that in the initial discussions, students were more adept at understanding different perspectives on the Holocaust but they could not make critical value judgments. The students indicated that they thought that people should be able to remember the Holocaust however they wanted. The students thus had few problems with popularizations and vulgarizations of the Holocaust. This lack of critical thinking shifted when students made a study visit and were able to hear survivor testimonies and experience the history of the Holocaust through different stories, pictures, etc.

Multimedia interventions

Four publications studied the impact of different multimedia interventions. All studies were conducted in the USA. Three of the studies were conducted using qualitative methods and one study used mixed methods.

Carnes (2018) evaluated a multimedia intervention that addressed the concepts of prejudice and stereotyping through witness testimonies. The results of the survey showed that a majority of students increased their content knowledge about the Holocaust; they also stated a greater interest in civic engagement (97%) after the intervention compared to before the intervention (83%). Students demonstrated an increase in empathy (a 60% increase after the intervention) and an 83% increase in civic engagement and active citizenship.

Davis (1999) explored a remote learning internet-based educational material website and found that using the website in teaching had many advantages. The accessibility of the information seemed to allow students to work at their own pace and follow their own lines of inquiry while the teacher had the role of a facilitator.

Dennihiy (2018) examined a five-week Holocaust unit that focused on a multimedia museum curation project. The study found that the multimedia museum curation project enabled students to choose their own topics related to genocide and mass atrocity and that they therefore chose to learn more about events that their families or ancestors had been impacted by. Students also found resourceful ways to include literary works in their projects.

Stevens and Brown (2011) examined the impact of a blog as a tool to promote technology use in a course on literacy and technology with a thematic focus on the Holocaust. The findings in the study indicated that blogging could have the potential to enhance knowledge of the ways in which technology can be used to promote instruction in critical multicultural literacy.

Teaching in the classroom

Thirteen publications evaluated classroom interventions. Eleven publications were qualitative studies and two were quantitative studies.

Clements (2010) examined the impact of standard TLH in three schools. The teacher aimed to problematize and evoke moral choices, and leave the pupils with more questions than answers. The study's findings suggest that TLH helped pupils to develop a greater awareness of humanity and the fragility of social values.

Cowan and Jones (2019) explored parents' attitudes toward their children learning about the Holocaust in P7 in a Scottish school. The study showed that the parents had initial concerns about their children learning about the Holocaust, but that these were effectively addressed by the teacher. The study also suggested that TLH at school stimulated discussions in the homes.

Cowan and Maitles (2007) evaluated the effects of TLH integrated into a topic on WW2. At the one-year follow-up, the students' own perceived knowledge about what the Holocaust was had been sustained (at 95.3%) and was higher than the control cohort of students who had not yet been taught about the Holocaust (61.9%). The students who had completed TLH still, at the one-year follow-up, had a higher self-assessed knowledge about what antisemitism was (22.1%) and this was higher than the

control cohort (3.5%). Among the students who completed the intervention, their increased positive attitudes toward Jews were not sustained at the one-year follow-up. After the intervention, 78.1% of the students disagreed with the statement that “there are too many Jews in Scotland today”. At the one-year follow up, this percentage had dropped to 62.8%. This indicates that their sustained knowledge about antisemitism did not seem to affect long-term attitudes towards Jews.

Dupre (2006) explored student responses to a curriculum that integrated creative drama, playwriting, tolerance and social justice in an ethnographic study based on data from classroom observations in a 7th grade class. The findings from this study revealed that the intervention stimulated the students to identify themselves as important to the class, and to the outside world. They used their writing and performing skills to present critical learning to an audience. The author also concluded that the intervention seemed to have increased the students’ cognition of multiple viewpoints and personal responsibility in incidences of social injustice.

Ensel & Stremmelar (2013) explored a teaching package called “World War II in Perspective” which combined TLH and education about the Middle East conflict. The programme aimed to provoke discussion and debate among the students. One distinctive aspect of the programme was its peer educators. These were two students: one with a Jewish background and one with a Muslim background. The qualitative analysis showed that the students were fascinated by their peer educators. The Jewish identity of one of the peer educators provoked many comments and stereotypical associations.

In two publications, Farkas (2002, 2003) evaluated the effects of a multisensory instructional resource on student achievement, empathy, attitudes towards people and ability to apply moral values to contemporary issues compared to a traditional teaching method. The multisensory approach included five instructional stations established in different sections of the classroom to permit students to learn by reading text, manipulating Flip Chutes, assembling Task Cards, using Pic-A-Holes, using Electro boards, reading a Programmed Learning Sequence, using a Contract Activity Package, and engaging in a kinesthetics Floor Game activity. The findings of the study show that the multisensory instructional resource was more effective on all educational outcome metrics compared to the traditional teaching method, and the effects were statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The effect sizes were moderate to very strong for the educational outcomes.

In three publications, Jennings (1996, 2015, 2010) drew on the same ethnographic observations to analyse the impact of a social justice and responsibility citizenship course that included an in-depth focus on the Holocaust for five months. The qualitative analyses showed how responsibility was shared among teachers and students and multiple perspectives were valued. Content analysis of student essays and other texts showed how students’ understandings of social justice and their language and actions for enacting those meanings were expanded across the learning period (Jennings, 1996). By making personal connections to events in the texts, students could better see the significance of the Holocaust and examine tolerance and intolerance in their own lives (Jennings, 2015).

Katz (2018) evaluated the impact of using primary sources in the teaching of the Holocaust in a WW2 class. The teaching method was based on social constructivist learning ideas where the teacher and students work together. The data interpreted in the study showed how students demonstrated an ability to develop and practise lower-order historical thinking skills related to sourcing as a result of their use of primary sources in a study of the Holocaust.

In a research report from 1979, Lieberman reported the findings from a quasi-experimental study of the

effects of the programme “Facing history and ourselves: Holocaust and human behaviour” in a Social Studies unit compared to a control group. No information about the control group is provided in the report. The findings indicated that students in the experimental group increased their skills, knowledge, and level of reasoning about social and moral issues, but no data are provided nor any information about statistical significance levels. Students in the experimental group gained an understanding of decision-making in a society and the range of activities of political groups, the ability to read graphs and tables, new vocabulary, and significant growth in interpersonal awareness. There was no statistically significant difference in moral reasoning between the groups after the intervention.

Wills (2018) described the impact of three history classes about the role of Auschwitz in WW2. The idea of the teaching was that the students got to construct their own knowledge through interaction with pictures, movies and texts. He reported that the sessions resulted in the emergence of spiritual themes of meaning, identity and remembering emerging in the students’ responses.

5. Aesthetic and emotive learning

Sixteen publications were included in this category. Among these publications there were five studies conducted with a qualitative study design, five with a quantitative study design and six with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=10), UK (n=4) and Germany (n=2). In the following section, the findings of these studies are discussed in relation to three main types of educational outcomes: 1. social lessons, tolerance and the moral implications of the Holocaust, 2. Factual knowledge about the Holocaust, and 3. Student learning.

The tendencies in the effects of integrating art and aesthetics interventions in TLH on educational outcomes related to social and moral lessons seem to be coherent across both the qualitative and the quantitative studies. While there is a large heterogeneity in the gathered material in regard to educational outcome metrics, as well as interventions and evaluation methods, the qualitative studies showed similar findings: that **the students get involved at an emotional level through the art and aesthetic interventions and that this seems to contribute to students learning about the social and moral lessons of the Holocaust.** The quantitative studies supported these findings by evaluating the comparative effectiveness of the art interventions in comparison to a control intervention or no intervention. The results from the two RCTs in this material show a statistically significant effect on educational outcomes related to social and moral lessons compared to the control groups.

In all three studies, the effectiveness of integrating art in TLH on educational outcomes related to factual knowledge is uncertain. In the RCT that evaluated the theatrical performance, both the group that were exposed to the performance and the study guide, and the group that were only exposed to the study guide showed similar results: both groups showed a significantly better understanding of the lessons of the Holocaust than did the control group with no intervention. These findings indicate that the study guide by itself was enough to achieve an increase in factual knowledge. As regards using graphic literature in a Holocaust literature class, the quantitative evaluation indicated that in terms of academic achievement, the traditional literature was more effective. The qualitative evaluation showed that while the graphic literature did not seem to increase the students’ academic achievement, it did seem to generate relevant discussions in the classroom which strengthen the idea of graphic literature functioning as a way to increase students’ interest. The evaluation of the use of television series in TLH indicated that television series alone are probably not enough to alter students’ belief systems. In summary, these few studies are not enough to draw any firm conclusions about the use of different art interventions in TLH and their effects on factual knowledge about the Holocaust. The tendencies in

effects visible in this small number of studies indicate a rather uncertain effect of art on factual knowledge about the Holocaust.

The studies concerned with student learning did not focus on evaluating educational outcomes specific to TLH, but rather use it as a case to explore art as a way to enhance student learning in general. The studies are very heterogeneous with regard to intervention, study approach and purpose which makes it hard to draw any general conclusion about tendencies in effects.

As described below, there are few and only small studies that evaluate the effectiveness of art and aesthetics interventions on educational outcomes related to knowledge and the social lessons of the Holocaust. The risk of bias in these studies has not been assessed. In the material included in this category some tendencies in effects are visible. While the findings of the studies indicate a very uncertain effect of art and aesthetics on students' factual knowledge about the Holocaust, they do indicate that these kinds of interventions could increase students' learning about the social and moral lessons about the Holocaust. It has to be acknowledged that these are only indications and tendencies and that the character of the studies made it hard to draw any firm conclusions about effectiveness. Instead, more research is needed in order to be able to draw more robust conclusions.

Interventions influenced by aesthetic and emotive learning

The following section is dedicated to a summary of the studies included in the evaluation of educational outcomes in this category of educational interventions based on aesthetic and emotive learning in accordance with: 1. social lessons, tolerance and the moral implications of the Holocaust; 2. Factual knowledge about the Holocaust; and 3. Student learning.

