Curriculum Judaism and Pupils' Attitude Development

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

The thesis examines the relationship between the teaching of Judaism and secondary school pupils' perceptions of and attitudes to Jews. The study has two distinct contexts. The first is the perpetuation of negative attitudes towards Jews in England, and the second is the study of Judaism within Religious Education ('curriculum Judaism').

Following an introductory chapter Chapters 2 and 3 analyse attitudinal development and the impact of strategies to challenge misconceptions. Particular reference is made to negative attitudes and behaviours to Jews in contemporary England and the impact of characteristics traditionally attributed to Jews.

In Chapter 4 and 5 the context of curriculum Judaism is examined. Through a review of scholarly literature and policy documentation it is argued that the history of curriculum Judaism is unique and has been shaped by factors not conducive to presenting the tradition accurately. It maintains that teachers' confidence in selecting appropriate content and teaching methods, and in challenging misconceptions, is pivotal for positive attitudinal development.

Through a mixed methods approach, qualitative data is gathered from the three sources closest to curriculum Judaism - pupils, teachers and class textbooks. The data analysis in Chapter 7 and 8 contends that teachers often lack both confidence and appropriate knowledge to reflect the integrity of contemporary Judaism. Discussion of the selection and presentation of curriculum content and resources leads on to a consideration of the impact on pupils' attitudes to Jews, with

particular reference to the teaching of the Holocaust as a part of curriculum Judaism.

The thesis argues that to meet the demands described above new approaches need to be established which develop teachers' knowledge, discernment and confidence regarding appropriate content selection; effective learning experiences and strategies to effectively challenge misconceptions and stereotypes which inevitably develop into antisemitism.

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Introduction

Background to the Research

This introductory chapter begins by setting out the aims of the research study with reference to two specific contexts within which the research was conducted. Secondly, it identifies the need for research that analyses the relationship between curriculum Judaism and purported positive attitudinal development through the study of Religious Education (R.E). Thirdly, the validity of the methodological approach used is discussed with reference to some specific limitations and sensitivities. Finally an outline of the organisation of the research findings in the remainder of the thesis is offered.

Aims and Context of this Study

This thesis explores relationships between a study of curriculum Judaism at Key Stage 3 (aged 11-14) and pupils' perceptions of and attitudes to Jews (the people of Judaism). The term 'curriculum Judaism' is used throughout the thesis to denote the content and teaching methodologies used for pupils to learn about Judaism. This is distinct from a study of Judaism in schools which aims to nurture faith development for insiders of the tradition. It is also distinct from pupils' construction of Judaism through means outside of curriculum Judaism such as media, family and peers.

Three main questions are investigated:

- What is the nature of pupils' attitudes and perceptions of Jews?

- What are teachers' perceived confidences in teaching about Judaism and related attitudinal development?

– What key messages may be drawn to influence the development of curriculum Judaism in order to promote positive attitudinal development to Jews?

The study takes place within two distinct contexts. The first is the nature of antisemitism towards Jews in contemporary England, and the second is the study of Judaism as part of an RE programme (curriculum Judaism) in schools without a religious character. Although each is distinct, the inter-relationships between the two are analysed throughout the thesis.

Antisemitism in Contemporary England

Prior to an analysis of the context of antisemitism in contemporary England, an explanation will be given regarding the selection of the term. It is beyond the remit of the thesis to identify and analyse the variety of terms and spellings used to denote negative attitudes and behaviours to Jews. Each has its own distinctive nuances. Julius (2010), for example, argues for the adoption of the term 'anti-semitisms' which he argues reflects the pluralistic characterisation of 'a site of collective hatreds' (p. xlii). A different preference advocated by Iganski and Kosmin (2003) is for the use of the term 'Judeophobia', which they contend is a more apt term insinuating 'both the fear and dislike of Jews' (p. 8). Whilst recognizing the nuances of both, the term 'antisemitism' is deployed throughout this thesis as the best known and much the most used. It is spelt without the hyphen for philosophical and pragmatic reasons. Philosophically, Semitic races (as opposed to languages) never existed and therefore 'anti-Semitism' is a misnomer. Fein (1987) in her preface argues that as there is no such thing as Semitism, consequently the hyphen is redundant. She contends that studying antisemitism rather

than anti-semitism implies more than the deletion of a hyphen; it means taking antisemitism seriously as a thesis without an antithesis (ix). Pragmatic considerations included replicating the usage of 'antisemitism' by the Community Security Trust, whose activities include monitoring antisemitic activities and incidents in the United Kingdom and who are frequently referred to throughout the thesis. In direct citations, however, the author's usage has been respected.

As identified in Chapter 2 a similar disparity of views occurs regarding identification of which particular events, confrontations and historical groups may be described as 'antisemitic'. This is perhaps due to the very nature of antisemitism which, as later argued, is able to transmogrify to suit particular contexts – a characteristic reflected in Sacks' definition of antisemitism as 'less a doctrine than a series of contradictions' (2009 p. 92). In accordance with the meaning advocated by the CST, for the purposes of this research an antisemitic incident is not just a malicious act aimed at Jewish people, organisations or property. It must include evidence that the incident had antisemitic motivation or content, or that the victim was targeted because they were (or were believed to be) Jewish.

Antisemitism is not a new phenomenon in England, with a long history including charges of murder – the 'blood libel', massacres and forced expulsions. The nineteenth century pogroms in Russia resulted in many Jews seeking refuge in England and making stark decisions regarding strategies to assimilate to the English way of life, often including the anglicising of names as well as behaviours. Despite negligible immigration of Jews to England in the past half-century antisemitism has persisted,

capable of flaring up at any time. This characteristic is reflected in the titles of reports on antisemitism in England: *A Very Light Sleeper* (The Runnymede Trust 1994) and subsequently *Anti-Semitism: Still Sleeping Lightly?* (Sinnott 2003).

The past decade has witnessed global acts of gross terrorism in countries such as Kenya, India and France. Such explicit violence is not characteristic of antisemitism in England but growing concern regarding antisemitism in England resulted in the formation of an All-Party Parliamentary Group commissioned to gather evidence regarding contemporary antisemitism in the United Kingdom and to create recommendations for government (APPG 2006). Subsequent to the inquiry there have been further responses made by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG 2008; DCLG 2010).

Curriculum Judaism

The second focus of this thesis is that of Judaism as a taught component of the RE curriculum in schools- 'curriculum Judaism'. The new schools inspection handbook (Ofsted 2014) requires all schools to prepare pupils for 'life in Modern Britain' through an awareness of different religions and cultures. As one of the principal religions defined by the Education Reform Act (DES 1988) and the subsequent Non-Statutory Framework for Religious Education (QCA 2004) and Review of Religious Education (REC 2013) a study of Judaism commonly features in Key Stage 3. Despite such prevalence there has been little research regarding the representation of Judaism in the curriculum, nor of its impact on pupil attitudes or

conceptions of Jews. This omission was observed by the former Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, who subsequently questioned the impact of RE given the rise in antisemitic incidents in England (2009, p. 16).

Attitudes of pupils towards Jews within the contexts of antisemitism in England and curriculum Judaism have personal relevance for the researcher. Born into a Jewish tradition but educated and employed within gentile environments there have been many personal experiences when misconceptions and negative attitudes have been aired about Jews, individually and as a collective. The researcher has had an extensive career in RE as teacher, adviser, Schools' Inspector and textbook writer. Personal experiences have informed an understanding of the many challenges that face teachers of RE, including the relationship between curriculum Judaism and pupils' attitudes and perceptions of Jews.

One particular incident had a long-lasting impact. In the early 1990s a Year 9 (aged 13-14) class were exploring a popular contemporary moral issues textbook as an introduction to their GCSE study. The class had previously completed a systematic study of curriculum Judaism including content such as the life of Moses, kosher food, festivals and the synagogue. As pupils explored the class textbook, two boys were visibly shocked as they came upon a photograph taken in the Auschwitz death camp of tangled, emaciated bodies. Both expressed horror until one, after reading the accompanying caption, reassured the other, commenting 'They're only Jews'. Despite the researcher being an experienced teacher, she felt impotent in this situation, with no known strategies to challenge such attitudes. The comment had not derived from explicit anti-Semitism, nor was it intended to be heard by the

teacher or the rest of the class. It was an example of an attitude that had lain dormant or indeed could have been exacerbated by any previous study of curriculum Judaism which had focused on the phenomena and not the people of the tradition. Further similar classroom incidents observed in a range of schools have included pupils referring to being 'Jewed up' when given a detention, pupils when reading from a textbook emphasising the letter 'J' every time Jew was read and a pupil suggesting that Jews wore *kippot* (head-coverings) 'to cover their horns'.

Research Methods and Sample

The researcher adopted a phenomenological approach such as is often used in social science to investigate people's perceptions, attitudes and feelings. O'Leary (2010 p. 120) refers to two characteristics of phenomenological studies which are particularly applicable to this study. Firstly the study is highly dependent on evidence from individuals and the most valid data derives from those closest to the field of lived experiences, attitudes and perceptions of both pupils and the teachers who make up the core of the sample. Secondly, the studies are dependent on constructs. Within this research what matters is not whether the perception or attitude of the respondent is valid but the specific nature of the constructed perception.

Qualitative methods were considered most appropriate for two main reasons. Firstly the research is about respondents' perceptions, and quantitative research collection is seldom able to capture the subject's point of view (Denzin and Lincoln 1998 p. 10). Secondly the validity of data requires collection from sources closest to the field, in this case pupils and teachers. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject area, the researcher

considered that few pupils would feel confident in writing about their perceptions and that semi-structured interviews would give the opportunities for probing that might be required by the researcher. Subsequent data were collected from trainee teachers of RE and a scrutiny of the resources they selected for the teaching of curriculum Judaism. Through this triangulation of sources (pupils/teachers/resources) data could be analysed and compared to establish trends and paradoxes. To reflect the various perspectives the researcher deployed a mixed methods approach (questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and textual scrutiny) so allowing a deeper interrogation of the data than would have been possible if only one method had been applied to all and also suited to the distinctive characteristics of each source.

Significance and Limitations of Study

Significant research concerning the curriculum study of Christianity (Hayward 2007), Islam (Geaves 2010) and Hinduism (Jackson and Nesbitt 1993) has not been replicated in considerations of the impact of curriculum Judaism. Similarly there has been a lack of research concerning attitudes to Jews despite the observation made over twenty years ago by The Runnymede Trust report that 'modern antisemitism tends to be quasi-racial, in that it is Jews as a people who are the objects of prejudice, rather than religion (1994)'.

There has been significant research conducted regarding Holocaust Education (Hector 2000; Short 2003; HEDP 2009) but, as will be discussed, this has rarely mentioned curriculum Judaism. Similarly, despite significant research regarding racism and the curriculum (Troyna 1995; Brown 1999;

Gaine 2005) little attention has been paid to considerations specifically regarding antisemitism and the curriculum. The role of the teacher of RE in countering antisemitic (as distinct from racist) attitudes in class has also been a neglected area of study. This is particularly significant when, as illustrated in the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Religious Education report, *RE: The Truth Unmasked* (APPG 2013), there are few opportunities for professional development for teachers of RE.

Whilst anticipating a contribution through this thesis to the effective teaching of Judaism and a greater awareness of positive attitudinal development to Jews through curriculum Judaism, the researcher recognizes particular limitations. Firstly, it is acknowledged that the school context is limited. The data collection relates specifically to pupils in Year 9 (ages 13-14). Whilst references are made to the teaching of Judaism in primary schools, the focus is the impact of that experience on Year 9 pupils' knowledge, understanding and attitudes to Jews. Further, the three sources of data relate to schools without a religious character which follow a Locally Agreed Syllabus. The sample of respondents referred to eight locally agreed syllabi, all of which had been influenced by the non-statutory National Framework for RE (QCA 2004). As such there were similarities in all the syllabi concerning curriculum aims, assessment levels and the inclusion of curriculum Judaism at Key Stage 3 (aged 11-14). Absent, however, are any data or findings relating to schools following curriculum Judaism within a distinctly Roman Catholic or Anglican RE programme. The thesis focuses on Judaism and although comparisons may be made regarding teachers' previous experiences with other world religions no

attempts are made to compare the findings between attitudes to Jews and those of other religious traditions.

A second limitation occurs regarding the context of the research, which is focused in one particular geographical area which has little ethnic representation. Findings from previous pilot investigations in contrasting areas with large number of Muslim pupils indicated an awareness of the on-going conflict in the Middle-East which was often used to substantiate negative attitudes to Jews. This research took place in schools with few Muslim pupils and also over a period where there were few acts of terrorism either in the Middle-East or globally. This could be a significant factor as even when not directly related to Jews any acts of terrorism are likely to impact on attitudes to Jews, as witnessed by the conspiracy theories regarding Jewish orchestration of the 9/11 attacks in New York (Wistrich 2003).

A further limitation is that this study relates only to specialist teachers of RE and pupils taught by specialist teachers. As illustrated in the recent report *RE: The Truth Unmasked* (APPG 2013) a significant number of teachers of RE are untrained with the teaching timetable predominantly focused on other curriculum areas. Subsequent studies could compare findings between specialist and non-specialist teachers but the sample for this study is wholly of those teachers who have followed a post- graduate programme in RE and pupils who have been taught throughout their curriculum Judaism in secondary school by such teachers.

Order of Argument

The thesis is in four main parts.

Part 1 (Chapters 1 and 2) considers the complexities surrounding attitudinal development and stereotype formation with, in Chapter 2, particular reference to characteristic attributions of Jews. The process of stereotype formation is analysed with reference to the impact of categorisation and the resultant demarcations of so-called 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (Tajfel 1959, 1981; Jackson 1997, 2004; Pettigrew and Tropp 2000). Consideration is given to two strategies frequently suggested to counter misconceptions: education and information giving about so-called 'others', and intergroup contact between perceived 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. In Chapter 2 the proposed typography of Wuthnow (1987) concerning perceived Jewish attributes and their implications for attitude formation is analysed and compared to those identified by Julius (2010) and the six-monthly CST reports of antisemitic incidents in Britain. Recognition is made of the argument (Wuthnow 1987; Sacks 2009; Julius 2010) that a characteristic of English antisemitism is a schema of contradictory characteristic attributions resulting in an ability to transmogrify to suit particular contexts. A contemporary example is the so-called 'new antisemitism' argued to be manifested through the media and 'chattering classes' dinner parties (Iganski and Kosmin 2003).

In Part 2 (Chapters 3 and 4) RE in England is considered with particular reference to Key Stage 3 curriculum Judaism. The relationship between the aims of RE and attitudinal development are considered through academic studies (Jackson 1997; Kay and Smith 2000, 2002; Afdal 2006) and relevant official education documentation (QCA 2004; DCSF 2007; DCSF 2010). Questions arise regarding the validity and integrity of presenting a religious

tradition through the lens of outsiders. It is argued that the selection of content, resources and teaching methods for the delivery of curriculum Judaism can have a significant impact on pupils' attitudinal development. This is illustrated through a study of one area of content frequently incorporated in a Year 9 study of curriculum Judaism - the Holocaust (Salmons 2003; Short and Reed 2004).

In Part 3 (Chapter 5) the methodological principles and practices underlying the research are discussed. Detailed consideration is given regarding the potential sources of data and appropriate methods of data collection. Specific references are made to ethical issues in relationship to the sensitivity of the area of research and the potential vulnerability of the sample.

Part 4 (Chapters 6 and 7) consists of an analysis of data collected from the three sources (pupils, teachers and text books) to answer the research question. Chapter 6 deals with the focus of Chapter 4 regarding the role of content and organization of content on pupils learning and attitude development. Consideration is given to the impact of content studied (and omitted) as part of curriculum Judaism on attitudinal development; specific reference is made to the Holocaust, Jewish lifestyle, the synagogue and conflict in the Middle-East. Two inter-related foci are analysed in Chapter 7. The chapter begins by considering specific challenges identified by teachers regarding the teaching of curriculum Judaism in Key Stage 3. Specific reference is made to deficient subject knowledge which impacts not only on the representation of Judaism in the classroom but also on teachers' confidence in responding to pupils' perceptions and misconceptions of

Jews. The second part of the chapter analyses pupils' perceptions of Jews and related attitudes. Fundamental to this is a consideration regarding the relationship between the formation of attitudes and the content and content organization which was analysed in the previous chapter.

In the concluding chapter, key messages regarding the relationship between the teaching of curriculum Judaism and antisemitism are identified. The chapter argues that relevant planning, appropriate content selection, learning experiences and teacher modelling can make a significant impact on countering negative attitudes to Jews. As such, the role of the teacher is established as pivotal in not only analysing pupil preconceptions but also selecting content and pedagogies which reflect the integrity of Judaism as a living and diverse religious tradition.

Running throughout this thesis is the importance of countering negative attitudes to Jews amongst pupils. Although other curriculum areas can make significant contributions, the countering of misconceptions and stereotypes is a frequently expressed aim of the RE curriculum. This thesis argues that it is a social and educational imperative that such an aim is fulfilled and that to do so requires informed curriculum planning and confident teaching of Judaism.

Chapter 1

Attitude Formation

Aims and Structure

This chapter interrogates key characteristics of attitude formation and argues that the process of attitudinal formation is complex and often exacerbates a process of categorisation through which 'in' and 'out' groups are established with distinctive attributes. The chapter proceeds to consider strategies for countering negative attitude formation and, in particular, analyses the potential impact of information giving and inter-group contact. The literature underpinning the chapter spans the past seventy years and includes a consideration of the impact of categorisation through the research of Katz and Braly (1933); Tajfel (1959, 1981); Tajfel and Turner (1986) and Allport's notion of the prejudiced personality as explained in his seminal work *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954).

As the chapter will highlight, many complexities exist when discussing attitude development. One initial question needing clarification is the relationship between attitudes and stereotypes. As will be explored in Chapter 3 these terms are often used in governmental educational guidance as interchangeable and sometimes synonymous. Etymological investigation of the word 'stereotype' reveals that a key characteristic of it includes rigidity with 'stereos' translated as 'solid' and 'typos' meaning 'the mark of a blow'. The term was originally used in the 18th century to refer to a pattern of printing from a non-moveable plate but was adopted by psychologists to refer to formalised

or fixed human behaviours. In his work on the psychology of stereotyping Schneider (2005 p. 11) argues that stereotypes play an important function in the short-cutting process of people's assessment of information and their place within the world. Stereotypes and attitudes share many similarities. For example, they are both different from information as they are characterised by a belief or perception which can result in particular behaviours (Zanna 1994; Dovidio et al.. 2000). When either term is used it is not within a judgement-free context but implies specific attributes which, although at times they may be positive, are more commonly negative, as highlighted by Schneider's pithy definition of stereotypes as being 'generalisations gone rotten' (2005 p. 19).

Relationship between Attitude Formation and Categorisation

Allport (1954) suggests that it is part of a person's basic cognitive processes, and a natural part of social information processing, to place data and people in categories. However, the Jewish psychologist Henry Tajfel(1959,1981) argues critically that this cognitive action of categorisation contributes to the formation of established prejudices and consequently leads to discriminatory behaviour. Influenced by his first-hand experience of witnessing large numbers of Germans supporting the extreme views of Nazis against the Jews in Germany in the run up to the Second World War he argues that extreme prejudice is not a result of personality factors as Adorno et al. (1950) had stated; but rather, that the roots of prejudice can be found in the ordinary or natural process of

thinking – rather than simply in extraordinary behaviour traits such as extreme authoritarianism.

Tajfel (1959) claims that people categorise themselves into 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' with specific attributes assigned to each of the groups. Such categorisations help to provide a sense of identity but also lead to unfavourable comparisons between the in-group and the out-group. This process can play a significant role in negative attitude formation. With Turner, he co-developed the social identity theory which proposes that a person's sense of who they are is based on their group membership(s). He proposes that the groups (e.g. social class, family, football team etc.) which people belong to are an important source of pride and self-esteem. Such groups give a sense of social identity and of belonging to the social world. He suggests that there are three sequential stages in the development of in-groups and out-groups. The first stage is to categorise people and objects as a means of understanding. This is based on the belief that depending on which category they are assigned to they will inevitably exhibit the expected attributes and behaviours associated with that category. The second stage in this process of social identification relates to the belief that it is likely that a person having categorised themselves into a group will adopt the perceived attributes of the group. Consequently, their behaviour, attitudes and esteem come to reflect those of the group. The third and final stage is the subject engaging in making comparisons connected with identity, attitudes and behaviours between members of the in-group and the out-group.

It can be seen that the process of categorisation is the outcome of complex thought processes requiring comparisons based on pre-conceived type groupings. It is through the act of comparisons that people are placed into categories by the subject. The process involves differentiating oneself from others, which can have the effect of increasing or formalising differences between people in different categories (Krueger 1992; Schneider 2005). Kipling's (1926) poem 'We and They' succinctly illustrates the process: 'All the people like us are We /and everyone else is They'.

Schneider (2005 p. 339) maintains that children first learn to categorise by race, then learn evaluative responses (prejudice) to those labels and finally learn to discriminate against those they don't like. Although there has been considerable research concerning the relationship between race and the formation of stereotypes, there has been significantly less about the impact of religion and belief systems on the tendency to stereotype. In Chapter 3, it will be demonstrated that the process of categorisation naturally relates to religious identities, as reflected in the research of Katz and Braly (1933), showing that specific attributes were commonly attached to Jews as members of an out-group.

One significant feature of the process of categorisation is that the act of classification requires subjects (in this case people) within a category to have similar attributes and subjects in other categories to be seen as being significantly different (Tajfel 1959). Each of the groups have specific characteristics but an innate characteristic of the in-group is for members to give themselves favourable attributes and so generate a

feeling of self-worth from membership and a consequent positive reaffirmation of their own identities. Thus, clear demarcations are established between the in-group and their attributed characteristics and the out-group and either their possession of different characteristics or, as Maylor and Read et al. (2007) identify, a lack of those characteristics attributed to the in-group. Often, however, identities are constructed and conceived of more in relation to their boundaries; what they are not rather than what they are (p. 37).

Aboud (1980) argues that children first acquire a preference for their own group over groups with dissimilar attributes. Turner (1987) concurs with this view and adds that stereotypes and attributes are a way that we not only differentiate ourselves but also a way of flattering ourselves and so consequently raise self-esteem. Conversely the out-group is perceived to possess negative features and stereotypes which then influence actions and behaviours towards the group and can consequently have a detrimental effect on the group. This point is described and its consequences exemplified in a review led by Sir Keith Ajegbo (2007) concerning diversity:

> Stereotypes are an insult to an individual's identity and can lead to frustration and demoralisation. These are likely to have a considerable impact on the individual and the wider community, which in turn knocks on to achievement levels. (p. 70)

Gluck Wood (2007 p. 3) maintains that the characteristics attributed to the in and out groups are often polarised into oppositional categories such as manipulative/sincere or enemy/partner. She argues that this results in particularly strong demarcations between the groups which are exacerbated even further if the attributes of the out-groups are perceived as a single block, inflexible and unresponsive to new realities. The perception of threat by the outsider group referred to by Goodman (1952) is a further aspect of categorisation. This is illustrated through the work of Linville, who states that a commonly perceived catalyst for a feeling of threat from the out-group is their being perceived by the in-group as uniform and homogenous (Linville and Jones 1980; Linville 1982). By implication the out-group presents as a united front which will not bend to become like the in-group, thereby constituting a force to be reckoned with.

Two findings are particularly significant for this study. The first relates to what Zanna (1994 pp. 11-23) terms the 'threat element', which occurs when specific values or attributes appear unshared between the in and the out-group. Biernat et al. (1996 pp. 153-289) illustrate how prejudices are formed when people feel others are likely to crush their values or identity, and this is also pertinent to the current study. For example, communities that see each other as having different values have a tendency to see each other as problematic and develop hostile stereotypes incorporating negative attributes such as being untrustworthy. The context described by Biernat et al. (1996) and Zanna (1994) would include pupils learning about a different religious

tradition than their own - the context of this study. Values are key components of any belief system and are often used to distinguish one faith group from another. It is little wonder therefore that Sheridan (2002), referring to discrimination post September 11th 2001, has shown that religion may be a strong motivator for negative attitudes and behaviours and that particular values are often used to distinguish one faith group from another. Negative attitudes generated through perceived dissimilarity of values are particularly significant when one considers the methodologies used to teach world religions. In Chapter 4 this study will argue that through curriculum Judaism pupils are required to make implicit and explicit comparisons with other traditions, to some of which individual pupils will belong.

It can be seen that a distinct catalyst for the formation of negative attitudes within the categorisation process is the differences of dress and the individual behavioural customs between in and out-groups. It will be seen that such phenomena, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, commonly form the curriculum content when studying world religions within RE programmes. Schneider (2005) demonstrates that the genesis of these phenomena can be traced back in history to a time when groups of ancient humans developed badges in the form of dress and behavioural customs to differentiate themselves from one another. He asserts:

> Nothing has changed. Today many groups and
>
> members of groups actively promote public
>
> images of themselves that then give rise to

> stereotypes. We dress in certain ways, sometimes talk in ways designed to create impressions, display our possessions proudly, listen to and defend certain types of music and who we are. (p. 367)

It is through such outward phenomena that group identity is demarcated and so can constitute an exacerbated sense of threat to others.

There has been little British research conducted into the rationale and nature of antisemitic attacks in Britain. This study refers, in Chapter 2, to some data on the current increase of opportunistic attacks on Jews in Britain and abroad because the victims 'look different'. Two American studies offer significant findings relevant to this study. In one study Allport and Kramer (1946 pp. 9-39) gave subjects a range of pictures of Jewish and non-Jewish individuals and asked interviewees to indicate which were Jewish. They found that the subjects who had antisemitic views were more accurate in this task than the less prejudiced subjects. Lindzey and Rogolsky (1950 pp. 37-53) replicated this research and made similar findings. They hypothesised that the reason for this precision in identification was a result of prejudiced individuals feeling threatened by the objects of their prejudice and hence being prompted to be more vigilant in looking for cues that identify such people.

This chapter has so far analysed the influences of attitudinal formation and the impact that categorisation can play in the formation of

attitudes. It has argued that two particular aspects have particular relevance to the relationship between the teaching of world religions and attitude formation. The first is the creation of in and out-groups prompted by perceived clearly delineated and often polarised group attributes. The second is the sense of threat incurred when out-groups are perceived as having different values, demonstrated by the wearing of specific emblems and engaging in common practices and behaviours.

Group Attribute and Attitude Formation

The discussion has so far centred upon attitudes towards out-groups and will now continue by considering the relationship between attitudes to individual members of perceived out-groups. Schneider (2005) argues that a distinction is not made by members of in-groups between the out-group as a collective or the individual members of such a group. He argues that members of the out-group are de-individualised by other groups and so perceived as homogeneous with no recognition paid to individual traits, an attitude 'rigidly held as a protection against having to think about individual differences among members of hated out-groups' (p. 10). Ryan et al. (1996) also express this view. They conclude that as stereotypical attitudes are formulated corporately about the out-group the same distinctive attributes are attached to individuals within the group. An example of this can be found in Brown's (1999) account of an incident at a school where a staff member, in describing Jewish individuals, referred to stereotypical attributes and perceptions of Jews as a collective:

> You'd think that being the only Jewish child in
>
> the school, David would try and fit in especially
>
> as he doesn't even look Jewish. But he just
>
> keeps himself to himself, you know the way they
>
> do. You hardly notice him. Mind you, he
>
> certainly doesn't take after his parents. They are
>
> so incredibly pushy. Mark my words, in no time
>
> they'll be taking over the school. (p. 106)

From this account it is noticeable how the individual's actions are locked into a stereotyped group identity with the individuals involved presented as if they represented the whole of Jewry.

Group Ownership of Attributes and Attitudes

Whilst recognising the impact of stimuli, such as the process of categorisation, in generating negative attitudes, questions remain regarding how common consensus is derived regarding specific attitudes and attributes of members of out-groups. Of particular significance to this issue is the research conducted by Katz and Braly (1933) with students from Princeton University who were asked to identify traits or attributes, from a list of 84 attributes, that they thought best described different racial and ethnic groups. The resultant data showed clear group identification with considerable agreement, for example 78 per cent of respondents identified Germans as 'scientific' while 54 per cent regarded Turks as 'cruel'. The main attributes attributed to Jews, in descending order, were: 'shrewd', 'mercenary', 'industrious', 'grasping' and 'intelligent'. As will be

discussed in Chapter 2, the intended meaning attached to specific attributes is not always transparent. For example 'shrewd*'* can be used to imply high aspirations or an aggressive drive to achieve at all costs. The attributes selected for the study came from a list of 84 personality traits, each of which might have had a different nuance for the researchers than for the interviewees. However, what was highlighted was that although there were clear demarcations of attributes assigned to different groups, the specific characteristics of those attributes were not fixed. How such a consensus of attitudes occurs is a complex question and one to which there is no definitive or simple answer. Allport, one of the first psychologists to focus on the study of personality in *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) introduced the notion of the 'prejudiced personality'. He argued that a specific pre-requisite of the formation of an attitude was that the person was readily disposed and thereby able to react to stimuli which would consequently drive or at least influence behaviours. Whilst recognising the potential catalyst of such stimuli Jaspars (1978 p. 261) proposes that the impact on attitude formation may not be consistent, distinguishing it as latent*,* hidden and variable*.*

For many, such as McGarty et al. (2002), the stimuli may derive from a number of sources. Schneider (2005) would agree, referring to at least five potential 'culprits':

> When something has caused as much harm as
>
> stereotypes have, someone must be to blame.
>
> Culture is most seen as the culprit, and schools,

religious institutions, parents, and the media most often appear on the docket. There is certainly a kernel of truth in these charges. (p. 372)

Before considering the potential impact of these sources it must be remembered that such a multiplicity of influences is not helpful for the teacher of RE, who in a bid to challenge stereotypes (QCA 2004 p. 6) needs first to ascertain how such attitudes have arisen and become embedded before they can begin to plan a process of challenge and deconstruction. The chapter will now proceed to analyse the impact of two potential catalysts of attitude formation; firstly the home environment and secondly the role of the media.

Home Environment

One frequently cited argument is that a common environment provides a similar stimulus to people which in turn results in similar attitudes being formed (McGarty et al. 2002). Whist taking into consideration Tajfel's (1959) argument that categorisation is a natural process, it is believed by Hirschfield (1996) and Schneider (2005) to be encouraged through external factors. This could include a similar economic, social and political milieu (Hamilton et al. 1994, pp. 291-321) but with regards to pupils is more likely to be influenced by drawing from shared pools of knowledge from family, peers and education, collectively referred to from this point as the home environment. The school plays a dual role in the perpetuation of stereotypes. Firstly as Jackson (2004) states it is this common ground which gives opportunities for the views of the home

environment to be shared with peers: 'Many [pupils] arrive at school with strongly held beliefs and prejudices which have been acquired in the context of the family, peer group and local community.' (p. 28)

This process of airing familial views within a school environment is also identified by Elton-Chalcraft (2009) in her research with primary school pupils on attitudes to race. She found that there were many incidents of pupils reciting negative attitudes - both within the playground and within the classroom - which they had originally heard at home.

Secondly, the school curriculum provides opportunities for misinformation and the perpetuation of negative attitudes. Although originally related to attitudes towards race in 'white' schools, Gaine's (2005) research makes a relevant and useful distinction between 'ignorance' and what he terms 'learned mis-information' (p. 2). Gaine indicts the school context as not only failing to counter negative attitudes and misconceptions but as providing a context within which they are perpetuated and disseminated.

The impact of the family was recognised through the research of Adorno et al. (1950) who refer to the 'personality theory' to support their argument that the prejudiced person grows up in a family where roles are based on dominance, causing the child to learn to despise weakness and prefer to be associated with powerful and strong people. This has particular significance in determining which groups are chosen to be scapegoated and attacked. Relationships within families are not fixed but change due to circumstances and the natural aging

process. A potential consequence of this is that some of the influences will be transient and have a diminishing effect dependent upon the age of the child (Aboud and Levy 2000, p. 278) particularly as other dominant forces have an impact, such as peers and education. For Brown (1999), the impact of family attitudes is not confined to what children see or hear but also relates to how adults directly respond to their questions and model behaviours. The same could well apply to the impact of teachers in the school. If negative attitudes are allowed to be expressed without being countered in some way by adults, then pupils will uphold those pre-existing and unexamined views, which are often reinforced by family attitudes. Similarly, one could argue, a teacher's lack of personal experience of an out-group could appear as a modelled form of behaviour to pupils.

Media

It is beyond the remit of this thesis to give full consideration to the impact of different types of media on attitudinal development amongst adolescents. However, media in general, and in particular television, are frequently identified as contributing to generating and perpetuating negative attitudes to out–groups. (Schneider 2005). In the review led by Sir Keith Ajegbo (2007, p. 70) reference is made to the results of a Mori poll in which 80 per cent of the pupils questioned during the research identified television as their main source of knowledge of the world. Such findings corroborate the earlier findings of Bandura (1994) that television is a powerful tool for people, particularly children, in making sense of the world. As such, however, caveats prevail regarding the

potential detrimental effect that television can have on the generation of negative attitudes and stereotypes. For Gaine (2005, p. 38) television representation of cultures impacts further than making sense of the world, as it not only introduces a world that is beyond that of human personal contact and experience but also implies how we should feel towards those depicted. Consequently, he argues, television not only helps children to make sense of and establish a world view but also creates the attributes of the groups it depicts, and consequently generates particular attitudes towards them. The same reasoning could be applied to the textbooks used in RE lessons, as not only do they present new learning about different religions to the pupils but through their priming and framing they have the potential to influence the readers on how they should feel towards particular issues, persons and behaviours depicted. Schneider (2005) concurs, arguing that television can have a detrimental effect on attitude formation: 'TV is a passive socialisation device, and probably has its greatest effects in reinforcing rather than in challenging cultural truths' (p. 352).

When Schneider refers to television as a being 'a passive socialisation device' it should be remembered that any programme may prompt a number of questions but give no opportunity for answering them. To leave such questions unanswered will inevitably result in false meaning-making, leading to assumptions and misconceptions, which, as argued by Gunter (1995), have the potential to lead to the creation of stereotypes. Schneider (2005) identifies four main ways in which TV may distort perceptions of groups: the under-representation of

particular groups, the selective presentation of a particular trend within a group (such as 'all the unemployed are women') and a stereotypical presentation which emphasises a common feature of all the members of that group (such as 'all members are religious' or 'all members are concerned about their appearance'). The fourth area of distortion is that of the more subtle framing and priming that takes place when the media present complex issues within a particular framework. The discussion of each of these areas could also be applied to the way that school textbooks distort perceptions of people through the images, text, activities and captions selected. Similarly relevant would be a consideration of the teachers' development of pupils' critical skills to analyse bias within textbooks.

Reference has been made to the media being particularly significant when people have no first-hand experiences to draw upon or challenge any nuances or bias presented, nor indeed opportunities to ask any questions that have arisen through the media portrayals. First hand experiences of members of different groups are commonly cited as having a significant impact on the development of attitudes. When Schneider argues that stereotypes are 'direct reflections of our experiences' (2005, p. 329) he is referring not only to the nature of experiences but also to the impact of *lack* of experiences.

The inter-faith experiences of pupils within England are diverse with factors such as age, class, education and geographical location all playing a part in their nature and frequency. England is not made up of uniformly multi-cultural towns and many adolescents (and teachers)

may have no personal first-hand encounters with members of the faith traditions studied in RE. Even in ethnically diverse locations the increase of segregation through factors such as schools with a distinctive religious character can result in a paucity of inter-faith experiences and consequently in the formulation of group suppositions and misconceptions that are then embedded as truisms.

Relationship between Attitudes and Behaviours

The chapter has argued that attitudes develop through meaning-making from a variety of contexts. It has identified a relationship between attitudes and stereotypes and how through a process of categorisation inferences will be drawn regarding attributes of in-groups and out-groups which form into a schema of inter-connection or, as described by Schneider, frameworks for what we see and hear (2005, p. 120). It is, he proposes, these frameworks which will direct behaviours of members of the in -group to each other and towards the out- group:

> Stereotypes are not passively acquired and they do not sit around waiting for work. Obviously, they actively guide the ways we interpret and remember the behaviour of others, but they also affect our behaviour toward others and thus indirectly also affect the kinds of information we gain about them. (p. 226)

Consequently, he argues there is a causal effect between stereotype formation and the acting upon the schema that the stereotypes have created. It is this action which could be applicable to the final stage of

Allport's (1954) notion of the 'prejudiced personality' as he identifies four stages of prejudice formation:

-prejudices held subconsciously;

-prejudices held consciously but not aired;

-prejudices held and aired in safe and secure contexts;

-prejudices explicitly shared and which act as catalysts to others.

For Schneider (2005), however, these behaviours are not fixed - even if the stereotypical attitudes are. He asserts that the way behaviours are exercised depends upon the environmental context at the time. In particular, he suggests that with increasing age, and consequent maturity, the nature of the behaviours will be selected on the basis of what is deemed appropriate: 'as they get older they may learn a complex system of which behaviours are appropriate for which types of people under which circumstance.' (p. 340)

In consequence, behaviours resulting from negative attitudes to others will neither be uniform nor consistent and may lie hidden or latent depending upon specific contexts. Again, this raises further complexities for teachers in the challenging of negative attitudes as different catalysts may result in different attitudes and resulting behaviours; issues and considerations which this chapter will now proceed to consider.

Challenging Negative Attitudes

Through the previous discussion of attitude formation many areas of complexity were indicated. It is therefore not surprising that the

process of challenging negative attitudes and stereotypes effectively requires a multi-faceted approach with no one cure-all strategy. Schneider's (2005, p. 1) analogy illustrates this: 'stereotypes are the common colds of social interaction - ubiquitous, infectious, irritating, and hard to get rid of'. However difficult the process Taylor (2000, p. 71) argues, that negative attitudes are not fixed features - a stance expressed much earlier by Katz and Braly (1933) and also found in the work of Davidio et al. (2000, p. 141). These writers advocate that through a variety of strategies negative attitudes can be modified. This chapter will conclude by analysing some of the strategies suggested to achieve this. It will begin by considering the role of diagnostic assessment as fundamental to the process and continue by discussing the importance of information giving and the impact of inter-group personal experiences.

Diagnostic Understanding

The importance of recognising the source of negative attitudes and stereotypes is highlighted by Oskamp (2000, p. 3) who argues that it is necessary to have an understanding of the factors which have led to stereotype and prejudice construction in order to plan strategies for effective deconstruction. For Schneider (2005), this awareness should inform the selection of strategies to be used to counter the underlying misconceptions or negative attitudes. He reinforces the importance of such diagnostic assessment by using an analogy of car mechanics: 'saying we want to change a stereotype is like saying you want to fix a car but you don't know what the matter with it is' (p. 209).

In her work on un-learning discrimination in the early years Brown (1999) advocates the importance of planning opportunities for pupils to express themselves and share their views: 'We can only know about the misinformation and misunderstandings that children have absorbed if we provide opportunities for them to say what they think about discriminatory issues.' (p. 87)

Such a process requires significant planning by teachers regarding not only when such activities should take place but also the selection of the medium to be used to deliver the lessons, and what the teachers' response should be if the attitudes expressed do not reflect the policies and aims of the school. Teachers need to be aware that to ask pupils to express their own views and then punish them for the particular views expressed is not ethical practice. A further complexity identified by Stephan (1999) is the importance of a shared understanding of terms between the person doing the diagnosis and those being diagnosed. Reference has already been made to the different nuances associated with words regarding the research on out-group attributes led by Katz and Braly (1933). For Stephan a particular issue arises regarding the nuances that may be placed on particular words in order to give a distinct meaning when attributed to attributes of the out-group: 'The problem that often arises is that, while the in-group and the out-group both acknowledge that the out-group possesses a given trait the in-group evaluates the trait negatively whereas the out-group evaluates it positively.' (p. 85)

Typical attributes might include 'rich', 'religious', 'foreign' which, dependent upon the intention, can be used in a passive, positive or negative way. For Elton-Chalcraft (2009, p. 108) it is important to diagnose not only what constitutes the attitude but also the intention. Writing about racism she distinguishes between three different intentions – all of which could apply to antisemitism:

- alien culture racism which could be described as 'gut racism';

-regretted racism where children have known better and after the event have regretted it;

- general bully racism where racism is used as part of general bullying behaviours.

She suggests that different counter strategies would be needed for each. This view is also affirmed by Gaine (2005) who, again with direct reference to racism, distinguishes between strategies intended to prevent misunderstandings and engender cultural understanding and those, such as legal compliance, intended to undermine racism. Within school programmes such strategies would be expected to be of a proactive nature to educate and reform rather than a reactive and legislative approach. The chapter will now analyse two such strategies; that of information giving and inter-group contact.

Knowledge Acquisition.

Education is frequently referred to as pivotal in countering misconceptions and challenging negative attitudes (Quinley and Glock, 1979). For many, however, it is the opportunities that can be planned into education programmes to redress negative attitudes and

misconceptions that are most significant. Elton-Chalcroft (2009, p. 110) in her research with nine and ten year olds found that children were likely to be explicitly racist when they knew little about the cultures they encountered. She observes that it has been constantly and consistently argued in educational discourse that if stereotypical attitudes are formed by mis-information they can be countered through the giving of correct information (Lippmann 1922; Bobo and Kluegel 1997; Aboud and Levy 2000; Schneider 2005). Information-giving through the process of education might cover such areas as generalities regarding the negative implications of stereotype formation or inaccuracies regarding particular misconceptions. Submissions presented to the All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism (APPG 2006) reinforced the important role that education can play, not only in dealing with specifics but also in dealing with such generalities:

> Many of those who gave evidence stressed the importance of education as a way to reduce antisemitism. This includes specific education on antisemitism and Jewish faith and culture, and wider education around issues of racism, tolerance and discrimination. The Holocaust Education Trust reported that many school teachers consider antisemitism to be part of a wider pattern of intolerance and suggested that the increase in xenophobic, anti-Muslim, homophobic and antisemitic incidents needs to

be addressed in the classroom and in other educational frameworks. We note the crucial role that education can play in passing on knowledge and shaping attitudes. (p. 47)

The report continues by asserting that in order to challenge antisemitic attitudes teacher education must deal with issues of diversity and understandings of the Jewish community (2006, p. 48).