Social lessons, tolerance and the moral implications of the Holocaust through art and aesthetics

Eight studies evaluated the effects of art and aesthetic interventions on social lessons, tolerance and the moral implications of the Holocaust. Four studies used different kinds of qualitative methods. Two studies were RCTs and one study used mixed methods.

Harvey and Miles (2009) evaluated the effects of the theatrical performance “And Then They Came For Me” in an RCT with middle class students (n=106). The findings suggested that students exposed to the play together with a study guide demonstrated a better understanding of the social lessons of the Holocaust, and a greater empathic concern for the suffering of individuals in general when compared with two control groups where one group were exposed to the intervention and the other were exposed to the study guide but not the play.

Betts et al. (2015) evaluated the effects of a museum exhibition followed by an art therapy session in comparison with the exhibition only on visitors' empathy and social action. The findings of the RCT showed an increase in immediate empathy and moderately sustained empathy (at 2-, 7- and 12-months follow-ups) for the intervention group in comparison to the control group; the increase was statistically significant in comparison to the control group that showed a minimal increase. While the study found significant effects on visitors' empathy, this effect on empathy did not result in any significant effects on visitors' engagement in social change in the following year. The findings of the social action survey showed no substantial change in civic engagement and political activity among experimental and control group participants over the year following the museum visit.

In a mixed method study, Wegner (1998) evaluated the educational outcomes of a four-week integrated

language arts and social studies curriculum on the Holocaust on students' learning about the lessons of the Holocaust for their generation today. An analysis of student essays (n=200) showed that 82% mentioned that the lessons from the Holocaust were to not allow it to happen again, 64% not to dehumanize others, 60% not to be a bystander, 52% not to discriminate, and 40% not to blindly follow political leaders. Twenty-four students (12%) did not articulate any lessons from the Holocaust; these students only recorded factual information about the Holocaust, the Third Reich and concentration camps without connecting this to lessons from that period.

Russell (2007) examined students' perceptions of using online artwork and non-traditional teaching methods in a high school social studies classroom to help students gain a deeper understanding of the content. Using qualitative analysis, the author concluded that Holocaust artwork increased student interest in, understanding and appreciation of the content. Further, the findings indicated that when teachers use different teaching techniques (discussion, cooperative learning, etc.), students gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of the content.

In a qualitative interactive case study, Toll (2000) explores elementary and high school students' responses to teaching the Holocaust through Holocaust art and aesthetics. She found that the interconnection between personal relevancy, aesthetics, and cognition provided the students with a heightened awareness and critical understanding of the moral implications of the Holocaust. By having a context for exploring indifference, injustice, and oppression, most students not only showed empathy through their pictures and journals but also expressed tolerance for diversity.

Chrisholm et al. (2016) explored an embodied arts based approach to teaching the story of Anne Frank. The intervention targeted three middle school classrooms with eight grade students. The study was a qualitative analysis of the students' responses to these art-based strategies and the results indicated that these strategies enhanced both teachers' and students' engagement with Anne Frank's diary and historical circumstances.

Dahlke (2018) evaluated the educational outcomes of a choral music project which aimed to deepen the students' understanding of the Holocaust using mixed methods. The intervention was part of a choral music course at a college in the USA. The study examined the educational outcomes apparent after the intervention. The author concluded that "musical responses" to the Holocaust produced an experience that seems to have motivated the students to broaden their perspectives on the Holocaust through movement-based emotional engagement, to expand their ability to empathize, to deepen their connection to the community around them, and to ignite their consideration of meaningful career choices.

Gray (2014) analysed the effectiveness of the movie 'The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas' as a pedagogic tool in TLH. The study consisted of a survey that mapped students' (n=298) knowledge and lessons from the Holocaust and also where they gained their knowledge from. The results of the study suggest that 'The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas' had had an important impact on students' existing ideas. The author argues that the movie had helped to substantiate problematic misconceptions and skewed moral messages.

Educational outcomes related to the impact of art interventions on factual knowledge about the Holocaust

Three studies evaluated the effectiveness of integrating different art interventions in teaching the Holocaust to students. While all the studies examine the impact of art in teaching, the interventions

differ in important ways. One intervention saw the integration of graphic literature such as comics when reading about the Holocaust. Another intervention used a theatrical performance together with a study guide when teaching the Holocaust. The third intervention showed a docudrama television series (The Holocaust) in school. The studies evaluated educational outcomes related to students' knowledge about the Holocaust such as academic achievement, knowledge about specific concepts related to the Holocaust, and historical knowledge about the Holocaust.

Honig (2018) examined the effectiveness of using graphic literature in a high school literature unit in comparison with traditional literature when reading about the Holocaust. He concluded that the academic achievement scores were higher for the students that read the traditional literature in comparison to the students who consumed the graphic literature. But, in the qualitative analysis, he found that students reading the graphic literature made connections and raised points that generated relevant and meaningful conversations.

Harvey and Miles (2009) evaluated the effects of the theatrical performance 'And Then They Came For Me' in a randomized control trial. Learning outcomes related to students' knowledge of concepts relevant to the Holocaust (such as eugenics, prejudice, and antisemitism; and the categories bully, victim, bystander and advocate) showed that students who were exposed to both the play and a study guide demonstrated a better understanding of the lessons of the Holocaust. The group of students exposed to both the play and study guide, as well as the group of students exposed to the study guide only, were better able to define terms of central relevance to the Holocaust.

One prospective intervention study evaluated the effects of a docudrama television series (The Holocaust) on students' knowledge of and attitudes towards Jews and the Holocaust (Wegner, 1998). The study was conducted in five schools with students in tenth grade (n=390). Before the intervention, 40% of the students disagreed with the statement that it was inappropriate behaviour of the Jews that led to the Holocaust, 40% were uncertain and 20% agreed with the statement. After exposure to the television series, the 20% of the students that agreed with the statement had not changed their attitudes. The study does not report on the effects on the 40% who were uncertain. The author suggests that in light of these findings, television viewing alone will not alter belief systems of tenth graders and if television series are going to be used in teaching, they have to be complemented with other teaching strategies.

Enhancing student learning through art and aesthetics

Five studies explored student learning through art and aesthetics. In these studies, the Holocaust was mostly used as a tool to explore student learning.

Freeman (2005) explored the impact of showing images of the Holocaust on PowerPoint slides and videos on student learning in TLH at a liberal arts college. The study consisted of a post-intervention survey of students in one class (n=31). The findings from the survey showed that while some students reported being aware of a certain desensitization to graphic imagery, the images of the Holocaust still had the ability to shock them and force them to reflect.

In a quasi-experimental study, Kopf-Beck et al. (2017) conducted a content analysis of six film excerpts related to the Holocaust and investigated the mediating effects of four defensiveness strategies (distancing from victims, victim blaming, closeness to perpetrators, and rejection of the relevance of the Holocaust) on group-based shame in pupils (n=224) from Germany's third post-war generation. The

study showed the effects of the influencing mechanisms of the cinematic stimulus qualities on different ways of dealing with the issue and their partly mediating effects on group-based shame. The partly counter-intended effects regarding film-induced emotions point out the great significance of *which* portraying strategies are chosen in the media, especially regarding the perpetrator in-group. The authors concluded that film portraits can both hinder and foster group-based shame and a constructive dealing with the past.

Kearney et al. (2012) examined the use of highly emotive documentaries of the Holocaust in a graduate-level organizational theory class and the intervention's impact on student learning. The results of the study showed that students exhibited strong internal drives to apply knowledge gained in their work to their own organizations and that student engagement increased markedly.

Krieg (2015) explored the connection between memory practices and emotion ideologies in TLH using data from two case studies from a museum exhibition about the Holocaust in two history classes. The study showed how emotions in some contexts are considered inferior to facts and obstacles to the learning process. In other contexts, they are superior to facts because they can communicate moral messages reliably.

Burke (1998, 2003) examined the impact on students when learning about the Holocaust through an exhibition about Anne Frank within a Holocaust unit in religious education in school. The study showed that the students were moved by seeing the physical evidence for the Holocaust and experienced a range of physical reactions and emotions.

6. Uncategorized

Twenty publications were included in this section. Among these publications there were 15 studies conducted with a qualitative study design, one with a quantitative study design and four with mixed methods. The studies were conducted in the USA (n=11), UK (n=3), Israel (n=1), Germany (n=1) Scotland (n=2), Netherlands (n=1) and USA/UK (n=1). The studies in this category could not be categorized into any of the other categories of established learning theories but it does not seem appropriate either to synthesize this material into a category due to its heterogeneity.

Nonetheless, the description of the studies in each of the subcategories below could be used to inspire further research. There are some similarities between the studies in this category and other similar studies in the other categories. The component of witness testimony has been acknowledged as effective in provoking emotional effects in students as well as contributing to changed perspectives on the Holocaust by several studies across the categories. This is also evident in one qualitative study in this material.

Focus for uncategorized studies

The following sections include a rough categorization into the intervention types: teacher training, TLH in the classroom, and informal educational interventions. All subcategories contain a short description of the included studies.

Teacher training

Two studies explored interventions that focused on training teachers in different aspects related to the Holocaust. One assumption in these studies is thus that training teachers will result in effects on students

in the end. None of the studies evaluate the effects on students.

Cohen (2011) examined the effects of seminars at Yad Vashem for teachers. Results from an evaluation survey indicated that the seminars influenced participants' outlook on the world and that learning about the Holocaust at Yad Vashem enhanced this learning since it linked the Holocaust to the victims and their descendants.

DeBerry (2015) explored another teacher training programme called BFS HITÈ. The programme focused on teaching guidelines, incorporating appropriate pedagogies and developing curricula. The programme included educational workshops. The study indicated that consistent communication was paramount in the success of the programme. The study also showed that the USHMM's website was the most trusted and widely-used resource for the participants when teaching the Holocaust.

TLH in the classroom

Sixteen publications evaluated TLH in the classroom. Duffy et al. (2018) explored the interdisciplinary approach in the Scottish "curriculum for excellence". The study concluded that the intervention was an effective approach to teaching the Holocaust. The study also indicated that the arts component in the intervention was important for students to develop their historical knowledge of the Holocaust and their skills and knowledge in literature, art and music.