There is a lively debate within academic literature regarding the most effective methods of disseminating new information introduced for the purpose of countering misconceptions. Fisher (1993, p. 90) argues that many people with negative stereotypical views persist in holding on to those views and when offered counter information seek out aspects of that new information to verify their existing perceptions. This can result in their ignoring arguments which contradict their negative attitudes. This process is a significant feature of the subtyping model (Weber and Crocker 1983, pp. 961-977) which argues that if people are presented with evidence that counters their stereotype then they just produce subtypes for themselves, so believing that most people are still like their stereotype but the current one is an exception. Asuncion and Mackie (1996) contend that even if previously held views are corrected through new information it does not automatically mean that there will be an impact on attitude or on behaviour. The research of Trafimow and Gannon (1999) reinforces this view as they found that although most Christian males rated Jews higher than Christians on positive traits, they were not enthusiastic about the possibility of their

daughter marrying a Jew. This emphasises the importance of affective strategies rather than cognitive strategies being used to challenge misconceptions, as suggested by Davies (2008, p. 91) who argues that pupils need to engage emotionally and personally not just cognitively. For some, such as Gaertner et al. (1996), effective strategies involve interaction and engagement with the new information being combined with opportunities to adopt the perspective or empathise with the out-group. For Aboud and Levy (2000, p. 285) these strategies include the use of role play techniques in which children are encouraged to play the role of the target of discrimination, and by doing so to see the experience from the perspective of the other. This strategy is advocated to motivate children to want to alleviate distress by acting in a less discriminatory fashion in the future. Maylor et al. (2007, p. 27) refer to a specific intervention project of Keime et al. (2002), in a United States school. In their study 91 per cent of pupils had never been in a class with African-American pupils and 93 per cent of them were shown to hold stereotypical views. A planned intervention programme was constructed lasting sixteen weeks. The programme included information sharing, use of the media, inter-group contact and empathy exercises. Pupils experienced stories, guest speakers and lesson plans which were specifically tailored to raise cultural awareness. After the programme 94 per cent of the participants stated they would choose a friend of another race, resulting in the researchers claiming there was: 'greater tolerance of different cultures and a better understanding of multi-culturalism' (p. 27).

However, there are many notes of caution offered concerning the overall and long- term effectiveness of such programmes. Schneider (2005, p. 417) makes reference to the planned educational intervention programme to challenge racist attitudes in 1968, now commonly known as 'Brown Eyes/ Blue Eyes'. For pupils to experience what racism felt like, their teacher, Jane Elliot, divided the class into those who had brown eyes and those who had blue eyes. In this way she expected her pupils to be able to empathise with what it felt like to be treated differently, and to be able to adjust their behaviours. Schneider (2005) acknowledges that pupils at the time might have found the exercise meaningful but he questions its long-term effect on the reduction of overall negative attitudes and prejudices. He advocates the development of skills to challenge prejudice rather than focussing on the education regarding a particular characteristic of an out-group (p. 106). This emphasis on the importance of the development of new skills aimed at reducing stereotypical attitudes and prejudices is also reinforced through the research and findings of Oskamp (2000) cited above.

Inter-Group Encounters

The importance of face-to-face or so-called 'intimate acquaintance' between members of in and out-groups (inter-group contact) has been a long (Lippmann 1922, pp. 88-89) and frequently recommended practice (Allport 1954; Towles-Schwen & Fazio 2001; Park et al. 2001) used successfully at local, national and global levels with the purpose of providing a safe and secure environment for face-to-face meetings between groups of people who would otherwise rarely meet.

The strategy was used by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to break down barriers after World War II and later used as a strategy in the 1960's racial programmes in the US. As Allport (1954) and Stephan (1999) identify, the rationale behind the practice is that if groups know more about each other's preconceived attitudes prejudices deriving from ignorance will be diminished. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000 p. 93) propose that this is achieved by the members of each group recognising similarities between each rather than the perceived differences that can be created through categorisation: 'if only we could know each other better across group lines, went the reasoning, we would discover the common humanity we share.'

The experience of groups of individuals meeting naturally increases perceptions of group variability, thus recognising the diversity of individuals within the groups and so serving to counter misconceptions of excessive individual uniformity within groups. This study asserted that stereotyping groups was a contributory factor to perceiving the threat element between in-groups and out-groups (Goodman 1952, pp. 689-703; Hewstone and Hamberger 2000, pp. 103-124; Gluck-Wood 2007).

Whilst acknowledging the effectiveness of such strategies the chapter will now proceed to consider the complexities involved in inter-group contact if it is to have a lasting positive impact on attitudinal development, and the obstacles which as Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) point out are numerous and far-reaching, referring to 'the many cognitive, affective, situational and institutional barriers to positive

contact effects' (p. 93). Three specific factors will now be analysed with consideration of the impact of each on attitude formation. These are time; age-appropriateness; and the role of the facilitator of the activity.

As has been observed, effectively challenging existing attitudes can take a considerable amount of time. There is little endorsement of long term effectiveness through the so-called 'conversion model' (Rothbart 1981), which suggests that change in perception of stereotypes takes place in a relatively all-or-nothing fashion and therefore quite quickly as data or evidence are produced, stereotypical attitudes disappear. Aboud and Levy (2000. p. 284) in rebutting this argue that a significant amount of time is required because perceptions need to be challenged repeatedly over a period of time. This view was also advocated by Fishbein (1996) who also stressed the importance of repeatedly challenging stereotypes and misconceptions to achieve a long term effect.

A further crucial consideration connected with timing relates to the age at which challenges to negative attitudes should commence. This is complex and there is no definitive answer. The consensus among writers is that children form stereotypes early – even before reaching school age. Finkelstein (2003, p. 82) refers to the Bar–Tal Study by Cameron et al. (2001, p. 124) in which pre-school Jewish children were shown a range of pictures; even some two and a half year olds showed explicit negativity when told that the people in the picture were Arabs. Consequently, it is argued, it is appropriate, indeed

necessary, to challenge these stereotypes from an early age. Brown (1999) in her study of discrimination in young children argues that if negative perceptions of others are not challenged then the likelihood is that those attitudes will continue into adulthood: 'If children's perceptions of people who are different from themselves are based on stereotypical thinking it is likely that they will retain this misinformation for the rest of their lives unless positive steps are taken to counter this learning.' (p. 23)

In line with Brown's argument there is little evidence to suggest that stereotypes held by early years children will be naturally corrected as they grow into adolescence. A reminder of this is presented by Davies' (2008) reference to a survey which revealed that young people aged between 11 and 21 were seven times more likely to support the ultra-right British National Party (BNP) than the rest of the population.

If attempts are to be made within early-years education then there are many considerations to take into account. For example, Brown (1999, p. 8), refers to Piaget's theory that young children are egocentric and therefore questions if it is possible to raise issues of stereotypes and prejudice before they have developed the skills to empathise with others. Another consideration which needs to be taken into account is that planned intervention projects with young learners should address the specific stage that stereotype formation is at rather than trying to challenge stereotype formation per se. Goodman (1952) for example, argued that children first learn to categorise by race, they then learn evaluative responses (prejudice) to these labels, and finally learn to

discriminate against those they do not like. Aboud (1980) argues that children first acquire a preference for their own group, then notions of similarity with members of their own group and finally ethnic labels.

The third consideration for effective inter-group contact is the role of the leader of the process, which within schools would normally be the class teacher. Allport (1954 p. 267) maintains that it is important that the orchestrator of the activity has some form of official status and reflects the values of the institution within which they work:

> The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e. by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and it is of the sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between the members of the two groups.

As a leader of action the role expected of the orchestrator is authoritarian and sets the tone or gravitas for the process. It also, as Blanchard (1992) and Taylor (2000) point out, models the expectations and behaviours to the groups involved. This is viewed as being particularly significant by Blanchard et al. (1994). They argue that people are less racist when they observe another responding in a non-racist fashion.

For Rothbart and John (1985) the effectiveness of inter-group contact is based upon three assumptions. Firstly, that stereotypical attitudes exist because of limited experiences of the out-group by the in-group. Secondly, that experience with individuals from stereotyped groups

will actually provide clear evidence that dis-confirms the stereotypes. And finally that people will recognise their own stereotypical attitudes as wrong and be willing and able to change them as a result of this experience. None of these assumptions, as this chapter continues to explore, can be taken for granted. Indeed, for some, contact between different groups can have a potentially negative impact on attitude formation, a view reflected in the research of Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) who found that brief contact with elderly and handicapped people actually reinforced fears and stereotypes.

In summary it is the depth of the experience that is often referred to as a pivotal factor in the effectiveness of inter-group contact - along with the quality of the experience; the age group of the participants, and the role of those who organise the contact.

Each of these factors will now be considered, commencing with the impact of the depth of the relationship. For many, such as Davies (2008) and Glock et al. (1975), simple face-to-face contact or 'body mixing' is not enough to transcend superficiality and positively affect pre-existing attitudes. As Davies (2008) commented: 'Relationships always had to move beyond 'sightseeing [and] have the capacity to develop into meaningful friendships.' (p. 92)

Amir (1976) held a similar view, advocating that meetings involving the groups should be designed to allow members to actively get to know each other. Some would specify that this should incorporate opportunities to empathise and understand the perspective of the others - so becoming an affective process (Galinsky and Moskowitz 2000;

Batson et al. 2002). An important factor in this process is the perceived status of each group, and between groups, particularly, as argued by Davies (2008, p.94), if there is perceived competition or threat between the groups: 'contact has to be examined within the whole cultural and academic ethos and can be easily undermined by individualism and competition'. This view is also held by Stephan (1999), who asserts that the best inter-group relationships occur when in-groups and out-groups mix voluntarily with a perception of equal status in the process even if not of each other.

Although there are a number of considerations regarding the orchestration of the encounter between in-groups and out-groups it is the quality of the activity during that encounter which appears to play a pivotal role. For Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) this is more important than the quantity of contact; they advocate the process as an active rather than passive experience, which Schneider (2005) would add should also allow for opportunities to recognise shared values and experiences. One rationale for seeking shared values is expressed by Henderson-King and Nisbett (1996). They reflect that it is in human nature for people to spend time with people they consider to be very much like themselves, and to avoid people with whom there appears to be no connection. Research by Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) concur as their findings indicate that prejudiced people are more likely to avoid contact with members of perceived out-groups. Again, such findings underline the need for careful planning of these contacts and positive role modelling by the orchestrator regarding expected behaviours.

There has been a significant amount of research which attributes effective community cohesion to a recognition of shared experiences between groups (Hewstone et al. 1993; Stephan 1999). This aspect is considered crucial by the then chair of Britain's Commission for Racial Equality Trevor Phillips (2005), who argues for the need for a greater focus on shared or common features rather than diversity in improving relationships between different groups. Brewer and Miller (1988) suggest that a key to effective contact is through what they term 'personalization' – the establishment of common points of reference. For Linville, (1982), this process requires an understanding about the world of each of the others rather than a focus on the differences between the in-group and the out-group. Common points of reference may include such factors as locality or age, status, shared common goals and shared emotions. Davies (2008, p. 72) analyses an effective process in which Israeli and Palestinian students were brought together to discuss their experiences of fear. Despite beginning the process with feelings of threat between the groups, through careful orchestration the students were able to discuss together the commonality of their emotions and the similar personal impact of their experiences. Through such a process, Davies argues, members start to discuss their backgrounds and identify areas of similarity, so building a relationship and trust and commencing a process of personalising the other. Such dialogue has the potential to facilitate the ability to empathise and understand the perspective of others and so decrease prejudice.

This seeking of shared values was advocated by the Inquiry on Antisemitism (APPG 2006, p. 46) as particularly effective for inter-faith initiatives as members of different traditions recognised there was a shared value on the importance of faith. Conversely however, it seems likely to be less effective if the members of one group are of a faith tradition and the members of another group are not, as the central elements of attributes and practices would not be a shared experience. For Schneider (2005) there is further caution needed regarding the perceived positive impact of establishing shared values between groups. He argues that any positive impact is unsustainable as the recognition of shared human experiences fails to generate a common sense of purpose - an element he considers vital to the effectiveness of relationships as it incorporates working and communicating co-operatively for a common goal. For Gaertner et al. (1993) such a process is particularly effective as it generates a common group identity which is exemplified through mutual help and so transcends the in-group and the out-group mentality. A particular catalyst in this process, Gallagher (2004) and Davies (2008) argue, is the importance of 'superordinate goals' (i.e. goals that most groups want to achieve but are unable to achieve for themselves). So, for example, a key component of a shared activity would be that success is dependent upon the other group - in terms of either their abilities or their knowledge.

So far references to inter-contact have only been made in relation to group experiences; however there are many situations, such as visiting

speakers to schools, when it may be just one member of a perceived out-group meeting with a number of representatives of the in-group. Such a situation calls into play the impact of status and perceived power, as earlier discussed, and raises many concerns regarding the long-lasting impact on countering negative attitudes. Gaine (2005) discusses an often-deployed practice of asking a member of a class to talk on behalf of their community. In this way the pupil automatically takes on some form of expert status which can involve particular sensitivities. In interviews for his work on race Gaine found that some of his young interviewees strongly disapproved of the imposed 'shining a spotlight' (p. 26) irrespective of whether or not they felt equipped to represent a particular practice, community or culture. For Wuthnow (1987) and Fisher (1993) it also raises the possibility that such ad-hoc experiences can actually have a counter effect by which particular attitudes and stereotypes are further embedded. Fisher refers to a specific example in which a New York teacher conducted a diagnostic assessment with his Catholic High School pupils to ascertain their perceptions of Jews. The commonality of attributions made in responses such as 'very strict', 'mean', 'bossy' caused the teacher to probe how these specific attributes had become group-owned. The results reflected the damage that very limited contact can have:

> After much prodding, it turned out that the
> youngsters had personally known only one Jew
> in their lives: their sixth grade teacher! Their

negative reactions were not typical of a sixth

grader's reaction to Jews as Jews but [were] a

reaction to teachers as adult authority figures.

(p. 89)

Even if the experience had resulted in positive attitude formation some, such as Brewer and Miller (1988) and Schneider (2005), would question if the participants would be able to generalise their newly changed perceptions from their limited experience to the out-group as a whole. Again, reference is made to the importance of the experiences and activities during such contact, and also to the nature of those experiences.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the nature and characteristics of attitudes and attitude formation. It has also identified the complexities in devising effective strategies to challenge existing negative attitudes. It has argued that attitudinal formation is a complex process which can start at an early age and is commonly intensified through the process of categorisation which incorporates specific attributes given to members of in-groups and out-groups. Whilst recognising the importance of the home environment and the media the chapter has stressed the importance of the classroom - a location where misconceptions not only may be aired but also may be challenged. Due to the complexity of attitudinal development effective countering in the classroom is no easy process. Schneider (2005) recognises the enormity of the task referring to the effort, time and skills required:

> As every psychotherapist, teacher, parole officer, clergy member, social worker and parent knows, it is often difficult - indeed, seemingly impossible - to get people to change their fundamental attitudes, values, and ways of thinking about the world. Change ain't easy, and it comes with a hefty price tag of time, effort, and often traumatic inner struggle. (p. 401)

Although strategies such as information giving and inter-group encounters may be effective they rely upon rigorous diagnostic assessment to inform strategy selection and planning. They also necessitate specific skills and modelling from the teacher - a finding which will be constantly reiterated throughout the thesis.

It does seem that despite often being deeply embedded, negative attitudes can be challenged and changed - but the process is a complex one necessitating consideration of a number of factors such as the nature of the attitude, the strategy deployed, recognition of the attributes which inform the attitude and subsequent behaviours, and the role of the orchestrator of the process. This chapter has sought to show the complexities associated with attitude construction and deconstruction and that effective and long lasting countering of established attitudes requires an informed and strategic process.

Chapter 2

Antisemitic Attributes and Behaviours

Aims and Structure

In the previous chapter the complexities surrounding attitudinal formation and, in particular, relationships between attitudes and key attributes of groups were analysed. This chapter specifically discusses negative attitudes towards a distinctive group of people - Jews. It seeks not to give a detailed analysis of the history or global context of negative attitudes to Jews, but to identify frequently attributed characteristics and analyse their impact on resulting attitudes and behaviours. It concludes by considering two frequently proposed strategies for countering negative attitudes to others - information giving and inter-group encounters. Although the context of the study is England references are made to appropriate worldwide research to illustrate the arguments made.

The chapter frequently refers to findings from studies regarding racial prejudice and stereotypes for two reasons. Firstly, research regarding categorisation and strategies to promote understanding between the in-group and the out-group is considered relevant to the specific area of antisemitism. Secondly, there has been a major lack of research concerning negative attitudes to Judaism. Distinctions between negative attitudes to Jews and racism are often blurred, with the latter more correctly being used as an 'umbrella term' for a range of different negative schemas relating to religious, ethnic or racial

prejudice, of which antisemitism may be one.

Characteristics of Antisemitism

As previously stated the use of the term 'antisemitism' in this thesis denotes negative perceptions, attitudes and/or behaviour because someone is Jewish or believed to be Jewish. Although a commonly used term, its etymology is complex, as discussed in the introduction. The rather dubious origins of the associated term 'anti-Semitic' can be traced back to Wilhelm Marr (1819-1904) who used it with reference to what would now be considered racial rather than religious characteristics of Jews in Germany. His organization, the League of Anti-Semites, introduced the word 'anti-Semite' into the political lexicon and established the first popular political movement based entirely on anti-Jewish beliefs. Marr and others employed the term in the largely secular anti-Jewish political campaigns that became widespread in 19th century Europe. They derived from an 18th century analysis of languages that differentiated between those with so called 'Aryan roots' and those with so-called 'Semitic' roots. He could have used the conventional German term 'judenhass' to refer to his hatred of Jews, but that way of speaking carried religious connotations that Marr wanted to de-emphasize in favour of racial ones.

For Gluck Wood (2007, p. 14) the term 'anti-Semitic' is a misnomer; as already stated, she argues that there is no such thing as 'Semitism' and therefore 'anti-Semitism' is a meaningless concept. For Nirenberg (2013) there is a distinction between 'anti-Semitism' and 'anti-Judaism'; the former he suggests needs Jews to persecute while anti-

Judaism can flourish without them as the target of the prejudice is not a group of people but an idea. He argues, citing references throughout history, that whenever the West has wanted to define 'what it is not' Judaism has been the term used. Such distinctions he traces back to Saint Paul and the early church when, he argues, Christianity and Judaism were constantly distinguished, as a series of oppositions; for example, Jews reading the scripture according to the letter and Christians reading it according to the spirit. Similarly Jews were depicted as obeying traditional laws while Christians were liberated from them by their faith in Christ. As Chapter 1 discussed, Gluck Wood (2007) argues that such polarity of attributions between insider and outsider groups is a common feature in negative attitudes and behaviours.

Nirenberg (2013) identifies a range of anti-Judaism incidents throughout many eras in Western history; they are, he claims, so central to Western culture that they are taken for granted. He identifies particular attributes given to Jews such as misanthropy, cited by the Greek historian Hecataeus of Abdera in the fourth century BCE. Nirenberg argues that with the rise of Christian politics in the Middle Ages anti- Judaism took on more of a material cast than a theological one. He refers to the impact of Jews' unique status as the king's servants or slaves in a number of European countries, including England. For Nirenberg the decline of religion in Europe and the rise of the enlightenment did little to change the rhetoric of anti-Judaism, with Voltaire, Kant and Hegel all using Judaism as an example of the

superstition they wanted to overcome. Marx too recapitulated ancient anti-Jewish tropes when he conceived of communism as freedom from Judaism, with connections to money, commerce and social alienation. However, there is little discussion of what Nirenberg considers this theory to mean for today with references limited to perceptions of outsiders who perpetually become scapegoats with an associated range of negative attributes.

In his recent history of negative attitudes to Jews in England Julius (2010) advocates recognition of the term 'anti-semitisms' which he argues denotes the existence of the diversity of attitudes and behaviours – a concept discussed later in this chapter. Since the 1960's there have been increasing references to a 'new antisemitism' which particularly manifests itself in opposition to the State of Israel and the concept of Zionism. This chapter will argue that there can be a blurring between anti-Zionism and antisemitism with the former normally considered an authentic political and philosophical belief which can be validly expressed in public and private debate.

Whilst considering the variety of terms used and their related nuances the more commonly used term, as discussed in the introduction and used throughout this thesis, reflects that used by the Community Security Trust (CST). Accordingly an antisemitic incident is one deemed to be a malicious act aimed at Jewish people, organisations or property, where there is evidence that the incident has antisemitic motivation or content, or that the victim was targeted because they were (or were believed to be) Jewish.

Relationship between Racism and Antisemitism

This chapter will now briefly consider the relationship between racism and antisemitism. As observed previously they share many over-lapping features. Both involve the act of 'othering'; both are the result of negative attitudes to difference; both have the potential to result in acts of discrimination; both can be personalised or institutionalised; and both, as Julius (2010, p. 24) argues, thrive on ignorance. However, writing for the CST in an article called *Perspectives on Anti-semitism* Julius (2008, p. 4) makes clear distinctions between racism and antisemitism and the potential difference in outcomes:

> While racism is hatred of 'the Other' anti-Semitism is hatred of 'the imperceptible Other.' Racisms of colour 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.

Both racism and antisemitism have their own distinctive histories and it is from the study of those histories that some understanding of their longevity can be gained; an understanding which can inform intervention strategies to counter misconceptions and stereotypes. For Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010) the distinction between racism and antisemitism has been often ignored or marginalized despite a very long and consistent history of negative behaviours to Jews. They suggest two reasons for this. Firstly contemporary research on

minorities in Britain tends to emphasise either racial or materially disadvantaged groups, neither of which is perceived to relate specifically to the Jewish community. Secondly Jews have become associated with 'whiteness' and consequently are not perceived as being a relevant group for multicultural research. This argument will be examined in Chapter 3 when consideration is given to professional development opportunities for teaching. Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010) cite Sander Gilman who, writing about Jews in the US context, sees applicability to the situation in England:

> the Jews, now seen as the ultimate victims of inhumanity, an inhumanity to be answered by the multicultural, are now excluded from the multicultural as too successful, too white and too Jewish. (p. 7)

Attributes Associated with Jewish Stereotypes

The preceding chapter demonstrated the importance of the attributes given to specific groups not only in contributing to a deleterious perceptual schema but also in influencing behaviours and attitudes towards those from other groups. There has been little comprehensive research to draw upon that is specific to the English context but the findings of Wuthnow (1982), written within an American context, categorise attributions commonly attributed to Jews into three clusters: powerful and manipulative; being disloyal; and being materialistic and clannish. Each of these will be analysed now in relation to the contemporary English context.

Powerful and Manipulative

Wuthnow's first cluster of attributions refers to being powerful and manipulative. Although these attributes are not synonymous connections can occur, such as manipulation to gain power and then how such power can be used in an exploitative way. As with all the characteristics discussed by Wuthnow each can have a broad range of nuances and insinuations and be considered negative, neutral or even positive. Manipulative, for example, could have negative implications such as scheming, devious or cunning, but also could imply positive skills of being well-organised and visionary. What becomes significant in defining the attribute is the *context* within which the attribute is written or spoken about and the *intention* of the person who selected that specific attribute to be used. An example of this can be seen in Brown's (1999 p.106) account of an incident at a school where a staff member interpreted the interest of parents in terms of antisemitic stereotypes.

Allegations of devious manipulation have been made against Jews throughout history and indeed are still used today. A contemporary example occurred in 2012 when a British newspaper published a cartoon by Steven Bell which portrayed Israel's Netanyahu as a puppet-master controlling tiny versions of the then Foreign Secretary William Hague and Tony Blair (Lipman, 2012 p. 7). The cartoon elicited just twenty nine public complaints. Of particular significance historically are the charge of deicide, accusations of murder (the blood libel) and the impact of

the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* - each of which will now be briefly considered.

Ruether (1987) and Gluck-Wood (2007) refer to the impact of the theological dispute between Christianity and Judaism over the Messiahship of Jesus and the charge of deicide, as being the killers of Christ, made against the Jews across centuries and countries. It was not until the issuing of the Roman Catholic Church's Vatican II Conciliar Declaration *Nostra Aetate* (1965) and the guidelines that followed that a new relationship was established between the Catholic Church and Jews with an emphasis on common spiritual bonds.

The blood libel (accusations that the blood from murder victims is used in Jewish ritual) has been evident in England since the 12th century slaughter of William of Norwich and allegations in the same century against a Jew called Copin regarding the murder of Little Saint Hugh of Lincoln. Davies (2008) refers to a resurgence of such allegations in Britain in the 21st century due to easy access to Arab media where, for example, Jews are referred to in one broadcast item as: 'vampires who bake cookies with the blood of Arabs' (p. 136). She maintains that such allegations are often associated with the ritual of eating specific food at festivals and cites Grinberg's (2006) reference to the Mufti of the Palestinian army who stated on the cable news channel Al-Jazeera that: 'there can be no peace with Jews because they use and suck the blood of Arabs on the holidays of Passover and Purim.' (p. 136)

A further contemporary catalyst is identified by Julius (2010, p. 341)

who identifies a growing trend of explicit connections between the controversial practice of *shechitah* (ritual slaughter of animals) and the charges of blood libel.

The third example of perceived Jewish power and manipulation relates to the fictional anonymous work *Protocol of the Elders of Zion*. First published in Russia in 1903 this hoax describes in detail a Jewish plan for world domination. Despite being exposed as a forgery the book was sold widely and translated into many languages. The All-Party Commission on Anti-Semitism (APPG 2006) refer to a 29-part television series focusing on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* which explicitly depicts 'sinister groups of Jews portrayed according to medieval stereotypes with long beards, hooked noses and dark cloaks, conspiring to take over the world.' (APPG p. 20). Although this originated as a Syrian television series it was aired through cable television in England. Gates (2006 p.584) commenting on the same series draws attention to the attributes depicted of Jews including 'brothel keeping' and 'kidnappers of young boys' which he argues are akin to those promulgated in historic Christian anti-Semitism. The caricature of the Jews as the wicked source of misery amongst Muslims is all too similar to their centuries old caricature amongst Christians.

Disloyal and Unpatriotic

Wuthnow's (1982) second cluster of antisemitic traits refers to the supposed divided allegiances of Jews between the country of domicile and Israel. The implications of what such divided allegiances might

result in are evident in the 19th century 'Dreyfus Affair' when the Jewish Alfred Dreyfus, a captain in the French Army, was convicted on false evidence of a crime of high treason. Gaine (2005) suggests that this perception of divided allegiances is common to many perceived out-groups; he refers to how the British media often portrays Muslims as having a similar lack of ties or relationship with Britain. Conversely, a more positive attribute of Judaism is the expectation of patriotism for the country of domicile. Such is exemplified by the practice in Judaism of special prayers in synagogues for the welfare of the ruling party, government or monarch of the land. Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010) argue that Jewish immigrants in the 1800's were unlike immigrant groups of the 1960's and 1970's in that they failed to assert their rights to religious and cultural differences, desiring instead to integrate as far as possible. The majority of these Jewish immigrants were seeking sanctuary from the pogroms of Eastern Europe; they arrived in Britain with few possessions, spoke different languages, exercised different practices, ate different diets and wore distinctive clothing from the indigenous population. As portrayed in Solomons's recently published *Mr Rosenblum's List* (2010), based on the experiences of the author's grandparents, stark choices had to be made concerning whether to remain outwardly Jewish and therefore potentially be perceived as foreign and of an out-group or to consciously seek to assimilate including the common practice of anglicising names. For Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010, p. 7) this attempt to not articulate Jewishness publicly in order to assimilate has

fostered a 'damaging cultural invisibility.' The All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism (APPG 2006) recognised the impact of such on a distinct form of hegemony:

> The high degree of integration and success achieved by the Jewish community has meant that Jewish people experience a different model of racism and prejudice to other communities. Antisemitism is not always recognised for what it is, and Jews are not always recognised as victims of racism. (p5)

For Cesarani (APPG 2006) this has had a lasting impact. He maintains that to this day Jews in the United Kingdom are tolerated only so long as they resemble British people, adopting their values and shedding visible aspects of Jewish tradition and culture. He refers to an 'anti-semitism of tolerance' which he describes as follows:

> Jews were not welcomed into a diverse, pluralistic society. On the contrary, the message was Jews can live freely amongst us if they conform to our values. The 'antisemitism of tolerance' conditioned Jewish life in Britain. It induced Jews to minimise their differences, privatising Judaism and shedding many aspects-especially those more visible-of Jewish culture and tradition. (p. 20)

As the next chapter discusses the word 'tolerance' is not without

complexities with a range of associated meanings including 'putting up with' - a very different nuance to 'acceptance' or 'integration'.

Evidence from CST data reinforces Julius's argument that a common misconception is that being Jewish and being English are incompatible. For example one incident report refers to the distribution of a leaflet stating: 'No Jew school in Heaton Park … supporting the campaign to defend our English park' (APPG, p. 24). Julius (2010, p. 66) refers to a further example cited in the *Daily Telegraph* (2 June 2007) in which a thirteen year old London Jewish girl was asked by fellow pupils if she was 'English' or 'Jewish'. As a result of hesitating she was attacked, breaking her cheekbone in the process.

The relationships between Jews in England and Israel are multifarious and impossible to generalise, although at times of crisis in the Middle-East the two are often strongly inter-connected and sometimes assimilated in the perceptions of the general public This is evidenced recently by the increased attacks on Jews in England at a time of conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza (CST 2014). The impact of this on pupils in school is illustrated in an article by Maddern and Shaw (TES 2009) which reports the difficulties for teachers in England in responding to pupils' questions concerning acts of violence between Israel and Hamas, and also discusses an associated increase of antisemitic verbal assaults against Jewish pupils.

Before considering the implications of the perceived relationship between British Jews (and indeed Jews globally) and Israel it is important to establish the differences between Judaism and Zionism,

as each has clearly related beliefs and philosophies. Judaism is a religious and cultural tradition; Zionism is an ideology that supports a Jewish nation-state in territory defined as the Land of Israel. It is true that many British Jews are Zionists and, as recognised by the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism (2006 p. 17) have relatives in Israel. Israel forms one of the key elements in Jewish education and Jewish identity in the United Kingdom. It is equally true that many Jews are not Zionists and many Zionists are not Jews; indeed there is a significant and growing Christian Zionist movement. There is however a common perception that Zionism and Judaism are synonymous. Chesler (2003, p. 4), for example, tells of an incident when Martin Luther King censured a student for attacking Zionism, declaring 'When people criticize Zionism, they mean Jews. You're talking anti-Semitism'.

Criticism of the state of Israel is not synonymous with antisemitic attitudes, but some such as Gluck Wood (2007) maintain that anti-Zionism is often a cover for antisemitism (p. 18) with the terms 'Jews', 'Zionists' and 'Israel' sometimes used interchangeably. Porat (2006) argues that in order for anti-Zionism to be classed as antisemitic classic stereotypes and vocabulary need to be used. This may include derogatory use of the language, and imagery of the Holocaust to describe the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Such an occurrence is exemplified in a report compiled to monitor antisemitic incidents (CST 2011, p. 16): 'A Jewish woman was queuing at a supermarket checkout when she overheard a man at the next till talking loudly

about Israel and Gaza. She then heard the man say, *"Hitler had the right idea. It's a shame he didn't gas them all.'"*

Perpetrators of anti-Zionism and antisemitism are frequently identified as belonging to different political ideologies, with the latter commonly considered to reflect views of the far right whilst the former is a trait of particular left and left-of-centre political views. Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010) identify a contemporary trait in Britain amongst what they call 'respectable, liberal' circles, in which anti-Israeli and anti-American discourse leads to accepted overtones of antisemitism. This finding was also identified by Wyatt (2001) in her article *Poisonous Prejudice* in *The Spectator* that 'since September 11 anti-Semitism and its open expression has become respectable at London dinner-tables.'

Although there is little doubt that antisemitism has been exacerbated by events in the Middle-East there is significant evidence that this does not account totally for the rise in antisemitism in the United Kingdom. CST statistics between 2010-13 show that buildings that are targeted for antisemitic incidents are Jewish not Israeli and the majority of victims of antisemitic incidents are neither Israeli nor show obvious support for Israel.

Materialistic and Clannish

The third example of antisemitic characterisations identified by Wuthnow (1982) relates having materialistic values to being clannish. For Foxman (2012) the relationship between the two might be easier to substantiate in an East Asian context (especially Japan) where ,he argues, frequent references are made to a conspiracy between

fraternities of Jews in matters related to the economy. In the English context, although the two attributes are used in reference to Jews they are no more connected than any other two such as materialistic and powerful; or clannish and divided loyalties. For that reason each of these negative attributes is discussed separately to reflect any different attributes or implications.

Perceptions associating Jews with materialism and wealth have a long history frequently traced back to the times when one of the very few roles available to Jews was that of money-lenders. Wuthnow (1987, p. 137) raises the question of what happens when a stereotype is true? As stated previously the crux of the issue is the *intentions* behind the use of particular attributes. For example, references to materialism and Jews could be in relation to business acumen, as perhaps seen in Lord Sugar. Conversely it could also refer to the gaining of money through exploitation of others, particularly at the expense of members of the in-group. An example relates to the term 'Rachmanism' which has become synonymous with unscrupulous business practices in housing and was coined after the exploitation of tenants in the 1950s and 1960s by the Jewish landlord Peter Rachman (Klug 2014) .

The second attribute of clannish behaviours can also convey positive or negative aspects dependent upon the context and intention. As is the case with any group whose members share a wide range of beliefs, customs and interests close bonds inevitably develop between members of religious traditions. Reference has already been made to the dilemma of Jewish immigrants about whether to assimilate with

the practices of the host country or maintain their language, practices and rituals. For those choosing the latter then clannish behaviours could be perceived in a range of practices such as the speaking of Yiddish, adopting distinctive forms of dress, and diet. Such distinctions may be argued as evident today in particular areas of England such as Stamford Hill, London and Prestwich, Manchester. Particular suburban areas having a preponderance of Jews has resulted in shops selling kosher foods, and Jewish cemeteries, community centres and schools. The attribution to Jews of being 'clannish' can imply the active exclusion of others. Judaism is not a proselytising religion and there is no imperative for members to engage in persuading non-Jews to join the religious community. Indeed the security required at many Jewish events often prevents any interested gentiles from attending. It also needs to be noted that for some Jews, particularly those of the Charedi movement, certain aspects of the world are perceived as undesirable for their children; and especially so for any that might lead to inter-faith relationships or marriage. In consequence it would be easy for those outside the Jewish community to perceive Jews as a homogenous group with inflexible practices, resistant to those outside the community and seeking only to support each other. Such perceptions resonate with widespread global perceptions, as illustrated by the comments by Beraud et al.(2008 p. 69) on research concerning French students' attitudes to Jews within their community: 'they feel that the Jewish students form a self-contained group that does not open up to others.'

Each of the antisemitic attributes identified by Wuthnow (1982) has been considered separately but, he contends, they can operate independently or in combinations. This view is shared by Julius (2010) who also argues that when they are used there is often no logical combination, resulting in a contradictory schema of attributes. He illustrates this with reference to perceptions such as: 'Jews seek the most luxurious, sensual style of life and are dirty, smelly, and unattractive '(p. 47).

A similar range of mixed attributes could be witnessed in the antisemitic daubing at a Manchester Jewish golf club which read: 'YID SCUM SHYLOCK HAMAS HEZBOLLAH COMES!' (Jewish Chronicle 2011 p. 4). The content of this graffiti contains references to offensive names given to Jews, offensive terms used for gentiles and Jews, figures from Elizabethan literature and present day historical circumstances.

As discussed in the previous chapter such attributes and stereotypes often form a schema of perceptions and attitudes which can act as a catalyst to impact upon behaviours towards Jews. It is such behaviours, within the specific context of England, that the chapter will now proceed to analyse.

Characteristics of Negative Behaviours towards Jews in England.

For the purposes of this thesis the findings from the FRA (2013) inquiry regarding discrimination against Jews is particularly significant. References are made to the majority of antisemitic incidents happening to the youngest group of respondents. A response

from one mother affirms the relevancy of investigating antisemitism

amongst secondary age pupils:

> I am particularly concerned that if my son goes
>
> to a non-Jewish secondary school (a few years
>
> away), he will experience casual antisemitic
>
> comments about Jews and Israel/Palestinians.
>
> If he goes to a Jewish school, I am concerned
>
> that his uniform will make him a target when
>
> he travels alone to the bus stop. (p. 34)

Although little research has been conducted regarding antisemitism

within an English context there has been a systematic collection of

data regarding antisemitic behaviours since 1984. The CST annually

compiles and publishes the reported incidents of antisemitism,

categorising and detailing each activity and reference to this data is

frequently made throughout the chapter. To be deemed an antisemitic

incident by the CST attacks on people, property, verbal or written

abuse have to have occurred because the target was perceived to be

connected with Jews. This is distinctive from an attack on someone

who happened to be Jewish but was attacked for some other

motivation. Incidents are not included if there is no evidence of

antisemitic motivation or content. Nor, significantly, are incidents

included if the sentiments expressed are anti-Israel unless they include

the use of antisemitic language or imagery. Perhaps reflecting the

preponderance of antisemitism in England further exclusions relate to

massed antisemitic chanting on political demonstrations or antisemitic

material that is permanently hosted on internet websites.

The history of antisemitism in Britain has not been one of large scale pogroms but, as illustrated in the aptly titled Runnymede Report *A Very Light Sleeper* (The Runnymede Trust 1994), it has been one of persistence. This observation is affirmed in the foreword to a recent report analysing discrimination against Jews in European Union member states, 'antisemitism is one of the most alarming examples of how prejudice can endure' (FRA 2013 p. 3).

For any attitudinal schema to survive through centuries requires an ability to transmogrify to become relevant to prevailing social contexts. As previously illustrated such a characteristic is found in antisemitism, as acknowledged by Sack's (2013) analogy of antisemitism to a virus: 'Like a virus, antisemitism mutates and so it changes from time to time and we are living through one of the greatest mutations.'

Such reflects the descriptions made of the perpetuation of antisemitism in England by Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010 p. 143) 'appearance may change but the reality is unchanged'. In a recent report 66% of respondents to a survey concerning discrimination and hate crime against Jews thought there had been an increase in England. (FRA 2013 p. 17). The past decade has witnessed increases in reported antisemitic incidents in England as indeed reflective of a global trend. Statistics from the CST reportpf(CST 2012) refer to a two per cent increase of antisemitic incidents over the same time the previous year and a further sharp rise occurred during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

in 2014. Although such fluctuations occur, often reflecting times of unrest in the Middle-East, an important consideration is that antisemitism remains a consistent phenomenon in England but exercised in different ways to suit different contexts. Identification and trend analysis of such changes are aided by the categorisation process employed by the CST which classes each antisemitic incident as either damage and desecration; literature; threats or abusive behaviours; extreme violence or assault. Thankfully in England there remain very few occurrences of the latter but each of the other classifications exhibit fluctuating trends. Each will now be considered with particular reference to their changing characteristics and nuances.

Damage and Desecration

There has been a decline in reported incidents of antisemitic damage and desecration which are usually aimed at Jewish cemeteries and synagogues. Such activities are not new nor confined to England. Cohn-Sherbok (2002) refers to the words of Martin Luther urging: 'synagogues should be set on fire, and whatever does not burn up should be covered or spread over with dirt so that no one may ever be able to see a cinder or stone of it.' (p. 90)

Globally there have been some significant pre-planned terrorist attacks on synagogues, Jewish schools and community centres resulting in significant loss of life. This is not reflected in the decreasing number of incidents in England, which are rarely pre-planned or intended to be life-threatening. A pragmatic explanation for the decrease in attacks on Jewish buildings within England could derive from the highly

developed security mechanisms and increased surveillance frequently used. Porat (2006), however, suggests that the decrease may be a characteristic of a 'New Anti-Semitism' (p. 34) where the focus of intent shifts from desecration of cemeteries and arson against synagogues to one of physical attacks on people.

Literature

Referring to explicit negative attitudes towards Jews in classics such as Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*; the poetry of T. S. Eliot, and novels written by Agatha Christie Julius (2010 p. xxxvi) describes the existence of antisemitism in Literature as 'typically' British. Reported decrease in incidents may be explained by the lessening popularity of literature in terms of books as against the internet. This view is reinforced by Sacks's (2009) argument that the medium most frequently used for antisemitic rhetoric is now the internet; a medium that, as already mentioned, CST statistics do not include. Although outside the remit of this thesis the impact of the internet in circulating antisemitism is significant as exemplified in responses to a recent survey on discrimination against Jews:

> One feature of the internet and email is the total freedom to express opinions (which I totally support). However the amount of antisemitic material circulating is phenomenal. This is in some ways setting us backwards as now young people are circulating content like the Protocols of the Elders of Zion which had, prior to the internet,

> pretty much died out. (FRA 2013 p. 20)

Threats and Abusive Behaviours

It is in the areas of threats and abusive behaviour that the CST report a significant increase. Relating to their Report from 2012 (p. 5) such activities were often opportunistic, random, spontaneous, including verbal antisemitic abuse, directed at people who look Jewish while they go about their business in public places. The opportunistic characteristic is exemplified by reference to 36 incidents of abuse shouted from passing vehicles at people assumed to be Jewish. Two further examples of opportunism include: 'A Jewish schoolgirl was at a bus stop on her way home from school. She was approached by three older girls who slapped her on the arm and said, "It's Slap a Jew Day", the name of an event organised on Facebook.*'* (p. 13); and, 'A Jewish man was walking through a park when he was approached by a group of white youths who asked him if he was Jewish, before attacking him, causing severe bruising and suspected broken ribs.*'* (p. 13)

Such a lack of pre-planning reflects the findings of the Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism (APPG, 2006 p. 11) that most antisemitic incidents were opportunistic antagonism, usually b y individuals or small groups rather than organised groups and by those aged between sixteen and twenty years of age.

Julius (2010) proposes that a reason for opportunistic attacks on Jews is because they are perceived as weak. Psychologically opportunistic attacks would only happen on a party considered weaker, vulnerable and in a position unable to retaliate. Little research has been conducted

as to why such a perception may exist although portrayals of Jews in recent films represent physical weakness of Jews impotent within their situation in the Shoah. Such depiction may be exacerbated by activities such as the annual Holocaust Memorial Day which involve elderly and frail Holocaust Survivors recalling their experiences in civic ceremonies and school education programmes.

A further trend identified through the CST report (2012) is that attacks are committed on people whose distinctive clothing implied they were Jewish. Of the 136 reported attacks 67 were believed to have been triggered against victims because they were: 'visibly Jewish, due to religious or traditional clothing, Jewish school uniforms or jewellery bearing religious symbols.' (p. 5)

The suggestion that distinctive clothing worn by Jews acts as a catalyst for hostility is reflected by Dr Tony Bayfield (2008, p. 4) writing on his personal perspective of Judaism: 'Because I am a Reform rabbi and do not walk the streets in distinctive dress, I seldom if ever sense hostility.' Antagonism generated by the wearing of distinctive Jewish dress is evident in the research of Jikeli (2009). One interviewee, Hakim, shows how his negative attitude to Jews was exacerbated due to a lack of understanding regarding the significance of the wearing of kippot: 'And why do they put on caps, the Jews …? Hats, and then they all look the same … It's strange.' (p. 225)

Such antagonism can be observed in incident reports by the CST where references to the stripping of the kippot form a deliberate part of the attack:

> A Jewish man was walking along the pavement
> when a car drove past him containing a white
> couple. The man then jumped out of the car,
> knocked the victim's yarmulke (skullcap) off
> his head and punched him several times,
> breaking his glasses and giving him a black
> eye and a small cut to the face. (CST 2011 p.
> 13)

A further trend identified through CST reports is frequent references made to the Holocaust as a form of abuse; a feature particularly apparent amongst the young. Relevant illustrations to the use of offensive graffiti include: 'A Jewish student living in a hall of residence found that a picture of a *chanukiah* (ceremonial candelabrum) on her front door had been removed and replaced with a swastika.' (CST, 2011 p. 14), and 'Swastikas were scratched into the window ledge outside a Jewish studies room and in a lift at a university.' (CST, 2011 p. 16)

Verbal abuse, including references made by the young to atrocities committed in Concentration Camps, were also evidenced: 'Two Jewish girls were approached by two girls, one white and one mixed-race, who held cigarette lighters up to them and threatened to 'burn you like Hitler'. (CST, 2011 p. 15); and again: 'A group of white teenage boys were racially abusing a south Asian couple in a park. They then saw a visibly Jewish man and said to him, "You should have been gassed in Auschwitz"'. (CST, 2011 p. 17)

In this specific example it is pertinent to note how the perpetrators' knowledge of events in the Holocaust led to the use of this knowledge as a form of abuse. The use of Holocaust related abuse has also been a feature of particular football chanting as witnessed in the chanting of 'Roman is on his way to Auschwitz - Hitler's going to gas him again'. aimed at Roman Abramovitch, the Russian Jewish manger of Chelsea, at a Manchester United versus Chelsea football match (MacShane 2008, p. 2). Why this phenomenon has arisen is unknown, particularly when young perpetuators will all have received education concerning the Holocaust.

'Stories of snub and insult'- a distinctive English attitude?

So far references to antisemitic behaviours have been limited to the broad categories used in the CST reports. Julius (2010) adds a further behaviour which he argues is a distinctly British form of antisemitism. He describes it as: 'a story of snub and insult, sly whisper and innuendo, deceit and self- deception' (p. 351). Illustrating such subtleties Julius refers to a comment made by Harold Abrahams in the film *Chariots of Fire,* that antisemitism is witnessed 'on the edge of a remark' (p. 363). It is such subtlety, he argues, that has resulted in its durability in British society. He illustrates what it looks like in practice showing how an affront or slur can lead to exclusion and distrust:

> It is anti-Semitism of rebuff and of insult, not
> of expulsion and murder. Its votaries confer in
> golf clubs; they do not conspire in cellars. In
> its most aggravated form, this anti-Semitism
> questions whether Jews can ever be

wholehearted members of the English nation,

given their assumed adherence to their own

nation. (p. xxxix)

Keren David, writing in *The Jewish Chronicle*, refers to such antisemitism as the 'cringe syndrome'. She argues that there has been a deliberate portrayal of Jews through recent media which exemplifies them as embarrassing and different to how gentiles (and most Jews for that matter) would wish to perceive themselves:

We cringe at That Dreadful Woman from

Radlett and the Neurotic One from Edgeware

in Jewish Mum of the Year. We cringe at

Caprice and Stacey Solomon being presented

as Jewish spokeswomen. We cringe at Jews in

the news or on a cruise.' (2012 p. 27)

The covert characteristics of such nuanced antisemitism not only make it difficult to prove but also Julius (2010) argues make it hard to distinguish as it becomes a part of the British psyche: 'the background noise against which we makes our lives' (p. xvi) and 'Almost always barely audible, one then must strain to detect it- though very occasionally it irrupts into a dissonant, heart-stopping din' (ibid). This view is reinforced by the findings from the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism (2006) which concluded that a factor in the preponderance of antisemitism is that: 'It is hard to identify because the boundaries of acceptable discourse have become blurred to the point that individuals and organisations are not aware when these

boundaries have been crossed, and because the language is more subtle.' (p 16)

With reference to the prevalence of 'antisemitic discourse' the inquiry expressed concern regarding the acceptability of antisemitic remarks in public and private discourse. The power of language is further endorsed by the response to the Inquiry conducted by the Department for Communities and Local Government: 'There needs to be a greater understanding of the cultural importance of language and its power to shape and influence attitudes and actions.' (DCLG 2008 p 35)

The blurring of boundaries is particularly important as it results in a lack of distinction regarding what *is* and *is not* acceptable discourse, and a lack of clarity regarding reactions or over-reactions. One specific example of mixed meaning and intent derives from the everyday usage of the word 'Jew'.

Blurred Boundaries and the Use of the Term Jew

As with any religious tradition the name of followers derives from the name of the tradition; so followers of Christianity are Christians; followers of Hinduism are Hindus and followers of Judaism are Jews. It is only in the final example that the name attached to faith members can be an insult or a slur. Brians (2013) in the compilation of *Common Errors in English Usage* considers the use of the term Jew as an ethnic insult only when used as an adjective. A relevant example is cited from *The Sunday Times* (Dowling and Cardy 2011) when Aaron Porter, the then president of the NUS who is a gentile, was subjected to a chant of

' Tory Jew scum' as he was accused of being 'too soft' on the government's proposed fees increase. The noun, Jew, does not need to be preceded by any adjective for it to have insulting nuances. Examples are evident in CST Reports (2011, p.14) where just the use of the word 'Jew' intends to insult and abuse. For example: 'the word "Jew" was written in the condensation on the windscreen of a rabbi's car'. References can also be found when Jew is used as a verb to signify a negative action such as 'Don't Jew me', (Julius 2010, p. 364) and also as an adjective such as 'Jew Goal' used to describe a goal that is seen as underhand and unfair but does not actually break any rules. There is little contemporary research concerning the use of the term in England, although the research led by Jikeli (2009) amongst German and French youths has relevance for this thesis. From a series of interviews with 77 male youths (aged 14-27) he found that although all interviewees were Muslim their negative attitudes towards Jews were of a general nature with little reference to Middle-Eastern politics. A large percentage of the interviewees were familiar with a pejorative use associated with the term 'Jew' with some admitting to using it in such a way. Indeed, Jikeli (p.216) found the term was so commonly used with negative over-tones that the general perception was that it was perfectly acceptable:

> The frequent usage leads to habituation and to
> the perception that it is nothing scandalous;
> nobody is shocked by this form of anti-Semitic
> language, even if not all agree on using it and

many know that it is offensive.

Many of the interviewees told Jikeli that when Jew was used with negative overtones it was 'just for fun', and they attempted to minimise the offense by comparing it to other insults. As he reported:

> The negative connotations are trivialised and banalised to such an extent that one might think that the terms for Jew and their negative meanings have nothing to do with 'real Jews' and that its usage is not anti-Semitic. (p. 222)

However, Jikeli refers to the persistence among respondents of a vague feeling that it is a 'bad word' (p. 18) and one that should not be used with strangers. A further negative use of the term as identified by Jikeli is as a shortcut for a particular stereotype associated with Jews, such as large facial features or being habitually mean with money. It is again such persistency that leads to a related acceptability.

> The trivialisation of anti-Semitic language and the frequent usage of such language leads to a norm of open anti-Semitism through consensual validation and repetition, particularly if no opposition is voiced. (p. 220)

Although no comparable research has been conducted in England recent mention has been made to an abusive nuance to the word 'Jew' with particular reference to such deployment by the young: 'The word "Jew" is now being used by some young people as a general term of abuse, particularly in the north of England' (Dowling and Cardy

2011). Similar findings are presented by David Margolis writing in *The Independent* (1999). He refers to the negative use of 'the Jew' in the American television series *South Park* impacting upon children in the English playground. Although he makes a plea against censorship he does urge that children should be taught in the education system how to handle such humour. It is the role of schools in challenging antisemitism that this chapter now proceeds to consider.

Challenging Antisemitism in Schools.

In the previous chapter strategies for countering general negative attitudes were analysed but little reference was made to specifics concerning antisemitism and pupils within the context of a school. This chapter will conclude by discussing specific strategies advocated to decrease antisemitic attitudes and behaviours amongst pupils. Fundamentally, as argued in the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry (2006), strategies to decrease antisemitism within institutions can only be effective if there is consistency of response (p. 44) There is a lack of data regarding incidents and responses to acts of antisemitism within schools with no official collection of data held centrally.

Confusion amongst professionals regarding what behaviours are antisemitic has led psychologist Golda Zafer–Smith to argue that antisemitism in England can appear as: 'an acceptable form of racism.' (APPG 2006, p. 4). The National Union of Teachers (NUT) reported to the All - Party Commission (2006, p. 47) that school documentation concerning racist bullying often failed to identify examples or strategies for specific combatting of antisemitism. This, they commented, had a detrimental impact on teachers' confidence and

ability to select relevant strategies to challenge negative attitudes. Without such challenge, it was argued, aired misconceptions can be perceived as factually accurate and inform pupils' meaning-making of Judaism and attitudes to Jews. Goldstein (2012) endorses the urgency of this debate, raising the potential long term effect if stereotypes and perceptions remain unchallenged and become embedded as a norm: 'it has always been relatively easy for a ruler, a general, a charismatic preacher, a rabble-rouser, or a disgruntled neighbour to get a crowd going.' (p. 3)

A conclusion from the APPG Inquiry has a direct bearing of the argument of this thesis. In considering all the evidence within the context of present circumstances in England it was perceived that education was significant in countering antisemitsim amongst the young:

> Many children in Britain will grow up without
>
> having met a Jewish person; therefore education
>
> is crucial to fostering a sense of tolerance and
>
> understanding in young people. (APPG 2006, p.
>
> 48)

Little is said regarding what is meant by 'education' but two relevant illustrations are made. The first endorses the importance of the curriculum, arguing that ignorance of Judaism acts as a catalyst for negative attitudes and stereotypes. The curriculum was recommended to engage pupils in learning about 'Jewish faith and culture' (p. 47) and to 'explain to schoolchildren the history of antisemism' (p. 49). As

has been recently illustrated this recommendation is not without contention. In a Religious Studies GCSE examination candidates were asked to explain 'why some people are prejudiced against Jews' (Paton 2012, p. 2). The question derived from a study of antisemitism required by the examination specification, but was criticised for a variety of reasons. Some suggested that such a study would embed negative attitudes. Michael Gove, the then Education Secretary, criticised the study of antisemitism arguing 'to suggest that anti-Semitism can ever be explained, rather than condemned, is insensitive and frankly bizarre.' (Paton 2012, p. 2). However, Clive Lawton, a former 'A Level' Chief Examiner for Religious Studies and a leading Jewish educationalist, accepted the legitimacy of the question: 'Part of the syllabus is that children must study the causes and origins of prejudice against Jews' (Paton 2012 p. 2). This incident highlights the sensitivities that can be generated and the importance of teachers feeling informed and confident in meeting such areas of controversy.

The second illustration advocates greater opportunities for pupils to meet with Jews through inter-faith and inter-group activities. Particular mention is made of the impact of school-twinning projects: 'We recommend that initiatives such as twinning between schools in different communities can have a lasting impact on cross-cultural understanding' (APPG 2006, p. 49)

Previous chapters have illustrated the role that inter-faith encounters can play in countering misconceptions and stereotypes, breaking down barriers and establishing relationships. However, recognition

has also been made of the pragmatics involved such as time, purpose and the orchestration of such activities if the experiences are to have positive long-lasting impact. The recommendation for twinning programmes between schools would be difficult to operate due to the significantly small number of Jewish schools.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused upon the specific nature of characteristics attributed to Jews and their relationship to the phenomenon of antisemitism. It has argued that, in England, negative attitudes to Jews are characteristically expressed not through explicit acts of violence but through subtleties and innuendos. As such they are difficult to challenge as the intent rather than the behaviour is the catalyst of antisemitism.

Through a consideration of some previously identified antisemitic attributes the chapter has argued that there is no set schema of negative attributes about Jews. The distinctive nature and combination is dependent upon the particular contexts of the time and place. It is this variety of attributes, used to refer to Jews, which has been instrumental to the ability of antisemitism to transmogrify, survive and be relevant to multifarious contexts. Illustrations have been made regarding the impact of specific innuendos and their associated attributes. For example describing someone as 'foreign' is not in itself a negative attribution. However, associated innuendos such as 'lack of patriotism' 'allegiance to other countries' and 'clannish-ness' act as a catalyst to the development of a schema of negative attitudes. The importance of

defining intent was evident through a consideration of the use of the term 'Jew'. Although the name of a follower of Judaism it is commonly used as a term of insult and abuse.

The chapter ends by identifying two recommendations for schools resulting from the Inquiry into Anti-semitism (APPG 2006). Firstly, that there is an increased awareness by pupils of Jewish religion and culture and the causes of antisemitism. As the following chapter will illustrate, in England, it is in the curriculum subject of Religious Education that pupils currently learn about Judaism. The second recommendation calls for greater inter-faith experiences. Each of these will be considered in the following chapter, which analyses the relationship between curriculum Judaism and learning about Jews and the development and countering of negative attitudes to Jews.

Chapter 3

Curriculum Judaism and Attitude Development

Aims and Structure

The previous two chapters analysed the process of attitude formation with particular focus on the impact of specific characteristics attributed to Jews and the phenomenon of antisemitism. Chapter 1 argued that negative attitudes are often generated through a process of categorisation which generates in- and out-groups. The role of education was highlighted as although attitudinal formation can begin from early childhood attitudes are not yet fixed and can be countered through planned interventions, such as the gaining of knowledge and inter-group contact experiences. The diversity of attributes associated with Jews was suggested in Chapter 2 as a key to antisemitism being able to transmogrify and be relevant to multifarious contexts.

In both chapters reference was made to the important role education can play in implementing strategic interventions to challenge the formation of negative attributes and attitudes. Whilst relevant to many areas of a school curriculum this research specifically focuses upon the context of RE. The lack of specific research regarding antisemitism in England has been mentioned in earlier chapters, but, as this chapter will demonstrate, there has also been a lack of research concerning the impact on pupils' attitudes of the teaching methods used in teaching about world religions, and in particular Judaism. Chapter 4 will extend this focus to consider the impact of content selection and organisation on pupils' attitudes to world religions and their faith members.

This chapter begins by analysing the relationship between RE and attitude development. It does so by briefly considering key literature and educational policy documents which influenced locally agreed syllabi (LAS) and practice within schools. It argues that there has been a consistent perception that through RE in schools pupils will develop a positive attitude, however little research has been conducted regarding whether and how this takes place. Through an analysis of the process of knowledge acquisition and teaching methods the chapter will consider the skills and confidence required of the teacher of RE.

Religious Education and Attitude Development

Frequent claims have been made in academic and governmental literature that an outcome of effective RE is pupils' positive attitudinal development towards others. In the recent All-Party Parliamentary Report (APPG 2014) *RE and Good Community Relations* no fewer than twelve ways are cited in which RE can contribute to 'good community relations' (p. 1). This claim was previously advanced by many others, including Smith and Kay (2000), Jackson (2004) and Everington (2005). But what attitudes is RE expected to develop? Although specific attitudes of 'tolerance' and 'empathy' are often mentioned, as the following brief analysis reflects, there is a singular lack of clarity regarding the characteristics of each and their role within RE.

Tolerance

An early identification of the relationship between teaching world religions and the development of tolerance can be found in the Schools

Council Working Paper 36 (1971) which refers to the development of 'understanding' and 'tolerance' as a result of teaching world religions. Such a relationship between 'understanding' a religious tradition and the generation of positive attitudes towards that religion is frequently perceived. Jackson (1978, p.10), within a context of mass immigration to England, suggests a relationship between understanding religions and tolerance: 'the religions of immigrant communities should be taught in multi-racial schools in order to promote understanding and tolerance'. Over thirty years later the same message can be found in RE Guidance to Schools (DCSF 2010, p.7) where a range of outcomes of RE are described including 'RE also contributes to pupils' personal development and well-being and to community cohesion by promoting mutual respect and tolerance in a diverse society'. This is endorsed in the current *School Inspection Handbook* (Ofsted 2014, p.42) which calls on school leaders, in their duty to prepare pupils for life in Modern Britain, to 'promote tolerance of and respect for people of all faiths (or those of no faith), cultures and lifestyle' .

It is beyond the remit of this chapter to consider in depth the diversity of opinions and understandings of 'tolerance' but it is important to mark the debate regarding whether it is a desirable aim of education for pupils to 'tolerate' particular traditions, if the implications equate to 'putting up with.' For Smith and Kay (2000, p. 187) tolerance can only exist if there are already existing negative attitudes. This view is shared by Davies (2008, p. 95) who argues that people only tolerate things they dislike or do not believe. For Watson and Thompson

(2007) a pre-requisite of the development of tolerance is a pre-emptive consideration of intolerance and the development of pupils' critical skills (pp. 17-18). They suggest that intolerance is not always wrong and justify their view by stating as an example that it would be morally right to be intolerant of evil. They conclude that it is only by developing analytical skills to challenge intolerances that skills of tolerance can be achieved. An expansion of this argument is made by Furedi (2011) who advocates the importance of intellectual justification as vital to the development of tolerance. Without this, he argues, the result becomes 'a form of detached indifference or a polite gesture connoting mechanical acceptance, it becomes a vice rather than a virtue' (p. 6).

Empathy

A second attitude often referred to as developed through teaching world religions is that of 'empathy', a term used to mean to identify with and understand another's situation, feelings, and motives. This is frequently referred to not only as key to effective RE but also as having a life-long relevancy, enabling pupils to flourish in a plural world (QCA 2000, p. 18; DCSF 2010, p. 8). Whilst Watson and Thompson (2007) consider empathy a key skill of RE they indicate that fostering it is also a particularly difficult task when pupils are being asked to empathise with what might appear 'strange and uncongenial' (p. 113). Barnes (2007) also expresses caution, contending that young people are unable to 'bracket out' their subjectivity and consequently are incapable of adopting a viewpoint

contrary to their own. He expresses particular concern about activities such as those promoted by the Schools Council (1971) in which 'a Christian child might become a Jew for the day' (p. 26). Erricker (2010, p. 95) contends that the development of empathy is a complex process and requires the planning of opportunities in RE lessons for rigorous analysis. As will be illustrated in Chapter 4 this can be particularly problematic if there is a lack of clarity around distinguishing between 'empathy' and 'sympathy.'

Analysis of Key RE Policy Documents

Official educational policy documents impact significantly on schools' curriculum design and orchestration. The complexities surrounding RE as locally determined have been well rehearsed in educational discourse (see Copley 1997; Chater and Erricker 2012) with frequent references to the lack of a single statutory National Curriculum document specifying consistent aims, objectives and curriculum content. With a locally determined remit each Local Authority Standing Advisory Conference for Religious Education (SACRE) is charged to devise or adopt an agreed RE syllabus to be used within the Authority's schools. This means that each SACRE has the opportunity to produce an entirely unique syllabus, although in practice the majority are strongly influenced by three non-statutory Guidance documents, endorsed by the government at the time of issue to support the work of SACREs. Although written over a period of a decade all the documents unequivocally advocate that a consequence of the teaching of world religions in RE should be the development of

positive attitudes to the religions studied. The chapter will now provide a brief analysis of these three key RE policy documents, all of which continue to impact on locally agreed syllabus constructions and classroom practice. A further non-statutory framework for RE has recently been published through the Religious Education Council (REC 2013). As yet no materials or support have been created to supplement the framework, and no data is available regarding the impact, if any, on Agreed Syllabus construction.

Non-Statutory Guidance on Religious Education (QCA 2000)

Written by the then government agency the Quality Curriculum Authority (QCA) the opening pages identify a strong causal link between a study of different religions in RE and the development of positive attitudes:by exploring issues with and across faiths, pupils learn to understand and respect different religions, beliefs, values and traditions (including ethical life stances, and their influence on individuals, societies, communities and cultures).' (p. 2). This perceived relationship is reiterated later in the document: 'helping pupils to understand and respect people of different beliefs, practices, races and cultures.' (p. 13)

Within the document no acknowledgement is made of any complexities surrounding the engendering of respect through RE. White (2004, p. 161), for example, argues that learning about a specific phenomenon does not automatically result in respect and advocates that opportunities for critical reflection and evaluation be given. For Barnes (2006) there is particular concern that in a quest for

an essential unity religious traditions are sometimes misrepresented to emphasise similarities and therefore present them as worthy of respect, at the expense of reflecting the distinctive integrity of each tradition.

Non-Statutory National Framework (QCA 2004)

Again produced by QCA, the *Non-Statutory National Framework* (QCA 2004) through guidance, visual images, and examples of pupils' work endorses the role RE can play in developing pupils' positive attitudes towards members of religious traditions. As in the Guidance of four years earlier particular reference is made to the development of respect: 'promoting racial and interfaith harmony and respect for all, combating prejudice and discrimination.' (p. 15). This document argues that not only does effective RE develop positive attitudes but it also enables pupils to recognise their own biases thereby challenging prejudice and discrimination: 'It [RE] enables pupils to develop respect for and sensitivity to others, in particular those whose faiths and beliefs are different from their own. It promotes discernment and enables pupils to combat prejudice.' (p. 7)

The expectation is that pupils will be enabled through the development of skills in critical thinking and self-analysis to 'recognise and acknowledge their own bias' (p. 13). Again, no strategies are suggested regarding teaching methods to engender such an outcome, perhaps assuming this would be communicated through the Locally Agreed Syllabi and continuing professional development.

Religious Education Guidance in English Schools:

Non-statutory Guidance (DCSF 2010)

This document explains the relationship between RE and development of pupils' positive attitudes; with specific reference to respect and tolerance: 'RE also contributes to pupils' personal development and well-being and to community cohesion by promoting mutual respect and tolerance in a diverse society.' (p. 7)

Referring to the skills needed to develop positive attitudes through the study of world religions and also to enable and empower pupils to challenge the stereotypes held by others it advocates that lessons should 'promote an ethos of respect for others, challenge stereotypes and build understanding of other cultures and beliefs' (p. 8). Again, no awareness is shown regarding the complexities of such a process, nor is there an indication of suggested teaching and learning activities or the role of the teacher.

Although each of the three documents was non-statutory and they were intended to act as guidance to support SACREs in syllabus construction, their influence can be clearly seen in many Locally Agreed Syllabi throughout England, as the ensuing examples show:

> [The] agreed Syllabus aims to promote
>
> religious understanding, discernment and
>
> respect and challenge prejudice and
>
> stereotyping. (Liverpool City Council 2008,
>
> p. 7)

A similar role for Religious Education is promoted in the Lincolnshire Agreed Syllabus Religious Education:

> It enables pupils to develop respect for and sensitivity to others, in particular those whose faiths and beliefs are different from their own. It promotes discernment and enables pupils to combat prejudice. (Lincolnshire County Council 2006, p. 9)

And again in the 2009 Agreed Syllabus of Leicestershire:

> If pupils understand more about other peoples' beliefs, values and ways of life, they will be encouraged to respect others who do not share the same beliefs or cultural background.' (Leicestershire County Council 2009, p. 9)

This brief examination of literature and policy documents exhibit two common features: firstly, a belief that through a study of RE positive attitudes to others will be engendered; and secondly the absence of suggestions for teachers on how to support such a process. None of the documents provide classroom practice examples of how such values can be developed, nor do they raise the complexities and demands of attitude formation such as were discussed in Chapter 1. The guidance often reflects Vogt's description of: 'one of those empty goals that sound important but commit educators to very little' (1997, p. 177).

The lack of clarity is exacerbated by two further factors. The first is a vagueness regarding *which* specific attitudes should be developed; and

the second an implication that introducing pupils to a study of world religions will not only develop positive attitudes and challenge pre-existing stereotypes, but also, as if through a natural process, will empower pupils to challenge negative attitudes of others so promoting community cohesion. From this brief consideration it is evident that whilst it is commonly assumed a connection exists between the teaching of world religions, positive attitudinal development and empowerment to challenge stereotypes, little recognition is given to the complexities inherent in the process, including the skills required of the teacher of RE.

Development of Attitudes through Religious Education

As the chapter will continue to examine there is a lack of consensus regarding what might be the most effective strategies for attitudinal development through the curriculum designed for the teaching of world religions in schools. For the purposes of this thesis 'curriculum' encompasses methods of knowledge acquisition, teaching methods, resources used and content selection and organisation. Many of these areas have relevance for the teaching of all world religions curriculum, although the focus will be on the impact on curriculum Judaism.

Knowledge Acquisition

As illustrated in Chapter 1 it is commonly held that a relationship exists between ignorance and the formation of negative attitudes, including stereotypes and prejudices (Bobo and Kluegel. 1997; Aboud and Levy. 2000). This has been used as a justification for advancing acquisition of knowledge, a view expressed by Schneider (2005,

p.171) in his research on the psychology of stereotypes: 'Even strong stereotypes can be overridden by even stronger information about individuals'. In her research with primary pupils Elton-Chalcroft (2009, p. 110) found that a pupil's lack of knowledge of cultures resulted in negative attitudes towards members of those cultures and resulted in respondents expressing perceptions of difference or perceiving members as 'alien', 'strange' and sometimes 'threatening'. Within RE this argument has been exemplified through a study of world religions. Fundamental to the argument of this thesis, however, is the recognition that each religion has its own educational history, which has subsequently impacted upon curriculum design and classroom practice. This chapter will proceed to analyse the distinctive history of the teaching of Judaism and consider the impact of such on attitude development.

Erricker (2010, p. 45) considers the work of the SHAP Working Party as being major catalysts in the inclusion of world religions in the RE curriculum. However, it is rarely acknowledged by educational writers that the teaching of Judaism had been commonly incorporated in agreed syllabi and schemes of work since the 1940's. The rationale for inclusion was not to give pupils an understanding of Judaism, nor for the purpose of attitude development, but to contextualise and advance the study of Christianity. Such desired outcomes resulted in specific content being selected with this in mind. An example was the unit 'Judaism before Christ' (Durham County Council, 1946) which emphasised the distinctive relationship between Judaism and

Christianity. This relationship became a feature of many agreed syllabi, such as the earlier Lancashire Agreed Syllabus: 'The religion of the Jews creates a serious problem for the Christian, because its unique past made it the herald and cradle of Christianity.' (Lancashire County Council 1948 p. 94).Over a decade later the Bristol syllabus stated: 'It is from the history of Israel, as interpreted by the Jews themselves, that we learn how to understand and interpret the coming of Christ.' (Bristol Education Committee 1960, p. 59)

Teaching about Judaism was thus concerned not with reflecting the distinctive integrity of the living tradition but with establishing its relationship with, and often the superiority of, Christianity. As such the study of Judaism traditionally took the form of a comparative study in which similarities and differences between Judaism and Christianity were examined, with implications that Christianity was superior as evidenced in the revelations of the risen Christ. This aim is clearly indicated in the Agreed Syllabus of West Riding (1947, p.73) illustrating the role the teacher was expected to have in leading pupils to come to this conclusion:

> The pupil should be led to appreciate that while each great religion has made its contribution, at some period of the world's history, either to man's knowledge of God, or to man's relations with God or to his fellow men, all these contributions are unified and on a higher plane in the Christian religion.

The pivotal role of the teacher is also reflected in the Lancashire Agreed Syllabus where reference is made to the teacher's duty: 'to show as sympathetically as possible that Christ has fulfilled the highest hopes of the Old Testament prophets and the Messianic ideals of Israel.' (Lancashire County Council 1948, p. 94)

It is little wonder that Copley (1997), in his study of the history of teaching of RE in England and Wales, argued that post-war portrayals of Judaism misrepresented the Jewish tradition, reducing Judaism: 'to an almost extinct prologue to Christianity in the form of the Old Testament' (pp. 37-38). In so doing the teaching failed to seize opportunities to study contemporary Judaism and, in particular, the roots of antisemitism (ibid.), an area that might have been very relevant to pupils' meaning-making in the late 1940' and 1950's. This Christian interpretation of the living faith of Judaism, Cohn-Sherbok (2011) argues, was reflected in many University Theological Departments where the often compulsory studies for Theology undergraduates of Hebrew Old Testament, Judaism at the time of Jesus and Biblical Hebrew were conducted with the primary aim of deepening and contextualising a knowledge of Christianity.

For Erricker (2010, p. 45) the inclusion of world religions study in schools during the 1970's reflected social and theological changes in England. The phenomenological approach was endorsed in the seminal Schools Working Party Report 36 (1971), and reflected in the establishment of the first Department of Religious Studies at Lancaster University and in the setting up of the SHAP working party to support

the teaching of world religions in schools. *The Birmingham Agreed Syllabus of Religious Instruction* (Birmingham City 1975) embraced a multi-faith phenomenological model of RE for the study of five world religions. This practice was thereafter replicated in many agreed syllabi (Gates 2006, p.582). Erricker (2010, p. 6) refers to the impact on curriculum world religions of increased travel out of and into England from the mid-twentieth century, illustrating his argument with references to the impact of increased international travel, particularly the so-called 'hippy trail', and to liberal approaches towards and interest in Eastern cultures, particularly that of Hinduism. Such formative experiences were not applicable to Judaism as few English gentiles joined kibbutzim in Israel compared with the numbers visiting India and becoming interested in movements such as Hare Krishna, Unification Church, and the Bhagavan. The media-propagated coverage of this phenomenon resulted in pupils entering RE lessons interested in seeking further understanding for their social construction processes about belief traditions reflected in popular culture; and intensified by popular songs of the time such as 'My Sweet Lord' ; (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0kNGnIKUdMI) and 'Instant Karma' (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EqP3wT5lpa4).

Another significant influence on attitudes to learning about world religions was created by the mass migration to England of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs from the Indian sub-continent and East Africa. What previously might have been an academic interest now became a pragmatic imperative as schools sought to gain an understanding of the

practical impact of new cultures, traditions and practices of people joining their local communities. Jackson (1978, p. 3) identifies the impact this had on the development of agreed syllabi and textbooks used in the classroom, particularly with references to 'knowing' and 'understanding' the culture of 'your new neighbours'. Throughout Britain a plethora of programmes and projects were designed to support teachers' understanding of the different religions evident in schools as practised faiths and cultures. It became increasingly important to 'understand your neighbour' when they were now indeed your neighbour living alongside you. This change also was not applicable to Judaism, for which there had been no significant migratory growth. With frequent references in agreed syllabi and literature to the importance of learning about world religions to enable pupils to adapt to the changing multi-cultural milieu Judaism became more marginalised and often disappeared from any educational development work. Indeed, as Jackson's introduction to *Perspectives on World Religions* (1978), reflects, it was sometimes not even included in the nomenclature of world religions. In his introduction Jackson explained the lack of inclusion of Judaism as being 'partly to avoid superficial discussion of those aspects of the religions selected' (1978, iv).This contrasts with the justification of a similar omission of Christianity: 'We have left out Christianity simply because our work at SOAS was on non-Christian religions' (1978, p. iii).

The 1988 Education Reform Act formalised an increasing practice of teaching world religions in RE as it required every Locally Agreed

Syllabus to: 'reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian, while taking account of teachings and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain.' (Section 8)

Consequently, the teaching of the so called 'principal' religions (Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Sikhism) was officially introduced as an expectation of all Locally Agreed Syllabi, a requirement still pertaining over twenty five years later. The connection between RE, study of world religions and positive attitudinal development is explicitly stated in the aims of RE in documentation to support agreed syllabus conferences; these were to draw up local syllabi which would: 'develop a positive attitude towards other people, respecting their right to hold different beliefs from their own, and towards living in a society of diverse religions.' (SCAA Model 2 1994c, p. 3)

No recommendations or suggestions were made as to how the process could be effectively established. As this chapter will continue to discuss it was as if pupils' learning of facts about a religion would naturally generate positive attitudes to the people of that religion.

The chapter will now examine the impact of the acquisition of knowledge on attitudes, and consider the aforementioned perceived relationship between knowledge of a religious tradition and the development of positive attitudes to people of that tradition.

Smith and Kay (2000) argue that there is little substantive evidence to support the claim that learning about a religion counters prejudices.

Indeed they suggest that in some circumstances it has the potential to exacerbate the formation of negative attitudes:

> We are reliant upon anecdotes and the common-sense view that prejudice is fostered by ignorance so that, once ignorance is removed, prejudice will vanish. Unfortunately, a more pessimistic view can also be produced: prejudice may be hardened by inaccurate or incomplete information. (p. 182)

A similar premise had been offered in Malone's (1998) quantitative research amongst students in Australia. She concluded that as students learn more about a religion that is unfamiliar to them they naturally tend to make comparisons with their own traditions or beliefs, resulting in an exaggeration of the differences. This is illustrated by two Christian students' descriptions of Judaism after they had undergone an introductory course on it: '[Judaism is] similar to Christianity except Jews don't believe Jesus was the son of God. Similar fundamental beliefs, though religious expressions vary.'*(Text unit 622)* and: '[Judaism is] close to the Catholic religion yet stricter, more reformed, more faith' *(Text unit 465).*

Through the making of such distinctions categorisation occurs, a process which, as discussed in Chapter 1, is intuitively exhibited from early childhood (Hirschfield 1996; Schneider 2005). Making comparisons involves the process of differentiating from others, which, in turn, increases or formalises differences between categories,

often resulting in the formation of stereotypes (Krueger 1992; Schneider 2005). Tajfel (1959) maintains that this process involves the perceptions of items within a category as more similar, whilst perceiving items from different categories as less similar. Maylor and Read (2007) argue that this process creates clear distinctions that impact on the perception of self- identity: 'Often, however, identities are constructed and conceived of more in relation to their boundaries - what they are not - than what they are' (p. 37). This can include naturally occurring features such as skin-colour and size but can also include belief systems such as religious and football affiliations. Schneider (2005) argues that perceived differentiation is particularly exacerbated when badges or clothing are worn to signify differences - a practice which, as already mentioned, he refers to as originating in the ancient human practice of developing badges in the form of dress and behavioural customs to differentiate themselves from one another.

A common perception (Linville and Jones 1980; Linville 1982) of the in-group is the uniformity of the out-group. This is a homogeneity that Gluck Wood (2007) describes as: 'a single monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to new realities' (p. 3). By implication therefore the individuals in the out-group comprise a united insular force which will not bend to become like the in-group. In other words it is a force to be reckoned with. Zanna (1944) maintains that the perceived threat element of out-groups is reinforced when specific values or beliefs appear unshared between the in-group and the out-group. The research of Biernat et al (1996) concurs with this particularly when people feel

others are likely to crush the values or identity of their own group. Consequently, gaining information about other categories of people is unlikely to automatically create positive attitudes; nor as Brown (1999) asserts will it have much effect on pre-conceived attitudes:

> Simply learning about cultures and appreciating cultural differences, the way other people do things and the way "they" celebrate "their" festivals has little [ameliorative] impact on the negative attitudes children already hold towards adults and children from these cultures. (p. 43)

Nor does it follow that knowing about a religious tradition will necessarily result in positive attitudes towards members of that tradition. As one interviewee in Fancourt's (2010) research into the use of reflexive self-assessment succinctly observed: 'you could know a lot about Judaism, but just not like Jews' (p. 299).

Even if the acquisition of knowledge does impact on attitudinal development it is difficult to imagine that it does so on its own. Other factors, such as the way pupils develop their knowledge and understanding, are particularly influential factors. This chapter will proceed to consider the impact of teaching methods, class textbooks and the role of the teacher in developing positive attitudes when learning about world religions.

Teaching Methods

For effective positive attitude development Brown (1999) advocates diagnostic assessment to ascertain pupils' misconceptions and stereotypes. This process is also recommended by Schneider (2005) who, using the already-cited analogy of a broken down car, argues it is pivotal to informing further actions: 'Saying we want to change a stereotype is like saying you want to fix a car but you don't know what the matter with it is now' (p 209). Gates (2006), also using the analogy of a car, proposes that explicit expressions might belie deep-seated attitudes and advocates 'what is under its bonnet or hood will be its major detriment' (p. 571).

Brown (1999, p. 87) advocates the importance of building into lessons opportunities for pupils to express pre-conceptions and prejudices. This strategy is also advocated by Elton-Chalcraft (2009 p. 5), in her research concerning perceptions of cultural diversity amongst children. She highlights how children's tendency to draw on the media as 'evidence' (p. 6) can result in stereotypes and faulty conclusions. This is illustrated in an interview between herself (Sally) and a pupil (Bart) regarding a flawed understanding of Hinduism, generated by misconceptions regarding dress:

> Bart: There are only two Hindus that I know -
>
> Bin Laden and Daljit, but I'm not sure about
>
> Daljit.
>
> Sally: So you think Bin Laden is Hindu?
>
> Bart: Yeah 'cos he wears that turban.

This example reinforces the view that if a study of a religion is to support understanding it must give opportunities not only for pupils' questions to be addressed but for redress of any faulty or flawed meaning-making. While such a process will be strongly advocated in this thesis recognition should be given to the demands placed upon the teacher; not only in terms of subject knowledge and limited curriculum time, but also teacher skills and confidences. Stephan (1999, p. 88) suggests that freedom of response can give currency to previously unknown misconceptions amongst other pupils and so become a medium of spreading the misconceptions to others in the class. A further sensitivity for the teacher is that stereotypes and prejudices will often have been formed by the prevailing social environment of the pupil (e.g. peers, family, and media) and consequently might not be expressed in language acceptable in the classroom or in conformity with the school's equal opportunities policies.

It is beyond the remit of this thesis to enter into an analysis of the many teaching methods used in RE. Reference, however, has been made throughout this and preceding chapters to the importance of giving opportunities for pupils to develop skills of analysis and enquiry and to reflect upon experiences from their own encounters with other traditions. Earlier in the chapter reference was made to the importance of pupils confidently using critical skills for discernment and analysis. In her consideration of inter-cultural understanding Baumfield (2010) suggests that enquiry-based learning provides opportunities for specific skills development. Through such strategies,

she argues, pupils collaboratively take responsibility for thinking through questions with peers and providing justification for their conclusions, rather than relying upon teacher presentations. A key step in this process, O'Grady (2003) argues, is the identification by pupils of their own questions that they want to explore to make sense of their world. Baumfield (2010) identifies the role of the teacher as pivotal to the success of the method, as they need to orchestrate timely opportunities for pupils to express their views: 'pupils need to have the opportunity to encounter different opinions and to be free to respond in the light of their own views' (p. 189). Baumfield (2010) endorses dialogic enquiry-based learning which, unlike more prescriptive approaches to the curriculum, provides opportunities for pupils to encounter different viewpoints and to be free to respond in the light of their own views:

> This emphasison the active engagement of learners in the practice of meaning, as opposed to being the passive recipients of knowledge as an end to itself, has significant implications for the role of education in promoting democracy.
>
> (p. 189)

Such an approach is advocated in the Ofsted report *Religious Education: Realising the Potential* (2013). Putting enquiry at the centre of RE learning is identified as 'the most effective RE teaching.' (p. 23). For Hannam (2010) a knowledge-based RE curriculum in which pupils learn about religious practices is not appropriate when

pupils are trying to make sense of the impact of globalisation on society and their own lives. She advocates the resolution of a problem or question; a process which she considers is natural to pupils' social construction. Central to this is the establishment of a 'community of inquiry' incorporating pupils collaboratively engaging in reasoning (p. 110). Underpinning this process is an ability to recognise and work with concepts which she places in three broad categories - those general to all human experience, such as love; those relevant to religion but not specifically to any one religion, such as prayer; and those which are specific to a particular religion, such as Tzedek or Sangha. Hannam rebuts the claim that simply by learning about world religions will pupils develop positive attitudes towards others. Despite strongly advocating the potential of such teaching methods she argues that a lack of teacher competency seriously limits its potential (p. 120). This view also emerges in the findings in the recent Ofsted report (2013 p. 25) which highlights inadequacies of teaching and planning, including not capitalising on a good start, not giving enough time to process findings, not being clear enough about the focus of the enquiry and, most pertinent for this thesis, teachers being unwilling to take risks with controversial questions.