Glynn et al. (1982) examined four different Holocaust curricula used by teachers in four districts in the USA. In FHAO, the primary focus was the study of justice, antisemitism, racism and social responsibility. The teachers experienced that the curriculum had effects on the students' ability to generalize from a historical event to their own lives. In the social studies Holocaust curriculum, the teacher felt that the studies helped to break down barriers between Jewish and non-Jewish students. In the curriculum "the Holocaust, a study of genocide", the teachers stressed that combatting prejudice, stereotyping and racism were major goals and teachers felt that the material had a very emotional impact on the students. In "The Holocaust - a teacher's resource" the main goal for teachers was to teach about prejudice, racism, antisemitism and intergroup relations. The teachers felt that it worked; the students could talk intensely about the effects of prejudice and the consequences of racism in an historical context.

Ibsch & Schreier (2001) explores the impact of students reading three experimental texts about the Holocaust. The findings for the most experimental of the three texts, Hilsenrath's "The Nazi and the Barber", showed that a high degree of literary socialization did not seem to contribute to the acceptance of experimental literature. The study indicated that it instead led to an increased perception of taboo violations and to a rejection of the novel.

Judson (2013) evaluated TLH as a unit within the Scheme of Learning in the Twentieth Century. The results of the study indicated that the unit resulted in good quality in the students' work and that it motivated students to take pride in their work.

McRoy (1982) evaluated the effects of regular TLH on a group of 9th to 11th grade students (n=150) who had studied the Holocaust in school compared to a control sample that had not studied the Holocaust. The two groups got to write a paper about the Holocaust, and the papers were then compared. The findings indicated that the students who had studied the Holocaust had a more sophisticated understanding of the event.

In a qualitative study, Meliza (2010) studied an advanced placement European history class that included a unit on the Holocaust with the aim of exploring students' motivations to learn. The analysis showed four themes of factors that influenced students' choice to learn: interest, desire for good grades, the perceived expectations of others, and obligation to society.

Meseth and Proske (2015) explored the use of films and slideshows in teaching the Holocaust. Their qualitative analysis based on observations in classrooms showed how classroom interactions are influenced by the quirky and unexpected ways in which students appropriate learning. These appropriations were often in conflict with the intended content of the lessons.

Metzger (2012) examined a film-based lesson on the Holocaust. The lesson was part of a unit on WW2. The teacher used the film 'The Pianist'. The aim of the study was to explore how films can contribute to learning. The findings of the study indicate that the students' ethical conclusions focused on the moral lessons of the Holocaust. The antisemitism during the Holocaust made the students think about racism against many other groups today.

Mitchell (2004) interviewed 17 Holocaust teachers about their pedagogical approaches. The findings of the study showed the importance of teacher training within this area. The study also showed that some resources such as specific poetry, movies and literature were commonly used by many of the teachers. The teachers emphasized the importance of personalizing Holocaust history.

Pettigrew and Karayianni (2019) evaluated the effects of TLH in general on students in the UK. The findings of the study suggested that Auschwitz and the wider concentration camp system had a considerable influence on school students' understanding of the Holocaust. However, few students were able to exhibit a detailed understanding of the complex history of Auschwitz or its relationships to the wider concentration camp system.

Richardson (2012) evaluated formal TLH in year 9 in the UK. One component within the TLH was a visit by a Holocaust survivor. The qualitative analysis was focused on different levels of learning according to learning theories. The visit by a Holocaust survivor seemed to have a significant impact on the students.

Two publications based on the same data explored the impact of Holocaust literature on how students construct meaning about the Holocaust (Spector 2007; Spector & Jones 2007). The qualitative analysis illustrated how the students narrated around both God and Satan as actively involved in history in a struggle between good and evil. The students saw Hitler as Satan (Spector, 2007). When reading literature about Anne Frank, the students came to the lessons with preconceived cultural narratives about Anne Frank, and the study found that the students distorted the texts in order to maintain these already present cultural narratives (Spector & Jones, 2007).

Johnson (2014) examined how two teachers worked collaboratively to create and implement a Holocaust unit that asked students to use comic strips (graphic literature) to demonstrate their learning. In the ethnographic study following this unit, the author found that resistance occurred from teachers as they did not think that graphic literature was serious enough. Resistance also occurred from one student who did not believe that the school should be dedicating nine weeks to studying the Holocaust.

Morgan (2013) described the experiences of an online course about WW2 and the Holocaust in a virtual

3D world called “Second Life”. He concluded that the virtual world gave the students the freedom to explore the surroundings on their own and thus created unique opportunities for learning. The weekly discussions in the 3D world were highly valued by the students.

Informal educational interventions

Hasty (2007) examined a community-based intervention that integrated school-based and community-based learning activities outside of school. The intervention included components of the arts such as dance. The results of the study showed that the dance provided an entry point for students into important conversations about the Holocaust. Conclusions from the qualitative analysis were that the community project enhanced public awareness and the capacity for stimulating civic dialogue.

Hendersen and Dombrowski (2018) explored the use of audio headsets for learning about the Holocaust at a museum exhibition. The study found that knowledge of the Holocaust was high which has implications for what teaching might achieve at Holocaust museums. The audio headsets seemed to be integrated into the exhibition in a seamless way, but the headsets do not ensure that students are listening to the guide in the headsets and they do not ensure the quality of pedagogical interactions.

Webeck and Hasty (2006) evaluated a community project that aimed to support TLH in schools and to encourage community dialogue through the integration of education, the arts and community involvement. The results of the study suggest that the community intervention resulted in an interaction between different actors in the community.

Summary of the narrative synthesis of educational outcomes across categories for studies of TLH

In this section, we will discuss some overall findings across the learning theory categories in order to summarize the state of knowledge in practice-based research about interventions related to TLH. The included research was put into five (+1) main categories based on established learning theories. It could have been interesting to analyse if there were differences in effectiveness between interventions based on the different learning theories, but the included material is too heterogeneous to conduct such an analysis. Instead, this overall summary will mainly focus on interesting findings across the categories and make some concluding remarks about the findings of the educational outcomes evaluation as a whole.

Experiential learning activities

Three types of interventions or components in interventions related to TLH show some promising results and might be relevant to explore further in new research or by implementing them in practice with robust systematic evaluation. The three main interventions that stand out in the gathered material are: witness testimonies, study visits/field trips, and interventions that integrate different pedagogical resources. These interventions all have in common that they aim to enhance student learning through experiences and emotions and thereby also provide students with lasting lessons learned.

Witness testimonies

Many studies in the included material use a component of “witness testimonies”, “survivor testimonies” or “meeting a survivor”. Some studies also evaluate digital versions of witness testimonies through the use of videos or Virtual Reality technology. In the evaluated research, these interventions are commonly used in museum exhibitions, during field trips and in community-based interventions, but also to a large extent in formal classroom teaching. There is mainly qualitative research that evaluates this component, but there are some quantitative studies as well. Witness testimonies are described as effective in all of

the qualitative studies across the learning theory categories. These studies emphasize that the component of witness testimony seems effective in provoking emotional responses in students as well as contributing to changed perspectives on the Holocaust. Some studies acknowledged the relational aspect of students getting to meet a real person who experienced events related to the Holocaust as an effective mechanism. Other studies point to the effectiveness of getting students to understand that Jews are not just symbols of the Holocaust, but real persons who live normal lives just like themselves. Some results from the qualitative studies indicated that students found witness testimonies more memorable, meaningful and robust than other forms of learning.

No quantitative studies evaluated the effectiveness of witness testimonies compared to similar interventions without the component of witness testimonies. Without such evaluations the effects of this component in TLH are uncertain. There are no studies that evaluate the long-term effects of witness testimonies. The knowledge from the qualitative studies indicates that the students were affected by the intervention in many ways that seem to increase their understanding of the Holocaust as well as increase their empathy and moral reasoning. These findings give important insights into the workings of the intervention on students by means of rich and detailed descriptions, indicating that witness testimonies have the potential to be effective on several relevant educational outcomes. However, the lack of research evaluating in a systematic and reliable way the effects on larger populations and with longer follow-up times is concerning since there is no extant knowledge about the effects of these interventions at a general level and over the longer term. This lack of knowledge makes it uncertain whether the students' direct responses to witness testimonies actually contribute to changes that last beyond this specific situation. It is also uncertain if witness testimonies could have reversing effects on certain groups of student populations. So, while these interventions show some promising results in the extant research, more research that focuses on evaluating the long-term comparative effectiveness of this kind of intervention with adequate subgroup analyses is needed in order to increase the knowledge base. This conclusion does not mean that witness testimonies should not be used in existing educational practices, but rather highlights the importance of conducting systematic evaluations when this kind of intervention is used for educational purposes.

The integration of different pedagogical resources in TLH

Across the learning theory categories, there were many studies that emphasized the positive impact of integrating different pedagogical resources in TLH. Some studies combined art and aesthetics with more traditional learning techniques and concluded that this combination deepened the students' learning. Others emphasized the importance of combining reading literature or watching a film for example with discussions and reflections in groups in order to enhance students' learning. One quantitative study showed that a film by itself did not alter students' belief systems and drew the conclusions that films needed to be complemented with other teaching strategies. While the integration of different pedagogical resources is pointed out in several qualitative studies as having a positive impact on students, there is a lack of quantitative evaluations that examine the effects of these interventions at a general level in larger populations and over the longer term. These kinds of multimodal interventions can be challenging to study through study designs that evaluate comparative effectiveness since it is hard to determine if specific components of the interventions were more or less effective. But such analysis could still provide knowledge about the effects of specific multimodal interventions as a whole.