Encounters with Faith Members

The potential contribution to attitude development through encounters and dialogue with faith members was established in Chapter 1. Malone's (1998) research on the impact of attitudinal formation through the teaching of world religions acknowledges the positive

effect of engagement compared to those teaching and learning methods that rely simply upon accumulation of knowledge through reading. As discussed in Chapter 1 developing positive relationships of others through first-hand experiences is not a new initiative for tackling prejudices (Lippmann 1922; Allport 1954; Towles-Schwen and Fazio, 2001). It was advocated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews with the intention of breaking down barriers after World War II in the belief, as Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) suggest, that knowing others better resolves prejudices: 'if only we could know each other better across group lines, went the reasoning, we would discover the common humanity we share' (p. 93).

It is frequently argued that if groups know more about each other then prejudice, deriving from limited personal experiences, will diminish (Stephan 1999; Schneider 2005). Religious educationalists, such as Jackson and Starkings (1990) also refer to the importance of interaction with faith members to develop positive attitudes to the religions studied. Gateshill and Thompson (2000) in an RE teacher handbook refer to the potential unique social development opportunities through such encounters: 'Meeting people from different cultures can be an enlightening experience for pupils. It may be the first time they have met someone from a culture different from their own.' (p. 5)

They suggest a causal positive impact: 'In our experience through visits to places of worship, bridges can be built and prejudices and stereotypes cast aside' (p. 5). Such a perceived impact was affirmed by

the NFRE Framework (QCA 2004) which on eight occasions refers to the importance and value of first-hand experiences with faith members when learning about a religious tradition. Two particular benefits are identified. Firstly, the meeting (or 'encounter') with members of different traditions (pp. 15, 27) supports positive attitudinal development to the tradition; secondly it develops a richer understanding of the tradition from an insider of the faith, who is commonly perceived as an expert. Despite the frequently advocated benefits of such visits the *Evaluation of Resilience/At Gyfnerthu 2009-2011* (Wintersgill 2011) found that over a third of the responding teachers of RE lacked confidence in establishing first-hand encounters with members of religious communities. They 'expressed themselves as being "not at all confident" initially at knowing how to find appropriate speakers with different beliefs and perspectives to talk to students' (p. 18). The research findings of Jackson et al (2010) indicate that the lack of encounters was particularly significant within a study of Judaism, with only 18 per cent of RE departments facilitating pupils' first-hand meetings with Jewish faith communities compared with 70 per cent for Christianity and 30 per cent for Islam (p. 189).

As reflected in Chapter 1 the nature of the experience can have a significant impact on outcomes. Merely meeting others from different traditions or backgrounds does not automatically generate positive attitudes. Glock et al. (1975) in their study of teenagers in three communities found those without Jews living in their community proved to be less antisemitic than those with Jewish representation.

Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) argue, from their work on combatting prejudice in adolescents, that a one- off visit may have little impact on the complex processes of stereotype deconstruction and attitudinal formation. Rothbart and John (1985) question whether limited experiences can have any positive impact at all on attitude formation. This view is endorsed by Schneider (2005) who suggests that alternative strategies might be more effective:

> Am I likely to find out more about Native Americans by meeting a few and discussing their lives, or by watching a good documentary that presents a wider range of people and experiences than I could encounter on my own? The answer is not obvious. (p. 330)

The potential for limited experiences to exacerbate negative attitudes or stereotypes was highlighted by the research of Fisher (1993) as discussed in Chapter 1.

Aboud and Levy (2000, p. 284) suggest that it is not just the quantity of the encounter but also its length and quality that are decisive. They maintain that to change a stereotype, which is static by nature, repeated challenges over a period of time to the stereotypical attitudes are required. This view is endorsed by Davies (2008) who asserts that simple 'body mixing' (p. 92) is not enough. The need for different levels of depth of inter-group contact and the impact on long term inter-cultural relationships is examined in the *Guidance on the Duty to*

Promote Community Cohesion (DCSF 2007) which identifies four factors integral to an effective process:

- conversations need to go beyond surface friendliness

- participants need the opportunity to exchange personal information or talk about each other's differences and identities

 - participants need to share a common goal or an interest

 - the contacts need to be sustained over a long-term period

For some, such as Goodman (1952), Brewer and Miller (1988); Hewstone and Hamberger (2000), it is important to build in sustained group meetings which allow each group to recognise the diversity of views, backgrounds, beliefs of members of the out-group and therefore counter the falsely perceived homogeneity which is often experienced as a threat by people outside the group.

Other factors seen as contributing to the success or otherwise of such encounters include the pre-existing attitudes of members of the class (Stephan, 1999), the age, education, and social class of the pupils (Williams, 1964) and most significantly, what pupils *do* on their encounters. Shared projects through which participants develop a common group identity are frequently advocated as effective, such as the inter-group encounters described by Sagy et al (2004) between Israeli Jewish and Arab students. A key element to the success of such processes involves setting super-ordinate goals where success is dependent upon those from the other group and therefore requires s collaboration for successful outcomes.

The classroom-based research led by O'Grady and Whittall (2008) demonstrates the importance of sustained interaction with faith members in order to counter negative stereotypes. Pupils, after reflecting on their own life events, wrote a diary account before, during and after the experience. This included their hypothesising and suggesting answers. Members of the religious traditions visited were then asked to prepare the same and provision was made for pupils to compare the diaries. The process was followed up with the provision of opportunities for reflection where pupils moved between their own experiences and those of others. The importance of giving pupils opportunities to ask questions and hypothesise is advocated by Skeie (2002) and Leganger-Krogstad (2003), who consider it as an element of an enabling process for pupils to make connections with their own world views and support their meaning-making. Erricker (2010) also extols the importance of pupils' questions as being central to their motivation and learning, stating:

> There is nothing more off-putting for a student
> than to come up with a genuine question only
> to be told it is not a permissible question
> because it is outside the boundaries of enquiry
> you are willing to allow. (p. 9)

For O'Grady (2008), as previously discussed, it is such pupil questions that become central to revised schemes of work in RE.

These first-hand experiences between pupils and members of faith communities have so far presumed face-to-face encounters as

suggested in the NFRE (QCA 2004). Recent technological advances have given opportunities for a much larger range of dialogic experiences. The *Building E-Bridges Project* (McKenna et.al. 2008) involved internet and video-conferencing communication between pupils paired with pupils from a faith tradition different from their own in different locations. More recently many schools have become involved with the *Face to Faith On-Line learning Community.* (https://www.facetofaithonline.org/) which, through on-line activities and video- conferencing, gives opportunities for 'facilitated dialogue' between secondary pupils of different faiths and cultures. Although such methods indicate potential in developing positive attitudes it is too early to evaluate the sustained impact on attitudinal development to Jews.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that teaching methodologies such as enquiry-based learning and opportunities for personal encounter through learning outside the classroom have the potential to impact positively upon pupils' attitude development towards members of other faith traditions. It is also apparent that without careful consideration and planning such activities can also exacerbate negative stereotypes or confirm negative pre-conceptions.

Textbooks

Despite technological advances in schools the textbook remains the main medium used for the teaching of world religions (Gaine and Lamley 2003, Jackson et al 2010). Boostrom (2001) argues that the impact of the use of the textbook in schools is broader than being a

tool and becomes an 'education itself' (p. 42). As such it has the opportunity to impact on attitudes towards a religion and the people of that religion, especially if pupils have no other sources for comparison. The perceived impact of the textbook is illustrated by Horsley (2003) who argues that a common perception is that the textbook and teaching are the same thing, as implied, for example, in references to pupil and teachers 'doing page 7'. Reliance on textbooks is a significant characteristic of non-specialist and under-confident teachers (Boostrom 2001), those with low-level of qualifications (Rymarz and Engebretson 2005) and those in their first three years of teaching (Apple, 1993). Through a textbook a distinctive world is presented which will be particularly powerful if pupils, and indeed teachers, have had no first-hand experiences to help them engage in a critical interpretation of what they are reading. Davies (2008) refers to the influence of the exclusion or isolationism (p. 67) of students who rarely meet others groups and points out that they are consequently left to rely heavily on the perceptions that teachers or the resources used present to them. Boostrom (2001) refers to the lack of research concerning the use of textbooks as 'an astonishing silence' (p. 230). A default expectation that textbooks can be relied on to provide accurate presentations of faith traditions is challenged by the findings of Jackson et al. (2010) on the use of resources in RE. With specific reference to Judaism the faith consultant concluded: 'The accuracy of texts on Judaism was found to be particularly problematic. In general I found the material poor and far too frequently inaccurate' (p. 90).

A textbook may give an inaccurate representation in a number of ways, several of which will now be analysed. Firstly misrepresentations may occur through basic factual inaccuracies, as recently highlighted in a book intended for GCSE students studying Judaism (Reynolds 2012).The textbook included erroneous accounts of the details of religious festivals and contained pictures of Muslim worship described as Jewish practice. Such obvious examples are thankfully rare. More common are subtler examples including the selection of content and visual representations and the use of language. Such examples are less explicit and their accumulated effect or impact may go undetected, particularly when used by an inexperienced teacher or if pupils have no previous knowledge or experiences for comparison.

The aim of textbooks is to inform, but that aim can only be achieved if the book captures the interest of and engages pupils. The strategies used to engage pupils whilst portraying the authenticity of a religious tradition is a delicate challenge. Chamblis and Calfee (1998) refer to strategies used to engage readers by manipulating content to include 'themes' such as death, danger, sex or stories in which pupils are expected to empathise with the people referred to in the text (p. 26). In the absence of any formal instrument of accountability or regulator it is the teacher who has to make judgements about the appropriateness and the accuracy of texts, yet as already argued it is often the under-confident teacher who relies on textbooks for delivery of the curriculum. Visual images are often inserted in the text with the dual

aim of engaging pupils (Laspina 1998) and supporting their learning. These aims may conflict. Boostrom (2001, p. 238) distinguishes between the use of pictures to enhance comprehension and their use as a means of capturing the reader's interest in the world of the picture. In a research report investigating the effectiveness of resources used in the teaching of world religions Jackson et al. (2010) identified specific defects in textbooks regarding Judaism where inappropriate images were selected which could exacerbate the development of negative attitudes: 'The visual images of Judaism selected for the materials often presented unhelpful stereotypes' (p. 111). Misconceptions regarding the breadth of religious traditions can result from overrepresentation of one particular denomination or sect

(Foster 1999; Crawford 2004) particularly if the most fundamental behaviours and most extreme aspects of the faith tradition are portrayed. In addition to representing a tradition as homogenous, such selection, as Gilnert (1985) argues, can lead to the omission of particular vital practices; consequently resulting in a misrepresentation of the integrity of the tradition. He illustrates this with specific reference to particular rituals associated with the portrayal of the Jewish festival of Pesach:

> Aside from overdoing this, books on Judaism
>
> rarely do justice to the 'Pesach cleaning' and
>
> the purchase of kosher provisions that
>
> dominate Jewish life in the weeks leading up
>
> to Pesach.(p. 4)

In a bid to try to counter a homogenous representation of religious traditions a series of textbooks were produced to present beliefs, practices and values through the eyes of one child within the broader context of the religious tradition. Between 1992 and 1994 the Warwick RE Project published a series of books for primary and secondary pupils focussing on accounts of faith members. Heavily influenced by ethnographical research, each account was individual and provided valuable opportunities for pupils to develop their skills of comparing and interpreting what they already knew about the religious tradition in light of the individual member's account. A text was produced for the study of Judaism for pupils between the ages of five to seven (Barratt 1994) but the texts produced for secondary pupils were limited to a study of Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. A concern regarding such a process is offered by Erricker and Erricker (2000) who query whether children can go beyond only referring to their own experiences when giving accounts of their faith tradition, and as such whether their accounts constitute a realistic account of the tradition. The question is thus raised as to whether any one faith member can adequately reflect the breadth of their faith tradition, rather than unwittingly (or wittingly) presenting only their own practices, values and beliefs?

Bias may also occur when the author is outside a tradition and therefore is presenting text from an on-looker's perspective. The scrutiny of classroom resources conducted by Jackson et al. (2010) indicates a frequently misrepresented picture of Judaism. It criticises, in particular, the presentation of Judaism as depicted in the Old and

New Testaments rather than presenting an account of Judaism as a living tradition in its own right:

> Though positive examples were found and praised, the portrayal of Judaism was particularly problematic. A tone of exasperation was often evident in the comments of both reviewers. The inadequate coverage of Judaism in thematic texts and series was noted. A particular issue was the failure of many of the resources to engage with the long tradition of Jewish thought over the last 2000 years, a loss not only to the study of Judaism, but also to the general discussion of religious ideas presented in the Key Stage 4 and 5 texts. Instead the religion all too often comes across as the Old Testament religion that preceded Christianity, an image that is unhelpful for understanding and good relations between communities. (p. 111)

The above quote makes two significant points. Firstly it makes explicit the often distorted representation of curriculum Judaism constructed upon a perceived relationship with Christianity rather than being a reflection of Judaism as a contemporary religious tradition. Secondly it makes reference to the impact of such misrepresentation on attitudinal

development, being 'unhelpful for good relations between communities'.

Throughout the previous analysis of the impact of teaching methods and resources on attitudinal development in RE a common feature has emerged - the importance of the skills of the teacher. As the orchestrator of learning it is they who select the subject content to be explored, the learning opportunities experienced and the deployment of textbooks. To conclude this chapter consideration will thus be given regarding the specific skills demanded of the teacher for the development of positive attitudes in pupils.

Teacher Impact

The pivotal role of the teacher in developing pupils' positive attitudes to world religions has been referred to throughout the chapter. Their role in selecting subject content, learning experiences, teaching methods, organisation of inter-faith contact opportunities and the selection and use of textbooks all impact on the development of pupil behaviours. As referred to earlier the teacher is not only expected to develop pupils' positive attitudes but also to develop the skills which will enable pupils to recognise bias and empower them to counter misconceptions, prejudice and stereotypes. Such a responsibility requires significant skills. Schneider (2005) argues that, from a psychological perspective, the process of changing attitudes is fraught with complexities and not one that happens without appropriate interventions:

> As every psychotherapist, teacher, parole
>
> officer, clergy member, social worker and
>
> parent knows, it is often difficult - indeed,
>
> seemingly impossible - to get people to change
>
> their fundamental attitudes, values, and ways
>
> of thinking about the world. Change isn't easy,
>
> and it comes with a hefty price tag of time,
>
> effort, and often traumatic inner struggle. (p.
>
> 401)

The skills required are complex and appear to demand significant continuing professional development to become effective. It is perhaps little surprise that evaluations of the *Resilience/ At Gyfnerthu Project* (Wintersgill 2011) reported that 56 per cent of RE teachers considered themselves to be lacking in confidence in their ability to use effective strategies for managing the teaching of contentious issues in the RE classroom.

Such skills need to go beyond the merely informative (Teece 2005, p. 36; DCSF 2007, p. 38) particularly if dialogic enquiry approaches are to be used. Baumfield (2010) and Hannam (2010) suggest that in such cases teachers must be able to plan perceptively, facilitate debate effectively, create a social setting conducive to facilitating dialogue and exercise a confident and competent subject knowledge that provides a scaffold or framework which prompts, makes connections and identifies misconceptions that can be rectified either immediately or in later lessons. In addition teachers of RE need to be able to

respond appropriately to negative attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes that may be evident in the class-room (Banks 1997; Gaine 2005; Elton-Chalcraft 2009). The professional quandary teachers are placed in is clearly identified by Wuthnow (1987). On the one hand there is a need to devise lessons to give opportunities for pupils to engage with and to candidly express values and beliefs; on the other hand the teacher needs to ensure such views do not infringe the rights of others or use language that contravenes school codes of behaviour. It is perhaps not surprising that in the recently conducted Self-Evaluation Questionnaire (SEQ) as part of the evaluation of the *Resilience/ At Gyfnerthu Project* ten out of twenty six respondents graded their RE department as 3 or 4 (the lowest grades) in the effective management of class discussions on contentious issues (Wintersgill 2011). As already indicated, this study indicated that teachers of RE often feel they do not have the confidence to tackle such issues nor to deal effectively with negative responses from pupils. Teacher responses made reference to preferring to select perceived 'safe areas' to teach, such as religious rituals and practices, rather than areas that might be considered contentious.

This reliance upon 'safe areas' is not a new phenomenon in the teaching of RE. Gregory (2000a) identified a similar situation relating to the teaching of the Holocaust in the late 1940's and 50's:' In the aftermath of the war almost nothing was written on the direst of tragedies. It was as if, stunned by the recognition of the violence done to the canons of civilized behaviour, no one dared talk of what had happened' (p. 38).

These findings are reinforced by research from Maylor and Read (2007) that teachers are more comfortable talking about the environment than the potentially contentious issues of different cultures and ethnic groups. Although a detailed investigation into why teachers feel under-confident when teaching contentious issues in RE is beyond the remit of this chapter; it is relevant to identify some of the stated reasons. Baumfield (2007) for example, refers to a lack of experiences from which to shape and model teachers' own practice. She specifically refers to the importance of using 'apprenticeship of observation' strategies (Lortie 1975) in which past experiences of learning in their own educational histories inform selection of the pedagogies and practices they used in their own teaching. Erricker (2010) concurs, arguing the importance of prior experiences. For him the situation is compounded by a lack of professional development which has resulted in there being no developed personal pedagogic rationale on which teachers could base their practice (p. 34). A further reason put forward for a lack of confidence relates to a shortage of RE teachers with specialist subject knowledge (Kay and Smith 2000; Everington 2009). The situation is exacerbated by the significant number of teachers with specialisms other than RE being required to deliver a few lessons of RE to fill their time-table, as evidenced in the recent report *RE: The Truth Unmasked* (APPG 2013). The situation is further compounded by a lack of continual professional development training for teachers of RE (Jackson et al. 2010; APPG 2013). A result of this has been the growth of self-taught teachers, as illustrated

through the report from the Holocaust Educational Development Programme which identified over eighty two percent of teachers as being self-taught when teaching about Holocaust-related issues (HEDP 2009, p. 6).

Conclusion

This chapter has considered features of curriculum Judaism and their relationship with attitudinal development of pupils. It has advocated clarity regarding which specific attitudes are relevant, and a shared understanding of their associated attributes. Through a consideration of academic and policy documents the oft-advocated relationship between learning about religions and positive attitudinal development was considered. The chapter argued that despite such explicit claims little clarity exists regarding which attitudes are expected to be developed and how this process takes place.

Five areas were focussed upon in the discussion relating to the process of attitude development through RE: gaining a knowledge of the religious tradition; selection of teaching methods; encounters with faith members ; use of class textbooks and (central to all of these) the impact of the teacher. A brief consideration of the history of teaching Judaism in schools in England illustrated two key factors. The first is the unique relationship with Christianity which historically impacted upon the aims of Judaism being included as a curriculum study. Secondly, the difference between CPD opportunities and support materials for the study of religions such as Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism compared with that for Judaism. The following chapter

continues the context of curriculum Judaism within RE with a particular focus on the impact of content (the knowledge that is taught or omitted) on pupil attitude development.

Chapter 4

Curriculum Judaism - Content Matters

Aims and Structure

The previous chapter identified commonly perceived relationships between the teaching of world religions and the development of positive attitudes to religions and faith members. Through an examination of the teaching of world religions it argued that the development of teaching Judaism in England has a distinctive history which has impacted on contemporary curriculum Judaism in schools. It argued that attitude development does not happen automatically but requires strategically planned interventions regarding the selection of appropriate teaching methods and resources by teachers of RE.

Through three foci this chapter will consider the implications for pupil attitude development of the type of content selected to represent Judaism as part of curriculum Judaism. Firstly, the chapter will address issues regarding selection of content, such as prior learning, relevancy and the integrity of Judaism. Secondly it will consider issues related to the interpretation and organisation of the selected content. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of the relationship between one particular area of curriculum content and attitude development. Through an analysis of the study of the Holocaust as part of curriculum Judaism consideration will be given to the relationship between the aims of the study, teaching methods, resources and the impact of the teacher on pupil attitude development.

Content Considerations

Content selected for study in RE often takes into account three specific considerations. The first is recognition of pupils' prior learning, the second is its appropriateness to pupils' emotional and chronological age, and the third relates to the accuracy of the content in representing the integrity of the religious tradition being studied. Each of these will be considered with specific reference to the study of Judaism.

Prior Learning

The RE curriculum is intended to be developmental, with pupils progressively acquiring skills, understanding and knowledge through the Key Stages. Key Stage 3 is crucial for pupils learning about Judaism, as it is the time when the majority of pupils end their formal study of Judaism. As indicated in Jackson et al. (2010) many pupils have been taught about Judaism in Key Stage 1 (ages 5-7) and/or Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11). At Key Stage 3, however, there is greater conformity, with the same survey (p. 188) confirming that 95 per cent of schools include Judaism in their Key Stage 3 schemes of study.

The nature and extent of such experiences is far from homogenous due to multifarious Locally Agreed Syllabi, a lack of centralised support and guidance and non-compliance in the delivery of RE (Ofsted 2013). By Key Stage 3 pupils should be able to draw upon previous learning as part of a developmental understanding of the traditions studied. The reality is that there is little consistency amongst primary schools (Ofsted 2013) resulting in teachers of Key Stage 3 RE either incorporating basic, often phenomenological, content that is more

appropriate to a primary curriculum; or making the assumption that such areas have been covered and exploring more advanced aspects such as attitudes to moral and ethical situations. As the recent report *Religious Education: Realising the Potential* (Ofsted 2013) highlights this can result in pupils' lacking a holistic understanding of the religious tradition and possessing 'scant subject knowledge and understanding' (p. 4).

<p style="text-align:center">*Relevance*</p>

The importance of selecting content relevant to pupils' prior understanding and maturity is not a new consideration (Loukes 1961, 1963; Goldman 1964, 1965). What has changed is the extent and variety of pupils' media exposure to contemporary events and issues. As indicated in Chapter 1 particularly significant are internet and cable-TV exposure on pupils' meaning-making and social construction. The role of schools in connecting with pupils' understanding from such media is considered imperative in the *Adjegbo Report* (2007), as reflected in the author's use of bold font: 'Schools do not exist in a vacuum; teachers **must** be able to help pupils make sense of the world around them' (p. 68). A similar view is shared by Erricker (2010) who distinguishes between 'classroom pedagogy' and 'public pedagogy', contending that the latter is exemplified by pupils who come to the classroom with views and values shaped by outside school experiences and that it is essential for the teacher to take account of these within the classroom (p. 41).

An important consideration is that pupils will be learning about aspects of religious traditions through 'public pedagogy', which may not be considered suitable for the classroom. Consequently teachers could be placed in a situation where pupils might be asking about areas of a religious tradition that might be considered as contentious, political or not in keeping with the ethos of the school. One such area of content identified is the Israel/Palestine conflict. In the evaluation of the *REsilience/AtGyfnerthu Project* (Wintersgill 2011) 66 per cent of teachers of RE felt they lacked confidence in teaching about this on-going situation, which frequently features in news headlines. Such trepidation may be the result of a number of factors: teachers feeling ill-equipped to counter any prejudices exercised in the classroom, lack of knowledge, or fear of offending particular pupils or the school community. Such self-censorship of content can result in a 'sanitised' and artificial representation of the religious tradition. Gearon (2002) recognises this predicament of those outside the faith not wishing to cause offence by referring to contentious practices and events in the name of religion. He argues however, that if a faith is to be represented accurately then it must incorporate religion's sometimes alarming histories:

> It is understandable that educators no longer
> impose the agenda from entirely outside the
> traditions, and no one wishes to give overt
> offence. But there must be some means of

critical engagement with traditions as living

historical entities. (p. 144)

Erricker (2010) concurs, advocating that limiting the content of study in such a way does a disservice to the rigour and appropriateness of the representation of the religious tradition:

At its worst the subject stops allowing enquiry

at all and consists of the teacher telling "facts"

to avoid controversy. That is not education. The

most common ways of doing religious

education badly are to sanitise it, fudge it,

moralise it. (p. 9)

Through an enquiry-led methodology focussing upon the conceptual meaning of 'sacred' Erricker (pp. 127-129) illustrates how the content area of the Land of Israel could be explored by Key Stage 3 pupils. He contends that such a study is vital for pupils' understanding of contemporary Jewish belief and practice:

For pupils to enquire into the concept of the

sacred with Israel as the context it would not

be appropriate to leave uncontested the Jewish

claim to inhabit the land (whether from a

Palestinian or Jewish anti-Zionist point of

view) and its consequences. (p. 127)

As the chapter will later discuss sometimes content may be sanitised in order to uphold a particular ethos of the school or to portray a practice in a favourable light to align with a school's specific ethos. This

process of sanitisation White (2004) argues, can result in the presentation of religions in a positive but partial light so misrepresenting the reality:

> The general tone is positive and approving. There is nothing - unless I have missed it - about the bigotry, persecution, intolerance and inter-faith conflict and wars, which have been so marked a feature of human history and which scar Palestine, the Balkans, Northern Ireland, Kashmir and Indonesia in our own day. (p. 162)

Although such idealistic representations might sit more easily and be less confrontational for the teacher of RE, Maylor and Read (2007, p. 7) argue that they can, in fact, exacerbate perceptions of alienation by pupils. This is particularly the case if members of faith communities are represented with consistently high ideals of life style, family stability and values which pupils feel unable to live up to.

As will be discussed later in the chapter Short (2003) identifies as an often omitted area of study the teachings and actions of the Christian Church in the historic perpetuation of antisemitism. Such a study might include consideration of deicide; the blood libel, the Spanish inquisition and the actions of some Christians during the Holocaust. All these would be particularly contentious when taught within a Christian faith school context. Yet Short argues that such content is appropriate to pupils' learning about Judaism, arguing that they need

to be aware of the role the Christian church played in 'nurturing an anti-Semitic miasma' (2003, p. 283).

Reflecting the Integrity of a Religious Tradition

By its very nature any religious tradition incorporates a diversity of practices and beliefs reflecting the diverse cultural and social contexts of members of the faith. Jackson (1997) and Geaves (1998) argue that there is often a failure to reflect such diversity, resulting in gaps between curricular representation and believers' own accounts and practices. For Barnes (2007) it is particularly important that pupils should be aware that followers of the same tradition can believe in different ways. Teece (2005) is also of this view, arguing that not to make this clear results in the portrayal of a religious tradition which lacks diversity. This not only gives a false representation of the tradition but also, as Gluck Wood (2007) warns, has the potential to generate negative attitudes amongst pupils. She contends that the presentation of a seemingly homogenous group creates greater distinctions between those outside the tradition and those inside it, so creating a greater possibility of feelings of 'threat' (p. 3). She argues that this can potentially exacerbate antisemitism by representing Jews as a narrowly united people with a set way of life which appears radically different from pupils' own, with the consequence that pupils may feel intimated. Geaves (1998) also acknowledges such tension within the classroom, but apart from advocating a move away from what he deems the 'crude world religions approach' (p. 29) he does not

offer any practical suggestions to the teacher of RE on how to address the situation.

With an understanding of the diversity of beliefs and practices within any religious tradition comes the question, 'What content is representative of the tradition?' It was with this consideration that the innovative (and controversial) process of the production of the *Glossary of Terms* (SCAA 1994a) and *Faith Communities' Working Group Reports* (SCAA 1994d) emerged. In a bid to present an authentic picture of each of the principal religions members of faith communities were selected to identify religious content to be taught at each of the Key Stages with the expressed purpose that pupils would 'gain an understanding of its religious tradition' (SCAA 1994d, p. 3). Despite substantial criticism of the reports (for example, Jackson 1997; Teece 2005) there have been no subsequent official reviews of the process and this content is still drawn upon for educational purposes over twenty years later. A scrutiny of the recommendations made by the Jewish Faith Working Party raises many pertinent considerations for this thesis.

Analysis of the Jewish Faith Working Report (SCAA 1994d)

Representatives from faith groups were asked to identify specific areas of content and to organise them under headings indicative of the integrity of each faith tradition. The introduction argued that previous content organisation had given little consideration to reflecting the integrity of a religious tradition. The example given related to a distorted treatment of *Hannukah* within curriculum Judaism: 'For

example, Hanukkah is not a major festival within Judaism, and yet it is treated as such within many classrooms' (SCAA 1994d, p. 3).

Distinctions between Christianity and Judaism were illustrated by the distinctive selection of side-headings under which the curriculum content was to be organised. For Christianity the side-headings chosen were *God*, *Jesus*, *The Church*, *The Bible*, *The Christian Way of Life* (SCAA 1994d. p. 6). Those chosen to represent Judaism were *God*, *Torah*, *The People* and *The Land* (SCAA 1994d, p. 26). In the introductory page to the section on Judaism (p. 25) a lengthy description is given regarding the relationship between 'the [Jewish] struggle for Israel and the identity as a people'. Reference is made to significant events in the history of Israel including the Exodus, the establishment and destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, the Babylonian exile, resettlement and post 70CE Diaspora, foundation of the State of Israel and the Holocaust. Of all the content identified for a study of Judaism the Holocaust is only referred to once and it is placed within a study of a historic framework of antisemitism including references to the Spanish Inquisition, the Jews of York and London's East End (p. 28).

Throughout the Faith Working Reports (SCAA 1994d) indicative content for each religious tradition used religious terms and references specific of each religion. In comparison to the other Abrahamic religions the content selected for a study of Judaism placed significant importance upon the work of charitable organisations and inter-faith activities such as *The Board of Deputies of British Jews* ; *The Council*

of Christians and Jews; *Interfaith Network* ; *Jewish Council for Racial Equality* and *Tzedek* (pp. 25-29).

Many distinctive characteristics of Judaism were represented; however for Jackson (1997) there was a concern whether a few invited members of a faith tradition could represent the entire diversity of the tradition. He argued that faith members would have a highly individual view of the tradition based on their own experiences, which might not be representative of the whole faith tradition: 'The difficulty for individuals to speak and negotiate authentically on behalf of those who identify themselves with a particular religion is clear' (p. 134). As such the impact might not just over-represent particular ideologies but also under-represent or marginalise the impact of diverse ethnicities and cultures found within the religious tradition:

> Clearly we need to go to accounts of religious faith and tradition from insiders. But even here the sources need to be set in a wider context, since what individual can speak on behalf of a whole religious tradition? Insiders may represent a unique perspective, but their accounts may also reflect the views of particular institutions, denominations, sects or movements. Insider accounts may also have particular ethnic characteristics and cultural emphases. (p. 134)

Judaism is a religious tradition of great diversity. The impact of different sects (such as Charedi, Reform, Orthodox) and different ethnicities (such as Falasha, Sephardic, Ashkenazi) is exemplified through their varied practices, such as dietary requirements, worship, rituals, and even different languages (Ladino, Hebrew, Yiddish, Ivrit). Scholefield (2004), in her case study of an English Jewish school, referred to these characteristics as 'fuzzy' (p. 237) to indicate the lack of clear boundaries between Jewish pupils' belief, practices and cultures. Such diversity however, Jackson et al. (2010) argue, is rarely represented within content taught as part of curriculum Judaism. They refer to 'sweeping generalisations' in the portrayal of Judaism, which they attribute to: 'insufficient attention being given to diversity in Judaism. [There is] hardly any reference to secular Judaism and greater attention should be given to non-Orthodox Judaism' (p. 97).

The process of asking faith community members to identify content deemed as integral to the faith was, as illustrated above, not without its critics and complexities. Through the ensuing discussion it could be argued that attention to selection of content per se was a development from 'choices … often made by educationalists and publishers in an ad hoc way' (SCAA 1994d, p. 3) and fulfilled one of the intended aims of the process. However, as the chapter will proceed to show, even if content is established that is reflective of the faith tradition the interpretation of that content, 'the lens', and the organisation of the content has the potential to distort the integrity of the religious tradition.

Whose Lens? Content Interpretation

The chapter has discussed some of the complexities of selecting content that reflects the integrity of the Jewish tradition. A further consideration is how such content is presented to pupils and in particular through whose 'lens'. Jackson et al. (2010, p. 92) refer to the distortion of religious traditions that can occur, often subconsciously, when religious content is interpreted and presented through the lens of another tradition. Such a finding is not new. Said (1978) in his seminal work *Orientalism* discussed the impact on Eastern traditions interpreted through Western writers, and illustrated how aspects of faith traditions can be presented for the presenter's own interests, intentionally or unintentionally. Of particular relevance for this thesis is the identification by Jackson et al. (2010) of examples where the content of Judaism was often explained through a Christian understanding; this reflects the argument in the previous chapter that curriculum Judaism has been significantly impacted upon by the relationship between Judaism and Christianity.

In a school setting it is the teacher who provides the lens for the interpretation and representation of a religious tradition. This might be explicit in the particular content included and omitted, or implicit in the range of resources used for pupils' independent learning. Such bias may be intentional due to a teacher's own faith commitment or, more probable in England, it may reflect an unintentional bias due to their Christocentric first-hand experiences and training. Bias may also come about from the cultural and legal construction of the United Kingdom

as a Protestant Christian country, which Maylor and Read et al. (2007, p. 40) argue influences teachers' interpretations of world religions. This view is also held by Gearon (2001) who argues that a dominant religion or culture becomes self-evidently the 'right' one and is often presented as such in: 'subtle, unsuspecting and unobvious ways' (p. 100).

Charing (1996), and later Foster and Mercier (2000a), contend that content interpreted through a Christian lens is a significant factor in the misrepresentation of Judaism in the English classroom. Charing (p. 75) identifies two specific experiences of teachers which can give rise to such misrepresentation. Firstly, the teacher may use their learning from Old Testament degree courses to inform their understanding and representation to pupils of Judaism. Secondly, Charing identifies the potential danger of teachers basing their confidence in curriculum Judaism through organised visits to Israel led by church groups or Christian charities. He argues that these have the potential to influence an understanding of Jewish faith and practices in Israel through a Christian interpretation. As Chapter 3 illustrated, the perceived relationship between Christianity and Judaism can result in teachers feeling more confident about their skills in teaching the latter, because of their own experiences of the former. This, Charing argues, is a false confidence which can have significant impact on pupils' learning: 'So in a way Judaism, which appears on the surface to be the easiest religion to teach, in actual fact can be the most difficult, until the

teacher sees it through Jewish eyes rather than through. Christian eyes'
(1996 p. 76).

Specific areas of Jewish content are identified as being particularly
prone to distortion when presented through a Christian lens. Fisher
(1993, p. 97) for example, refers specifically to the practices of Jewish
festivals being interpreted through those of Christianity, not only in
phenomenological details but also theologies. Jackson et al. (2010, p.
96) identify two further instances, both in conflict with the distinctive
portrayal of Judaism in the SCAA Faith Working Reports (SCAA
1994d) previously discussed. The first issue is the use of language
associated with Christianity to describe Jewish belief. The second is
that explicit connections are made in the classroom between Judaism
and the Old Testament without identifying specific Jewish
interpretations or recognition of modern Jewish history. The inference
that Judaism was superseded by Christianity is evident in the scrutiny
of resources used for the teaching of world religions: 'The inadequate
coverage of Judaism in thematic texts and series was noted. A
particular issue was the failure of many of the resources to engage with
the long tradition of Jewish thought over the last 2000 years. Instead
the religion all too often comes across as the Old Testament religion
that preceded Christianity.' (Jackson et al. 2010 p. 109 and 'It
[Judaism] keeps slipping – unintentionally - into a pre-cursor of
Christianity by sticking with biblical material.' (ibid. p. 105)

Such practice negates an awareness of Judaism as a contemporary
living faith through the curriculum. It also marginalises the importance

of the distinctive Jewish texts and rich rabbinic traditions which are part of Jewish contemporary practice as illustrated in the existence of *yeshivot* (Talmudic academies) where Jews study traditional religious texts. This lack of reference to contemporary scholarship in Judaism is also illustrated in the review of resources for teaching world religions:

> taken overall, there was a woeful lack of grip
>
> on the rabbinic tradition and a failure to quote
>
> from it, which is, after all, what most Jews
>
> deal with now. Today's Jews talk about Rashi
>
> and Rambam more than they do about Isaiah
>
> and the Psalms. (Jackson et al. 2010, p. 103)

In Chapter 3 the impact of phenomenological approaches to RE was considered with specific reference to the process of categorisation by pupils potentially resulting in comparisons between the religions being studied. For Foster and Mercier (2000a) difficulties can arise if content is so presented by the teacher as to distinguish Jewish practice and belief from those of Christianity. An example given relates to the classroom practice of God being portrayed in the Old Testament as stern and unforgiving; as opposed to God in the New Testament presented as love. A similar polarity can be found in the portrayal of Jesus's teachings as rational and liberal, compared with those of his Jewish background. These were often portrayed as petty, irrational and strict, such as can be found in the teachings regarding keeping Shabbat. Such distinctions between Jewish and Christian practice (rooted in Old and New Testament practice) could imply Judaism

should be seen as an outmoded and even primitive tradition when compared to Christianity.

This chapter has so far raised issues regarding the appropriateness of subject content for curriculum Judaism at Key Stage 3. It has illustrated the tensions between reflecting the authenticity of the dynamics of the tradition and the practicalities of the classroom. It has also shown how, not only the content, but the interpretation of the content ('the lens') has the potential to impact on pupils' attitudes and perceptions. Through this consideration many complexities have been analysed. The relevance of content to pupils' meaning-making and the representation of content all have the potential to impact on pupils' attitudes to Judaism and Jews.

For teachers of RE there is yet another consideration which may influence their selection of content to be studied. The pragmatism of 'teaching time' limitations necessitates a considered and informed selection by the teacher of content to be studied. A further informed decision is required regarding the organisation of the content as it is to be studied in the classroom. The chapter will continue by examining the potential impact of this on the representation of Judaism and pupil attitude development to Jews.

Content Organisation

As discussed in Chapter 3 there has been considerable debate regarding the teaching of world religions in schools. One area of discussion relates to the relative merits of teaching content through systematic or thematic approaches. As the findings by Jackson et al.

(2010, p. 190) reflect there is a variety of practice. Some schools adopt a systematic approach, some a thematic approach and some a mixture of the two. This chapter will now address the characteristics of each approach and the potential contribution to attitude development.

A systematic study of a religious tradition gives opportunities for in-depth exploration of key concepts, belief, practices and values within a discrete religious tradition. The systematic methodology was embraced after the publication of the Model Syllabi and Faith Working Reports (SCAA 1994; 1994b; 1994c; 1994d) and influenced many agreed syllabi (Ofsted 1997). Through such a study pupils are expected to be able to construct a schema of a religious tradition which can be applied to various ethical, moral and philosophical situations. Smith and Kay (2000) argue that such an approach produces more favourable attitudes to Judaism and Christianity than the use of a thematic approach:

> When a large number of religions is studied then, in the case of every single religion, a systematic approach produces more favourable attitudes and the figures show that particularly in the case of Christianity and Judaism, the difference is marked. To put this another way, Christianity and Judaism are the religions which suffer most in terms of deficit in favourable attitudes to them when thematic approaches are used to embrace more than four religions. (p. 186)

Through a systematic approach pupils are expected to construct a schema of the main tenets of the religious tradition which they can apply and interpret for further learning. However, many argue that it is too simplistic to conclude that a systematic study will always produce more favourable attitudes than a thematic approach. One caveat, for example, raised by both Jackson (1997, 2004) and Geaves (1998) is that consideration must be given to representing the diversity within the tradition. A further caution is illustrated by Malone's (1998) research with teaching students: a systematic study of a religious tradition has the potential to exaggerate differences between religious traditions as students (consciously or subconsciously) compare the phenomena of the religious tradition studied with the one they are most familiar with. She found that negative attitudes emerged through students' constant comparisons between their own tradition and that of the one being studied. Her conclusions reflect the argument of McIntyre (1978) that when cultures are studied separately greater distinctions are perceived, portraying them as rivals to the norm system (which in RE in Britain would be considered to be Christianity). In his consideration of prejudices in school Stephan (1999) is mindful that the way differences between groups are presented has the potential to have a significant impact on attitudes. He argues that traits attributed to out-groups can often be interpreted as negative by the in-group:

> The question is how such real differences
>
> should be presented. The problem that often

arises is that, while the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' both acknowledge that the 'out-group' possesses a given trait, the 'in-group' evaluates the trait negatively whereas the 'out-group' evaluates it positively. (p. 65)

In a thematic study of religions content can be organised in a number of ways, although two are particularly prevalent in the RE classroom. The first, particularly common in Primary Schools, is the study of a particular concept or theme across a number of different subject areas. So for example, pupils might deepen their understanding of the concept of journeys through a range of cross-curricular examples such as RE, Physical Education, and Geography. A second type of thematic content organisation would entail a particular religious or human experience studied across a number of religious traditions, such as sacred texts, food and initiation rites. Particularly influenced by the previously discussed comparative religions approach, advocates of thematic learning argue that this method of organisation of content identifies shared experiences between religions, so diminishing a sense of alienation that might be emphasised by a systematic study (Zanna 1994; Biernat et al. 1996). The importance of establishing shared values and practices was advocated by the former Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks (2003, p.82):

One belief more than any other … is responsible for the slaughter of individuals on the altars of great historical ideals. It is the

belief that those who do not share my faith - or

my race or my ideology - do not share my

humanity.