Study visits and field trips

Another type of intervention that was commonly addressed in the included material was different types of study visits and field trips: educational interventions outside of the classroom. These interventions could be visits to museum exhibitions, synagogues attending ceremonies for Holocaust Memorial Day and trips to authentic places such as concentration camps or other places in Poland, for example. The

main idea with these educational activities is to enhance student learning through experiences and that these interventions can lead to increased knowledge about events related to the Holocaust; but also change attitudes towards minority groups, prevent racism, increase moral reasoning, increase students' understanding of issues related to human rights, increase empathy, etc. Findings from the qualitative studies included in the material indicate that both teachers and students experienced the educational activities as valuable and that it helped them deepen their learning. The studies also indicated that the interventions resulted in changes in empathy and the students' understanding of moral issues. There are interesting quantitative studies that support these findings. Two studies with follow-up metrics showed that study visits increased students' knowledge about the Holocaust, their tolerance and emotional empathy. Knowledge about the Holocaust and an increase in tolerance were sustained four months after the intervention. Increases in immediate empathy were statistically significant compared to a control group after the study visit, and these increases were moderately sustained also after 2, 7 and 12 months later. These findings indicate that study visits and field trips could have the potential to contribute to more lasting effects on students. However, since there are still few quantitative studies that evaluate educational outcomes in the longer term, the state of knowledge remains uncertain. These positive results from both qualitative and quantitative studies indicate that the intervention type could merit extra attention as a potentially effective educational intervention when teaching about the Holocaust.

There was one qualitative study which pointed in another direction in terms of effects. This study showed that a study visit alone did not affect the majority of students' ability to link events related to the Holocaust to contemporary issues of human rights. This finding is probably important for most of these kinds of educational activities since it indicates that students might need help to make connections between their experiences of the study visit or field trips and the learnings connected to them. The results of this educational outcome evaluation show the need to invest in research or systematic evaluations that further explore this kind of intervention.

The dominance of qualitative studies

There is an obvious dominance of studies conducted with qualitative study designs in the included material. This is not surprising since qualitative studies constitute a solid foundation and an established tradition in the research field of education science as a whole. As shown in this educational outcome evaluation, a lack of robust quantitative studies that evaluate long-term effects and effects on larger populations make it difficult to draw any firm conclusion about these effects. In this kind of educational outcome evaluation, findings from qualitative studies provide important indications of how the interventions impact students. These findings give important information on what kind of educational outcomes and intervention types could be important to investigate further, but these findings need to be supplemented with knowledge from quantitative studies that evaluate the comparative effectiveness of the interventions.

Without such knowledge, we have an important knowledge gap which could mean that TLH interventions are implemented arbitrarily and that students do not learn the lessons we want them to learn or that the lessons they learn are not lasting. In the case of the experiential learning interventions elaborated on above, one obvious risk is that the qualitative studies all show positive effects in the specific educational situation. But to put it a bit crudely, what students *don't* appreciate activities that go beyond regular classroom teaching? So, while such interventions are valued experiences by students and teachers, how can we be sure that they actually contribute to long-term effects on important educational outcomes? And how do we ensure that these interventions do not lead to adverse effects? One, now classic, example of such an intervention is the 'scared-straight programmes' that aimed to prevent criminal behaviour among at-risk youth. The programme built on ideas that these young people

could be scared by awful stories told by ex-criminals and that this would prevent them from engaging in criminal behaviour in the future. When the quantitative research that evaluated the comparative effectiveness of this programme was synthesized in a systematic review, the findings showed that scared-straight programmes were no more effective than control interventions and, more importantly, that the programme could result in reverse effects: there was an increased risk of criminal behaviour among young people who had been exposed to the scared-straight programme in comparison to young people in the control groups. This illustrates why it is important to complement findings from qualitative studies with quantitative studies that can follow up on the findings of the qualitative studies.

PART VI Definitions of antisemitism in the reviewed studies

This section focuses on the definitions and understandings of antisemitism in the studies analysed and what they entail. Firstly, it discusses if and how antisemitism is defined, and secondly, the focus or lack thereof on antisemitism and how this can be understood.

The survey of the texts containing the term "antisemitism" showed that only 9 (9%) explicitly defined the term but that in addition to that, eight studies discussed the term and various theories used to explain the phenomenon in some detail. It also showed that in 27 (27%) of the texts referring to antisemitism, it was not an integral part of the analysis systematically discussed but only mentioned in passing or in isolated sections. Thus antisemitism was either not mentioned or not an integral part of the analysis in 59 texts (43%).

The definitions used

The study shows that antisemitism is rarely defined and that definitions of the term are seldom discussed in the assessment of TLH programmes. Only nine of the 101 studies (9%) employing the term contained explicit definitions (Baier & Engelhardt, 2017; Clements, 2010; Dahl, 2008; Foster et al., 2010; Lock, 2010; Maitles & Cowan, 2006; Morgan, 2002; Schmack, 2015; Thorsen, 2010). There are even studies analysing the effects of Holocaust education on the levels of antisemitism in student populations and analyses of ethnic tolerance of Jews and other groups that do not use the term at all (Simon, 2003; Sebre & Gundare, 2010). However, nine studies discuss the term and various theories used to explain the phenomenon in some detail (Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, 2003; Harrod, 1996; Maitles & Cowan, especially 2009 & 2011; Clements, 2010; Hasty, 2007; Nelles, 2006; Richardson, 2012; Schmack, 2015). Interestingly, the definitions and the theoretical discussions of the term appear in the more recent studies.

The definitions used differ, and yet they are, for the most part, similar. The reason for this is their focus on the lowest common denominator. Antisemitism is presented as "[...] a construct which describes the anti-Semite and not the Jew [...]," and it is stressed that its continuity, its persistence, sets antisemitism apart from other prejudices, as does the role of Christianity (Clements, 2010, p.113f). Referring to *Echoes and Reflections: A Multimedia Curriculum on the Holocaust* from 2005, Dahl (2018, p.17) suggest another definition: "Term describing intolerance shown as prejudice or discrimination against Jews". In a similar vein, antisemitism in another study (Foster et al., 2016, p.131) is understood as "[...] prejudice against Jews". A further study (Maitles & Cowan, 2006, p.10) defines antisemitism as: "[...] the hatred towards Jews – individually and as a group – that can be attributed to the Jewish religion and/or ethnicity". The USHMMs definition (2009) is also employed (Lock, 2010, p.10): "The term anti-Semitism means prejudice against or hatred of Jews". There are also very general, descriptive definitions (Thorsen, 2010, p.42) sketching the historical continuity of the phenomenon:

Anti-Semitism is a belief system evolved over hundreds of years and has had countless contributors. It ebbed and flowed during various periods in history, but the cultural impact of racial thought upon Europe served as a key ingredient to many episodes of mass killing and genocide across the globe. During its colonial period, European ideas of racial classification and notions of superiority based upon these separations spread throughout burgeoning empires and impacted the treatment of indigenous groups.

However, there are also more concise and elaborate definitions stressing the long history of antisemitism and not least emphasizing its uniqueness:

Rather, the issue is whether antisemitism, or Judenhass (Jew-hatred) or Judenfeindlichkeit (hostility against Jews) is just another form of hating “the other” or whether such hostility is directed uniquely at Jews in a historically consistent manner. [---] It is not just about hatred and hostility towards a group, but about the very question of the right to exist. This makes it as much a philosophical and political as a historical issue.[---] As with no other form of group hostility, Judenfeindschaft is based on a 2000-year-old tradition of continually reproducing stereotypes, carried by collective-emotional structures that have been passed on specifically by respected, educated, powerful, and well-recognized personalities.⁷ Moreover, this belief of Jews as the enemy has been firmly established as part of Christian-influenced tradition and identity.⁸ (Morgan, 2002, p.441)

Katalin Morgan is one of few scholars in the sample who describes antisemitism as radically different from other hostilities. Furthermore, she is alone in making its uniqueness, its distinguishing features, a crucial part of an explicit definition of the phenomenon and an integral part of her understanding of the Holocaust, seeing antisemitism as a necessary but not sufficient condition for the murder of European Jewry and stressing that because of its multidimensional omnipresence it requires a multidisciplinary approach.

The most concise definition of antisemitism is offered by C. Baier & K. Engelhardt (2017, p.24), although it does not specify any distinguishing features:

Antisemitismus wird hier in Übereinstimmung mit den Ausführungen im Bericht des ersten UEA definiert als »Sammelbezeichnung für alle Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen, die den als Juden wahrgenommenen Einzelpersonen, Gruppen oder Institutionen aufgrund dieser Zugehörigkeit negative Eigenschaften unterstellen«.

Thus, in most explicit definitions, antisemitism is understood as prejudices and (or) hatred against Jews as Jews or perceived as such. Several studies without explicit definitions also describe antisemitism as a prejudice more or less like other prejudices: Ambrosewicz-Jacobs et al. (2001, p.536) claim that “Antisemitism is a form of intolerance”. In Ambrosewicz-Jacobs (2003), where antisemitism is the main but not the sole ethnic prejudice analysed, antisemitism is understood in the broader context of identity formation. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs et al. (2013, p.1) discuss antisemitism as an example of group prejudices (and an expression of a lack of knowledge): “Another aspect frequently addressed was the intention to overcome negative stereotypes, prejudices and to fight antisemitism by replacing half-truths and products of the imagination with facts and knowledge”. Barridge (1983) understands antisemitism as a prejudice, while Brabeck et al. (1994) mention antisemitism as a social ailment like intolerance and bigotry that TLH should help rid society of. Carrington and Short (1997) see antisemitism as a form of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping, as does Clyde (2002) and Elmore (2002). Haas (2020) quotes Tooten’s and Feinberg’s argument for learning about the Holocaust: “To gain an understanding of concepts such as prejudice, discrimination, anti-Semitism, stereotyping, obedience, loyalty, conflict, conflict resolution, decision making, and justice”. Judging by the analysis and context, Jennings (1994) understands antisemitism as a form of racism. That is also the case for Hernandez (2004) and Maitles (2008). The studies without explicit definitions thus seem to understand antisemitism as a form of

prejudice, intolerance, and hostility, similar to hostility towards other groups. However, several of the works focusing on antisemitism recurrently mention its long history and the role of Christianity as something that distinguishes it from other prejudices. Furthermore, they comment on the shortcomings of the field in specifically addressing antisemitism (see below). Several studies also present theories on antisemitism and use innovative theoretical frameworks, like Ambrosewicz-Jacobs' (2003) 'Me-Us-Them trichotomy', implying "that the image of the Other is to a large extent the result of individual and ingroup self-evaluation". However, antisemitism is, at the most basic level, generally understood as prejudices against or hostility towards Jews (because they are Jews).

These findings do not corroborate the results and the conclusion in the sizeable German study conducted by C. Baier and K. Engelhardt (2017). As indicated above, their study is also a part of the sample analysed here. They conclude that there is no consensus regarding the definition:

Eine weitere Herausforderung für Projektträger bei der Konzeption und Durchführung von Fort- und Weiterbildungsmaßnahmen ist das unterschiedliche Verständnis von aktuellem Antisemitismus (→ Definition). Es existiert keine einheitliche Definition von Antisemitismus, die auf alle Situationen und Projekte übertragbar wäre. Manche Projekte setzen sich mit Theorien auseinander und bauen für sich ein Definitionskonstrukt, das ihren Bedürfnissen entspricht. Andere Projekte folgen der EUMC »Working Definition«. »Die meisten Projekte entwickeln ein Verständnis von Antisemitismus, das in den Teams ausgehandelt und z. T. aufs Neue ausgehandelt wird. In einem Fall wird eine Definition entwickelt, die speziell für ein konkretes Projekt gelte. (ibid. p.250)

Another difference between the results of the present study and Baier & Engelhardt's is that the EUMC working definition is not used as a basis for explicit definitions in the works studied here (except in the study just cited). Interestingly, this also applies to the IHRA working definition. However, IHRA, its teaching guidelines, IHRA volumes on research on TLH and Holocaust education, respectively, are mentioned (for instance in Gross, 2017; Pettigrew & Karayannis; Krieg, 2017). The absence of the IHRA definition might be a consequence of when the studies in the sample were published. Many appeared before its drafting and most before the 2016 modifications. Another explanation might be that the definition is designed for practical and not for academic purposes and therefore not used in scholarly works. However, the practical nature of TLH and the use of practical rather than scholarly definitions to define antisemitic hate crimes for instance (Schmack 2015), might call into question the latter explanation.

Some scholars associated with IHRA frequently appear in the sample, most notably Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs and Paula Cowan. They are the two scholars in the study who most consistently focus on antisemitism.

Some problems with defining antisemitism solely as prejudice and hatred of Jews as Jews

Defining antisemitism as prejudice against and or hatred of Jews (as Jews) only explains who the victims are. However, it does not even provide a completely accurate picture of that. Antisemitism concerns prejudices against individuals, groups, and institutions *believed to be and/or represented as Jews* – "als Juden wahrgenommenen Einzelpersonen, Gruppen oder Institutionen" – as the EUMC definition puts it. Other scholarly definitions also make this distinction (Nirenberg, 2013), and so do definitions designed for practical purposes, like the IHRA working definition. The distinction is essential.

Furthermore, defining antisemitism as prejudice and hatred of Jews does not answer the question why the Jews, nor does it reveal the origins of or the content of antisemitic ideas. It lumps antisemitism together with other forms of group prejudices, thereby making them indistinguishable. Research on what sets antisemitism apart from other forms of group hatred typically emphasizes a couple of distinguishing features. Firstly, ideas about Jewish power. In the antisemitic imagination, Jews are powerful, control the financial institutes and thereby the economy, the media, and politics - allegations not made against other groups. This means that antisemites regard antisemitism as a form of self-defence against an overpowering enemy. Secondly, and associated with the idea of the might and influence of the Jews, is the idea of a Jewish world conspiracy and the Jews as sinister conspirators; puppeteers who, through their schemes and machinations, control the world. The stereotypical Jew is thus, unlike members of other vilified groups, not seen as inferior or stupid but as a formidable threat: cunning, calculating, using their brilliant but twisted intelligence to the detriment of all non-Jews. It is the idea of a Jewish world conspiracy that reconciles the mutually exclusive allegations against the Jews (as both Capitalists *and* Communists, as both nationally unreliable cosmopolitans *and* die-hard nationalists) by identifying them all as part of the strategies employed by Jews to achieve world domination. Anthony Julius (2008) underlines the conspiracist character of antisemitism and points out its consequences: "Racisms of color have no conspiracist dimension. One consequence is that while the tendency of racism is towards domination and humiliation, the tendency of anti-Semitism is towards exclusion and destruction". Associated with the conspiracist dimension is that antisemitism functions as a critical theory (Nirenberg, 2013) – making it possible to demonize everything unwanted by 'Judaizing' it. Thereby, Jews become the enemy of opposing sides in conflicts, thus making them the victims of hostility from all. To use Zygmunt Bauman's image, they were seen as straddling all the fences erected in the conflicts erupting due to modernity (Bauman, 1991). The Jews were not only an enemy among others but *the* enemy, to return to Morgan. Thirdly, when it comes to the process of othering, antisemitism also differs from racism. While racism is hatred of the Other, antisemitism is hatred of "the imperceptible Other", as Julius (2008) puts it. Antisemitism is thus more than a prejudice.

Why then regard antisemitism as a prejudice among others? The definition seems to follow from the logic (but not necessarily the intentions) of TLH; it makes knowledge about the Holocaust and antisemitism transferable. Learning the facts about the Holocaust and the fate of the Jews can be claimed to inspire tolerance, respect for human rights, and other virtues and help people oppose and fight (other forms of) group hatred (Kearney et al. 2013 focus on this transfer).

To exemplify, quotes from four very different studies illustrate the logic described above. The selection of quotes is random. They convey an understanding of TLH found in most of the studies in the sample. Paula Cowan and Henry Maitles (2007, p.116f) put it as follows, referring to Geoffrey Short and Carole Ann Reed:

The aim of Holocaust education is not to eradicate anti-Semitism and the many other forms of racism as, no matter how effective the education, there may still be individuals with racist attitudes (Allport, 1954) but rather to 'inoculate the generality of the population against racist and anti-Semitic propaganda and thereby restrict its appeal to a disaffected and politically insignificant rump' (Short and Reed, 2004 pp 6–7).

Doran A. Katz (2018, p.54) makes a similar point quoting Samuel Totten:

Holocaust education contains multi-levels of focus; remembrance and knowledge of the Holocaust itself; the role of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and a broader understanding of the factors involved in the development of the perpetuation of modern day anti-Semitism; and the broader understanding of factors contributing to the violation of human rights and tendencies toward genocide, and how to prevent such factors from triumphing.

Yigal Fijalkov and Christophe Jaludin (2015, p.206) are even more specific:

L'une des spécificités de l'enseignement du génocide des Juifs d'Europe réside précisément dans le fait de comporter une dimension civique devant aider à repérer, à réfuter les préjugés et les stéréotypes et aussi à combattre toutes les formes de discrimination et de xénophobie.

Moreover, Peter Anthony Lock (2010) explicitly lists the social ailments that can be addressed through TLH:

The power of telling her story across generations is that it honors those who were murdered as well as those who survived. It also keeps alive the warning of the possibility that human hatred can arise at a societal level whereby the victims of Anti-Semitism and other forms of religious oppression, racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, sizeism, and ageism can be targeted.

To avoid misunderstandings, the point here is *not* that antisemitism should not be compared to prejudices and hatred against other groups, nor that the Holocaust should not be compared to (other) genocides – it should. Nor is it a contribution to the long-standing debates on 'lessons from the past' in general or the Holocaust in particular. When comparing and using the Holocaust as *Magistra Vitae*, the argument is that it is vital to ensure that antisemitism does not become a thing of the past, something to learn from to combat *other* contemporary prejudices.

This does not necessarily require explicit definitions. However, it requires discussions of definitions and understandings of antisemitism and what consequences different definitions could have for teaching about antisemitism in TLH programmes. As indicated in the introduction, such a discussion is found in the studies in the sample focusing explicitly on antisemitism but lacking in most of the TLH studies analysed. The study shows that 26% (30/117) of the TLH studies do not discuss or actively use the term antisemitism.¹ Furthermore, in 27 (27%) of the texts, antisemitism is not an integral part of the analysis.

¹ The studies that do not discuss antisemitism are: Albertson Gunn, 2016; Badger & Harker, 2016; Betts et al., 2015; Beyer & Presseisen, 1995; Burgers, 2018; Calandra et al., 2002 although the study measures prejudices against several minorities, including Jews; Carnes et al., 2018; Chisholm et al., 2016; Clyde, 2010; Clyde et al., 2005. However, Clyde discusses antisemitism in a 2002 dissertation; Cole 2012; Dahlke, 2018; Farkas, 2003 does not use the concept but it is apparent that it was an integral part of the design: "The teacher used either traditional lessons or multisensory resources to teach specific objectives on the stated topic. Examples of those objectives included identifying the destructive policies of a bureaucratic infrastructure that ranged from social engineering to genocide; examining *the reasons that Jews were singled out for extermination; and gaining insight into the many historical, social, religious, political, and economic factors that cumulatively resulted in the Holocaust*; Fiedler, 2012. Antisemitism is not included in the list of key concepts. However, in the bibliography there is one work on antisemitism; Freeman, 2005, mentions the response to the images showing the persecution of the Jews: "Some were haunted by images of children, for example, while others were bothered by the images of smiling bystanders witnessing violence perpetrated against Jews"; Greenberg, 1979 uses the terms anti-Semites and anti-Semitic in two of the questions posed to the pupils and shows that a minority of the pupils blamed the Holocaust on the Jews.