Critics of the thematic approach such as Kay and Smith (2000) and Barnes (2006) refer to the pedagogical challenges that can result from a simultaneous study of different traditions. One specific area of concern is the confusion potentially generated by the fact that a multiplicity of traditions is being studied. Further criticism refers to the complexity of representing the distinctive integrity of each religious tradition through a thematic study. Although certain rituals might *appear* the same, such as the practice of lighting candles in Judaism and Christianity, the underlying theologies are significantly different. Distinguishing the specific theologies of shared concepts and practices requires substantial subject knowledge, as recognised by Erricker (2010). He refers to the difficulties of understanding key concepts of what he describes as 'the other' and argues that such a process is often limited to a 'translating out', rather than the far more significant task of 'translating in'. A key characteristic, he argues, is a tendency to ignore the 'grammar' within which the concept is embedded. He maintains that this results in: 'a more superficial comparative exercise based on similarity, with some apprehension of difference, rather than a rigorous attempt to engage with a different worldview' (p. 51).

For Barnes (2006), attempts to present common human experiences between religious traditions which emphasise similarities not only have the potential to misrepresent the distinctiveness of the religious

traditions but also hinder the development of positive attitudes to others. He contends it is through a study of differences that learning promotes respect for differences and consequently develops pupils' ability to challenge prejudice:

> My contention is that current representations of religion in British religious education are limited in their capacity to challenge racism and religious intolerance, chiefly because they are conceptually ill-equipped to develop respect for difference. (p. 396)

The *Adjegbo Report* (2007) highlights the role class textbooks play in engendering a superficial learning that focusses on phenomenological aspects:

> Textbooks tend to concentrate on ceremonies rather than what it is like to live as a Catholic, a Muslim or a Hindu in the community; and to discuss where values and codes of living come from for pupils who do not have a religious belief. It is an area that needs considerable work if we are to meet our objectives of developing active, articulate, critical learners who understand the value of difference and unity and have the ability to participate and engage in current debates. (p. 68)

As advocated and employed in the Faith Working Reports (SCCA 1994d) religions have a distinctive terminology which should be used when learning about a tradition. The NFRE (2004) frequently refers to the importance of pupils' understanding and use of religious terms that are distinctive of the traditions studied. Although Erricker (2010) recognises that the use of such religious literacy is important he sees it as being broader than pupils knowing the meaning of religious vocabulary, extending it to the importance of making connections between specific terminology and contexts:

> When we refer to religious literacy we mean grasping the intimate connection between a word, its cultural habitat and therefore the conception of the world that has formed its meaning (p. 122).

With specific reference to the study of Judaism Cowan and Maitles (2007) also advocate the importance of pupils understanding specific terms, and in particular 'antisemitism'. Contending it is a duty of teachers to foster the recognition of antisemitism, they argue that pupils would be able to apply their understanding to contemporary contexts:

> It is perhaps incumbent upon teachers to mention the terminology more clearly so that pupils who come up against a media headline relating to anti-Semitism will know what it is about and relate it to their learning. (p. 124)

This chapter has illustrated how content and content organisation can impact upon pupils' understanding of Judaism and attitude to Jews. It will now analyse the potential impact of one area of content which is frequently a part of Key Stage 3 curriculum Judaism - that of the Holocaust. Through an examination of aims, content, teaching methods and resources the chapter will examine the impact of this specific area of content on pupils' understanding of Judaism and resulting attitudes to Jews.

Contextualising Holocaust Education in English Schools

The previous chapter considered the relationship between the aims of teaching RE and attitude development. It argued that teaching methods and resources had the potential for impact and that the teacher's role was significant to both. So far, this chapter has analysed the potential impact of content and content organisation on attitude development. It will now consider the potential impact of the study of the Holocaust in RE on pupils' attitudes to Jews.

Despite the Holocaust being frequently studied within curriculum Judaism (Jackson et al. 2010) there has been little research conducted regarding its role specifically within RE as opposed to in subjects such as History (Short and Reed 2004; HEDP 2009). There has also been little research conducted regarding the impact of learning about the Holocaust on pupils' attitudes to Jews (Stephan 1999). Where appropriate therefore references will be made to relevant findings from other curriculum areas and from countries outside of England.

This examination of the teaching of the Holocaust at Key Stage 3 begins with a brief contextualisation. It is only in the History Key Stage 3 curriculum that the Holocaust is a statutory area of study. However, as reflected in the survey conducted by the HEDP (2009 p. 5), in the same Key Stage pupils may learn about the Holocaust in a range of subjects including English, Art, Drama, Citizenship and most significantly RE. In addition to studies within the curriculum pupils may also learn about the Holocaust through special school events and assemblies to commemorate the annual Holocaust Memorial Day and Anne Frank Day. Such exposure has the potential to illustrate a process that Schweber (2006) describes as a shift from a previous 'Holocaust awe' to one of 'Holocaust fatigue' (p. 48).

As discussed in Chapter 3 the 2006 APPG Inquiry into Anti-Semitism advocated the importance of education in countering antisemitism with specific reference to three areas of focus; antisemitism, Jewish faith and wider issues of discrimination:

> This includes specific education on anti-Semitism and Jewish faith and culture, and wider education around issues of racism, tolerance and discrimination. … We note the crucial role that education can play in passing on knowledge and shaping attitudes. (p. 47)

In the follow - up report containing the response from the Government there was no reference to the implementation of strategies to support education on 'Jewish faith and culture'. Instead, the only reference

made regarding the importance of education in countering antisemitism was within the confines of Holocaust Education:

> We recognise that in tackling antisemitism we need to learn from the past. To this end the Government is committed to honouring the victims of the Holocaust and reflecting on the lessons for today's generation. We have pledged £1.5 million to the Holocaust Educational Trust (established in 1988) to educate young people from every ethnic background about the Holocaust. The funding will enable the Trust to facilitate visits to the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp for more than 6,000students, which translates into two students from every secondary school and further education college in the UK. The visits are part of the Trust's '*Lessons from Auschwitz'* course for teachers and sixth form students. (DCLG 2007, p. 5)

The implication that antisemitism relates only to the Holocaust can be seen again later in the document when reference is made to the importance of the inclusion of the Holocaust in the Key Stage 3 History curriculum. Three years later a follow up report (DCLG 2010) again makes reference to the role of the *Lessons from Auschwitz Project* and the HEDP (pp. 24-25). Again no reference was made to a

wider understanding of antisemitism in England nor to the original call from the 2006 Inquiry for teaching about 'Jewish faith and culture'.

The HEDP report (2009) argued that very little recognition had been given by the teachers surveyed to pupils' previous learning about the Holocaust. This included knowledge gained within the curriculum as well as from outside the school context. Recent years have seen a plethora of films made for mass-media interest related to the Holocaust. Most significant are Speilberg's *Schindler's List* (1993) and *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008) directed by Herman. Each film, although intended for a public audience, has been recognised as relevant to the school curriculum, as illustrated in the teachers' notes available to support learning in schools (www.Filmeducation.org). Many, such as Schweber (2006, p. 50), contend that it is important that planning is informed not only by pupils' attitudes to Jews but also by their attitudes to the existence of the Holocaust. This view has been articulated by Short and Reed (2004) who highlight the potential impact on pupils' attitudes to Jews: 'How they react will depend, in large part, on how they regard Jews, and if they see them as in some sense "bad people"' (p. 45).

This brief contextualisation of Holocaust Education illustrates that pupils' experiences are diverse and often a result of a particular school, or even a teacher within the school. It also indicates how teaching about the Holocaust can be perceived as an effective challenge to antisemitism (DCLG 2007; DCLG 2010). It is this relationship

between a study of the Holocaust and development of attitudes that the chapter will discuss further.

Holocaust Education and Attitude Development

For Davies (2000, p. 5) clarity of aims is especially important when subject content is emotionally charged. In line with the previous findings of Brown and Davies (1998) teacher responses to the enquiry conducted by the HEDP (2009) illustrated a significant amount of confusion. This was particularly so in their understanding of the purpose and intended aims and outcomes of studying the Holocaust at Key Stage 3. One respondent, for example, expresses such confusion and frustration:

> What does the Government want us to be
>
> teaching every child of the country? What
>
> aspects are they wanting us to teach? What is
>
> the focus? What is the outcome they want us
>
> to have with the students that we're teaching?
>
> Learning from the past or what we can learn
>
> in the future? Or is it that they just want us to
>
> teach the facts, the figures? (p. 85)

Despite a lack of clarity regarding the aims of studying the Holocaust, the HEDP Report showed that there exists significant commonality of views that supports its study by pupils in schools. Sometimes respondents were unable to give reasons: 'You kind of just assume to some extent that they should know about the Holocaust, rather than

even think about whether there's any reason why they should know about it' (p. 60).

It is perhaps, this lack of clarity which resulted in Salmons' findings (2003, p. 140) that a study of the Holocaust in school often reflected a teacher's own interests rather than the needs of the pupils. In cases where specific aims are indicated reference is often made to the importance of learning about the Holocaust in order to impact on pupils' attitudes and behaviours. This view is advocated by Cowan and Maitles (2007): 'learning about the Holocaust can have both an immediate and lasting impact on pupils' values' (p. 128).

Recognition of a potential 'lasting impact' is endorsed by many such as Landau (1989), who argued that Holocaust Education had the potential 'to civilise and humanise our students' and in doing so to inculcate life-long learning skills: 'the power to sensitise them to the dangers of indifference, intolerance, racism and the dehumanisation of others' (p. 20).

Through learning about the Holocaust, it is argued (for example by Carrington and Short 1997) that pupils will develop attitudes of respect and tolerance which will then lead them to examine their own prejudices and stereotypes, equipping them with skills to counter prejudices and intolerance. These aims are clearly reminiscent of those in the NFRE (2004) discussed in Chapter 3. This relationship between learning about the Holocaust and countering prejudices and stereotypes was identified by teachers as the most important aim of Holocaust Education, with 71 per cent of teacher respondents

identifying its importance (HEDP 2009). Brown and Davies (1998) suggest that learning about the Holocaust supports pupils in understanding concepts such as prejudice, moral choices, respect and tolerance and encourages them to relate their understanding to contemporary examples of racism or genocides (pp. 75-76). The logic appears to be that through the study of one particular act of mass inhumanity pupils' empathy and attitudes will be actively transferred to their own negative behaviours and attitudes to others and so positively inform future actions. However, as Salmons (2003) indicates, this is a complex process, as through a study of the Holocaust pupils are not only expected to be sensitised to issues about injustice, persecution, and evil but also to act to ensure such injustices do not occur again.

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 attitudinal development is a complex process and may not produce the expected or desired outcomes. The gravitas *expected* of pupils from a study of the Holocaust is frequently referred to and, for some, appears as a particular aim or outcome of the study. This is illustrated by one teacher's perceived objective of Holocaust Education: 'You want to shock, you want to make an impact' (HEDP 2009, p. 92). Gregory (2000b) similarly advocated the importance of conveying the terror of the Holocaust: 'If we teach about the Holocaust (certainly in schools) we should do so with the unwavering intent to do justice to its horrors and the lessons (if any) to be drawn from it' (p. 50).

Such a view may seem to rebut the previously considered issue of inappropriate sanitisation of the RE curriculum (Gearon 2002); but to what extent and detail should pupils study the gross physical and sexual atrocities? This question raises many ethical issues. Laqueur (1994), doubts if it is possible for pupils to empathise with what it was like to be in the camps and asks the question – should they? To what extent should pupils be exposed to the atrocities to gain a full picture and to what extent should these be sanitised to make them appropriate to the emotional maturity of the pupils? For Salmons (2003) there is the consideration of betrayal of the trusting relationships which teachers will already have established with pupils. He argues that graphic content can be 'used' as a mechanism to engage pupils:

> The power of the Holocaust as a human story means that it is not usually difficult to motivate students to study this history. The greater challenges are how to engage young people's interest without titillating a morbid curiosity, how to move students without traumatising them. Some teachers have resorted to 'shock tactics'-bombarding their class with the most horrific and disturbing imagery. (p. 147)

A further ethical consideration relates to teacher expectations regarding *how* pupils demonstrate their engagement. The HEDP survey (2009) refers to the anger and frustration felt by some teachers when pupils responded in a manner they perceived as inappropriate,

such as laughing (p. 48). A similar unexpected response was referred to by Baum (1996), whose use of survivors' poetry with an undergraduate English class in the Midwest of America did not elicit the anticipated response from his students: 'It was not the emotion I had expected, not the grief that continues to bring me to tears when I read Holocaust testimony: the dominant response in my class was silence' (p. 47). Such outcomes may not result from intolerance or lack of interest but reflect the diverse way that adolescents display their feelings and emotions with peers. As Ben-Peretz (2003) argues, one person's way of showing empathy might not be the 'expected' way: 'The tragedy of the Holocaust arouses feelings of pity and fear that are then assuaged through sharing these feelings and sometimes even through trying to joke' (p. 192).

As discussed in Chapter 3 attitude development is a complex process and careful consideration needs to be given regarding the teaching methods, resources and anticipated outcomes. The distinction between developing empathy and developing sympathy needs to be clear. With the latter comes pity, which Julius (2010, p.41) argues can have a detrimental impact on attitudes: 'Pity may register the pains of persecution, but it often stands perplexed before the true character of the persecuted'. He proceeds to illustrate the impact such pity might have on attitude development: 'It is also limiting, confining regard for the sufferer to the fact of his suffering'.

Other reservations are raised by Kinloch (1998), who questions whether the conclusions made from such a study can offer any more

than banal insights. He expands his argument by reflecting that trying to combat modern day prejudices is misplaced because they rest on false comparisons between the genocidal politics of a totalitarian regime and the racism that is within pupils' own world views of today, two very different contexts. This argument had been made by Baum (1996, p. 55) who argues that the Holocaust is a unique phenomenon and that relating the study to other genocides can actually result in trivialisation.

Some authors, such as Novick (1999), suggest that learning about the Holocaust can have an adverse effect on pupils' attitudes as through emphasising the uniqueness of the Holocaust pupils may be de-sensitised to further atrocities and genocide (p. 25). He argues also that learning about such atrocities does not necessarily have an impact on pupils' values and behaviours, as what happened in the Holocaust is so far removed from pupils' own lives that it has little to teach about ordinary behaviour. He concludes that the study of the Holocaust has become 'institutionalised' and is used for present day political and social ends.

Through this consideration the oft-perceived relationship between attitude development and study of the Holocaust can be seen as relating to 'life–long' impacts on behaviours. However caveats raised, such as those by Novick, Kinloch and Salmons, illustrate the complex process of attitude development and the many ethical and educational considerations required of the teacher. This process requires

consideration of teaching methods, resources, content selection and content organisation.

Teaching Methods

As previously established, for many teachers the importance of pupils learning about the Holocaust is not limited to a knowledge of events but is based on a hope that the study will impact on behaviour. Such attitudinal development demands that information must not be held passively, requiring, as Baum (1996, p. 48) advocates, specific teaching methods. For Boersema and Schimmel (2008, p. 69) key to this is the development of empathy. Baum (1996, p.51) also holds this view, contending that through the development of empathy a link is established between *remember* (reflecting upon the events of the Holocaust) and *never again* (by impacting on pupils' behaviours) through pupils imaginatively entering into another's experience by crossing borders. For some, such as Schweber (2004), such an outcome requires simulation activities in which pupils are expected to enact and react to situations documented from the Holocaust. Such strategies are not without their critics. Laqueur (1994), for example, questions if any vicarious experiences can be simulated in a classroom. This consideration is borne out by the complexities of trying to enact life in the death camps within the context of a classroom. For Ben-Peretz (2003) a further concern relates to the structure imposed by such methods, which limits students' opportunities to raise their own questions as, for example, enquiry based learning would permit. Schweber (2004) illustrates the tensions with reference to a teaching

strategy used to engage pupils in a study of the Holocaust. During her research she witnessed the structure of the game show *Jeopardy* used, which rewarded pupils with sweets as prizes for reviewing and commenting on information about the Holocaust. This situation she argued trivialised the Holocaust for all involved. The potential damage of selecting teaching methods to engage pupils is argued by Schweber (2006): 'Where I once worried that the sanctification of the Holocaust stifled learning, I now worry that trivialisation of the Holocaust impedes its understanding' (p. 48).

The generic issues regarding appropriate aims and teaching methods have been considered, all of which relate to RE classroom practice. However, as outlined in Chapter 3 and now to be considered, it is not only the teaching methods but the selection and use of resources which can impact significantly on pupil attitudes.

Resources

In Chapter 3 reference was made to the importance not only of text but also of pictures and illustrations in constructing pupils' attitudes to Jews (Boostrom 2001, p. 238; Jackson et al. 2010, p. 111). Salmons (2003) urges particular caution in engendering shock through the use of photographs of emaciated and skeletal bodies from the Concentration Camps. Such images, he argues, can lead to the development of negative attitudes towards Jews as they appear so physically different to the pupils. He refers to their 'dehumanising effect' reinforcing an attitude of a view 'Jews as victims' (p. 147). Exacerbation of negative attitudes to Jews, Short (1994) argues, can

also occur through the use of pre-war pictures of strictly religious Jews, dressed in distinctive long dark clothes. Such pictures fail to indicate the vibrant integrated Jewish community that existed in many areas of Europe prior to the Holocaust.

As previously mentioned film is often used in the classroom to engage pupils and support the development of empathy. A number of films have been released regarding aspects of the Holocaust and these have been sometimes used by teachers of RE. Cesarani (2008), with particular reference to Herman's film *Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008), expresses concern regarding the classroom use of a film which, he argues, was never meant to be considered as a true story but as a fable demonstrating the evils of prejudice. Cesarani raises two particular concerns regarding the use of the film in the classroom. Firstly, he contends, it was based on a novel, not a historic document, and this use could fuel the arguments of Holocaust deniers. Secondly, he queries claims that the use of the film supports the development of pupils' empathy with Jews. He argues that the tragedy in the film is the irony that by mistake an Aryan child becomes caught up in the events and is also murdered in the Concentration Camp. Although he recognises the potential for pupils' engagement with the film he concludes his review of the film arguing:

> Unfortunately *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*,
>
> like a host of other well-intentioned initiatives,
>
> suggests that a heavy price is being paid for

the popularisation and instrumentalisation of

the Holocaust. Perhaps it is too heavy. (p. 2)

For many teachers the resources selected for use in the classroom would be chosen to suit the specific focus selected for study. With this relationship in mind it is to this area the chapter will now turn.

Content Selection

The inquiry conducted by the HEDP (2009) illustrates that different curriculum areas identify as relevant different particular foci for study. For example, a knowledge of the Nuremberg Laws was considered important by over 80 per cent of history teachers but under 40 per cent of teachers in RE (p. 41). However, as Short (2001, p.41) observes, little consideration has been given to specific content appropriate to a study in RE

While there can be no doubt that RE has the

potential to make a distinctive and valuable

contribution to students' understanding of the

Holocaust, there has been comparatively little

discussion of the content most likely to

promote this understanding.

This is surprising considering the finding of Jackson et al. (2010, p. 105) that there is an 'almost over-emphasis.' on the Holocaust in the teaching of Judaism in RE. No further details are given regarding such prevalence although it may be the result of 'Holocaust creep', when aspects of Judaism are contextualised within the Holocaust for no specific reason. An example of this can be identified in a published

scheme of work by Erricker (2010, pp. 125-126) based upon the symbolic nature of the *kippah*, the head-covering often worn by Jewish males. As has already been discussed in Chapter 2 the wearing of the kippah has contemporary relevance and significance for Jews in England. However, Erricker contextualises his study in Pinkas Synagogue in Prague, where the walls are inscribed with the names of Holocaust victims from the region. It is as if through placing the content of curriculum Judaism within a context of the Holocaust more gravitas is given to the study.

One potential focus advocated by Foster and Mercier(2000b) as particularly relevant to RE is that of Holocaust Theology, which they define as incorporating a study of: 'the place of religious faith in the light of the suffering and the evil encountered in the events of the Holocaust' (p. 153). As such it allows pupils to question and explore the many philosophical questions concerning the nature and behaviour of humankind raised by a study of the Holocaust. They advocate (p. 155) that links should be made between the theology of the Holocaust and the religious concepts underpinning Jewish festivals such as *Purim*, *Hannukah*, and *Tisha B'Av*. Through such a process a deeper understanding of Judaism is encouraged, as recommended in APPG (2006). The marginalisation of theological consideration is surprising when in the HEDP (2009) survey 80 per cent of teachers of RE identified the concept of suffering as an important area of content when teaching about the Holocaust. No clarification is given regarding the nature of such a study.

A second area of focus proposed as relevant is the study of the Holocaust within a broader context of historical antisemitism. For Short (2001) this includes the part played by Christians. As discussed earlier in the chapter such content could be considered contentious (Foster and Mercier 2000a), particularly within schools with a Christian character. Perhaps related to the perceived contentiousness a survey of teachers of RE found that none considered it important to draw attention to the role of the Church during the Holocaust. No justifications were given beyond the pragmatics of 'hadn't thought about it' and 'not enough time' (Short 2001, p. 50). In the same survey a few responses referred to the role of the Church during the Holocaust with the purpose of showing Christians who had helped Jews to hide or escape. Such focus potentially reinforces pupils' perception of Jews as weak and relying on the pity of others. Short (2003) argues that teaching about the Holocaust in RE requires an accurate portrayal of the relationships between Judaism and Christianity, however uncomfortable that may be for teachers. He refers to a study in the United Kingdom which illustrated that many Christians were ignorant of the link between Judaism and Christianity; 33 per cent of those interviewed did not know Jesus was a Jew, 43 per cent believed Jews and Christians worshipped different deities and around eight per cent accused the Jews of Jesus's murder (p. 283). As identified in Chapters 2 and 3 it is crucial for a religion to be presented accurately if pupils are not to develop misconceptions. This is particularly important if pupils have no wider experiences to compare their learning to.

Content Organisation

Reference was made earlier in this chapter to the impact on attitudes of content organisation. For the majority of schools a study of the Holocaust is rooted in a systematic study of curriculum Judaism (Short 2001) rather than in a thematic study. One important consideration is where within the study of Judaism the Holocaust should be placed. For Short (1994) it is necessary for pupils' attitudes to Jews to be ascertained before they study the Holocaust. Without this being done, negative preconceptions could be exacerbated. He argues that 'children may conceptualise Judaism in a way that would certainly not conduce them to sympathising with Jews' (p. 394). For example, one teacher respondent to the HEDP survey (2009) observed that because pupils had no affinity with Jews it was not until the disabled were referred to that pupils became interested in learning about the Holocaust:

> [He] believed his students became especially interested when he highlighted that disabled people were among the victims of the Nazi regime. He suggested that this was because most of the students he taught had little contact with Jewish people whereas discussion of those with a disability had more immediate resonance. (p. 70)

For Foster and Mercier (2000a) any study of the Holocaust must occur after pupils have gained some understanding of Judaism. Without this,

they argue, Jews presented through a study of the Holocaust could appear as 'alien' and with no shared human experiences:

> In some schools there is no teaching on world religions and so any work on the Holocaust may in fact be the first formal introduction to the Jewish people that students receive. If this is the case, it is likely that the Jews will appear from the beginning in the role of victim and there is a danger that this negative image will serve to reinforce stereotypes. Challenging stereotypes requires the teacher to ensure that the pupils receive positive images of the Jewish people to counter the negative messages they may receive from other sources. (p. 27)

However, to place a focus on the Holocaust at the end of a study of Judaism can have serious implications on pupils' perceptions of Jews as a contemporary living community. Lucy Dawidowicz, an American historian and author, argues it can have significant implications: 'Children will grow up knowing about the Greeks and how they lived, the Romans and how they lived, the Jews and how they died' (1977, p. 30).

If no focus on contemporary Judaism follows a study of the Holocaust then pupils' conceptions of Jews will not only be historic but contextualised within suffering and victimhood. Foster and Mercier (2000a) refer to a process in which attributes commonly attached to

Jews during the Holocaust become transferred as stereotypes to Jews living today. This argument is exemplified in the research report of Jackson et al. (2010, p. 105) which identifies a common pupil perception of Jews as passive with an inability to fight back, leading to their mass extermination.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the implications for attitudinal development of content selected for Key Stage 3 study of Judaism. It has advocated that prior to any study the teacher must ascertain both pre-existing attitudes to Jews and the pupils' knowledge of Judaism, so that informed planning can take place.

Recognising Judaism as a diverse tradition the chapter has raised a quandary regarding 'whose Judaism' is taught to pupils and the impact of the lens of the presenter. Recognition was given to the impact of bias on attitudes; especially Christocentric teaching of Judaism which not only distorts the integrity of Judaism as a living religion but can also influence attitudes towards Jews through comparison with Christians. Many of these considerations were illustrated through an analysis of the teaching of the Holocaust which again highlighted the importance of ascertaining pre-existing attitudes to inform the use of appropriate subject content, resources and methodologies. Pertinent issues were raised regarding clarity of aims in teaching the Holocaust in a study of Judaism and the impact on pupils' attitudes of Jews being portrayed as 'weak' 'victims' and 'historic'. It high-lighted that for many teachers of RE an aim of studying the Holocaust relates to

'suffering', but little clarity exists regarding whether the desired outcome is academic or empathic; nor indeed whether such a focus is appropriate for the classroom. Teaching methods were questioned which required experiential learning in a bid to 'empathise' with Jews and the impact of resources in presenting the Jews of the Holocaust as one homogenous group of 'victims'. Lack of clarity regarding the aims of teaching about the Holocaust in RE was reflected in an apparently haphazard selection of content. Despite consistent references (as illustrated in Chapter 2) that RE should enable pupils to challenge stereotypes and prejudices a study of the history of antisemitism in England and the role of the church in that history appears marginalised.

Chapter 5

Methodology

Aims and Structure

The previous chapters discussed the complexities regarding attitude development with particular reference to the impact of learning about Judaism as part of a taught curriculum in English secondary schools. It has been argued that the teaching methods, learning experiences, selection and organisation of content all have the potential to impact on pupils' attitudes to Jews. The complex nature of attitude development has also been examined. Particular reference has been made to the relationships between misconceptions and stereotypes and the formulation of a schema which is applied to pupils' construction and meaning-making. This chapter details the methodological issues taken into consideration whilst designing and conducting the study. It is organised around five main areas:

 - Methodological considerations in relation to the research questions

 - Sources of Data

 - Methods of Data Collection

- Data analysis

- Issues of Ethics and Validity.

The thesis explores relationships between a study of curriculum Judaism at Key Stage Three and pupil attitudes to Jews (the people of Judaism). Specific focus was placed on evidence from Year 9 (aged 13-14) as this was the most common year group to which Judaism was

taught and for the majority of pupils ended their study of curriculum Judaism. The term 'curriculum Judaism' is used throughout the thesis to denote content and teaching methodologies used for pupils to learn about Judaism. This is distinct from learning about Judaism through means outside curriculum Judaism such as through the media, family and peers.

Three main questions were investigated:

What is the nature of pupils' attitudes to and perceptions of Jews?

What are teachers' perceived confidences in teaching about Judaism and related attitudinal development?

What key lessons may be learnt to influence the development of curriculum Judaism in order to promote positive attitudinal development to Jews?

As discussed later this research particularly investigated the relationship between the study of Judaism at Key Stage Three and the attitudes of pupils towards Jews. The research did not seek to investigate how much pupils knew about Judaism but the relationship between their learning through curriculum Judaism in school and their construction of a schema of attitudes to Jews. Answers to the research question were not the result of simple deduction but arose from empirical investigation of data closest to the research field.

Methodological Considerations

As indicated by the research questions above the 'lived experience' of pupils and the 'lived experience' of teachers' perceptions were the main source of evidence. Although related the context of each was

different. For pupils the study focussed upon the nature of their perceptions and attitudes to Jews after studying curriculum Judaism; whilst for teachers the perceptions related to their own confidences and experiences in teaching curriculum Judaism. The methodological considerations for each context will now be discussed.

The research was approached from an interpretive perspective; based on the premise that attitude formation is actively constructed rather than passively received. As a result such meanings are re-formed as subsequent information, experiences and opportunities for clarification are encountered. In Chapter 1 the complexities of attitude formation were discussed with specific reference to the argument of Tajfel (1959) that the cognitive action of categorisation contributes to the formation of established prejudices, potentially leading to negative behaviour. Tajfel claimed that people categorise themselves and others into 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' with specific attributes, forming a schema assigned to each of the groups.

The focus of this research is the impact of curriculum Judaism (including teaching methods, deployment of resources, content, content organisation and the role of teacher confidences and expertise) on evolving, confirming, evidencing or countering pupils' attitudes to Jews. This required investigation into the lived experiences of both teachers and pupils regarding curriculum Judaism. It was this priority which guided the researcher's considerations about potential approaches to the research. Two methods (case-study and ethnographic) were evaluated before a broadly phenomenological

approach was selected as the most suitable using, as discussed later in the chapter, mixed methods of data collection.

The researcher could have adopted a case study approach (Scholefield 2004) which would have involved data being collected and analysed regarding curriculum Judaism from pupils, teachers and resources within a particular school. As such an in-depth investigation could then have been made regarding the lived experience which would inform a response to the research focus, but only in respect of one distinctive situation. The researcher perceived difficulties in identifying a 'typical' case from which any generalisations could be made; this concern was exacerbated by the complexities of RE as a non-national curriculum subject. A further concern was the impact that such an intense investigation would have upon the selected school. Furthermore, sensitivities regarding the focus of the investigation could have deterred many head-teachers and RE Departments from agreeing to participate. Even if entry was granted the researcher recognised that the collection of data from teachers, pupils and resources could be seen as akin to an inspection; data might be skewed or invalidated as respondents attempted to create the findings they thought they should be providing.

The ethnographic approach has been commonly used elsewhere in Religious Studies research to investigate practices of lived religions and their communities of believers (Bhatti 1999; Nesbitt 2004; Smalley 2005). Through an attempt to understand the essence of the phenomenon from the viewpoints of participants researchers immerse

themselves in the culture of the locus, aiming to discover, describe and interpret characteristics of the phenomenon from the point of view of participants. Caveats raised by Stern (2006, p. 96-97) concerning small-scale ethnographic studies, particularly in relation to studies of religions, include the potential superficiality of resulting data through observation. The researcher rejected the often used ethnographic data collection tools of participant and non-participant observation (Jackson and Nesbitt 1993; Baumfield et al. 2008) for both ethical and pragmatic reasons. Both would require entry into a school culture and would give a very small snapshot of the relevant activity, which consequently would limit the data. A further concern related to the potential stress placed upon teachers who already have frequent lesson observations in order to meet their teaching standards. In addition to concerns regarding data collection the researcher recognised the argument of those such as Tesch (1994) that ethnography, whilst allowing an interpretive stance, is more concerned with a culture rather than a phenomenon, with the focus often more associated with sites.

The third approach considered was a phenomenological approach, which, as now discussed, was judged to be the most suitable methodology for the purpose of this research.

Phenomenological Approach

It is important to recognise a distinction between phenomenological research as discussed here and the phenomenological approaches used in the teaching of RE as discussed in Chapter 3. Rooted in the philosophical writings of Husserl (1960), Heidegger (1982) and

Moustakas (1994) phenomenology is particularly concerned with how social life is constructed by people who through actions and experiences make sense or meaning (Stern 2006, p. 106) of a certain experience or phenomenon (Cresswell 1998).

It sees the world as socially constructed, opening up the possibility that there may be many interpretations available as different experiences can be interpreted in different ways. Phenomenological approaches are frequently used in social science to investigate people's perceptions, attitudes and feelings and to emphasise the subjective lived experiences of individuals. A key characteristic of phenomenology is the focus on lived everyday experiences. As Cresswell (1998, p. 52) argues it is a systematic attempt to come into direct contact with participants' life worlds and to arrive at a deeper understanding of their essences:

> Researchers search for essentials, invariant structure (or essence) or the central underlying meaning of the experience and emphasize the intentionality of consciousness where experiences contain both the outward appearance and inward consciousness based on memory, image and meaning.

As discussed throughout the chapter the relationship between experiences, perceptions and interpretations through meaning-making is central to this research.

O'Leary (2010, p. 120) discusses characteristics of phenomenological studies, of which two are particularly relevant to this study. The first is the high dependence on evidence from individuals. The most valid data thereby derives from those closest to the field of the lived experiences and attitudes of the participants. As the chapter will show the data collection for this study comes from three sources closest to the field of curriculum Judaism - the pupils, the teachers and the resources. The second germane characteristic identified by O'Leary is that phenomenological studies are dependent on subjective constructs and meaning-making. It is not a question of whether the attitude or perception is in itself true (such as whether all Jews actually are wealthy; whether the teacher is confident in their understanding of Judaism) but the specific nature of the constructed belief (the perception that all Jews are wealthy; the perception that the teacher is confident in their teaching of Judaism) and the impact of the interpretation of such perceptions on the construction of a schema of attitudes to Jews.

Several writers, such as Lichtmann (2011), suggest that effective phenomenology moves beyond a description of the experience to arrive at the 'essence of the experience' (p. 77). The approach does not attempt to establish what is meant by the phenomenon but neither is it limited to describing it. It goes beyond that by drawing out the essence from the data. In order for this process to take place concentration is purely on the respondents' perceptions of the lived experience, requiring the researcher to 'bracket out' or suspend any

prejudgements; this process will be discussed more fully later in the chapter.

Having adopted a phenomenological approach the researcher needed to ultimately identify everyday perceptions of pupils and teachers. The corresponding procedures were heavily influenced by an approach proposed by Cresswell (1998). This incorporated devising research questions that explored everyday lived experience and collecting of subsequent data from those closest to the research field. Transforming the data into clusters of meaning to generate a general description of the experience was the next stage and finally the production of a synthesis of the everyday experience or phenomenon.

Qualitative Approach

Qualitative rather than quantitative methods were considered appropriate for two prime reasons. Firstly, the research is about respondents' perceptions, experiences and iterative schemas of attitudes. Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p. 10) argue that quantitative research is seldom able to capture the subject's point of view because of the reliance on more remote empirical methods. The researcher was mindful of this, as the focus of this research is on meaning-making rather than the amount or intensity of data produced. Many, such as Morse (1998), argue that this is an important distinction between quantitative and qualitative research. The second consideration taken into account relates to the complexities and sensitivities of the subject matter, which have been referred to above. Research on another sensitive issue (pupils' attitudes to race) conducted by Troyna and

Hatcher (1992, p. 76) and later Elton-Chalcraft (2009, p. 15) provides examples of the use of qualitative methods to probe for a deeper understanding. As discussed in Chapter 2 Julius (2010) refers to a nuanced negative attitude to Jews in Britain as 'a story of snub and insult, sly whisper and innuendo, deceit and self- deception' (p. 351) witnessed 'on the edge of a remark' (p. 363). It is likely that relevant data might be reflected through subtleties of language, pauses, vocal intonations and body language. It was decided that employing qualitative approaches would give increased opportunities for deeper probing by the researcher regarding the essence of teachers' and pupils' perceptions. As already established, the most valid data comes from those closest to the field as it is their perceptions and meaning making which are significant.

This chapter will proceed to discuss the considerations taken into account in deciding the most appropriate sources of data connected with the research focus.

Sources of Data

The thesis explores relationships between a study of curriculum Judaism at Key Stage Three and pupil attitudes to Jews. As a consequence the most authentic source of data for such a study is the pupils themselves. However, to have limited the research to pupils' responses would have been insufficient to realise its aim, to examine the relationship with curriculum Judaism. Consideration was given to the possibility of gathering data from a range of sources such as parents and carers but it was decided that such evidence would largely

provide only a perception (parents /carers) of the child's perception. As argued in Chapters 3 and 4 there are two main sources which most strongly impact on pupils' attitude development to Jews as part of curriculum Judaism. Firstly the teacher, through their selection of content and teaching methods, and secondly the textbooks used to represent Judaism in the class-room. Whilst recognising the pupils' perceptions as the most significant data, it was considered that data from teachers and from textbook analysis could also be significant. Through this triangulation of data sources (pupils/teachers/resources) perceived attributes and characteristics of Jews were simultaneously investigated. The chapter will now interrogate each of the sources of data with reference to the relevant sampling issues.

Pupils

As asserted above the researcher considered the perceptions of the pupils as a primary source of relevant data, despite the many complexities evident when involving pupils in research. Prior to the 1980s, researchers investigating issues of childhood rarely considered children as having the potential to be valid research participants. Instead, researchers learned about the lives of children by proxy, through parents, teachers or other adults deemed capable of speaking for them (Christensen and James 2002). In the past thirty years, sociologists of childhood have emphasised the need to recognise children as social actors (Roberts 2002; Scott 2002) who are capable of commenting on their own experiences and who have a basic right to be heard (Ireland and Holloway 1996). Children became recognised as a

social group affected by the same forces as other groups and thus equally worthy of having their views studied (Mayall 1996). These arguments have caused a shift of thinking on the part of researchers. The importance of pupil voice is now well established within educational circles and children are no longer considered to be solely the recipients of research but are now viewed as active and authentic agents in research (Pole et al. 1999; Ireland et al. 2006). Accessing pupils' perceptions at first hand was pivotal to this research and it was recognised that this would involve pragmatic and ethical considerations, such as those indicated by Heath et al. (2009).

As the focus of the study was curriculum Judaism the researcher concluded that pupil participation should be sought through schools. It is relevant at this juncture to identify two specific considerations regarding the sample of schools. Firstly it was judged that the schools needed to be teaching Judaism in Key Stage 3, using a locally agreed syllabus so that the schools would not have a distinctive religious character. A second consideration was that schools involved should not be classified under Ofsted school regulations as 'requiring improvement' and therefore have the demands of frequent monitoring visits from Ofsted to contend with.

With these criteria in mind five potential schools were approached. The researcher recognised that the head teacher would be the official 'gatekeeper' but the onus of the organisation would most probably be placed upon the head of department. Therefore heads of department were contacted and a subsequent visit was made to the school to

discuss the potential research with the RE departments. All heads of department agreed to take part in the research but when head teachers were officially contacted two refused. Reasons given from both schools related to a focus on Ofsted preparation; concern was also expressed by one school that the parental consent needed might generate difficulties. In the three consenting schools draft copies of head teacher, parent and pupil/carer explanatory letters and consent forms were shared with the governing bodies of each school before being distributed. Copies of each can be found in the Appendices to the thesis. Ethical issues regarding the content and distribution of the letters are discussed later in the chapter. One of the three consenting schools during this process had an unsuccessful Ofsted inspection prior to the interviews taking place, and subsequently withdrew. The researcher decided that sufficient data would be generated from the two remaining schools as they were both mixed gender with a mixed ability intake and good Ofsted reports.

With regards to sampling of pupils three criteria were applied. Firstly the pupils were to be in Year 9 (aged 13-14) and therefore at the end of their study of curriculum Judaism, as none of the schools selected taught Judaism at Key Stage 4 (aged 14-16). Secondly, reflecting the previous discussions regarding pupil voice, pupils volunteering to be interviewed were required to give written consent. Finally as part of safeguarding and ethical considerations, written consent was required from parents/carers. Each Year 9 class in the two schools was visited by the researcher to discuss the contents of the letters and interview

process. On leaving the classroom, pupils were able to pick up a copy of each of the letters if they wanted to volunteer to take part in the research. This process militated against those whose parents/carers did not wish their child to participate. It also placed demands upon those who wished to volunteer but did not possess the organisational skills to return signed letters on the day of the interviews. Pupils were self-selecting and could choose to be interviewed individually or in pairs of their choice. On the day of the interviews a number of pupils volunteered to participate and in total, 22 had all the relevant paper-work signed with 7 attending School W and 15 School WO. In the latter school ten of the pupils selected to be interviewed in pairs while in School W all requested to be interviewed on their own.

No data was requested regarding pupils' academic background, parental occupation or family socio-economic status, for two reasons. Firstly such information was not considered essential to the outcomes of the research as the focus was on pupil perceptions and capturing the essence of the perception. Secondly, such information requests could appear intrusive and result in parent/carers withdrawing their support. This omission may have limited the generalisability of the study, since it is not possible to say whether the findings are linked to class, ability or achievement. Neither was there any official declaration of religious traditions of the pupils, although the majority in each school identified themselves as Christians when comparing themselves with Jews but contradictorily not as Christians when comparing themselves with Christians.

Teachers

The perceptions of teachers regarding their perceived confidence and experiences in curriculum Judaism was considered a rich source of data. Careful consideration was given whether to select 'experienced' teachers, or what Baumfield (2007) refers to as 'novice' teachers, meaning those in their early teaching career. For a number of philosophical and pragmatic reasons the latter group was selected with the research completed during their first year of teaching. A primary reason for this decision was the importance of capturing the 'lived experience' for teachers entering the profession. Reference was made in Chapter 3 and 4 to the rapidly diminishing opportunities for professional development in RE as evidenced in the APPG report (2013). More established teachers are potentially likely to have already benefitted from a range of local authority professional development opportunities not available to those newly entering the profession. A second consideration was that established teachers might find such a study intimidating; perceiving it to be a test of their competencies and subject knowledge, a view potentially exacerbated by the known situation of the researcher as an Ofsted Inspector. As a result emerging data could be skewed, as the researcher thought it likely that only those confident in their competencies would volunteer to participate. A third pragmatic reason influenced the decision. The researcher, as leader of a Secondary RE course, was involved in a continuous reflective dialogue with novice teachers throughout their PGCE year as a key element of their professional development. Such reflective skills, as

recognised by Ollerton (2008), are not always evident in experienced teachers, who can perceive such a process as criticism. The researcher's position enabled easy and constant access to a wide range of PGCE trainee teachers from diverse backgrounds, ages, academic degrees, and belief systems.

Textbooks

The third source of data was a scrutiny of class textbooks used in the teaching of Judaism in the two sample schools. In Chapter 2 consideration was given to the potential impact of the textbook on pupils' schema of understanding. Boostrom (2001, p. 42) suggested that the textbook constituted an education in itself. He observed that through the chapter headings and side headings pupils are presented with a view of the world portrayed through the unique and distinctive lens of the author. This view is supported by the research findings of Jackson et al. (2010) which concluded that class textbooks used in the study of world religions were often relied upon by teachers and pupils for not only indicating the content to be taught, but also the particular lens through which the content should be is interpreted.

Such a presentation would be particularly influential if pupils had no first-hand experiences with which to compare the representation of a religion through a textbook. This influence will be stronger if the teacher has also had limited experience with which to challenge any unsubstantiated presumptions or false interpretations. The three textbooks (T1, T2 and T3) analysed were used in both sample schools and by all of the novice teachers in their teaching of Judaism. The

scrutiny focussed on text, illustrations and tasks identifying key themes, representations and characteristics. Although the data produced did not indicate how the resources were used nor their impact on pupils' perceptions it served to corroborate or challenge pupils' perceptions and the process of meaning-making. It was from one of these books, as later discussed, that pictures were sourced and used in the pupil interviews.

The chapter will now discuss the many considerations regarding appropriate data collection from each of the sources.

Methods of Data Collection

Adopting a phenomenological approach the research focussed on the lived experiences of pupils and teachers to capture pupils' perceptions of Jews and teachers' perceptions of their confidences in teaching curriculum Judaism. Data from each could potentially inform an understanding of relationships between curriculum Judaism and pupils' attitudes and perceptions of Jews. Cresswell (1998, p. 150) refers to phenomenology as a means to uncover 'textures' of an experience and recommends in-depth interviewing for the study of such textures of deep lived experiences. Influenced by this advocacy the researcher originally decided to use semi-structured interviews with pupils and teachers, but, as will now be discussed, the results from a pilot study resulted in some significant changes to the proposed data collection methods being made.

Pilot Study

A year prior to the data collection pilot interviews were conducted with three novice teachers and two Year 9 pupils. None of the responses given during the pilot were subsequently included in the data analysis of the thesis. After reflecting on the experience of the pilot the researcher made four main modifications to the data collection process.

The first modification related to the data collection from teachers. The study was primarily phenomenological with the aim of capturing the essence of the relationship between curriculum understanding and pupil attitudes and perceptions of Jews. Methods of data collection selected for phenomenological research aim to give opportunities for descriptions of the lived experience. With this in mind semi-structured interviews were originally conducted with both teachers and pupils, however the quality of the data that emerged from teacher responses was disappointing. Although the interviews gave valuable opportunities for asking relevant probing questions it became evident that some expressed what they thought the researcher wanted to hear rather than sharing their own perspective. These respondents appeared to be overly concerned about presenting themselves as effective teachers and therefore the validity of the responses became questionable. A further concern was that anonymity could not occur if the researcher was to also act as the interviewer. The amount of time required to undertake the interviews was also a contributory factor; each one lasted over forty minutes and this would have impacted on the number of teachers that could have been interviewed. Data

emerging from the interviews indicated that teachers' confidence and practice were often associated with their formal and informal educational experiences. This data, the researcher considered, could be derived through alternative methods such as questionnaires. Although not usually used in phenomenological research, after careful consideration the researcher decided that three questionnaires timed throughout the year would be the principal instrument for data collection from the teachers. The successive nature of the questionnaires would allow for further probing of issues emerging from previous questionnaires. This allowed for the administration of questionnaires at different stages of the year amounting to ninety six teaching experiences of 'curriculum Judaism' and the generation of a significant amount of data.

The second significant change made in response to findings from the pilot study was adapting the vocal tone of the researcher during pupil interviews. After listening to tape recordings of pilot interviews the researcher felt her own vocal tone was stilted and formalised and this appeared to cause interviewees to adopt a stylised form of response. As a result a less formal, more conversational, style of questioning was adopted in the subsequent pupil interviews, with the intention of setting the tone for them to contribute more naturally and informally.

In the pilot pupil interviews respondents often showed hesitancy, suggesting a lack of ease, at the beginning of each interview. None of the pupils in the pilot had ever taken part in an interview before and despite verbal and written encouragement many showed insecurities

which resulted in stilted responses. The researcher therefore considered it important to build into the start of each interview a topic of conversation that was not connected with the research but, as later illustrated, related to a shared human experience, to 'break the ice'.

The final adjustment related to the inclusion of strategies to encourage more detailed answers from pupils and to maintain the momentum of the interview. The researcher decided to use a selection of pictures to generate discussion and also naturally give opportunities for the expression of pupils' interpretations and meaning-making. The pictures chosen were from the most recent textbook (T3) used by the pupils in their study of Judaism. It was hoped that the familiarity of the pictures would generate greater self-confidence and a sense of ownership and authority by the respondents. The pictures initially selected for the pilot proved problematic as they were focussed on images of various phenomena of the religion (such as a family at Passover). Responses often became focussed on respondents trying to apply any knowledge of Judaism to the picture, as they might in a formal assessment task. After a further scrutiny of the textbooks the researcher selected four different pictures which allowed greater opportunities for interpretation rather than knowledge recall.

Experiences from the pilot interviews had shown the researcher that pupils became less engaged towards the end of the interview. In an attempt to maintain concentration and also to gain a deeper level of pupil perceptions a vignette was introduced from which the pupils were asked to hypothesise a course of actions and behaviours. As

discussed more fully later in the chapter, vignettes have been used by researchers from a wide range of disciplines to explore diverse social issues and problems (Finch 1987) especially regarding perceptions of young people (Astor 1994; Barter and Renold 2000). Vignettes are stories which provide concrete examples of people and their behaviours on which participants can offer comment or opinion. Hughes (1998, p. 381) proposes that they are particularly relevant in the 'study of perceptions, beliefs and attitudes'.

Vignettes have also been recognised as valuable research tools because in asking about concrete, 'real life' situations they enable participants to reflect and base ideas on their own schema of attitudes as opposed to thinking abstractly. They also provide a sense of safety to the respondent as perceptions are expressed in relation to the vignette character. As such they can be a vital tool for phenomenological research. Vignettes have been highlighted as tools which recognise the importance of social context on behaviours (Hughes 1998) and which elicit data on 'commonly understood norms' (Finch 1987, p. 107). One reason for incorporating a vignette was, as Scott (2002, p. 108) suggests, that adolescents are often better at producing answers dealing with the here and now; it was decided that this would be a non-threatening way of introducing discussions with respondents. Gaine (1995) advocates their use at the introduction of an interview with pupils to 'take the racist temperature' and often begins interviews by asking children to imagine they were in a hot air balloon which could take them anywhere they wanted to go. The identification of the place

and an explanation of what might happen to them, he argues, highlights attitudes and preconceptions towards different nationalities. The pilot exercise showed however, that vignettes based on hypothetical situations worked best when they led from previous dialogue and relevant picture stimuli.

As already identified, findings from the pilot resulted in a mixed methods approach being used to reflect the various perspectives (Denzin and Lincoln 1998, p. 24). It was hoped, as turned out to be the case, that by selecting the most appropriate method for each source a deeper interrogation of the data would result giving a fuller understanding of the complexities behind the phenomenon.

Data Collection from Pupils

Careful consideration was given regarding effective and ethical methods of data collection from pupils, with their age being a specific consideration. Questionnaires were dismissed from the methodology early in the research. Although able to produce a significant amount of anonymous data in a time-effective manner they demand a reasonable level of literacy skills. The researcher concurred with Scott (2002, p.102) that within any group of pupils there would be a range of literacy and emotional skills: 'although, by adolescence (aged 11 onwards), it is possible to use a standardized questionnaire instrument, problems of literacy, confidentiality and context have to be taken into account'.

A related concern was that questionnaires could be perceived by pupils as a test of their knowledge, which would be off-putting to many

pupils and likely to cause stress. The process of devising a questionnaire relevant to more than one school was also a difficulty, as identified by Walshe (2005) in her study of pupils' views of Jesus.

Adopting a phenomenological stance, the data collection sought the subjective views of the lived experiences of the pupils regarding the phenomenon and as such required the researcher to probe and clarify nuances and ambiguities. This was considered particularly relevant as pupils presumably would be expressing their perceptions for the first time so explanations would not have been rehearsed and there was not time for anxieties to develop about what language to use. Wuthnow (1987), in his discussion of antisemitism and stereotyping, argues that questionnaires can in fact create invalid data for this reason:

> Survey questions seldom provide for the degree of complexity. If the statement in question contains an element of truth, respondents are forced to deny this element of truth in order to avoid appearing prejudiced.
>
> (p. 138)

Wuthnow's argument is particularly relevant to this research; as discussed in Chapter 2 particular characteristics of English antisemitism relate to nuances and inferences which might be difficult to ascertain through a questionnaire.

In conclusion, whilst recognising their time-consuming nature the researcher decided that semi-structured interviews would be the optimum method for gaining valid data from pupils. In the research

conducted by Cowan and Maitles (2007) a longitudinal approach was adopted with the same pupils interviewed in primary and secondary schools. This study, however, was not seeking to quantify the impact of curriculum Judaism on pupil's perceptions but to analyse the relationship between curriculum Judaism and pupils' attitudes to Jews. The researcher therefore considered it unnecessary to establish pupils' attitudes and perceptions of Jews before their study of curriculum Judaism, whilst recognising this could be appropriate for a further related inquiry.

Two specific factors were identified as significant for the effectiveness of the semi-structured interview process: an environment in which pupils would willingly respond, providing engaging and stimulating interviews; and the adoption of a style of interviewing which was effective and responsive. Considerations regarding each will now be discussed.

Providing a safe and secure interview environment was essential if pupils were to confidently express their views. Issues regarding location and timing can impact on the validity of data (Barbour 2007, Scott 2002) and special consideration had to be given to the age of the pupils. To conduct the interviews during the lunch time or after school could inconvenience participants who have other commitments or rely on school transport at the end of the school day. Taking pupils out of curriculum lessons could cause difficulties with members of staff who had not been part of the negotiations and potentially result in pupils selecting lessons to miss which they should be attending. After

discussion with each of the head teachers and heads of department it was decided that pupils would be interviewed during the time of their RE lesson as the interview would be a natural extension of the subject area. The researcher recognised that this decision could pre-empt how pupils thought they might be required to respond. Stern (2006) in his consideration of what might be said in the classroom illustrates how pupils' responses are affected by their distinctive perceptions of the different subject areas.

Scott (2002, p. 113) suggests that thirty minute sessions are likely to be the most productive, allowing for relationships to be established between interviewer and interviewee but not being so long that interviewees become fatigued. He further argues (p. 109) that children's ideas about social desirability are heavily context-dependent and it is therefore important to keep the context as natural as possible. With this in mind the school setting was considered to be most appropriate, for a number of reasons. Firstly in both schools head teachers only agreed to participation if the interviews occurred during the RE lesson time slot, which necessitated that they be conducted in a location close to the RE classroom. Secondly the focus of the interview was on the impact of curriculum Judaism as delivered in that school. Offering a different context might have confused pupils. A third consideration was that parents/carers would be more likely to give consent if the activity was to take place in the known environment of the school, which the researcher perceived might also generate more confidence in the respondents. In both schools a quiet location was

identified with easy access to the RE classroom resulting in minimal disruption for pupils participating in the research.

Pilot interviews quickly proved that the researcher was unable to both facilitate the interview **and** take the role of note-taker also. Barbour (2007) recommends video recording, which has the advantage of capturing body language. However the researcher considered this might cause a distraction for the pupils and create stress. Audio recording was perceived as less intrusive and would still capture changes of vocal tone, hesitancies and, as Lee (1999) points out, silences. Forewarning of the proposed use of a tape recorder and the rationale was given in the briefing and in the permission letters. Pupils were given the option of working the tape recorder, following Emond's (2005) suggestion that such a practice reinforces participants' sense of ownership of the process (p. 134). One respondent (WO5) expressed concern regarding how her voice sounded and asked to listen back to the first part of her recording before consenting to continue with the interview.

Significant consideration was given to making the interview itself a safe and secure process. As discussed later in the chapter particular consideration was given to issues of confidentiality. For pupils to openly share their perceptions it was essential that they were reassured that their views would be anonymised and treated as highly confidential. The researcher considered strategies to create a non-threatening interview process such as eliminating any challenging questions, although this could potentially result in pupils offering

limited responses or refusing to engage at all (Opie and Opie 1959; Cohen, Mannion and Morrison 2007). The interviewer endeavoured to establish some areas of shared human experience at the beginning of the interview session. In most instances the dialogue then tended to evolve into a general discussion about the content of RE courses and then develop into a specific focus on Judaism. The pilot interviews showed that there was often a disjuncture between the latter two stages of the session; it was particularly this that caused the researcher to adopt the use of pictures to act as a stimulus and bridge. A concern of the researcher was that whatever prompts were selected needed to be accessible but also must not bias respondents' thinking. Neither should they be such a blunt tool that respondents felt forced to make explicit judgements that they might not freely wish to make (Schneider 2005, p. 52).

Consideration was given to a range of techniques which can be used for data collection and which might be appropriate to use with pupils concerning sensitive issues. Each will now be discussed briefly regarding their appropriateness for this research.

'Reaction Time Measures' is a technique used to ascertain the nature of particular viewpoints offered by respondents, based on the theory that what is believed to be true tends to be answered more quickly than something perceived to be doubtful. Schneider (2005) offers a relevant example: 'a person who believes that Jews are clannish should be likely to be quick to answer a question about their clannishness' (p. 57). Although the researcher recognises there might be validity in this

rationale she concluded that the act of timing responses could produce undue stress for pupils not used to being interviewed, consequently affecting the depth of responses.

'Free Response Attribution' was used in the seminal research by Katz and Braly (1933, 1935) regarding attitude formation and has subsequently been used in further research on stereotypes (Gilbert 1951; Karlins et al. 1969). Although there are many variations of this technique central is the practice of asking interviewees to match attributes or traits to a given group. Oppenheim (1992, p. 56-7), for example, suggested that a sentence completion strategy is a useful adjunct to an open-ended question, by allowing respondents to identify strong associations within a short amount of time and without much thought. Results from previous research conducted by the researcher showed that the pupils did indeed attribute specific characteristics to religious groups, especially Jews, Christians and Jehovah's Witnesses. The researcher concluded, however, that this approach resulted in pupils focusing their responses on the stereotype rather than what they personally believed to be true. The researcher was persuaded by Ehrlich and Rinehart's (1965) argument that this technique can put artificial thoughts in respondents' minds as they are virtually forced to generate stereotypes even if they do not have them. As such the respondents would fail to express the subjective view of their lived experience.

Consideration was given to adopting Gardner's 'stereotype differential technique' (1973) in which pupils would have been asked to rate

groups on various semantic differential or trait-type scales such as 'shrewd/not shrewd' with mean ratings across subjects calculated for each scale on each group. However, this technique was rejected for several reasons, the strongest being the difficulties involved in establishing clear and shared definitions of the particular attributes, and the fact that the nature of the method is more applicable to quantitative research. The 'Lexical Decision Measures' approach was also considered (Gaertner and McLaughlin 1983; Schneider 2005) in which word strings are shared and respondents are asked to verify or refute them as being correct. The process often requires respondents to relate the given words to one of two groups or categories. In the current study consideration was given to using word string association of attributes for Jews and people from another faith tradition. However, the researcher could not assume that all respondents would have competent knowledge of a further religious tradition with which to make such comparisons.

The two techniques which were finally adopted by the researcher to support the open-ended questions were, as already mentioned, the use of four photographs from the class textbooks, and a vignette arising from the final photograph shown to pupils.

Using pictures in research concerning antisemitism has had a long history (Allport and Kramer 1946; Lindzey and Rogolsky 1950). It is a method frequently used with children to support the creation of a shared understanding (Prosser 1998; Bar-Tel and Labin 2001) through a medium that is a familiar part of the young person's world (Heath et

al. 2009). The four pictures selected for use in the semi-structured interviews were made into A3 coloured pictures so that respondents would be able to see details more clearly. As previously explained, each of the four pictures gave opportunities for pupil interpretation and was not dependent upon their knowledge of Judaism as a religious tradition. Picture A depicts a crowd in modern western clothes outside a building. The caption reads 'Remembering the dead … a Jewish ceremony at the entrance to a Polish concentration camp in 1995'. Picture B is of a group of young people in Western clothes, mainly jeans and tee-shirts with many holding banners saying 'Peace Now' and a larger banner written in Hebrew. Picture C is of a street scene with a group of men with a young child crossing the road. The shops in the background are 'Lincoln Shopping Centre' 'Jethro's Chemist' and 'Solly's Exclusive Kosher'. Picture D was of six boys of about ten to twelve years of age dressed in Western style clothes of jean and shirts. All the boys are wearing *kippot* and one boy is holding his BMX bicycle.

The order in which the pictures were introduced arose naturally from the preceding dialogue regarding what they had just been learning about in RE, for example:

I - What are you doing in RE at the moment?

W2 - Like the Holocaust things

This led to Picture A being used first in the interviews. An exception occurred once when a pupil took ownership of the process requesting to see all four pictures and then selected the order for her discussion:

W04 - Can I just have a look at them first?

[Pause whilst interviewee looks at pictures]. I

want to look at this one and then that one and

this one and that one.

In addition to the use of pictures the researcher also incorporated a vignette to provide opportunities for pupils to hypothesise from their constructed schema of attitudes to a lived experience. Finch (1987) advocates the merits of using more than one vignette but with the pressure of time restrictions the researcher decided to just use one. With hindsight further vignettes would have allowed for more variables to be considered such as age, gender and ethnicity.

The vignette was based upon Picture D of the adolescents with the BMX bicycle and pupils were asked questions regarding a hypothetical move of the boys in the picture to the interviewee's school. The decision to place the vignette within the context of the pupil's own school was influenced by Fredrickson (1986), who argues that a realistic scenario generates greater involvement from respondents. This view is reinforced by Neff (1979) who states that vignettes will be most productive when the situations depicted appear real and conceivable to participants. Consideration was given to implementing the seven-point structure advocated by Miles and Huberman (1994) but the researcher concluded this could impose an artificial structure rather than allowing pupils' hypotheses to flow from their unmediated interpretation of the picture. Prompt questions were given such as what curriculum subjects might the boys in the picture like? What might the

boys in the picture enjoy in the school? The specifics of the questions depended upon the pupil's previous response.

The final factor considered as decisive for the success of an effective semi-structured interview is the role of the interviewer in managing and conducting the interviews. With the intention of enhancing consistency it was established from the beginning of the research that there would only be one interviewer. The researcher had philosophical and practical reservations regarding the RE teacher taking on this role. Firstly, any existing relationship between pupil and teacher might result in pupils being reluctant to express their views honestly. As Cowan and Maitles (2007, p. 121) argue, pupils can learn to express particular views to suit the perceived views required, therefore distorting the accuracy of data. Secondly, the researcher was keen for the pupils to perceive themselves as 'experts' informing the interviewer of their perceptions. Mayall (2002, p.122) explains this position as follows:

> I am asking children, directly, to help me, an
>
> adult, to understand childhood. I want to
>
> investigate directly with children the
>
> knowledge they have of their social position
>
> … I present myself as a person who, since she
>
> is an adult, does not have this knowledge.

It was decided that pupils would find it difficult to adopt this role with their teacher who they would presume had superior knowledge. Such a re-allocation of power in which children become the instructors of an

adult is not an easy process, as illustrated by Baumfield et al. (2008).
The inequalities of status and age which exist between adults and children make the divide between researcher and researched difficult to bridge (Christensen and James 2002). The worry is that imbalances of power can pose risks to the validity of the data gathered. The researcher was particularly conscious of this as the interviews were to take place in schools which, as Dockrell et al. (2000) comment, are imbued with the conventions of teacher-child relationships. Careful thought was given therefore as to how to facilitate the dialogue without controlling it (Bloor et al. 2001, p. 48-49). A strategy was adopted akin to that adopted by Elton-Chalcraft (2009) who, when researching racist attitudes with pupils, considered herself as a 'traveller', listening to what children told her rather than having a particular theory to be proved or disproved.

To reduce the imbalance of power in the interviews the researcher thought carefully about how she would present herself to interviewees as approachable and non-authoritarian. Influenced by the observations of Emond (2005, p. 130) the same clothes were worn for the briefing as for the interview so that familiarity and consistency were established. However Emond's suggestion that the interviewer remove their shoes (p. 131) was judged to be potentially off-putting to pupils and not adopted. Other strategies were used to reassure respondents, such as the use of the researcher's first name to convey a different type of relationship than the pupils would have with their teacher. References to pupils as the 'experts' in the research focus were given

in the pupil letter, the briefing to each of the classes: 'I don't know what young people think about this. So if you agree I would like you to talk with me about what you think about these things. This report will help to let adults know and also help to make better learning.'

And in the introduction to each interview: 'I'm really interested in what people of your age think about things connected with RE and religions. So you're the expert. I don't know because I'm not your age and I'm not in RE lessons. There's no right or wrong answers, it's just whatever you think.'

After such an introduction the researcher began a conversation in which the pupil was able to take on an expert role regarding a shared human experience. Examples included holidays, brothers and sisters, computer skills, the local shopping area, football or animals in the school farm. Similarly when resources were referred to the researcher ensured that the interviewee knew they were from their class textbooks with copies on the table near-by. When pupils referred to specific areas then the researcher demonstrated a heightened interest. This often resulted in a thorough description interwoven with an interpretation relating to a schema of understanding of the phenomenon. For example:

> W3 - Before that we did the Boy in the Striped
>
> Pyjamas. That was so sad. I cried. I just kept
>
> crying.
>
> I - What happened? I don't know the story?

W3 - Well, on the day that they were going to be killed the boy slipped under the fence and he was rounded up and the Nazis killed him. It was so sad … that was the day the Nazis were killing and his dad was a Nazi.

Instances of factual inaccuracies presented quandaries for the interviewer. To ignore them would reaffirm misunderstandings yet to challenge them during the interview would threaten the desired position of pupil as expert and impact on subsequent responses. The interviewer decided to give a response that endorsed her being in a learning role, such as 'I didn't know that' rather than affirm the misinformation given. This strategy was particularly significant in one interview (W05) where the respondent interpreted picture A with many factual inaccuracies in a hesitant vocal tone:

I - Where do you think those boys might be?

WO5 - Er … Jew. Jewish or something like German 'cos they wear those hats don't they?

Instead of correcting the pupil the interviewer repeated the comment to encourage the pupil to develop their understanding:

I - So you think they are Jewish or they live in Germany? Is that right?

WO5- I don't think it's India I don't think they wear those kinds of hats and stuff. But I have noticed in India the women they wear things to cover their face.

As a result of the non-challenging stance adopted by the interviewer the pupil grew in confidence and as the interviews proceeded tended to take a lead referring to their schema of understanding:

> WO5- Some Jews like, survived and like they got away but like most of them died. And they didn't er, er … do you know about Hitler and stuff like that? He didn't like dark-haired people. He liked blond and blue eyes.
>
> [Respondent points to herself; she is blonde with blue eyes]
>
> I - I see.
>
> WO5 - The Germans were having a war or something and he didn't like the Jews so he tried to wipe them all out. And like put them in concentration camps to kill them all to make sure there were less.

The success of strategies to develop a pupil's role as expert is illustrated by the number of respondents who felt confident to hypothesise and volunteer answers. For example W1 who, although unable to connect with the country of Palestine when the caption was read to her in Picture B, confidently suggested countries she was aware of:

> I - What do you think they might be campaigning for?
>
> W1 - Peace. Like if there is a war somewhere?

I - What war? That picture was taken very

recently.

W1 - Maybe the one in Afghanistan and Iran

and all that

Mindful of the comment from Heath et al. (2009, p. 124) that young people require a significant amount of social confidence to feel empowered in interviews, a range of strategies were planned into the interview process. Primarily the researcher ensured that potential interviewees were fully briefed in advance of the interview and were given time to consider whether or not they wished to participate. Opportunities were given for opt out in the briefing letter (and reiterated at the start of each interview): 'You don't have to talk to me if you don't want to. If you want to come with the others in your group and listen but not talk then that's okay also.'

The process was based on self-selection (with parents'/carers' consent) and that included their selection of any accompanying interviewees. The researcher concurred with Scott (2002, p. 111) that children should be interviewed together if they wished to reflect the friendship grouping and so create as natural a setting as possible. The researcher presumed that pair interviews might generate greater confidence and also potentially enrich dialogue (Mayall 2002, p. 133) as members of the group would have a pre-existing relationship (Short 1994, p. 396). A further advantage, as Scott (2002) indicates, is that it would also allow pupils in the group to ask each other for any necessary clarification of the task. Of those interviewed in pairs many had known

each other for some years and therefore relevant prompts to shared experiences were often given during the discourse. In none of the interviews was there evidence of Mauthner's finding (1997, p. 23) that mixed gender groups can result in girls being overshadowed.

In the pilot interviews hesitancies at the start of an interview were common. To initiate discussion the researcher would sometimes start a sentence then drop her voice with the hope that a pupil would interject and finish off the sentence. In this study for many of the respondents this was probably the first time interviewees had discussed their perceptions of Jews and as such responses were unrehearsed and sometimes cautious, punctuated with soft data (Baumfield et al. 2008, p. 53) such as hesitancies and contradictions. Influenced by the research of Chong (1993, p. 873) the researcher anticipated that probing questions might be needed because when issues are complex people will often revise their answers during interviews. Furthermore, Afdal (2006, p. 31) suggests that when interviewees are thinking about values their views will be influenced by the context they perceive the question is set in. During the interviews such inconsistencies were particularly evident in pupils' perceptions of Jews. As will be illustrated in Chapter 6, when discussing Jews during the Holocaust, respondents often talked sympathetically with expressions of pity and perceptions of Jews as victims. However, when discussing Jews in contemporary contexts respondents frequently depicted them as constituting a threat and they were perceived as being 'outsiders'. Sometimes it was through verbal responses that inconsistencies and

hesitancies were evident but more often this was indicated by body language or vocal tone or with sentences left incomplete.

Data Collection From Teachers

The purposes of the research were explained to teachers a week before the conduct of each questionnaire. The teachers all belonged to one cohort on a PGCE RE course but represented a diverse range of backgrounds and training programmes. The sample of respondents referred to eight locally agreed syllabi, all of which had been influenced by the non-statutory National Framework for RE (QCA 2004). As such there were similarities in all the syllabi concerning curriculum aims, assessment levels and the inclusion of curriculum Judaism at Key Stage 3 (aged 11-14).

It must be recognised that as a reflection of the professional course they had embarked on they could all be considered academically successful with an interest in religion. A consent form was distributed at the briefing meeting and all 36 potential participants returned a signed form the following week. Participation in the first questionnaire was 100 per cent with 36 responses; this decreased in the second questionnaire to 31 responses and in the third to 30 responses. All questionnaires were completed in rooms in a University that teachers could choose to enter and then place their completed response in a box in that room. As questionnaires were anonymous the researcher had no way of identifying if any particular traits were common to those not participating.

As discussed above the data collection method for teachers was changed from the semi-structured interviews used in the pilot to that of three questionnaires conducted over a year. Such spacing allowed findings from the first questionnaire to inform questions for the second and third. The questionnaires were constructed mindful of the importance of qualitative design (Janesick 1998, p. 42) with consideration of the importance of accessibility (Cohen, Mannion and Morrison 2007, p. 339). Concerns regarding power issues between tutor and novice teachers were decreased by the anonymity of questionnaires.

The purpose of the three questionnaires was not to gather data regarding the individual teacher's subject knowledge development throughout the year but to gain a range of data relevant to the research question. The focus was on respondents' experiences of curriculum Judaism, their perceived confidences and their perceptions of pupils' attitudes. So, for example, the first questionnaire was particularly concerned with the relationship between the teacher's academic study, personal experiences and perceived confidence in teaching Judaism. Unique to the second questionnaire were respondents' reflections from their first teaching experience and the nature of the department they were working in. The final questionnaire was conducted in July by which time many of the respondents had been teaching in their first paid post. As such questions were asked regarding perceived professional development needs for the delivery of curriculum Judaism. The purpose of this data collection was not to trace the

development of teachers' confidence nor their competences in teaching curriculum Judaism. The process required respondents to self-assess their level of confidence in teaching Judaism compared with the other principal religions as demanded by the Education Reform Act (DES 1988, Section 8). The process used reflected that of the *REsilience/AtGyfnerthu Project* (Wintersgill 2011) where the categorisation relates to respondents' self-perception without any external criteria. No questions therefore were incorporated to 'test out' teachers' knowledge nor to verify their perception. Questions were also asked regarding formal education experiences when a pupil in school to reflect the argument of Britzman and Pitt (1966) that the way one has learnt in the past often has direct impact on how one teaches.

It was recognised from the outset that procuring this type of information would require the use of open questions, although the questionnaire also employed single response questions when gathering factual evidence such as the academic backgrounds, genders and ages of the respondents. The use of open questions resulted in a rich vein of information being provided as different data were gathered from each of the different questionnaires. The decision to use three questionnaires spaced over the year proved effective in generating a range of relevant data and giving opportunities for probing in successive questionnaires.

For each of the questionnaires the same process was followed: firstly the research and data collection methods were explained to all potential respondents, then respondents were invited to go to a private

area to complete the questionnaire which they placed in a box provided in the room. The researcher had no knowledge of who had taken up or declined the opportunity. Each questionnaire was scheduled to be completed after each of the three progress reviews in University which is the least stressful time of the course in terms of workload.

Data Collection from Textbooks

The books selected were those used by teachers within the two schools for the Key Stage Three study of Judaism. As the following two chapters illustrate the curriculum for the study of Judaism was often strongly supported or led by the textbooks. The focus of data collection from the textbook analysis was the perceptions and attitudes arising from the analysis of their responses. The data collection did not include the range of areas analysed in the scrutiny of RE materials led by Jackson et al. (2010) where issues of accessibility and balance of assessment objectives were also considered.

Data Analysis

As this was a phenomenological study the researcher recognised the need to go further than merely identifying and describing the phenomena, to 'grasp the very nature of the thing' (Van Manen 1990, p. 177). Data from the interviews with pupils were closely analysed by the researcher. As interviewer and transcriber the researcher was in a position to make notes on the transcriptions regarding hesitancies, body language and incidental interactions. Geertz (1973) describes analysis conducted with this degree of detail as 'thick description'

because it involves detailed material about not just the behaviour but also the context. The researcher recognised that the use of questionnaires for teacher responses precluded such an approach, but recognised that the analysis needed to go beyond description to capture the essence of the perceptions and attitudes.

Transcription of the interviews proved to be a time consuming task, particularly for the paired transcripts where there were instances of over-talking. Yet this was time well spent, as it provided a detailed and accurate record of the responses and helped the researcher to deepen familiarity with the data. The questionnaire responses were thoroughly analysed and the transcripts were constantly revisited as new data were analysed. The method used to analyse the textbooks constituted a proto-text approach where content, textual and discourse analysis were simultaneously employed to uncover the implicit and explicit messages within the text (Johnsen 1993). Additionally an examination of the images was conducted by a simple tallying of common features and categories (Johnsen 1993). Through this process preliminary categories began to emerge which provided a provisional clustering, open to adjustment. From here further data was analysed and domains were substantiated with boundaries refined. This process entailed further scrutiny of all the data which had been generated.

From the early stages of data gathering, the researcher interrogated the data by listening repeatedly to the recordings, taking notes on developing themes and thinking about ways in which emergent ideas should be investigated further in future questionnaires. From this

iterative process the data from each source was analysed and compared alongside other emerging data. This process revealed relationships between emerging concepts and gave the opportunities to flesh out and explore dominant themes in teacher questionnaires. Vital to the process were opportunities for the researcher to take time to reflect and identify emerging unanticipated issues which could be later probed (Emond 2005). One specific example is the inclusion of a picture related to the Holocaust for pupil interviews as a result of the significance of the area of content provided from the first teacher questionnaire.

Issues of Validity and Ethics

Ethical considerations concerning validity, bias, generalisability, consent, anonymity, and the nature of the challenge were of particular importance and compounded by the vulnerability of respondents and the sensitive nature of the material covered by the study. The chapter will proceed by briefly considering each of these areas in relation to the study.

In preparation for ethical clearance procedures many considerations were taken into account. One significant issue was the description of the enquiry in parent, teacher, pupil and headteacher consent letters. Short (1994) refers to similar considerations regarding descriptions of research focussing upon Judaism. The focus of the enquiry was the relationship between learning and teaching of a religion and pupils' attitudes and perceptions to the people of that religion. Although the research gave opportunities for antisemitic attitudes to emerge during

data collection the research was not about antisemitism per se. As such therefore the wording of the consent letters placed the enquiry regarding Judaism within a wider context of learning and teaching about religion.

Issues of Validity, Bias, and Generalisability

Concurring with Denscombe (2007, p. 299) the researcher recognised the impossibility of proving conclusively that research data is entirely valid. However a range of strategies were employed to authenticate the research as far as possible. These included data collection closest to the field, triangulation and deployment of mixed methods as no single method was considered adequate to grasp all the variations to produce a valid picture (Denzin and Lincoln 1998, p. 24). The data analysis process was iterative allowing clusters to emerge rather than constrained to suit particular pre-conceptions.

It was recognised that despite the afore-mentioned benefits of researcher as interviewer, transcriber and analyst a potential concern existed regarding issues of bias and objectivity. Janesick (1998, p. 41) acknowledges that no area of research can be value-free or bias-free but points out that the impact of these can be decreased by the researcher being conscious and sensitive to the impact of personal values, expectations, culture, gender and experiences. As with any phenomenological inquiry the 'bracketing out' of researcher assumptions is crucial. For some the term is synonymous with 'epoche' however many such as Gearing (2004) identify practical distinctions between epoche and bracketing. Patton (1990) describes

epoche as being distinct from bracketing as 'an ongoing analytic process' (p. 408), implying it should be integrated into research from the beginning of the study. Crucial to the process is a phenomenological reduction involving the researcher bracketing out presuppositions so that the data is considered in 'pure form'. The researcher also bore in mind the complexities expressed by Porter (1993) and Ashworth and Lucas (2000) as to whether it is possible to attain the degree of objectivity required for authentic bracketing if a researcher has had experience of the phenomenon under attention.

Schutz (1962) argues that a good way of bracketing out presuppositions is for the researcher to adopt the stance of a 'stranger' and to exercise a certain naivety about how things work. As previously indicated this was the strategy adopted with the pupil taking on the role as expert and the researcher as novice and listener. The researcher identified three particular areas where bias could occur and as previously discussed devised strategies to try to counter it:

- in the selection of participants. This would be the case if there was a predominance of pupils interviewed from a particular ethnic or political background or of a particular ability level.

- from the temptation to ask leading questions. Robson (1999 p. 67) cautions against questions framed in such a way as to elicit responses which support preconceived notions.

- the reactions of the interviewer including the use of body language which could be interpreted as approval or disapproval by respondents.

In keeping with phenomenological research principles the number of semi-structured interviews was small. The respondents were from a particular area of England. Generalisability was not a concern of the research and the researcher does not make wide claims about the study's findings as being applicable to all age groups or locations. However the evidence from the wider range of teacher respondents does give some validation of data for generalisability regarding specific features of the phenomenon, such as the complexities regarding the use of the term Jew; the nature of the impact on attitude development as result of Holocaust Education and teachers' lack of confidence regarding approaching contentious issues as elements of curriculum Judaism.

The researcher was aware that the research findings represent a snapshot of perceptions at a moment in time. Consequently it is acknowledged that the findings claimed will relate to and be true of that time only. It is possible that a similar study during the Gaza/Israel crisis of 2014 would have produced different results. In spite of such limitations it is argued that this research is important in its own right as a snapshot of the views of the respondents involved.

Issues of Consent and Confidentiality

In keeping with widely held principles of informed consent such as those identified by Homan (1991, p. 69) all respondents involved in the research were provided with prior comprehensive information which detailed the nature and purpose of the research and the opportunities to freely agree or decline to participate. Informed

consent for all respondents was required. A briefing for all those involved (pupils, teachers, heads of department, parents/carers, and head teachers) was given in line with the guidance of the British Sociologists Association (BSA): 'to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking it and financing it, why it is being undertaken and how it is to be disseminated' (2002, p. 3).

Letters which explained the study and outlined details of involvement were distributed to potential participants and in the case of pupils, to their parents/carers. This was done on the understanding that parents are required by law to give consent on behalf of a child. However, in addition to this the researcher also requested that pupils give written consent. The risk that pupils can be put under pressure by parents to participate in such studies was minimised by pupils acting as intermediary between the researcher and their parents/carers; thus they had the opportunity to not inform their parents/carers unless they wished to participate. Barbour (2007) observes that little is known about the reasons why most people consent to participate in research; some find it cathartic or participate simply out of interest. It was anticipated that the latter reason might be the case for both teachers and pupils. The giving of incentives could be misconstrued as bribery (Heath et al. 2009) so the only enticement on offer for this study was the knowledge that the findings might inform curriculum planning in the future.

Although complete anonymity can never be guaranteed the researcher took several steps to protect confidentiality. Firstly, all respondents were given pseudonyms, with questionnaires being randomly numbered separately so preventing tracking over the year. It is acknowledged that teacher respondents could have been identified in the first questionnaire through personal details regarding academic backgrounds. The subsequent two questionnaires contained no such identifying features.

Before taking part in the interviews pupils were explicitly informed that if their responses were to be quoted in future reports anonymity would be preserved. The researcher considered this reassurance to be necessary as Cohen and Mannion (1997, p. 368) offer evidence from Kimmel that some respondents in research on sensitive topics refuse to co-operate when assurances of confidentiality are weak. The importance of anonymity was emphasised throughout the whole process; verbally in the research briefing, written in the letter of explanation and consent forms and again verbally at the start of each interview. Emond's research (2005, p. 130) refers to the pupils deciding upon their own pseudonyms; although this was offered at the pre-interview briefing no pupils asked for it. Pupils were advised not to talk about anything which had been disclosed in the discussion although the researcher had no way of controlling this.

Emond (2005) refers also to the dichotomy between upholding the requirements of confidentiality of the content of the discussions and the need to ensure safe-guarding issues in line with institutional

policies. At the pre-interview briefing and at the start of the interview the researcher reminded pupils of each school's policy regarding disclosures and racial behaviours. Although this could have impacted on pupils' open responses the researcher was aware of the typography of antisemitism discussed in Chapter 1. At one end of the scale are the wilful antisemitic comments which might come under the remit of an institutional equal opportunity policy and thus require some form of follow up and possibly sanctions. Troyna (1995, pp.400-401) advocates that in such cases the interviewer should intervene and challenge any injustices. However after discussion with the head teachers of the schools it was decided that if such instances occurred pupils would be gently reminded of the racial equality policies in school and left to reflect on these for themselves. In the event, and as reflected in the experiences of Short (1994), the only instances occurred in paired interviews and the challenges came from peers. In one example a pupil was beginning to imply attitudes that her partner was uncomfortable with in the interview structure:

I - Do you think it's better in school to use Jews or Jewish people?

W08A - Jewish people.

W08B - I … I'd say a bit of both because if you are writing a sentence you could write the Jews or most Jewish people so it makes sense to use both.

W08A - I would think Jewish people because

… Jews … er [*face is screwed up*] Jews

I - Now you pulled a face there when you said

Jews ….

W08A - Yeah because Jews …

W08B - [*cutting in*] It's more formal to saying

stuff to them. You wouldn't say 'oh, there's

some Jews over there

W08A- Yeah but …

 W08B- [*cuts in and stares at WO8A who*

makes no further responses].

Conclusion

In this chapter the methodological considerations and associated data collection methods, data analysis and issues of ethics for the research have been discussed. Explanations have been given regarding the implications of the phenomenological stance on a quest to seek the lived experience and the essence of the pupils' attitudes to Jews. Although pupils' perceptions were the most significant data the research questions also focussed upon the perceptions of teachers regarding their own practice and the impact of resources used. It was recognised that using questionnaires with teachers could not provide the 'rich data' provided by semi-structured interviews however the process of questionnaire completion at regular interviews during the year did give opportunities for probing questions to be included as a result of the on-going data analysis.

As has been discussed strategies were built into the research frameworks to reflect the sensitivity of the focus area and vulnerability of the respondents. The researcher was particularly pleased with the effectiveness of strategies used to establish the pupil as the expert. With this confidence pupils discussed with the researcher elements of their meaning-making process. This will be illustrated in the next two chapters.

The iterative nature of the data analysis resulted in the emergence of themes and attitudes which could then be considered across the three sources. As expected due to the mixed methods approach and three different sources there were anomalies particularly between the teachers and pupils perceptions regarding the use of the term Jew in the classroom and the contradictions made by pupils regarding their own religious identification. In Chapter 6 this issue is analysed more fully with reference to findings from the textbook scrutiny.

<u>Chapter 6</u>

<u>Content Matters:</u>

<u>The Impact of Content on Pupils' Understanding and Attitudes</u>

Aims and Structure

Chapter 3 argued that the subject content selected for the study of a religious tradition can significantly impact on pupils' knowledge of the subject area and also their attitudes to the subjects of the study. Related considerations included the organisation of study (in particular, whether thematic or systematic) and the recognition of prior learning. The subsequent chapter argued that many factors could have a significant impact on pupils' attitudinal development. Specific reference was made to the selection and emphasis of particular areas of content; the interpretation of the content and the significance of the content which was omitted from a study.

In this chapter each of those areas will be considered using data from the three sources closest to the field; pupils, teachers and the textbooks used during the study of curriculum Judaism. Although the chapter concentrates on the specifics of content it is important to reiterate the influential role of the teacher, a role which involves the selection of

content to be taught, organisation of course content, selector of resources and facilitator of learning experiences.