The term might be mentioned on one or a few occasions, sometimes in the introduction or the background chapter as an argument for the study, sometimes in the literature review or in commentaries to antisemitic remarks by pupils/students and teachers in the empirical analysis. But it is not integrated into the study in a systematic way. Antisemitism is thus either not used to discuss the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust or not an integral part of the analysis in 59 texts (43% of the entire sample).² One can argue that this is an unfair assessment, and to some extent, it is – there are several studies, for instance, Henry Greenspan's (2019) excellent article on working with survivors' narratives, which do not require a discussion of antisemitism. Furthermore, many texts discuss how to understand antisemitism and the consequences of these understandings for TLH, not least regarding the long history of antisemitism and its Christian roots (Reed, 1993; Wegner, 1998; Mitchell, 2004; Short, 2005; Richardson, 2012, Specter, 2005 & Specter & Jones 2007) and especially the studies focusing specifically on antisemitism, like the texts by Ambrosewicz-Jacobs et al.; Baier & Engelhardt; Cowan & Maitles, Short and others.

However, when assessing TLH programmes and educational interventions where teaching about antisemitism in most cases is an essential and substantial part, addressing how the phenomenon is defined and understood should be part of the assessment, and that is often not the case. Furthermore, it is not easy to comprehend why some studies do not use the term. Two examples illustrate this firstly, when mentioning Holocaust denial, several texts (Burgers, 2018; Calandra et al., 2002; Johnson, 2014) do not discuss it as one of the forms of contemporary antisemitism but solely as an expression of lack of knowledge and thereby as an argument for TLH. However, several other studies stress that Holocaust denial is a form of contemporary antisemitism (for instance, Cowan & Maitles 2014 and Harrod, 1996).

The study is thus informed by an understanding of antisemitism but the results are not discussed in those terms; Greenspan, 2019; Henderson & Dombrowski, 2018; Johnson, 2014 discusses antisemitic propaganda, *Der Ewige Jude*, to contextualize Art Spiegelman's *Maus*. It is done in a comment on one of the comic strips produced by a naïve student who did not know that Spiegelman by choosing mice/rats to represent the Jews was making a reference to *Der Ewige Jude*. However, it is not discussed in terms of antisemitism; Judson, 2013 does not use the term. However, in another part of the programme that is not analyzed in the article, Jewish history, the anti-Jewish policies of the Nazi regime and not least the question "Why the Jews?" was addressed. However, since this part addresses the role of the perpetrators and how it should be explained, it is surprising that it is not framed as a study of antisemitism and that the term is not used; Kearney et al., 2013; Malone, 2006 As far as I can tell, the term as such is not used. However, prejudices against Jews and Judaism are mentioned but not specified. The main result is: "This analysis of the data has shown that formal study of religion, particularly the Studies of Religion course, has affected the understanding and appreciation of religion of the majority of students"; Maitles, 2010, who in numerous other articles focuses on antisemitism does not here; Morgan-Consoli et al., 2016. The term as such is not mentioned. However, it is underlined that it is the survivors' experiences of discrimination and oppression that are the key to understanding the Holocaust; Pettigrew & Karayianni, 2019 do not use the term. The reason is probably that the focus is on the death camps as such and their iconic role and how that affects the pupils' understanding of the Holocaust. Interestingly, "antisemitism" does not appear in Figure 2, showing "most commonly used words and phrases that refer to actions undertaken during the Holocaust across all student descriptions"; Russell, 2007. Interestingly, the list of reasons for studying the Holocaust mentions virtually every possible social ailment except antisemitism; Sebre & Gundare, 2003; Stevens & Brown, 2011; van Driel, 2005 does not discuss antisemitism despite the starting point being Anne Frank and her experience; Ward, 1986 neither mentions antisemitism nor Jews, Jewish, Jewishness, or Judaism. Instead, the issues addressed are discussed in terms of racism, ethnic and racial prejudice, etc.; Webeck & Hasty, 2006; Wills, 2018 only mentions Jews once (in relation to the Kabbalah) and "Jewish" once, when discussing children's understanding of the predicament of the Jews during the Holocaust.

Secondly, it is not either used in a study (Sebre & Gundare, 2003) of how TLH can affect ethnic prejudices and ethnic intolerance in general despite the study including prejudiced statements regarding Jews (among others), e.g., antisemitic claims, and the students watching *Schindler's List* and viewing the Anne Frank exhibition.

Understanding a lacuna

Interestingly, the problem of omitting/not including antisemitism and unwillingness to teach about the Holocaust is discussed already in the earlier works in the sample, for instance, by Morse (1981). Shah (2012, p.25) gives a good account of the historiography in the field:

Since the 1970s, there has been a major concern among teachers and researchers that textbooks often fail to provide an accurate and detailed account of history related to the Holocaust. Referring to 1970s textbooks, Fallace (2008) drew attention to the lack of discussion regarding the centrality of anti-Semitism in Hitler's political and social agenda, the origins of Hitler's theory on racial hygiene, the cooperation of contemporary German civilians during the Holocaust, knowledge of the Holocaust by U.S. authorities and Allied nations, and anti-Jewish U.S. immigration policies. Though some of these issues are now addressed through textbooks (Ben-Bassat, 2000), other issues such as Jewish resistance during the Holocaust (Tec, 2004), analysis of contemporary Middle Eastern politics in the shadow of the Holocaust (Haynes, 2004), and the lessons we have not learned from the past, are left out (Berger, 2003).

How can we explain the lack of focus on antisemitism, and what consequences does it have? Let us start by looking at one reason, then move on to some of the consequences described in the studies, and conclude with further explanations.

When looking through the bibliographies searching for titles on antisemitism, one reason becomes apparent: disciplinary divides. The TLH studies relate primarily to works published in their fields, in particular education and to a lesser degree Holocaust education - not to historical or sociological studies of antisemitism or works from the multidisciplinary field of antisemitism studies. The few texts on antisemitism used rarely concern antisemitism as a phenomenon (some exceptions are Ambrosewicz-Jacobs 2001; Baier & Engelhardt 2017; Kopf-Beck et al. 2017; Schmack 2015). Instead, the studies rely on surveys from ADL, CST, and other monitoring agencies regarding antisemitic attitudes and incidents, on TLH and teaching guides discussing antisemitism, and books and articles in social psychology and psychology addressing antisemitic prejudices. The result of this disciplinary divide, or specialization, is an unfortunate split between form and content. In fairness, there are many exciting content discussions, but the focus in TLH studies is (and should be) on form and how to teach about the Holocaust. However, sometimes this pushes discussions of actual content, e.g., antisemitism, into the background.

This is especially the case when TLH is instrumentalized in the way outlined above. In his preface to the sizeable British study by Foster et al. (2016, p.ix) on the effects of Holocaust education in the United Kingdom, Yehuda Bauer underlines:

The Holocaust is too often turned into vague lessons of the danger of 'hatred' or 'prejudice' at the expense of really trying to understand the reasons and motivations for the genocide. How else can it be possible that so many students who say that they have studied the Holocaust still do not even recognize the term antisemitism?

The problem here is thus not only the non-use of the term antisemitism but also, and not least that the 'lessons' do not seem to concern antisemitism, despite claims to the contrary (Brabeck et al., 1994; Clyde, 2002; Fijalkov & Jaludin, 2015). This problem is pointed out by several researchers in the sample, especially by Foster et al., Rebecka Hale, Gregory Wegner, Karen Spector, and Paula Cowan & Henry Maitles. One of the main findings in Foster's (Foster 2016, p.105) and his colleagues' study is that whereas a vast majority of the students had a reasonable understanding of the Holocaust:

Students were concerned with why the Jews were targeted, but had difficulty in providing robust, developed answers to the question. With most (68 per cent) unaware of what 'antisemitism' meant, their explanations tended to rest on distorted understandings and misconceptions about who the Jews were and overlooked the distinctive racial dimensions of Nazi antisemitism.

Comparing her results to the findings in Foster et al., Rebecka Hale (2018, p.228f) notes:

In the survey, students were asked to identify what was meant by the term antisemitism, as well as what was meant by the term's racism, homophobia, genocide and Islamophobia, to allow for making comparisons (Fig. 2). Only 16 per cent of the year 7 students knew what antisemitism meant, and 26.7 per cent knew what genocide was. This compared to 44.9 per cent who correctly identified the meaning of Islamophobia, some three-quarters of students who knew what homophobia referred to and 90.7 per cent who knew what racism was. A similar trend was found in the national sample, with 31.8 per cent understanding the meaning of antisemitism.

Henry Maitles and Paula Cowan (2004, 2005, 2006 & 2007, summarized in 2011) come to a similar conclusion. Students who had studied the Holocaust had not learned about antisemitism: "Yet, surprisingly few (only 28.3% overall) knew (or thought they knew) what anti-Semitism was." In their 2009 article, they conclude: "Given the treatment and murder of Jews in Auschwitz during the Holocaust, it is surprising that the highest growth area was not antisemitism. This may be due to the complexities of the term 'antisemitism,' and/or its historical origins and/or students having a consistent low understanding of antisemitism"(p.14). In their 2011 article, they found that: "While interviewees infrequently referred to 'anti-semitism', broader issues such as genocide, refugees, and sectarianism were frequently commented upon"(p.176).

Karen Spector (2005, p.253) notes that "In the third section of this chapter, I touched upon the 368 lessons that students said they learned by studying the Holocaust; interestingly, *none of the 368 lessons specifically mentioned the dangers of antisemitism.*" Furthermore, she (2007, p.12) underlines that "[t]hus, for example, students may report that they learned about the importance of multiple perspectives (or other lessons) and still think Jews brought the Holocaust upon themselves."

Similarly, Wegner (1998) notes the omission of antisemitism and the role of the Church in the students' essays. In a study of teaching drama to sensitize the students to prejudices and bigotry, James Pecora (2006) found a discrepancy between their sensitivity to homophobia and their inability to recognize antisemitic ideas and stereotypes (blood libel accusations). Ambrosewicz-Jacobs (2003), studying ethnic prejudices among Polish youth, notes:

None of the students in either group understood the terms "anti-Semitism" and "anti-Semite." The term was associated with discrimination against minorities in general, and with racist discrimination against black people. Therefore the term could not

appear in the questionnaire used in the quantitative part of the study. In a study conducted in Kolobrzeg in 2000 (Nasze miasto. Nasza tolerancja...,2000) on a similar age sample of secondary school students, the respondents could not define anti-Semitism, xenophobia, Holocaust, nationalism or tolerance. The lack of understanding of terms related to ethnic attitudes casts doubt on the efficacy of efforts so far to counteract prejudiced attitudes.