This chapter will commence by considering issues relating to the organisation of content through evidence from teachers, pupils and textbooks. To enhance anonymity all respondents have been designated a code and an element of 'error inoculation' has been introduced in the text in several instances. Schools were coded as W and WO with the respondent classified as a number, such as W4 or WO3. When pairs of pupils were interviewed then A or B is inserted after their interview number, such as WO8A. Teacher responses were classified according to the questionnaire, the question they were responding to and an individual classification number. So Q1/3/26 would signify the response made to the third question in the first questionnaire by respondent number 26. As discussed in Chapter 5 the teacher respondents changed numbers with each questionnaire as the focus of the research was not to track the development of the individual. The three class textbooks were also coded; Taylor (2000) is coded as T1; Thorley (1986) as T2 and Thompson (2005) as T3. Although one of the books was particularly dated (written long before the pupils were born) sets of the text were used in each of the schools.

Content Organisation

All teacher respondents indicated that Judaism was taught systematically. None referred to the adoption of a themed approach. Common to both teachers and pupils was a use of the word 'did' in reference to the study; implying their learning about Judaism was

perceived as final and confined to the past. For example, 'we did Judaism in the summer term' (W7). Many pupils were able to offer a schema (albeit often sketchy) of Judaism which included references to key beliefs and practices and identifying particular areas of interest. For instance:

> I found Judaism interesting because it's got issues like what's happened in history, er. .where it all started in Israel, like the three different books er. all the stuff they have to do er. can't think of what it's called, that place like the hats and the Rabbi has to wear certain stuff (WO2A).

According to the Locally Agreed Syllabus for RE all pupils should have learnt about Judaism in Key Stage Two (aged 7-11). A significant majority of pupils recalled studying RE in primary school but any specific content they remembered related to Buddhism, Sikhism and Christianity. No pupils volunteered aspects of prior learning of Judaism and when asked if they had studied it in primary school the usual response was that they were 'not sure'. This might mean that some or all the twelve feeder schools for the two schools involved in the research did not comply with the requirement of teaching Judaism at Key Stage Two or, perhaps more likely, that the teaching of Judaism had had so little impact on pupils that it could not be recalled.

In interviews pupils made references to aspects of Judaism but often used generic religious terms in so doing, such as 'Well, they pray and

stuff and just worship'(W1OA). Sometimes pupils' understanding of Judaism was couched in direct references to Christianity, so distinguishing what Judaism was not rather than what it was: 'They have their own beliefs and the way they worship to their God are different to Christianity's God. They have different scenarios and set-ups like churches. They aren't churches they are like synagogues or something like that.' (WO7B)

As illustrated in this pupil's response there were many examples when *church* was used instead of *synagogue* and then corrected. Sometimes the two terms were used by the same respondent implying that the terms may be considered as synonymous, as in the following example:

I - What do you think those people are going to?

W6 - To a synagogue or somewhere.

I - Where do you think the women are?

W6 - The women don't go, do they?

I - I don't know actually

W6 - Don't they go to separate churches?

In many responses it was common for pupils to relate themselves to Christian practice so making clear demarcations between themselves and Jews such as exemplified by one respondent: 'Their synagogues are like our churches but they have different services and things to us' (WO5). Although this pupil identifies herself as Christian here, later in the interview she identifies herself as a non-believer who does not attend places of worship. Pupil responses illustrated a confusion regarding distinctions between religion and nationality. Examples

include a response when a pupil was attempting to identify the people in Picture C:

> WO5 - Er Jew - Jewish or something like
>
> German cos they wear those hats.

and again in a response from a pupil in a different school:

> I-And what nationality do you think they might be?
>
> W5 - Erm Jews because of that little hat thing [*points to kippah*].

As later analysed the *kippah* was frequently perceived as **the** distinctive feature for identifying Jews. As discussed more fully in the following chapter it is possible that such confusion between nationality and religion was an exacerbating factor as to why Jews were so often perceived as 'foreign'.

Many complexities regarding the selection of subject content in Judaism were analysed in Chapter 4. As argued, the content chosen to be taught (and also the content omitted) has a significant impact on the portrayal of the faith tradition, especially when pupils have no other framework of understanding with which to compare. From teacher questionnaires four content areas were most commonly identified as particularly important for a study of Judaism in Key Stage Three: the Holocaust, synagogues, Jewish lifestyle, and Israel. This chapter will proceed to consider each of these areas with specific consideration of pupil-engagement and meaning-making. An analysis of relevant data from pupil interviews, teacher responses and resources used in the

classroom will contribute to the findings and trends of each area of content.

Learning about the Holocaust

Teachers were unanimous in identifying a study of the Holocaust as an important feature of Judaism at Key Stage Three. Justifications could be grouped into three broad categories. Firstly, a minority of responses referred to the Holocaust as a significant historic event which, as one respondent added, 'needed to be remembered' (Q1/16/41). This view was echoed by another respondent who advocated pupils' awareness of the Holocaust as a 'significant event in history with a horrifying outcome' (Q1/16/34).

The reference to a 'horrifying outcome' indicates the second justification which related to the importance of developing pupils' awareness of significant suffering. One teacher commented: 'Suffering affected people's family members, it is important to remember' (Q1/16/21). Another teacher referred to pupils going beyond an awareness of suffering to actually 'understanding' it: 'It [a study of the Holocaust] is needed to be taught to allow children to understand the suffering' (Q1/16/1). Reference was also made to the importance of contextualising 'the suffering' within a contemporary Jewish context as the specific focus: 'Can show what Jewish people have been through' (Q1/16/16).

A third rationale, and the one most commonly given, related the study of the Holocaust to the development of pupils' attitudes and behaviours. There was an explicit indication that such a study could

have far-reaching impact both for the pupil and society: '[It is] extremely important pupils learn about this - they are our future generation' (Q3/3/14). Frequent references were made to the importance of the study in giving opportunities to challenge negative attitudes and behaviours of pupils by learning to 'prevent prejudice' (Q1/16/42) and 'break down prejudice and learners' stereotypes' (Q1/16/18). In order to achieve this outcome references were made to the importance of the development of empathy: 'The Holocaust is an interesting subject. When pupils begin to learn about it they become very engaged and are often very horrified and begin to empathise' (Q 2/3/26). The importance of pupils' exhibiting specific emotions was indicated by one teacher who applied intervention strategies when pupils were not adopting the particular behaviours she expected: 'They didn't fully understand the sensitivity of the Holocaust - adults responded by explaining why it is so important' (Q2/15/24).

Unlike other content areas teachers referred to a significant use of film when teaching about the Holocaust. The experience was commonly evidenced in pupil responses: 'We liked them [lessons on the Holocaust]. They were a kind of a break as we don't usually watch videos or DVD clips in lessons' (WO7A). In interviews pupils were often keen to describe the content of such films and specifically their reaction to the content. For example, one pupil was eager to express to the interviewer their distress when watching a film in the RE classroom: 'We did the *Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*. That was so sad. I cried. I just kept crying.' (W3). Her emotional engagement reflected

Cesarani's (2008) arguments, discussed in Chapter 4, regarding the dubious impact of the film. A concern further exemplified by one pupil who explained the story in great detail as if it were factually accurate:

> W05- Erm.. we watched *Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*. And there were two boys in it and the - erm. … one of them was German and one of them was a Jew and they were like friends but they weren't allowed to be but they still did they still like were friends. And as the Jew had no food because he was in a concentration camp there was like wires separating the both he brought him food from his house because they didn't like feed them and he was only little like dead small and erm … at the end he wanted to be with him. They had striped pyjamas on and he got the other boy's like pyjamas and put them on and he went under the thing like a little … fence so he could go under. So he went under and he went with him and he said come on let's get a shower and something like that and that meant he was going to get killed and they ran in and he got gassed with him and he had to take all his clothes off and he got gassed and I was like crying at the end. It was horrible.

Emotional, rather than analytical, responses to the use of film were frequently referred to when pupils discussed their learning about the Holocaust in RE. Indeed, one pupil described how before watching the film the RE Department had explained established strategies to minimise disruption to other pupils which may be caused by any individual emotional exhibitions: 'If you got upset over it you were allowed to leave the classroom and go somewhere else' (W6). Other pupils referred to devising their own strategies to try to cope with emotions generated by film. For one respondent (W4) this included the use of ear phones to block out the sound of the film, while another put their hands over their eyes when gruesome images were depicted:

> I was just like there and … piles of dead bodies on the street and everything and I was just looking at the floor saying I don't want to watch it. I don't want to watch it. I watched some of it because it was interesting but at the same time it was sad and I was just like I don't want this. (WO5)

The mixed emotions expressed were referred to by another pupil who expressed anger at having to witness the events in the film:

> We watched *Boy in Striped Pyjamas* but I didn't like it. Yesterday people were crying but I just put my head on the desk and put my earphones in. We shouldn't have to watch it. (W4)

The three class textbooks used by the pupils also reflected the importance placed on learning about the Holocaust in a study of Judaism. In T1 three chapters are dedicated to the Holocaust. One of these chapters is the last in the book and titled 'Never Again'. The chapter focuses on ways that the Holocaust is remembered today with no reference to the continued existence of antisemitism either nationally or globally. In T2 the Holocaust is explored under the chapter heading of 'Jews Today' and in T3 the chapter 'Through Troubled Times' focuses on the Holocaust and the death of Anne Frank. A distinctive style of presentation was evident in T1 in chapters which related to the Holocaust. Unlike other chapters in the book, those relating to the Holocaust incorporated an emotive style which was evident in the captions, visual images, text and pupil activities. Dramatic chapter sub-titles were used such as 'Hate!'; 'The Scapegoat'; 'Banned'; 'Extermination' (pp. 26-27). These were distinctive from sub-titles of other units such as 'Rabbi', 'Cantor' and 'Scribe' in the chapter on the synagogue (pp. 46-47) or 'Jewish Views of Death', 'Care of the Dying', 'The Funeral' and 'Mourning' in the chapter on death (pp. 58-59).

Textbook content relating to the Holocaust often required emotional engagement of the pupils. In T3, for example, a poem and text from literary works are used to explain the horrors of the concentration camps. In T2 the task accompanying a picture of emaciated Jews in a concentration camp reads: 'Look again at the faces in that picture. How do you think the people are feeling?' (p. 6-7). An extension task

in T1 requires pupils to observe the picture of a group of emaciated men passively looking through barbed wire in a concentration camp and instructs pupils in response to 'Write a caption of not more than 100 words about the Holocaust scene shown above' (p. 31). The picture shows no action or features of the camp so the only aspect available for pupils to write about would be their perceptions of the depicted passive and emaciated Jews.

The impact of visual images was evident by the many pupils who voluntary recalled reactions within the class when particular images were shown:

> W06 - I think most of them [the class] didn't like what they saw.
>
> I - Why was that, do you think?
>
> W06- Because there was some really horrible images of dead children and dead old people. It wasn't very nice.

and

> W6 - Yeah people got upset in some of the lessons
>
> I - Oh did they? And what particular things were happening in the lessons that made them upset?
>
> W6 - There was like all pictures of what it was like in the concentration camps.

No teachers referred to distressed pupils, although responses did refer to pupils being significantly more engaged in their study of the Holocaust (e.g.Q2/9/27). One teacher evaluated pupils' responses during their study of the Holocaust as 'brilliant' (Q2/1/219), although no further information was given regarding this conclusion.

In interviews when pupils referred to their learning about the Holocaust a greater confidence was exhibited in employing a range of terms and specialist vocabulary such as 'mass murder of undesirables' (W2), 'settlements in Eastern Europe' (W2), 'economic and political reasons' (W01), 'forced labour' (W010). Perhaps pupils' knowledge and understanding of the terms had been developed through their study in History lessons but the same pupils were unable to use terms such as '*kippah*' or 'antisemitism' in their responses to questions.

Pupils often volunteered basic facts about the Holocaust, mainly consisting of locations, periods of history or perpetrators. However, conversation rapidly moved into descriptions of atrocities, and particularly brutalities witnessed within the concentration camps. Such is illustrated by the following two responses:

> When the Jews were captured and put onto trucks and then taken off and then they had to give everything in when they were in the camps and then they were gassed. (W4)
> They were made to work and the weak, the old and the really young kids were killed and the

> people in middle age like those at twenty,
>
> thirty. (WO2A)

Neither such confidence nor such detail were replicated when pupils were trying to answer wider questions about the Holocaust. Responses to any such probing by the interviewer often resulted in pupils referring to examples of suffering they remembered. This was particularly evident when pupils attempted to give a definition of the Holocaust. Answers were often confined to specifics of suffering they had witnessed through film and images:

> [The Holocaust was] when the Jews were
>
> captured and put onto trucks and then taken off
>
> and then they had to give everything in when
>
> they were in the camps and they were gassed or
>
> Hitler shot them in the holes. (W4)

and

> [The Holocaust was] when they took all the
>
> Jews and they just tortured them. (WO2B)

In pupil responses Jews were often referred to as passive victims with reference made to their being 'put' (W1), 'sent' (WO3B), 'picked on' (W3), and no references to resistance or acts of strength. Justifications were given for this lack of resistance which included references to Jews being 'thin and weak' (W4) or 'they were too peaceful people - they just want to live a normal life' *(*W08B).

Pupils expressed a clear perception of those perceived as the perpetrators, namely 'Nazis' (e.g. W1) and 'Germans' (e.g. WO3A)

with the significant majority of pupils referring only to Jews as 'victims' of the Holocaust. Only three references were made to other groups, with one specifically to 'LGBT' *(*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) (WO4) and a further two to a wider range of victims: 'disabled people, gay people and people who didn't think that Hitler was right' (WO2A) and 'undesirables like the Jewish people and gipsies' (W2). No references were made to any other groups or individuals who were persecuted because of religious beliefs (such as Jehovah's Witnesses) or those holding distinctive pacifist or political beliefs.

When pupils were referring to people in the concentration camps they were invariably identified as 'Jews' and a clear demarcation existed between them and 'Germans'. There was no awareness expressed that Jews could be Germans and vice versa, as exemplified in this explanation of concentration camps: 'It was where … the Germans took the Jews and they made them work … and just like forced labour and tortured them as well' (WO1).

Frequent mentions were made by pupils to the pivotal role of Hitler; not only in planning the annihilation of the Jews but also as taking a personal active role in the violence: 'He punished them' (WO3A) and 'Hitler shot them in the holes' (W4). When pupils were asked why Jews were treated badly during the Holocaust references were often made to alleged personal affronts to Hitler such as: 'Hitler's mum was dying of cancer and the doctor was Jewish and then his mum died' (WO2A), and 'when [Hitler]wanted to get into University he couldn't

as the Jews got the places' (WO2B), and again: 'Cos wasn't Hitler jealous because the Jews were like very good at working and stuff and so they were more rich and popular and stuff?' (WO9A).

Another rationale given for the suffering of Jews during the Holocaust related to the fact that they were Jewish and therefore, by implication, they were different from the majority gentiles. This rationale is reflected in T2: 'Six million Jews were beaten, starved or gassed to death by the German Nazis, just because they were Jews' (p. 6). It is also noteworthy that the above quote distinguishes Jews from Germans, a previously referred to characteristic of pupil responses.

When pupils were asked why being Jewish would result in persecution they were often apprehensive before making reference to Jews being 'different' (e.g.W4). In one response reference was made to Hitler's desire for a 'perfect race' and that Jews were persecuted because 'they weren't perfect'. When asked in what ways they weren't perfect the response was 'because they were different from other people' (WO10). For one pupil, after a lengthy pause, both present and past tenses were used in their explanation: 'Er, erm … because it's like people don't like Jews - well Hitler and that didn't like Jews' (W5). For another only the present tense was used 'Jews are different' (WO3A). Further probing by the interviewer resulted in pupils identifying a range of ways Jews were perceived as different. Some pupils restricted their answers to the context of the Holocaust: 'because they didn't have blond hair and blue eyes' (W010) and 'they didn't have what [Hitler] wanted as they were different from other people' (W01). Other

justifications given by pupils related to specific examples of perceived differences, such as: 'being religious' (WO1), 'believing in different things'; (WO9A), and 'Jews were like very good at working and stuff and so they were more rich and popular and stuff.' (WO 9A).

As identified earlier, teachers referred to the importance of the study of the Holocaust to 'make a difference' to pupils' attitudes and actions. No pupils, however, referred to such. In none of the pupil interviews was there any reference to the Holocaust having an impact on their own or their peers' behaviours or attitudes. As discussed in Chapter 2 antisemitism has a long history both globally and in England. However, no such awareness was indicated by any pupils, who commonly referred to the Holocaust as a unique act of discrimination against Jews. When asked if negative behaviours had been exercised to Jews prior to the Holocaust pupils' uncertainty before responding indicated this was a new consideration for them. One pupil who was able to give a detailed description of the Nazi invasion in Guernsey was unaware of any previous antisemitism: 'mm … not sure' (W1). Another response indicated the importance of a class textbook in the formation of their assumption that no antisemitism had existed before the Holocaust: 'I think it was a one-off really because before that nothing was really mentioned in like the book.' (WO3A)

As an area of content to be studied the Holocaust was considered important by teachers, pupils and textbooks. Reasons given by teachers regarding its significance extended beyond a knowledge and understanding to an impact on pupils' attitudes and behaviours;

objectives commonly referred to in the NFRE (QCA 2004). Resources selected by teachers were commonly justified by the nature of their emotional impact. For pupils, although references were made to emotional engagement with such resources, there was no evidence to indicate the development of empathy, nor indeed of critical analysis. Pupils exhibited little understanding of wider areas of learning related to the Holocaust such as Holocaust theology or the wider context of antisemitism before or after the Holocaust. Their learning appeared passive, predominantly centred upon the use of media with no opportunities to participate in enquiry based learning.

Learning about the Synagogue

The second curriculum area most commonly identified by teachers as important to a Key Stage 3 study of Judaism related to the role of the synagogue as a Jewish place of worship. The significance of this content was also reflected in the extensive coverage in the class textbooks. All contained a minimum of four double spreads of pages focussing on the physical features of the synagogue and different aspects of worship in a synagogue.

In the interviews pupils confidently recognised, used and contextualised the term 'synagogue' with many instances where the term was introduced in the interview without any prompting. For example when W3 was asked where the men might be going to in picture C he suggested 'synagogue, or funeral'. Similarly, in another interview, a pupil giving an explanation of the significance of *kippot* confidently introduced the term into the conversation: 'Isn't it worn in

like the synagogue?' (WO2A). Despite such confidence in referring to synagogues as places of worship there was limited understanding shown regarding any distinctive features and functions of a synagogue. This extended to a confusion expressed by several pupils regarding rituals associated with other religions, such as: 'I think they have to take their shoes off when they enter it' (WO8A).

Frequently when pupils expressed their understanding of worship in synagogues they did so by making explicit references to differences between Christianity and Judaism: 'they have their own beliefs and the way they worship to their God are different to Christianity's God' (W1) and 'they have different scenarios and set-ups like churches … they aren't churches they are like synagogues or something like that.' (W7). Often such references were made with respondents identifying themselves as Christian:

> I- And what did you learn?
>
> W3- About the Torah and how they have their
>
> services on a Saturday like we do on a Sunday.

Although little understanding was expressed regarding the functions and features of synagogues some practices had impacted on pupils. In particular there were many references to the practice of men and women sitting separately in Orthodox synagogues, an aspect which appears to have been of particular interest (e.g. W3, W6).

One teacher respondent identified a lack of pupil engagement when learning about the synagogue, suggesting it was a result of 'too much detail. Pupils had difficulty remembering it all' (Q2/9/27). Such

disengagement was exemplified in one pupil's reflection upon their learning which had focussed upon the content in the class textbook:

> I - What are you learning about in RE at the moment?
>
> W3 - Yesterday we did the synagogue and the Torah. We had a supply teacher and did the synagogue.
>
> I - And what did you learn about the synagogue
>
> W3 - Er *[pulls a face]* er … we looked at the pictures in a textbook and did the questions.

References were made to pupil engagement, however, when learning about synagogues gave opportunities to actively apply learning: 'Pupils were very interested in the synagogue and put a great deal of work into making and explaining a model of a multi-faith centre' (Q3/4/23); and when they were given opportunities to ask questions: 'Pupils asked lots of questions and completed a homework project' (Q3/4/25).

The often argued contribution that learning outside of the classroom and encounters in places of worship can make to community cohesion and preparation for life in Modern Britain has been analysed in Chapter 1 and 3. However only one pupil had ever visited a synagogue and that had not been the result of a school activity, but due to living for a year in America. During the interviews pupils were unable to specifically identify any local synagogue; despite three being located

within eight miles of their schools. When pupils suggested locations their contributions were inspired by logical thinking rather than knowledge. One pupil, for example, suggested London because 'like quite a lot of people go there from different places' (WO3A). The influence of media was also apparent in their meaning-making. One pupil, for example, applied their understanding from a television programme on Jewish life: 'I've heard of a few because that programme was on the other week and it was saying there are quite a few in Manchester but I don't know if there are any near here' (W09B).

Common to all pupil responses was an interest in visiting a synagogue as part of their RE programme. No traces of antagonism or negativity were evident. Indeed pupils readily suggested ways that such a visit would impact positively on their learning:

> WO9A - Because you have seen it visually and
> you are not like just looking at pictures of it.
> You've seen it for yourself.
> WO9B - Yes you can take in more of what is
> happening.
> W2 - Yes it would be interesting to see how it
> differs from a Church.

Through an analysis of data it was evident that pupils were more engaged with learning about the synagogue when active learning methods were involved, including opportunities to ask questions. Chapters 1 and 3 of this study argued that visits to places of worship

can make a significant impact on pupils' attitudes and contribute to community cohesion. None of the pupils indicated that their study of the synagogue had been contextualised in any of the three near-by places of worship that could have been chosen. No pictures from the local synagogues had been used as a resource for learning nor had any connections been made within their study. It was unsurprising therefore that no pupils expressed any understanding of the role of the synagogue in Jewish life in Modern Britain.

Learning About Jewish Lifestyle

The third area identified by the teachers as important for pupils to study was that of Jewish lifestyle, with a number of specific references to food and dietary laws. Pupil responses in interviews indicated a significant interest in aspects of Jewish lifestyle as they, again, actively compared it with their own lifestyle. For many this area of study resulted in pupils having a keen interest in the impact of the differences in lifestyle from the 'insider's perspective'. No negativity towards Jewish lifestyle was exhibited; but what was apparent was a need to know more to support a process of meaning-making. Such questions were volunteered by pupils during the interviews, for example: 'What does it feel like to be Jewish? Like, how does it feel to be Jewish as part of their religion?' (WO3); 'What happens in the religion with the really strict rules?' (WO8A) and 'What do they do every day? What do they do?' (W4). Such questions appeared to have arisen from their learning about Judaism and were now key to their meaning-making and attitudinal development. There was no evidence

from pupils or teachers how, or if, such questions would be explored through curriculum Judaism.

Pupils' interest in Jewish lifestyle was further reflected in their active engagement with pictures C and D, both of which show Jews within an everyday setting. Pupils asked many questions regarding aspects of the lifestyle of those represented in the pictures. As pupils scrutinized the pictures two sequential stages emerged. Firstly, they made comparisons between aspects of Jewish life-style and their own; secondly, they used the results of that comparison to inform their schema of understanding of Judaism and subsequent interpretation of the pictures. This process did not appear to relate to the teaching methods used in RE but to be a natural process used in their process of meaning-making. For example in one interview a pupil who was very keen on skate-boarding viewed the Jewish boys in the picture with his interest in mind. Automatically he assumed the boys in the picture would be unable to skateboard; an assumption deriving from his perception of the boys as 'different':

> I - Do you think the boys in the picture might
>
> live in [location of school]?
>
> W4 - No because they are different. They
>
> wouldn't skateboard, wouldn't know how to.

Of the many possible aspects of lifestyle that could be studied it was a study of food that was identified by teachers as particularly important.

> *Food*

Food plays a significant role in Jewish life. In addition to the dietary laws many of the festivals are celebrated with specific foods symbolising key theological concepts. Data from both the teacher responses and the pupil interviews identified the prevalence of learning about food, and in particular, the significance of the basic requirements of kosher food. Teacher responses indicated that pupil engagement with learning about food in Judaism derived from a commonality of experience (eating) between pupils and Jews. The necessity and enjoyment of food might be a common experience between pupils and Jewish lifestyle. However there are significant differences concerning food preparation, rituals and types of food that would be included as part of a study. A further reason for pupils' engagement with learning about food might result from the range of teaching activities. References were made to a wide range of interactive teaching methods including the creation of a kosher picnic, mock Seder meals, the making of Challah bread and problem-solving activities. Pupil interviews reflected an engagement and exhibited a confidence in hypothesising and actively meaning–making. An example of this was evident in a paired interview in which pupils co-constructed their understanding of the implications of kosher regulations:

> WO3B - Like is it annoying having to eat
> kosher all the time?
> How do they feel about it? And do they still
> want to be Jewish?

WO3A - Yeah It wouldn't be that hard to. .but

I think it would be a bit….

WO3B - If they have been brought up that way

like they wouldn't know any different. but like

maybe they would want to try it [referring to

non-kosher food].

WO3A - I think you can get it [kosher food]

from most places. I'm sure … you can get it

from supermarkets and stuff

WO3B - I don't think some food though, not

like a daily ... you know supermarket

WO3A - Well, maybe a butcher's or something

like that.

Within this short dialogue questions are raised regarding theological, sociological and the practical aspects of observing kosher laws in Jewish lifestyle.

As reflected above all pupils interviewed confidently used the term 'kosher' to express their understanding of Jewish dietary practice. In one interview it was the pupils' identification of a shop labelled 'kosher' (in picture C) which led them to identify the people in the picture as Jewish and consequently assume that the location of the picture was in an area of high Jewish population such as 'down south' (W2). Pupils were keen to include in their explanations references to foods that can and cannot be eaten:

WO3A - Isn't it the kosher food?

I - Is that a special type of food they [Jews]

have?

WO3A - Yeah they can't eat things together.

and again

I - What kind of food might they eat?

W02A – Kosher … they can't eat like shrimp

or seafood.

Although pupils were keen to recount what appeared as prohibitions and restrictions none introduced an understanding of what lies behind kosher requirements, or referred to any relevant passages from the Torah. Similarly no references were made to the diversity of practice within the Jewish community. Although food in itself might be a shared human experience clear distinctions were made between the requisites of food in pupils' lifestyle and that perceived within a Jewish lifestyle. Without an understanding of the rationale and diversity the practice of keeping kosher was sometimes presented as illogical, with references being made to 'weird foods' (W3) and 'strange, tasteless things they eat' (W4). Such perceptions could be exacerbated by the class textbooks, all of which had chapters focussing on food. In T1 for example pupils' study of food as an aspect of Jewish lifestyle begins by introducing pupils to types of food that they might find repulsive or strange: 'Sometimes when you are hungry you might say "I could eat a horse". But would you honestly? And what about fried slug? ' (T1, p. 36). No reasons are given why such a study should begin with a reference to eating slugs; this is not a common feature of

Jewish diets and both Jews and gentiles could find eating them repulsive and alien. In all the books references were made to 'food laws' with an emphasis regarding the regulations and prescription: 'They must not eat meat and milky foods in the same meal' (T3 p. 25). Again, no reasons are given for such practices nor is the diversity of approaches amongst the Jewish community to keeping kosher mentioned.

As previously identified pupils were engaged in their studying about kosher foods and were particularly interested in making sense of dietary requirements in comparison to their own life-style. Their interest extended beyond making foods or knowledge of what constitutes kosher lifestyle to a naturally generated enquiry-based process regarding the impact on the individual Jew.

From the three sources of evidence (teachers, pupils and class textbooks) different aspects of Jewish food had been introduced to pupils including symbolic food at festivals, the identification of kosher and non-kosher food and the design of a 'kosher kitchen'. No references were made in any of the sources to the practice of *shechitah*, the Jewish method of killing animals for food. Controversies surrounding the practice have increased in recent years and have attracted significant media attention. This was particularly the case in the year previous to the interviews being conducted; New Zealand banned the practice and there was a growing campaign for the same to happen in Britain. Arguments engendered by the controversy encompass issues of Jewish identity, animal rights and contemporary

Jewish lifestyle, all of which would be relevant to the aims of RE as identified by the NFRE (QCA 2004).

From this examination of food within a study of Judaism four key considerations emerge. Firstly, the study was identified by teachers and pupils as engaging, possibly because food is a shared human experience or because a wider range of interactive learning methods was used. Secondly, that although pupils were able to use some key terms and identify foods that were or were not kosher they did not demonstrate a deeper understanding of the rationale behind the practice. Thirdly, that pupils were interested in making sense of the practice to inform their understanding of Jews and Jewish lifestyle. In particular, there was a thirst for gaining the perspectives of those from 'inside' the tradition. Finally, a key and controversial aspect of food laws was excluded from any study. The omission of *shechitah* from a study of curriculum Judaism reflects the argument of Gearon (2002), examined in Chapter 4, that teachers of RE are often placed in a predicament of not wishing to cause offence by referring to contentious practices and therefore sanitised versions of religious traditions are studied. This argument could also be true of Israel, the fourth and final area of content identified by teachers as important in a study of curriculum Judaism

Learning About Israel

Two distinctive foci of study were identified by teachers regarding the importance of the inclusion of a study of Israel in curriculum Judaism. Firstly, and more commonly, references were made about the

importance of learning about Israel in order to contextualise Judaism and Christianity (1/16/23) and to 'understand the roots of Judaism' (2/3/27). Secondly, references were made to the importance of learning about Israel on account of its significance for Judaism and Jews today. The chapter will now analyse each focus using evidence from teachers, pupils and class textbooks.

In order to contextualise Judaism the stories of particular Old Testament characters were commonly taught with specific reference to recognising the importance of Moses and Abraham for today (Q2/1/27). How far the stories were interpreted through Jewish or Christian eyes was unclear as the only reference regarding pupil engagement referred to an 'understanding gained quicker as pupils already knew the story' (Q2/1/27). This focus was supported by chapters in the textbooks dedicated to Old Testament characters including Abraham, David, Moses, and Solomon.

Also evident in the textbooks was an emphasis on a significant bond between Jews and Israel including a question for pupils in T3: 'Jews called Israel "The Promised Land". Who do they think promised it to them?' (p. 57). This relationship was reflected by frequent references to Israel by pupils as they were locating pictures B, C and D. Class textbooks reinforced this perception through a predominance of textual images of Jews situated in Israel. In T1, for example, fourteen images of Jews are accompanied by captions locating them as living in Israel, compared to six pictures set in England. Textual references also reinforce the significance of Israel even for those Jews of the diaspora:

'Other Jews scattered around the world, have dreamed of going back to their promised land. "Next year in Jerusalem" are the hopeful words said after the Pesach meal every year' (T1 p. 8) .

In all the textbooks pictures of contemporary life in Israel are scattered throughout the chapters. In T2 a collage of seven pictures depicting life in Israel incorporates images of a map of Israel, religious ceremonies, fixing a *huppah* (wedding canopy) on a kibbutz, a man at work, a street name in Hebrew and English, and two armed soldiers charging after someone who appears unarmed with their hands in the air (pp. 8-9). There are no captions or textual explanations to contextualise the pictures. Some visual images in T1 depict Jews as living exotic or bizarre lifestyles, with no explanatory contextualisation. One such example is the picture of a Jew dressed up as King David (p. 24). With no accompanying text pupils and teachers could be left wondering why grown men would wear such fanciful costume and whether this is a common practice throughout the country. Where captions do accompany pictures further clarification within the text would have supported pupils meaning-making. For example, the caption accompanying the picture of the singer Dana International states: 'Dana International won the Eurovision Song Contest for Israel. Strict Jews were angry about this. The rehearsals took place on a holy day, and Dana, who was born a man, had undergone a sex change' (p. 29).

Another example relates to a picture of young Chassidic Jews praying accompanied by the caption 'Some Jews in Israel wear a nineteenth–

century style of clothing' (p. 19). The implication that lifestyle in Israel is outdated is further illustrated by a picture of a Bedouin camp with the corresponding text: 'Today there are still groups of people in Israel who live in tents and move in search of grazing land for their animals. They are called Bedouin and their lifestyle has not changed greatly since the days of Abraham' (T1, p. 19).

A minority of teachers referred to the importance of pupils studying the on-going conflict regarding Israel and Palestine. In T1 and T2 allusions are made to the conflict but with no content to support pupils' understanding. Within the body of the text in T2 references are made to the establishment of Israel: 'So now Israel is governed by Jews and supported by other Jews from all over the world' (p. 8). No indication is given throughout the textbook that a diversity of views exists amongst Jews regarding the support of Israel. In T2 there is no content regarding the conflict nor any mention of Zionism. There are however, related tasks requiring pupils to research independently:

'Could the Covenant have any political implications?' and ' Can you find out what effect the Covenant has on modern day Israel?' both on page 11 with a later task (p.31) referring to 'The politics of modern day Israel are frequently in the news. Research one recent story from the newspapers or from the internet.'

These questions do not require any involvement from the teachers, thus enabling them to avoid any controversial questions from pupils.

Distinct from the other two textbooks T3 does contain a chapter on Israel after the Second World War which is rather enigmatically

entitled 'To The Promised Land' (p. 55-57). It was from this chapter that picture B used in the interviews was taken. References are made to the Six Day War, the 1993 peace agreement and different views held by Jews regarding the state of Israel.

Regarding an understanding of the diverse opinions amongst Jews about their relationship with Israel, textbooks appear to have made little impact on the meaning-making of pupils. Pupils' knowledge of the conflict between Israel and Palestine was invariably vague with no indication that any teaching on the topic had taken place. One of the pictures investigated by pupils (Picture B) depicts a group of males with many holding placards stating 'PEACE NOW' and a poster in the forefront of the picture written in Hebrew. As the pupils looked at the picture the interviewer slowly read the caption 'Jews and Palestinians campaigning' to ensure any limited literacy skills would not be a barrier to pupils' interpretation of the picture. When pupils were asked to discuss the picture their responses were often accompanied with hesitancies and vocal upward inflections indicating uncertainty of views. Many readily related the picture to some form of war but despite the researcher's reference to 'Jew' and 'Palestinian' within the caption only one respondent related the perceived conflict to that between Israel and Palestine. Interpretations of the picture included references to acts of violence that England was involved in at that time and references to Israel and Palestine were seemingly ignored. Suggestions of locations for the conflict included: 'Iraq and Afghanistan' (WO9) and 'Maybe the one in Afghanistan and Iran and

all that' (W1). For others the interpretation of picture C included random references to generic conflict situations with no reference to an Israeli or Palestinian context, suggestions included:

> Like there could be like a war happening or
> something and they don't want it to continue
> anymore cos there's killing of loads of people
> and they just want it to stop. (WO1)

and a comment about campaigns against government cuts which had resulted in conflict being for 'economic reasons' (WO1). Upon reiteration of the caption by the interviewer some pupils reframed their responses to include references to Jews. Most of these suggestions were informed by their knowledge of the atrocities that had taken place during the Holocaust:

> I - And why do you think it would be that Jews
> and Palestinians are campaigning? Do you
> know anything about the two of them?
> WO6 - I know Jews got treated not as humans
> but I'm not so sure about Palestinians.

In another example the respondent referred to Jews needing to seek refuge. There is no evidence from picture D that the boys were needing this, as they look relaxed, in casual clothes grouped around a BMX bike:

> WO4 - I don't know to be honest. I think they
> might, if it was like … it might be there's a
> new war on in the Middle-East … I don't know

> if they are fleeing or … whether they are going
>
> on a bike ride or to a youth club or…

By the use of the word 'fleeing' the respondent expressed a perception that Jews were in conflict but that conflict saw them as the oppressed. Consequently although WO4's understanding of Judaism incorporated concepts of Jews being persecuted, he was unable to explain what they might have been fleeing from and why.

Due to the lack of references to the Israel/Palestine context a follow-up question was incorporated into interviews to investigate pupils' awareness. When asked if they knew anything about Palestine the vast majority of pupils were unable to volunteer any information. Many responded that they had never heard of Palestine, although they were often keen to volunteer countries they did know about: 'I've not heard of Palestine … but I have heard of Iran' (W1). Of the few who had heard of Palestine the majority had no relevant knowledge to contribute:

> Yeah but I don't know what it is (WO9A).
>
> I've heard of the country. I don't know… I've
>
> heard of the country (WO5).
>
> I've heard of them but haven't spoken about
>
> them a lot (WO9B).
>
> I think it's a race or a religion (WO6).
>
> I think I have heard of it. Is it a country? I'm
>
> not good at Geography either (W4).

A minority of responses did indicate an awareness of a connection between Palestine and Israel but were unable to give any details regarding historic or contemporary relationships:

> Isn't it in Israel? (W2)

> Yeah isn't it a country?. Isn't it by Israel where

> all the wars are going on? (W6)

> I've heard of the word but I don't know if they

> are something like Israeli or something like

> that (WO7B).

Only one response from all the pupils interviewed correctly contextualised the picture relating to the Palestinian/Israeli conflict:

> I - Where do you think the people in the picture

> want peace?

> W02A - Is it in Israel between the Jews and the

> Palestinians?

His understanding was not derived from RE lessons but from a DVD watched at home: 'I watched a film ages ago but can't remember what it was called'.

Of the pupils interviewed none referred to their understanding of the conflict in the Middle- East as a source of negative attitudes to Jews. Of the teacher responses only one indicated that pupils made explicit references in what was presented as group-held negative perception of Jews. The teacher worked in a school where there was a sizeable Muslim community and referred to the explicit nature of pupil's negative attitudes and behaviours. She referred to views expressed by

pupils such as: 'All Muslims hate Jews. They stole our country' (Q2/4 /25). At the same school the teacher referred to a Year 7 Muslim student who, while studying curriculum Judaism, denied that Israel existed as a nation and said it was stolen from Palestine declaring 'We hate Jews … because of Israel' (Q2/4/25).

A few teacher responses indicated that pupils had raised questions regarding the Middle-East conflict and the state of Israel but in an ad hoc manner, as the opportunity arose. For example, one teacher referred to questions being asked by two pupils during a detention concerning a television programme they had seen the previous night regarding bombings in Gaza. Another referred to questions asked in a lesson during a study of Old Testament characters: 'When looking at Israel and Egypt prior to the birth of Moses pupils questioned the situation and made reference to what they had seen in the media.' (Q2/2/23).In both situations teachers had been unprepared for the nature of the questions and felt unable to counter or confirm the views that pupils had formed from the media.

So far the chapter has considered four areas of content that were identified by teachers as significant areas of learning for Key Stage Three curriculum Judaism. Each of the areas was also identified by pupils in their interviews. However, a further area was referred to by all pupils, but was omitted from any responses from the teachers. Common to all interviews in both schools was the role of the *kippah* in pupils' meaning-making of Judaism and attitudes to Jews. Although not specifically identified by any teachers as an important content area

in curriculum Judaism, it became apparent that for pupils the *kippah* was significant in their meaning-making and attitude development.

Learning about the *Kippah*

From pupil interviews it was evident that the *kippah* played a key-role in their identification of and attitudes to Jews. As will be argued in the next chapter, it was frequently referred to by pupils as a catalyst for negative behaviours and attitudes from peers. The *kippah* is a head covering sometimes worn by Jewish males and a smaller number of females. It is particularly significant for male members of the Orthodox community who often wear it during both worship and everyday life. From pupil responses there was no understanding expressed regarding such diversity of practice.

When interpreting the pictures pupils used the *kippah* as *the* symbol to identify Jews. This was particularly noticeable in Picture A where none of the Jews were wearing *kippot* resulting in pupils presuming there were no Jews in the picture. In picture C other potential indicators illustrated, such as Hebrew writing and the wearing of the *Magen David* (Star of David), were over-looked as the *kippah* was used as evidence to identify who they considered Jewish:

> WI-Are they Jews? [*quickly identified*] I think
>
> they are - cos like Jews wear those little things,
>
> [*pointed to his head*] like the little hats.

The relationship between Jews and the wearing of the *kippah* was so significant that it prompted one pupil to change his decision about the religious identity of the people in picture C:

W4 - Are they Hindus? But the boy is Jewish.

I - What makes you think that?

W4 - Because he is wearing the hat.

Using the definite article before 'hat' signifies an importance attached to the *kippah*. This was reflected in another interview when the respondent (W5) had no recall of ever studying Judaism, until shown the picture of the boy wearing a *kippah*. Immediately he volunteered a basic schema of Judaism.

Despite a perception of the *kippah* as an important symbol in the identification of Jews no pupils were able to use specific religious language, as exemplified in the paired discussion regarding picture D:

WO7B - They are Jews.

I - How can you tell that?

WO7A - The hats.

WO7B - Yeah. The skull caps.

References made to *kippot* were often muttered or hesitant before the use of generic term such as 'the hats' (WO7A), the 'little hats' (W1), 'that little hat thing' (W5), the 'Jewish hat' (WO5), or the 'skull cap' (WO7B, WO2A). Frequent hand gestures were used to accompany pupils' choice of word, usually signalling the circular nature of the *kippah*, which in paired interviews were sometimes responded to by giggles by the observing partner.

Despite any apparent formalised teaching regarding the theological and/or ritual significance of the *kippah* pupils readily volunteered their

perceived understandings. The most commonly expressed perception was that the *kippah* was central to Jewish identity, for example:

> I - What would you think is special about being Jewish?
>
> WO10B - They wear the hat.

As such it was perceived as an obvious symbol of demarcation between 'them' (Jews) and 'us' (pupils):

> WO1 - Cos like in their religion they choose to
>
> wear the little hats on their heads and like
>
> compared to us…

The second (and related) perception of the *kippah* was that it was purposefully chosen by Jews to distinguish themselves from non-Jews as an expression of intentional exclusivity. Such a perception was illustrated by one pupil (W3) who implied the *kippah* as a perceived barrier between Jews and non-Jews mixing: 'If they came to our school they would only mix with those who are wearing the hats … because we [non-Jews] aren't allowed to wear them'.