In a study on "historical empathy in the classroom," Scott Alan Metzger (2012, p.405) discusses a Universalist versus a particularistic understanding of the Holocaust to problematize what the students have learned about antisemitism. Like Ambrosewicz-Jacobs above, he shows how students reinterpret the Holocaust and even antisemitism to mean racism against other groups. Regarding the universal lessons of the Holocaust, he states:

Her students picked up on the transcendent universality in the lesson but expanded it beyond how Kellie herself described the goal. For some students, "anti-Semitism" ceased to apply exclusively to Jews and the Holocaust was not a principally Jewish tragedy but a warning for all humanity. In applying the humanizing lessons, these students broadly generalized the Holocaust out of its specific historical context.

Other studies not included in the sample but mentioned in it also commented upon this problem. Sandra Stotsky (1996) found in a study of literature anthologies for grades 6 through 12 in the USA a tendency to use the Holocaust to address other examples of racism and intolerance, resulting in a reification of the meaning of antisemitism and contemporary antisemitism becoming: "the only social issue excluded from the moral lessons derived from the study of the Holocaust" in several textbooks. Stotsky concludes that "[t]he only social issue which a study of the literature about the Holocaust may not be related to today, it seems, is the one which led to the Holocaust."

It is easy to agree with Hale's (2018) conclusion:

Given that some educators and academics have argued that primary school Holocaust education could provide a means of teaching about tolerance, respect, and the consequences of prejudice and discrimination, then perhaps the very least we should expect students to be able to understand is what antisemitism is. This includes being able to identify the term and understand what it refers to.

These findings suggest that seeing TLH as a cure, a panacea, for various social ailments, especially racism and other forms of bigotry in general, might result in contemporary antisemitism sliding out of focus.

Carole Ann Reed (1993, p.2f), in a study of Facing History and Ourselves, noted another problematic aspect concerning the understanding of the relationship between racism and antisemitism that might help explain the omission of antisemitism (and Jews) from the struggle against group hatreds:

As I talked with colleagues about my readings in both anti-racist literature and Holocaust scholarship, I quickly realized that many who were sympathetic to anti-racist work did not share my view that Holocaust Education could be used to reinforce anti-racist education projects. I went back to the anti-racist literature and began to see that indeed there were assumptions about the concept of race made in some of that literature that precluded anti-semitism [sic] being regarded as racism. Even though Jews were considered a "race" by the National Socialists in 1930 (and

*so inferior a race that their extermination was considered by Hitler to be his greatest gift to mankind and the Nazi's "page of glory in our history"), they are by virtue of being white skinned (in the majority at least) not considered a racial minority as defined by many anti-racist writers. Moreover, because of their light skin they are seen to be in a racial position of privilege and therefore rather unlikely objects of structural, systemic racism. Because the Jewish communities in North American and Western Europe are in relative positions of privilege, Jewish suffering in the 1930's and 40's under National Socialism is not seen to be an appropriate metaphor for the pain inflicted by racist ideology.*³

Reed thus points to another (but similar – there is a disciplinary divide between racism and antisemitism studies) reason for the lack of focus on antisemitism: understanding racism as a power structure with Jews as "whites" at the top makes antisemitism invisible. Bruce Carrington and Geoffrey Short (1997, p.272) also discuss this problem in several articles, two of which are included in the sample. They conclude that the "overriding concern with color and class [in anti-racist education] has [...] meant a lack of interest in anti-Semitism in general and the Holocaust in particular." Short (2005, p.374) notes that "Roughly a quarter of the sample [of teachers] believed that the Holocaust had implications for the curriculum in the sense that schools should teach pupils to oppose racism, bullying, and discrimination of any kind, although only one of them expressly mentioned teaching against anti-Semitism."⁴ The importance of the design of the curriculum is also underlined by Wegner (1998, p.171). He observes: "[D]istortion and trivialization of the Holocaust appear in curricula that overlook the history of anti-Semitism and its roots in Christianity as a long-range cause for the rise of Nazism, as well as the dynamics of Hitler's race philosophy". Spector (2005; 2007) makes similar points. Short & Reed (2004) devote a chapter to "Holocaust Curricula".

One of the aspects affecting the curricula and the teachers is, as indicated by Reed's observations regarding antiracism, the ideological climate. Spector (2005) notes that Christian convictions affect the teaching of the Holocaust and especially the representation of antisemitism. She found that some teachers were afraid to upset the students and not least their parents, and avoided discussing the Christian roots of antisemitism and thus the long history of the phenomenon. Maitles and Cowan (2005, p.109; 2006, p. 26) also underline the role of the teachers. They noticed that "teachers were teaching the Holocaust without either specifically mentioning or explaining the word 'anti-Semitism' but using the term 'racism' as a general description of the genocide". The different teaching methods explained the

³ An updated version of Reed's argument is found in the most interesting Short & Reed 2004, in the chapter "Antiracist education and the Holocaust". Interestingly and unintentionally, some of the aspects discussed in this article as causes for the lack of focus on antisemitism coincide with the chapters in Short & Reed's book.

⁴ Carrington & Short (1997) give an overview of the research in the field and summarize some of their own findings: "This [humanizing] potential, however, has yet to be recognised by many anti-racist educators. In the UK anti-racists, with a few notable exceptions (e.g. Cohen, 1988; Rattansi, 1992; Gillborn, 1995), have been criticised for their narrow focus on the issues of 'colour and class' and, concomitantly, for displaying a lack of sensitivity to ethnic and cultural difference" (Modood, 1992). Their overriding concern with colour and class has also meant a lack of interest in antisemitism in general and the Holocaust in particular (e.g. Short, 1991, 1994; Short & Carrington, 1995). Similar criticisms have been levelled against anti-racist pedagogy in North America (see Bonnett & Carrington, 1996). In Canada, for example, Reed (1993) has urged anti-racist educators to render problematical 'all forms of racialization and discrimination' and to broaden their remit to include anti-Semitism"; Short 2005 (quote). In an article not included in the sample, Short writes: "At first sight it is clearly odd that a movement dedicated, amongst other things, to the eradication of individual prejudice should seemingly ignore hostility towards Jews. Yet this is the distinct impression gleaned from examining antiracist literature (Short 1991).

discrepancies between the results for the two schools in the study (only 3.7% in one, but 39% in the other school knew what antisemitism was after being taught about the Holocaust). “Feedback from the class teachers revealed that school B had regularly used and displayed flashcards of key terms of the Holocaust which included 'anti-Semitism'; while school A had not mentioned this term at all”. The observation by Maitles and Cowan regarding the terms used (and not used) is relevant for understanding the results of this study; it might explain why some of the works studied do not use the term antisemitism.

Ray Wolpov, Natalie N. Johnson, and Kristin N. Wognild (2002, p.583) noticed a similar lack of attention to antisemitism:

For example, one topic included in the scholar presentations was the historical roots of anti-Semitism - in antiquity, as it developed in the post-Christian era, as it spread during the Medieval period, and as it changed from a theologically based prejudice to one based on race or genetics. No question asked the participants to demonstrate mastery of this important content knowledge or to expound on its relevance to their teaching. This content was notably absent from the teachers' essays.

Getting back to the role of the teachers, Short (2004) observed that they avoided discussing antisemitism due to time constraints or because they did not find it necessary since they believed that antisemitism did not exist among their pupils.⁵ The idea that antisemitism belongs to the past seems to unite teachers and pupils. Maitles (2008, p.348) notes that “It may also be that anti-Semitism is perceived as something that happened in history and not as an issue relevant to contemporary Scottish society. It is also possible that pupils do not perceive Jews as an oppressed minority group in today's society”. This “no problem thesis” (Short quoting Jeffcoate 1991), meaning that antisemitism is “almost, but not quite, a nightmare of the past” is most likely another explanation for the lack of focus on antisemitism. The “no problem thesis” also puts the finger on how to make pupils understand contemporary antisemitism. Can teaching about “redemptive antisemitism” (Friedländer, 1998) resulting in the Holocaust sensitize pupils and students to post-Holocaust manifestations of antisemitism, to antisemitism resulting from the Holocaust, denying the genocide? Mark J. Thorsen (2010, p.29) discusses a French study of TLH from 2010, commissioned as a consequence of an upsurge in antisemitic violence:

By looking at the efforts made to reconcile the role played by the Vichy Regime and its cooperation with the Nazi Third Reich, Lefebvre noted that Holocaust education was a seemingly important factor in reducing the level of anti-Semitism in France, but these efforts now seem to be less impactful. She pointed to the need to approach this curriculum with greater vigor and a more critical lens if this reemergence of anti-Semitism is to be halted. This critical lens must take into account the changes of anti-Semitism in France caused by immigration, a shift from anti-Semitism to anti-Zionism (focused against the state of Israel itself), the efforts of other groups who have sought reparations as victims, this according to Lefebvre lessening the

⁵ Short & Reed 2004 has a chapter entitled “Teacher’s attitudes and practices” on the role of the teachers where many of the arguments and some of the examples presented here occur, for instance that teachers saw the main advantage of Holocaust education in terms of alerting students to the dangers of racism. Some teachers and pupils share a Christian understanding of history that affects their understanding of antisemitism. Spector (2007) concludes that “These narratives of redemption had the affordance of explaining the ways of God to man. Most of the students didn’t learn about the role of Christian antisemitism over the ages, depriving them of an important insight about religious triumphalism (which their readings of the Holocaust were perpetuating). ‘Narratives of redemption’ for two-thirds of my Christian participants often signalled ‘narratives of condemnation’ of Elie and ‘the Jews’”.

image of Jews as the sole victims of genocide. This last point has brought controversy and criticism to this type of curriculum in many circles.

Lisa Jenny Krieg (2015, p.114) makes a similar point for Germany: “Educators in Germany increasingly have problems reaching young people with moral messages, and more often than not these messages are angrily rejected by the learners.” This points to the differences and similarities between traditional and contemporary manifestations of antisemitism and the importance of contextualization and considering the different national trajectories and traditions of antisemitism.⁶ There are many good examples, not least of the latter, in the studies in the sample focusing on antisemitism, especially in the works on Polish history culture, local history, collective memory, and identity. They combine statistics on contemporary Polish antisemitism with a historical context focusing on Polish and Polish-Jewish relations and an analysis of national narratives (Ambrosewicz-Jacobs et al.; Stefaniak & Bilewicz, 2016; Gross, 2017 & 2018; Gross & Kelman 2017). The same is true of many of the previously discussed studies of Scotland conducted by Cowan & Maitles and the German studies, like Krieg’s; they too provide a context, using both contemporary survey results and comparisons with prejudices against other groups.

A different type of contextualization will conclude this study. It addresses the current situation (although published in 2013). R. Ensel and A. Stremmelaar discuss a situation where antisemitism is simultaneously questioned and weaponized, resulting in a polarization affecting TLH. They stress the need for students to “untangle” antisemitism and advocate studying speech acts in the classroom, e.g., how students talk about the Holocaust (and Jews). They ask, for instance:

What type of speech act takes place when a student makes the statement that “the Jews had it coming”? Is this meant as an argument and therefore an opening to a discussion, or should it rather be considered as an explicit way to express an emotion, in this case disenchantment? Is it meant as a way to engage in conversation about the course of the persecution of the Jews or should the utterance rather be put on a par with the popular slogan “Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the gas”? (Ensel & Stremmelaar, 2013, p.160).

Focusing on what students do by what they say might defuse tensions and possibly reduce polarization. However, it also requires a readiness from teachers to “untangle” these “statements.” To do so, they must be aware of both different manifestations of antisemitism and be sensitive to context.

⁶ There is a clear awareness in several of the studies focusing on antisemitism of the differences between the different manifestations of antisemitism. Cowan and Maitles (2007), for instance, stress that “It is unknown whether the contemporary nature of anti-Semitism was taught to pupils”. They make a similar comment in their 2005 article.

PART VII Conclusions and reflections for the future

The overall purpose of this study was to review “*What kind of research, involving educational outcome analysis, has been conducted on educational initiatives to prevent antisemitism, and what kind of knowledge about success factors can this research show?*” This overall purpose was then structured into the following research questions:

- What kind of research exists within this field? What types of studies and how much research have been conducted?
- What kinds of interventions have been evaluated in the existing research?
- Are there important nodes of research, researchers and/or interventions?
- What tendencies in effects could be traced in the synthesised research material?
- How is antisemitism approached when teaching about the Holocaust in the interventions studied?

The research team expected to find studies conducted within an academic field engaged in researching educational efforts to prevent antisemitism and how to conduct high-standard TLH. Given all the political, social, cultural and educational pledges to combat antisemitism, it is a surprising finding of this study that there is no such academic field.

To a large extent the same can be said about an academic field that studies TLH. However, there are some islands of researchers who are building a small academic field of TLH studies. Given the vast number of curricula, study trips to Holocaust memorials and Holocaust memorial days in schools, a much richer sample of studies of the effects of these activities was expected.

Secondly, it is an important conclusion that antisemitism is not a focus in studies of the educational outcomes of TLH. Not being a focus means that in 43% of the studies, the term is not mentioned at all or is only briefly and superficially referred to. Thus, antisemitism is not at the centre of studying learning processes in TLH, nor is learning about or understanding it held to be an important goal in educational outcomes. Based on the textual and analytical content of the reviewed studies, the Holocaust in general and the suffering of the European Jews in particular are utilized as educational resources to raise antiracist and tolerant citizens of contemporary society without any ambitions to target antisemitism within that same contemporary society.

However, there are some other, more optimistic results and conclusions to be drawn. Even if there are no strong findings concerning educational outcomes in the sense that there is hard evidence for how to best carry out TLH or for that matter how to prevent antisemitism, there are important lessons to be learned from some studies. Educational programmes or methods that have been developed based on learning theories inspired by pragmatism or constructivism were able to provide knowledge about what mechanisms and educational prerequisites improve the teaching. For reference, see page 59-64. It cannot be determined if this is due to any specific learning theory since pragmatism or constructivism are, after all, by far the dominant foundation for teaching in the Western world in general, and not least in the USA. At a more detailed level, the reason might very well be related to mixed methods in the teaching, which is also common practice within “learning by doing” approaches, i.e. pragmatism. The findings do not provide hard evidence that students taught in accordance with these models develop more insight concerning tolerance or a sustained belief in democracy, but there are some results which indicate positive changes in those outcomes and that they do learn more and better about the Holocaust. This should be compared with teaching models that advocate that straightforward teaching about the

Holocaust is sufficient. Further developments and research on using mixed methods in the teaching is thus encouraged.

Another conclusion to point out is the impact of legislation and policy, for instance making teaching about the Holocaust compulsory, as it is in several US states. Our study noted that this has led to an increased number of studies focused on the implementation process, which partly helps to explain the overwhelming US domination when it comes to educational studies of TLH.

There are a number of institutions around the world that produce teaching materials, provide in-service training for teachers and supply teaching models, but only three of these institutions are found in our sample. One is the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Even if this may be an indirect result, it is common within the US studies to refer to USHMM, as a partner, training centre or a resource in any other matter. The second example is the method known as Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO) which ties education scholars to their development work. It is clearly a benchmark for how teachers, scholars and the FHAO staff work jointly to develop teaching methods. The third example is the USC witness program (see page 35). Within the extended field (the 1892 studies that were excluded due to lack of outcomes, see page 34-35), we did find interesting research connected to key TLH institutions and/or teaching methods. The issue here is that there have not been any efforts to study the educational outcomes of TLH. It is not possible based on this study to determine why there is so little interest in studying the outcomes of these interventions. A possible, but not proven, cause might be that research related to history and the history of ideas is gaining more recognition at Holocaust memorial institutions and within the field in general than educational studies. Thus, we see educational studies that instead focus on more fundamental thinking skills such as theoretical concepts, memory practices and descriptive texts rather than the educational outcomes of TLH in the form of preventing antisemitism.

Closely related to the extended field mentioned above, we found a great number of studies presented as reports. We found these via manual searches since they seldom find their way into scholarly databases. Reports that fitted the inclusion criteria have been included in this study. However, it is anticipated that there are many more reports that could have been included if they had been found. We note that it is a weakness for any academic field to rely on personal knowledge about publications rather than the possibility and skills to search databases. Once again it cannot be determined by this study why studies conducted at various TLH institutions are not published as research and made available in scholarly databases.

Finally, we would like to mention the Scottish research as a model for future scholarly work. In Scotland⁷ we do find an academic field that focuses on both TLH and the prevention of antisemitism. It is not the role of this study to analyse why and how this milieu came about, hence we will not try to elaborate on it. However, from the content of the studies that we have reviewed, we learned that the implementation of TLH in Scotland was followed by educational research to learn about successful forms for its implementation. At the centre of this, we find Dr Paula Cowan (for reference see for instance pages: 26, 33, 40, 55-56) and her fellow researchers. They have conducted systematic research on different aspects of the implementation of TLH and made use of the results in in-service training for teachers. This has then served as inspiration for further research and knowledge production.

⁷ There are also examples in UK, Germany, Canada and Poland, see page 21 and 27 for reference

Reflections for the future

During the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, a conference on education, remembrance and research held in January 2000, the Stockholm Declaration was adopted, which underlined the importance of learning from the past. In Article 5, the signatory states declared that they:

... share a commitment to encourage the study of the Holocaust in all its dimensions. We will promote education about the Holocaust in our schools and universities, in our communities and encourage it in other institutions.

According to the record, during the Forum there was a debate on the relevance of evaluating and researching TLH (or Holocaust education as it was named then). Could or should there be an academic field for studying TLH? Is it possible or even desirable to study the effects of TLH and could TLH be an antidote to antisemitism?

No matter the nuances and the time that has passed since this discussion, this study shows that there is de facto no academic field of significance or continuity studying TLH or education-based prevention of antisemitism. Also, we found very few studies of the effects of TLH concerning how to teach to prevent antisemitism or conduct 'best practice' TLH. This may or may not be seen as a problem; nonetheless it is a problem that in educational studies, there are only vague connections between antisemitism as such and TLH. It is likely that the relationship between antisemitism and TLH as institutional practice is not as underdeveloped as is the case in the studies included in this scoping review.

However, we still need to conclude that the debate of some 20 years ago is still valid. Since then, more countries have joined the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) and thus adopted the Stockholm Declaration and pledged to sustain TLH. Thus, we consider it to be of great importance, not least in light of the increasing number of study visits to Holocaust memorial sites, the ongoing curricula development, the production of teaching and learning materials and methods, and all the policy pledges on strengthening educational efforts to combat antisemitism and endorsing high standard TLH, that this growing educational field will be backed up by a high standard of educational research. Not least in the form of high-quality educational outcome studies. Evaluating educational initiatives when it comes to combatting antisemitism and conducting good TLH should not only describe short term reports on students' level of satisfaction after visits to Holocaust memorial sites or completing a TLH learning unit.

We also recommend a discussion within IHRA, and elsewhere, on how to move forward concerning the relationship between antisemitism as a historical phenomenon and a precondition for the Second World War and teaching about and preventing current antisemitism. Based on this study, we do not have much food for thought to put on the table. However, anyone devoted to TLH and engaged in educational efforts to prevent antisemitism should be alarmed that 60% of the available studies of the educational outcomes of TLH only mention the term antisemitism in passing or not at all.

We also recommend that funding be set aside in national, local or institutional evaluations of TLH for researchers to publish the results in scholarly databases. If this had been done previously, there would already be an academic field with the capacity for cumulativity. This is of particular importance at the major institutions around the world: those that are visited by hundreds of thousands or millions per year, those who train teachers in vast numbers, and those who produce teaching and learning materials, and develop methods and philosophies. They are all performative in shaping how TLH is conducted.

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