It appeared that none of the teachers in the sample included any study of the *kippah* in their selection of content to be taught. Despite many illustrations in the three textbooks there were scant details regarding related theological concepts or diversity of practices. Yet, for the pupils the *kippah* had great significance not only concerning their understanding of Jewish identity but also their perceptions of fixed distinctions and differences between themselves and Jews.

Conclusion

Using evidence from three sources (pupils, teachers and textbooks) this chapter has examined the impact of content selected for a Key Stage Three study of Judaism. From an analysis of responses no discernible negativity was evident towards a study of Judaism or Jews. What was evident was that pupils were eager to meet with Jews to ask questions generated from their study of curriculum Judaism. Such questions were not necessarily about curriculum content but focussed on questions about identity and belonging which had arisen from a process of meaning-making as they engaged with curriculum Judaism. Such questions were important not so much for gaining a greater knowledge of Judaism as a tradition but as to inform a developing schema of attitudes to Jews.

The content studied by pupils in curriculum Judaism failed to address many of the issues integral to contemporary Judaism. For example no understanding was expressed by pupils regarding contemporary issues relating to the diversity of Jewish views on, for example, ritual slaughter (*shechitah*), the chained women (*agunot*) or conversion to Judaism. Many of the areas identified by the Jewish faith representatives in the faith working reports (SCAA, 1994d) were omitted. No references were made to the study of theological concepts such as *Tikkun Olam* (repairing of the world) nor to Jewish ethical practices such as *gemilut hassidism (*giving kindness).

Despite consistent suggestions (as illustrated in Chapter 3) that RE should enable pupils to challenge stereotypes and prejudices there was

no evidence that the content selected for curriculum Judaism would enable pupils to do so. Pupils were unaware of the history of antisemitism in England and the role of bystanders in perpetuating that history. Although the Holocaust was a dominant area of study, evidenced by all three sources, there was no evidence that it supported positive attitude development to Jews or developed skills of critical awareness which would enable them to counter misconceptions or prejudices.

Throughout this chapter the nature of the content has been considered with references to the wider implications for the construction of a schema of attitudes and behaviours. In the following chapter the perceptions and misconceptions of teachers and pupils are analysed with particular reference to evaluating the impact that a Key Stage Three study of curriculum Judaism makes on pupil attitudes and behaviours to Jews.

Chapter 7

Data Analysis - Challenges, Perceptions and Attitudes

Aims and Structure

The preceding chapter focussed upon issues related to the content selected for study as part of curriculum Judaism in Key Stage 3. Consideration was given to the impact of the content included and omitted from programmes for curriculum Judaism. The chapter demonstrated that pupils did not exhibit negativity to the study of Judaism per se but were more disengaged with areas of study they did not perceive as relevant to their own life-style. It was issues regarding the life-style of Jews which frequently generated questions as pupils sought to compare aspects of their own lifestyles with those of Jews. The study of the Holocaust also had significant impact on pupils in terms of their remembering the atrocities in the concentration camps and their emotional reactions to learning about these atrocities. For many respondents their study of the Holocaust was the dominant feature of curriculum Judaism.

Using the same three sources this chapter analyses two inter-related issues. It begins by considering specific challenges identified by teachers regarding the teaching of curriculum Judaism in Key Stage 3. Specific reference is made to self-perceptions of confidences regarding appropriate subject knowledge and the ability to respond to pupils' perceptions and misconceptions of Jews. The second part of the chapter analyses pupils' attitudes to Jews as expressed in the interviews at the completion of their study of curriculum Judaism. As

such it leads from their understanding and perceptions of Jews and considers the impact of this on their attitudes and behaviours to Jews.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of pupils' perceptions of negative behaviours to Jews, including their understanding of antisemitism in England.

Specific questions (Q1/15; Q3/6) were asked in the first and third teacher questionnaires regarding perceived challenges in the delivery of curriculum Judaism, although relevant data also emerged through answers to the other questionnaire. For the ethical reasons discussed in Chapter 5 pupils were not asked any questions which involved evaluating their teachers' pedagogical expertise or subject knowledge. From the teachers' responses issues regarding lack of curriculum time and the finding of suitable resources were referred to as challenges, but for the majority of respondents their greatest perceived challenge was a deficit in subject knowledge. Responses indicated that this generated two inter-related concerns. The first related to confidence in planning and delivering a subject area of which they felt they had an insecure knowledge themselves. The second related to responding to pupils' questions and misconceptions which emerged during lessons. Each of these areas will now be analysed with consideration given to the potential impact on pupil attitude development.

Teacher Subject Knowledge and Confidence

A concern expressed by teachers related to a lack of knowledge and understanding of Judaism as a living religious tradition. In both the first and third questionnaire teachers were asked to rate their confidence in

teaching about Judaism (Q1/4; Q3/1). As discussed in Chapter 5 the purpose of this data collection was not to trace the development of teachers' confidence nor their competences in teaching curriculum Judaism. The process required respondents to self-assess their level of confidence in teaching Judaism compared with the other principal religions as promoted in the Education Reform Act (DES 1988, Section 8).

Results from both questionnaires indicated that the majority of respondents ranked themselves between categories 3-6 (least confident being 6) with only two respondents identifying Judaism as their strongest tradition (category 1) in terms of knowledge and understanding. This result surprised the researcher who had assumed that the majority of teachers would consider Judaism as a particular strength. As a result further questions were incorporated into the questionnaires which related to subject development through 'formal' education, such as schooling and degree courses, and 'informal' education such as through personal encounters with faith members and travel. The implications of the relevant data findings will now be considered.

Formal Education

Questions were asked of teachers regarding the content focus of previous studies of Judaism and the teaching methods used. Surprisingly, over 50 per cent of those who were least confident in their knowledge of Judaism had a first degree in Theology and/or Religious Studies. Their references to the limited opportunities to study Judaism

compared with other religions in their degree courses supports Cohn-Sherbok's (2011) argument regarding a marginalisation of the study of Judaism in many Theology and Religious Studies Degrees. A significant number of references were made to the Judaism at degree level being taught with the intention of deepening an understanding of Christianity rather than Judaism. The following two responses make this point:

> Never studied Judaism but have studied
> Christianity and especially the Old Testament
> and what the Torah is and that it contains the
> Pentateuch. (Q1/5/40)

and

> I studied Catholic theology and Judaism as part
> of a basic knowledge of [Christian] scriptures.
> (Q1/5/10)

The practice of studying texts from the Torah to support an understanding of the Jewish foundations of Christianity was referred to in Chapter 4. For many, such as Charing (1996) and Foster and Mercier (2000a) such an approach not only diminishes the integrity of Judaism but will also present a distorted image of the living tradition. This is especially the case when content is selected with the primary purpose of explaining Christianity without recognition of any specific Jewish interpretation. For those who had studied undergraduate modules on Judaism the focus was often perceived as limited due to the emphasis being on historical contexts rather than contemporary life-style: 'Studied

Judaism in university, but more its history than contemporary Jewish thought and practice' (Q1/5/30).

Just over half the respondents had studied for a Theology and/or Religious Studies Degree, but all had studied A Level and GCSE Religious Studies at school or Sixth-form college. None were able to recall any study of Judaism after Year 9 (aged 13-14) with the focus being on courses relating to Philosophy, Ethics and Contemporary Issues in Christianity. Indeed, for just under half of all teacher respondents there was no recall of studying Judaism at all in school. For those able to recall any curriculum Judaism, references to the phenomenology of the religion were most common, especially the study of festivals through the use of video.

Noticeable in the responses was a paucity of use of specific terms related to Judaism. Reflecting pupil responses, as discussed in the previous chapter, when teachers recalled aspects of prior learning they used generic religious terms. Examples included: 'Learnt where they worship and what their holy book is called' (Q1/10/36); 'learnt about festivals, rites of passage, traditions and customs' (Q110//5) and 'learnt about religious symbols and festivals' (Q1/10/20). References were also commonly made by teachers to learning about Judaism at school within the context of a study of Christianity; for example: 'This [Judaism] was often in relation to Christianity' *(*Q1/10/6) and 'I don't remember covering much Judaism directly - more in the context of understanding Christianity' (Q1/10/12).

Unlike the pupil responses referred to in the previous chapter no references were made to a systematic study of Judaism. When curriculum content was identified it often appeared to be disconnected areas with no holistic understanding of Judaism as a distinctive tradition: 'Can't remember anything apart from Jesus was a Jew and about the Holocaust' (Q1/10/30). Of the teaching methods identified throughout the questionnaires only three examples of interactive learning strategies were recalled. One consisted of an empathy exercise writing a diary extract of a 'Jewish child'; one a problem-solving activity to compile a 'kosher menu' and one an experiential activity in the form of a 'mock Seder meal'. In contrast many references were made to the reliance on the class textbook for taking notes from, to read aloud in class, to answer questions and to use as a source to complete worksheets.

Some teacher respondents included in their answers aspects of Judaism they learnt about while observing lessons on teaching practice. The majority of examples referred to lessons about the Holocaust. Specific reference was made to pupils' perceived engagement or behaviours during such learning: 'Very engaged, especially as it was a whole day event with a survivor telling his story' (Q1/10/2); 'The pupils were more engaged as the Holocaust is an interesting subject. When pupils begin to learn about it they become very engaged and are often horrified and begin to empathise' (Q1/10/26). From responses it was evident that the behaviours exercised during lessons about the Holocaust were considered positive by the teachers.

The chapter has so far considered the formal learning experiences of teachers of curriculum Judaism; either through degree study, or at secondary school with some references to observational practice. However, as argued in Chapters 1 and 4 subject knowledge and understanding can also develop through informal education such as media and personal experiences. It is these areas that the chapter proceeds to consider.

Informal Education

The potential impact of encounters with faith members on the construction of schemas of understanding and attitude development has been illustrated throughout the thesis. Chapter 1 considered the importance of providing opportunities for the recognition of shared human experiences, as advocated by Pettigrew and Troop (2000). This perception was explored in Chapter 3 from academic literature and government curricular frameworks and guidance. Through visits and meeting with members of faith traditions, it was argued , stereotypes and misconceptions can be challenged so resulting in the development of positive attitudes. It is through such experiences that many, such as Chryssides and Geaves (2007) and Jackson (1997, 2004) argue that the dynamics and authentic integrity of living religious traditions can be represented. The importance of such encounters was referred to by only the two teacher respondents who identified Judaism as the religion they were most confident to teach. For both their perceived strength in understanding Judaism related to their living close to and engaging with Jewish communities (Q1/5/2; Q1/5/5).

In teacher questionnaires two types of encounters were identified and specific questions were asked about each. Firstly, experiences of teachers visiting a synagogue and secondly, experiences of teachers dialoguing with members of the Jewish community. Two distinct questions were asked as, although the two may occur simultaneously, they might also have had different natures and impacts.

As discussed in Chapter 3 visits to places of worship have long been advocated within the RE curriculum as a means of positive attitudinal development (Jackson and Starkings 1990; Gateshill and Thompson 2000). Within England an increasing number of places of worship offer educational experiences and open days aiming to support community building and greater tolerance and respect. This trend of 'open doors' is not representative of synagogues which, as identified in Chapter 2, unavoidably require significant procedures for security. As a result few opportunities exist for easy access to synagogues by non-worshippers. The situation was evidenced by one teacher respondent (Q1/6/30) whose two requests for a visit to a synagogue in order to increase their own subject knowledge were refused. Responses from the teacher questionnaires indicated that just over half of the teachers had never visited a synagogue. This included four respondents who had identified their confidence in teaching Judaism as a particular strength. Without such first-hand experiences or encounters teachers would have limited confidence to inform their planning and also challenge textbook interpretations and bias.

The second focus related specifically to dialogical experiences with someone Jewish (Q1/19). The importance of dialogue in promoting attitude development is advocated in the work of Ipgrave (2001) and later McKenna et al. (2008). The wording of the question was deliberately open-ended to allow for a range of references. The researcher selected 'conversation' as an appropriate term to use as it implies a two-way process, in contrast to attending a lecture or talk where no such interaction would be required.

Despite currently working in or near a city with four synagogues and a vibrant Jewish community only a quarter of the teacher sample thought that, throughout their entire lives, they had held a 'conversation' with anyone who was Jewish. Of the experiences recalled none related to their own learning experiences as pupils. This situation reflects the findings by Jackson et al. (2010, p. 189) that only 18 per cent of secondary school RE programmes incorporated speakers from Jewish faith communities, although the figure rose for those from Muslim communities (30 per cent) and Christian communities (70 per cent). For those who responded in the affirmative, the majority of references related to University experiences either as a student: 'There were a few Jewish individuals who were on my university course. We spoke all the time about everything ranging from our academic life to our school life' (Q1/9/30); or as living in shared student accommodation: 'housemate at uni was Jewish but not practising' (Q1/9/33). Both responses imply that specific characteristics denoted someone as 'properly' Jewish. This perception was reflected by a further respondent who implied that their

understanding of liberal Judaism would not be as significant as that of, say orthodoxy: 'I have Jewish friends mainly from University although all were very liberal' (Q1/9/27).

Outside the University context three types of 'conversational' experiences were referred to by teachers. The first related to interfaith events which had been planned for religious communities to learn together through shared human experiences. It was significant that these were only referred to by those living (as opposed to working) in an area with significant Jewish communities. No references were made by any teachers to participating in the Jewish Heritage Weekend held every September to promote visits to a range of Jewish places of worship and cultural sites. The second experience related to a street missionary encounter between the respondent and members of the Messianic Jews where they discussed the Passover: 'I have had an in-depth conversation with a Messianic Jew about Passover festival' (Q1/9/41). The respondent expressed no understanding of the distinctive theology or history of Messianic Jews (Kollontai 2006). The third experience, referred to by two respondents, related to a visit to Israel organised by their respective churches. The potential limitations of such visits were indicated in Chapter 3 (Charing 1996). Such concerns were evident as both respondents described visits to a range of holy Christian sites throughout Israel but very limited interaction with Jews or Jewish sites of religious interest.

As already mentioned, teachers' perceived deficits in appropriate subject knowledge was not limited to specifics of content. As will now

be discussed, their perceived lack of subject knowledge impacted on their confidence to respond to pupils' questions and to misconceptions about Judaism raised as part of pupils' meaning-making during curriculum Judaism.

Responding to Pupils' Perceptions and Questions

As indicated in the previous chapter, interviews with pupils elicited a range of questions they wanted to discuss as they endeavoured to construct a schema of understanding of Judaism. These were particularly related to everyday life-style, such as: 'Like, is it annoying having to eat kosher all the time? How do they feel about it and do they still want to be Jewish?' (WO3A) and 'I would like to learn about how they live their lives, everyday stuff and why they don't eat bacon and meats' (WO4).

Particularly significant for pupils was the quest to ascertain shared experiences with Jews in order to establish a framework of the lifestyle of Jews in relation to their own: 'What do they do every day? What do they do? What are the differences between them and us?' (W4); 'What's it feel like to be Jewish? Like how does it feel to be Jewish as a part of their religion' (WO1A) and 'What do they normally do every day like for their religious lives?' (W08B). Such questions are not related to a knowledge of Judaism but to the lived experiences of insiders of the faith tradition. It was such questions which teachers found most difficult to answer due to a lack of the relevant knowledge and experiences.

Teacher responses indicated a particular lack of confidence in exploring perceived contentious issues within Judaism. One referred to was the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. Specific references were made to the demands of questions arising as a part of pupil meaning-making such as: 'If Jesus was a Jew how come he's linked to Christianity?' (Q3/7/6); 'the link between Jesus the Jew and the Jesus of Christianity' (Q1/15/29) and 'If Jesus was a Jew why did the Jews kill him?'(Q3/7/11). For many teachers such questions arising from the process of meaning-making were perceived as class management issues and better avoided. An illustration was given by one teacher: 'Some practices such as circumcision are not understood by all and lead to inappropriate questions so it is better not to include them … Or leave the content to be covered by a supply teacher' (Q1/15 /1). No further explanation was made as to why questions might be considered 'inappropriate'. Nor was there any recognition that questions would be naturally generated from the study rather than a desire to be provocative.

Only two teachers referred to explicit antisemitism in their classroom. The first implied wide-spread negativities throughout the school: 'Loads of comments. Jews don't care, Jews rule the Illuminati, Nazi symbols drawn etc.' (Q3/8/5). In the second reference a specific incident was cited relating to one pupil: 'One Muslim pupil simply walked out of the lesson when the topic of Judaism was introduced' (Q2/4/29). For the significant majority, however, references were made to pupils' stereotypes and perceptions of Jews the intent of

which was difficult to identify. Examples were given of questions raised in class which, as discussed in Chapter 2, related to traditional stereotypes of Jews: 'One pupil asked during a lesson on the Crucifixion, Miss, do all Jews have big noses?' (Q3 /8/17). Reference was also made to pupils asking teachers for permission to exercise behaviours which might be deemed as offensive: 'A pupil asked me if it was okay to say "die, you Jew" then did a Nazi salute to a lot of giggles in the class' (Q3/8/32). The challenge of establishing the intent of such questions and responding appropriately is reflected in one teacher's evaluation of pupils' attitudes to Jews: 'undertones of antisemitism and general negative attitude in discussions even if Judaism wasn't directly being discussed' (Q3/5/16).

When teachers were faced with negative attitudes expressed in the classroom a range of responses were reported. No teachers expressed confidence in knowing relevant school procedures. Indeed, it was presumed by one teacher that no such procedures would exist due to other challenges within the school: 'this [challenging negative attitudes to Jews] would be low down the order of priorities, unfortunately' (Q2/2/22). The majority of teachers expressed an assumption that negative attitudes and antisemitism would be part of the school anti-racist policy. Their responses, however, contradicted this. Any actions taken were described as guided by their own initiative rather than school policy and procedures. References were made to inconsistencies of approach not only between schools but also within schools: 'Some teachers deal with this as racist comments with

sanctions, others ignore these comments' (Q3/9/16) and 'Most comments were with a year 7 and 11 class where the teacher ignored/did not challenge comments, there wasn't a strong presence of authority. However, other classes I have been in teachers would have challenged any such comments' (Q3/9/6). Frustrations regarding inconsistencies of practice were evident in one teacher's reflection on activities to challenge negative attitudes: 'I at least try, but it is an uphill struggle' (Q3/9/6).

Data from teachers also indicated inconsistencies regarding the nature of challenge to pupils' negative attitudes or behaviours. Sanctions included exclusion from the class 'to the Rehab Unit' (Q2/2/21), 'sent out' (Q2/2/26), 'sent to inclusion for a period of time' *(*Q2/2/20), 'incidents being logged and kept on pupils' files'*,* (Q2/2/14) and 'pupils being told off either on their own or in front of the class' (Q2/2/20). A particular challenge referred to by teachers related to the context of expressed negativity, such as in the following illustration, when pupils were: 'doing a game on beliefs generally - one pupil said that the Jews were responsible for many troubles in the world (Q3/8/23). Within such contexts teachers had to choose whether they had 'heard' the comment before deciding on the nature of the challenge. This dilemma was particularly apparent in teacher responses to a derogatory use of the term 'Jew' between pupils. Examples included: 'some pupils used to say to each other as an insult "Oh you Jew"' (Q2 /4 /17), 'Pupils often call other pupils a Jew in a derogatory tone; (Q2/4/13) and 'One pupil called another pupil a "Jew"'

(Q2/4/18). Again responses from teachers indicated a diversity of practices. Some responses incorporated the use of school sanctions, but for others the commonality of such use had resulted in a perceived benign intention: 'One child called another Jew as an insult but I do not think the child knew what they were saying or the implications of it' (Q2/4 /12). Indeed, for one teacher the commonality of name-calling including 'Jew' had resulted in their changed perception regarding the offensive nature of the behaviour: 'Pupils told me that they heard it commonly used as a term of abuse e.g. "Don't be a Jew". They said it is similar to "Don't be gay". "Don't be a Jew" doesn't really refer to the religion' (Q2/4/29).

This consideration of teachers' perceptions of the challenges in delivering curriculum Judaism has demonstrated that their perceived lack of subject knowledge impacts not only on what pupils learn but also on how they challenge pupils' negative perceptions, attitudes and behaviours. Using evidence from the three sources (pupils, teachers and class textbooks) it is on the nature of such perceptions of Jews and related attitudes and behaviours that this chapter will now focus.

The Impact of Perceived Attributes of Jews on Pupil Attitude Formation

Chapter 1 advocated the importance of identifying pre-existing perceptions and stereotypes if positive attitudes are to be effectively engendered. As Schneider (2010, p.209) argues: 'Saying we want to change a stereotype is like saying you want to fix a car but you don't know what the matter with it is.' The actions of one teacher respondent

concurred with the importance of incorporating a process of diagnostic assessment as part of curriculum Judaism: 'It took a couple of lessons to attempt to begin the topic [of Judaism] as I had to keep stopping and addressing bizarre and worrying questions asked by the pupils' (Q3/15/26). This was the only reference to any such diagnostic assessment although it was evident that pupils began their study with a range of pre-conceptions regarding Jews. References were made by teachers to pupils' perceptions of Jews incorporating 'old' stereotypes and attributes such as large noses (Q3/8/17; Q2/3/224), Jews as Christ-killers (Q3/7/13; Q3/7/5); materialistic (Q3/7/13; Q2/4/16) or references to world domination (Q3/8/12). None of these, however, were expressed during pupil interviews with the researcher.

One evident pupil perception, confirmed by teachers, was that few Jews lived in England due to the impact of the Holocaust. Teachers referred to pupils believing that: 'all Jews were killed in the Holocaust' (Q2/3/25), or that after the Holocaust Judaism 'wasn't a real faith anymore' (Q2/3/225). Such a view could be initiated or exacerbated by textbooks references such as:

> Nazi persecution wiped out most of the Jewish
>
> communities in Eastern Europe. (T1 p. 26)

and

> It took 3 to 15 minutes to kill the people in the
>
> death chamber, depending on the climatic
>
> conditions. We knew the people were dead
>
> because their screaming stopped. A Nazi

soldier said this. He worked at a death camp

that killed 6,000 people every day. (T1 p. 20)

The over-riding perception of Jews expressed by pupils was that they were 'different', and identified as having specific attributes which were distinctive and dissimilar from those of the pupils. It is the nature and implications of such attributes that this chapter will now interrogate.

Describing someone as 'different' does not automatically equate to a negative attitude. However when pupils used the word in interviews it was frequently accompanied by negative vocal-tones or facial expressions and hesitancies. No evidence from the interviews suggested that pupils considered it positive to be different; indeed for one respondent it equated to being bullied:

I - Why do you think they might get bullied?

W2 - Because they are different … they are Jewish.

For many pupils a perception of Jews as 'different' resulted in the lack of any concept of social cohesion. This was illustrated by one pupil who perceived being 'different' necessitated Jews living outside of their locality:

I - Do you think the boys in the picture might
live in [town of pupil]?

W4 - No because they are different.

'Different' was used as a generic term to signify a range of different attributes which were selected to form a schema of perceived difference between Jews and the pupils. There was often little co-relation between the characteristics attributed to Jews, as illustrated in one pupil's explanation: 'We're not like the same as them. Like they're from a

different country and they have all the different rules and relationships.'

(WO1)

Combining a range of attributes to create a schema of difference reflects the practice found in one of the class textbooks. In a chapter entitled *Jews Today* reference was made to a range of differences including language, beliefs, life-style and clothes:

> They speak their own language called Yiddish.
>
> They will not allow anything modern to change their religious customs. You can recognise them by their dress.' (T2, p. 7)

Despite the interviewer providing verbal and illustrative references in the interviews to shared human experiences between Jews and pupils these were very rarely acknowledged by pupils. This was particularly evident in pupil responses to picture D which illustrated many aspects of the pupils' own lives. In the forefront of the picture was a BMX bicycle wheeled by an adolescent pupil and accompanied by some other boys carrying books on their way to school. All the boys were dressed in brightly coloured short sleeved shirts and casual trousers or jeans. The wearing of the *kippah* was the only indication that they were Jewish. Despite the significant number of shared human experiences illustrated (age, clothes, cycling, going to school) any similarities were invariably overlooked with many pupils referring to the boys as 'different'.

During the interviews a typology of three perceptions emerged as examples of difference between Jews and the pupils:

- Jews as foreign

- Jews as living restrictive lifestyles

- Jews as being intentionally exclusive

As with the typology of antisemitic attributes identified by Wuthnow (1982) and analysed in Chapter 2 each was expressed as a singular attribute or as part of a collective. Within the discussion about each attribute there were nuances and innuendos, which, as will now be considered, often indicated perceptions and attitudes.

Perceptions of Jews as Foreign

Data from teacher questionnaires and from pupils' interviews evidenced the existence of a common misconception of pupils that there were no Jews in their nearest city (Q2/3/25; Q3/7/20) or even in England (e.g. Q2/3/20; Q2/3/24; Q2/3/25; Q2/3/28). Two specific implications emerged as a result. Firstly, some pupils were not interested in a study of Judaism believing it, as one teacher explained, irrelevant to their own lives:

> There is only a very small Jewish community in the town, so pupils may find this religion 'irrelevant' or 'alien' to them as they do not even have personal experiences of Jewish people or the local Jewish community. (Q1/15/42)

In an attempt to counter this perception one teacher used her own personal experiences of encounters with Jews: 'As there were no Jewish pupils in my classes pupils felt "Jewish people" were not relevant to

them. Therefore I introduced personal stories of Jewish friends to engage (Q3/6/4).

As previously identified such teacher's experiences were in the minority, and therefore not an intervention strategy that could be commonly used.

Although commonly perceived as 'foreign' there was no consistency amongst pupils regarding which country Jews were from; suggestions included America, Germany, Holland, Egypt, Iran and Israel. No recognition was shown by pupils of the long history of Jews in England. Nor was there any indication of their role in contemporary England. As already identified, neither teachers nor pupils had significant personal experiences to draw from, and a scrutiny of the textbooks revealed few references to Jewish life or presence in England. In T2, under the heading *Jews Today* references were made to the number of Jews living in the United States and Israel, with no reference to Jewish presence in England, Jews' participation within English history, nor as English soldiers in the First and Second World Wars. In the whole of T1 only six pictures represented Judaism in England with three illustrating specific individuals; the actress Felicity Kendal, the former Chief Rabbi, and a Jewish London boy who had made five million pounds through entrepreneurial activities. When references were made to Jewish lifestyle in England there was often an implication that this was a new phenomenon and one beset with difficulties: 'Sometimes it is difficult for Jews in Britain to get the day off work on Saturdays' (T2, p. 19).

When someone is described as 'foreign', specific attributes are often inferred. Pupils' responses incorporated a range of such perceived characteristics, all of which emphasised that these made Jews distinct from the pupils. Examples included differences in language, culture, allegiances, beliefs and food. Sometimes these were mentioned individually or constructed into a schema.

In the previous chapter confusion regarding the differences between 'nationality' and 'religion' were identified. These may have exacerbated a misconception that Jews as non-Christians cannot be English. Probing questions used in pupil interviews exposed an unrehearsed chain of logic that as Christianity was the religion of England then religions such as Judaism could not be English. This chain of perceived logic is exemplified by one pupil's reasoning that a consequence of Christianity as the established church in England results in negativity towards other religions:

> there is so much hate around here
> unfortunately and so much like bias and stuff
> around here. Our country is very biased erm
> … you know dead er … Christian. (WO4)

A perception of Jews as 'foreign' is not new. Chapter 2 discusses the long history of the perception of Jews in England as foreign and consequential related issues regarding perceived loyalties and allegiances to other countries. Such an association is explicitly reinforced in T2 (p.8) with reference to the allegiance of Jews to another country with a unified common hope of 'return':

>Other Jews scattered around the world, have dreamed of going back to their "promised land". "Next year in Jerusalem" are the hopeful words said after the Pesach meal every year.

Although none of the interviews asked pupils directly to evaluate the allegiances of Jews to particular countries, it was evident through frequent references, they perceived Jews as having a stronger bond to Israel than to England. Such perceptions could exacerbate what Julius (2010, p. 350) identifies as 'not Jew-hatred but Jew-distrust', incorporating a perception that Jews can never be 'wholly English':

>It is anti-Semitism of rebuff and of insult, not of expulsion and murder. Its votaries confer in golf clubs; they do not conspire in cellars. In its most aggravated form, this anti-Semitism questions whether Jews can ever be wholehearted members of the English nation, given their assumed adherence to their own nation. (p. xxxix)

A perceived relationship between being 'foreign' and being an 'immigrant' was evident in some pupils' responses. In one paired-interview pupils discussed Jewish presence as temporary in England and used expressions which are often used to refer to recent immigrant groups to England:

WO3B - They should respect other people's religion as when English people go to someone else's country. It might be viewed differently in England like they [referring to Jews] should be able to have their religion but some people say like we have to follow theirs they should follow ours. I believe …. Well, to me it doesn't really matter because that's their belief .

WO3A - Some people would say something about it but I don't think anything should be mentioned I think … that's their religion and they should live it how they want to.

WO3B - Yes if they want to respect … follow ours … if they want to follow. If they want to stay with theirs while they are in this country then they should be able to.

This perception of Jews in England as transient could be exacerbated by T1 in which a unit of learning, *Moses the Teacher* (pp. 22-24), includes a picture of twentieth-century refugees sitting on a convoy of horse-drawn carts in peasant-type clothes, looking poor and dirty. The caption reads 'Refugees on the move today'. No further contextualisation or understanding is given regarding why this picture of refugees has been included in a textbook on Judaism.

A significant majority of pupils related their perception of Jews as foreign to their speaking a different language. This was explicit in the

many references made to potential communication difficulties between the pupils and Jews in the pictures they were shown. When pupils were asked to identify a question they would like to ask the boy in picture C one pupil responded that there would be no point due to communication difficulties:

> I ... er … wouldn't know how to talk to them.
> You know what I mean? They speak that … oh
> … oh … it's really going to annoy me. Even if
> they did understand me I wouldn't know how
> to talk to them … you wouldn't know to say it.
> (W3)

Evidence from pupils indicated confusion regarding language used in the practice of Judaism and the conversational language of Hebrew or Ivrit. When pupils were identifying the shop marked 'Kosher' in picture C the word 'foreign' was often used and contributed to conclusions that the picture could not have been taken in England, as for example:

> In the top right hand corner I can see the word
> Kosher which is a foreign word so maybe in a
> country where there is a high population of
> Jewish people. (W2)

A perception of Jews as foreign can therefore generate a range of perceived attributes including Jews as immigrants, having loyalties to other countries and being difficult to communicate with. As the chapter has indicated many of these would be reinforced by the study of the

content outlined in the previous chapter and the associated resources used for that study.

Perceptions of Jews as Living a Restrictive Lifestyle

Pupils' interest in Jewish lifestyle has already been acknowledged, as has their enthusiasm to ask both specific and generic questions. As exemplified in Chapter 6 information pupils gained regarding Jewish lifestyle was usually compared with their own lives and subsequently became part of a process of attitude formation. As such, a perception emerged that Jews led a restricted life, one not seen as being compatible with the contemporary life style of pupils. Class textbooks gave many examples of restrictions, such as a chapter focussing on Shabbat containing the side-heading 'No Electricity' (T1, p. 40-41) accompanied by: 'Thirty nine activities are specifically forbidden on Shabbat, but the one non-Jews would find most difficult to cope with is the command not to kindle fire' (T1, p. 40).

Specific references were made by pupils to their understanding of Jewish lifestyle as delineated by restrictions, particularly in comparison with the freedoms they associated with their own. For example, one pupil commented: 'We're Christians, we're allowed to eat bacon and stuff like that but Jewish people aren't allowed to eat it' (WO4). It was perhaps little wonder that one pupil, after the completion of their study, wanted to know 'Do they still want to be Jewish?' (WO3A). In pupil responses the term 'strict' was often used to refer to Jewish lifestyle, such as 'What happens in the religion like with the really strict rules?' (WO8A). Although the term was also used in textbooks, the inference

was different, as it was used to refer to particular groups of Jews such as Orthodox or Hassidic: 'On Shabbat strict Jews will not use any machines' (T2, p. 19). For pupils, however, 'strict' implies incompatibility with their contemporary world. One teacher identified the impact of this perception on pupils' lack of engagement with curriculum Judaism: 'Sometimes pupils feel that Judaism is a dated religion which is no longer relevant' (Q1/15/1).

Perceptions of Judaism as a 'dated' religion are reinforced by the abundance of illustrations in class textbooks representing Orthodox dress. As identified by one teacher pupils considered Jews 'all wear black coats and black hats' (Q3/7/48). Such bias in textbooks was illustrated by a pupil who had first-hand experiences of living in a Jewish community. When asked if she had seen any Jews dressed in such traditional clothes she replied she had only seen such traditional depictions 'in the textbooks we have' (W3).

A perception of Jews as old-fashioned could also have arisen from the content selected for study. As indicated in Chapter 6 pupils exhibited no understanding of contemporary issues or activities representative of Judaism in contemporary England; nor, as indicated by one teacher, to Jewish attitudes to issues of shared human concern: 'We hear about Christian beliefs, about issues like climate change, sanctity of life but not Jewish beliefs' (Q2/3/27). Pupil responses excluded any references to activities of Jews post Holocaust, a trait also identified by a teacher reflecting on curriculum Judaism in their own department: 'Jews were confined to the label of Holocaust and that this event was what

distinguished them as people' (Q2/ 6/26). An example occurred during a pupil discussion about Picture C. Despite the picture showing a contemporary street scene the pupil wanted to ask the young child in the picture: 'How did they feel as their parents will all have been killed?' (WO1). This perception was reiterated in a paired interview regarding the same picture:

> WO2B - I would ask them ... how does it feel to be Jewish after what they have been through?

> WO2A - Did they blame the Germans for the Holocaust?

This chapter has identified a process used by pupils to automatically compare 'new knowledge' about Judaism with their own lifestyle. In so doing, differences are established, which are then interpreted in terms of perceived attributes of Jews. Thus this process creates assumptions which if unchecked inform schemas of perceived differences and resulting negative attitudes. The perception that Jews were 'foreign' led to assumptions that they do not speak English and therefore there would be no point in trying to communicate. A further example occurred regarding the perceived significance of *kippot*. In one interview a pupil readily identified the boys in Picture D as Jewish because they were wearing *kippot*. This led to an assumption that the boys were 'different' and did not live in the pupil's locality. It also led to the assumption that they would not know how to skateboard and therefore there would be no shared human experiences between the pupil and boys in the picture.

This conclusion was reached despite the boys being roughly the same age as the pupil, wearing casual western clothes, carrying books and pushing a modern BMX bicycle:

> I - Do you think the boys in the picture might
>
> live in [location]?
>
> W4 - No 'cos they are different.
>
> I - Do you think they would have any
>
> similarities to you?
>
> W4 - No they wouldn't skateboard, wouldn't
>
> know how to.

A perception of Jews as 'different' is not necessarily negative - difference can be positive. However, it is the accumulations of negative innuendos and attributes associated with the perception that contributes to negative attitudes. Such is particularly the case with the third attribute to be discussed; that of Jews seeking to be intentionally exclusive.

Perceptions of Jews as Intentionally Exclusive

In Chapter 2 one of the attributes referred to within Wuthnow's (1987) typography of antisemitic attributes was a depiction of Jews as 'clannish' and consequently not integrating with gentiles. Indications of this perception were found within class textbooks where shared human experiences were often referred to with Jews *choosing* to distinguish themselves from non-Jews. Examples related to:

-Identity ('Strict Jews believe a person can only be Jewish if their mother is Jewish' T1, p. 33)

-Marriage partner ('It is vital for the survival of their religion that every Jew marries and has children' T1, p. 33)

-Food ('Not only were they commanded to, but many believe that the kosher laws have made them distinct as a people and united them' T2, p. 36)

-Relationships: ('Jews mix mainly with each other' T2, p. 7)

These examples form a framework of life experiences in which Jews elect to be with fellow Jews and segregate themselves from gentiles, so exhibiting clannish behaviours and life-styles. This perception was apparent in pupil responses where, for example, Jews were perceived as wishing to distinguish themselves from gentiles by wearing *kippot*: 'in their religion they choose to wear like little hats on their heads like compared to us' (WO1M). For pupils the wearing of *kippot* was significant to pupil perceptions of Jews as being intentionally exclusive. When asked why Jews wore *kippot* the most commonly given reason was to show they are proud of their race (WO5) or their religion (WO7A). No understanding was volunteered regarding the diversity of practice of wearing *kippot*, nor any theological underpinning. As illustrated later in the chapter, pupil responses to the vignette frequently indicated that the decision by Jewish pupils to wear *kippot* would act as a catalyst for resentment and a prompt for harassment from non-Jewish pupils.

The limited experiences of personal encounters with Jews by both pupils and teachers have already been referred to. For both there was also little awareness of Jewish contributions to, or presence in, contemporary

England. In her review of curriculum Christianity at Key Stage 3 Haywood (2007) identifies the importance of studying units such as 'Faith in Action' highlighting the positive impact of Christians on contemporary society. Examples of those studied by pupils included Mother Teresa, Archbishop Tutu, Jackie Pullinger and Bob Geldof. No such parallels in curriculum Judaism were referred to by teachers, pupils or the textbooks.

Responses to the questionnaires and interviews indicated that pupils and teachers had difficulties in identifying any Jews at all, never mind positive contributions they had made to society. The few specific references volunteered by pupils were limited to Anne Frank, Jesus and Moses. Two generic references were made to sports people believed to be Jewish due to their wearing 'hats'. Teacher responses also indicated a limited awareness with the majority, again, only able to mention Anne Frank, Jesus and Moses. Isolated references were made to more contemporary Jews, predominantly American comedians, such as Woody Allen. Only four references were made to Jews living in Britain (Vanessa Feltz, the Chief Rabbi, Avram Grant and Lord Sugar). A similar lack of awareness, was indicated by teachers, regarding the philanthropic activities of Jews in Britain. Despite over 2,000 registered Jewish charities in England supporting Jews and gentiles, the only charitable work referred to was that of the Holocaust Education Trust. As such, therefore, the impact of the lack of first-hand experiences of the Jewish contribution to society potentially exacerbated a belief that

Jews were predominantly exclusive, with little involvement in contemporary England.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of pupils' attitudes to Jews and, in particular, their perceptions of negative behaviours exercised towards Jews.

Attitudes to Negative Behaviours Exhibited Against Jews

None of the pupils exhibited any explicit antisemitism and only one pupil referred to an incident that had been witnessed first-hand. The event took place outside the local environment and the wearing of the *kippah* was identified as the catalyst for harassment:

> When I went to a theme park these Jewish
>
> people were going round with the hats on and
>
> people were like skitting at them for it.
>
> (WO10)

It could be argued that it was merely lack of opportunities that had resulted in only one witnessed first-hand experience, as all the pupils interviewed made reference to negative attitudes to Jews expressed within their 'home' environment. The consensus of responses surprised the researcher for two reasons. Firstly, although within the same Local Authority, pupils came from a wide geographical and socio-economic spread. Secondly, as frequently referred to, there were perceived to be very few Jews living in the area and therefore little perceived threat. The perceived norm of such negativity was reflected by one pupil, who had concluded that the absence of Jews in their area was as a consequence of the prevailing negative attitudes. When asked where in the locality Jews

might worship her hesitancies and lack of eye contact with the interviewer indicated unease:

> WO5 - Er I don't know. I don't think there
> really is one … Because some people don't like
> them, they don't like the Jews and … erm … if
> like they saw if they went to a place of worship
> and there was a Jew or like something like that
> I think people who don't like them wouldn't
> like it.

The phrase 'don't like' was frequently used to describe attitudes to Jews, although no respondents offered any contextualisation or evidence as to why Jews 'weren't liked'. Indeed the perception of Jews not being liked appeared so main-stream that it was consistently expressed in interviews as if it was a truism. In one pupil response the perception that Jews 'weren't liked' was taken for granted, but what was puzzling the respondent was what Jews had done to engender this attitude?:

> I want to know how come people don't like
> them and everything. Like what do they do to
> make people not like them? (WO5)

Behaviours resulting from negative attitudes towards Jews were perceived by pupils in terms, not of physical violence but of verbal harassment, often referred to as 'skitting'. When probed, pupils often defined 'skitting ' in terms of antisemitic discourse including 'the calling of like loads of names and stuff' (W1); 'saying something' (WO9B), 'harsh comments'(WO3B), 'a comment to the side' (WO3A),

and 'comments behind their back' (W4). These behaviours reflected Julius's (2010) description of English antisemitism as nuance and slur, as discussed in Chapter 2. The impact of such behaviours was perceived as serious by pupils, indicated by one respondents suggestion that Jewish pupils would be happier being 'home tutored' (W2) rather than attend the respondent's school. Another suggested that any potential Jewish pupils would need to assimilate more, or move: 'they might feel down and have to take them [*kippot*] off or move away' (WO7A).

One expression of negativity recognised by all pupil respondents related to the use of the word 'Jew'. Consideration has been given earlier in the chapter to teachers' responses to such name-calling within school and the diversity that existed amongst teachers interviewed regarding meaning and response. For pupils there was a clear indication that the word was associated with negativity, with references to it being 'impolite', 'lacking political correctness', and even racist:

> I - You described them [people in the picture]
>
> as Jewish. Is it better to say Jews or Jewish?
>
> W3 - Jewish cos like when you say Jew … it's
>
> er ... when people skit. It's racist.

Despite all pupils referring to the existence of negative attitudes of Jews within 'school' and 'home' environments none contextualised them within an awareness or understanding of antisemitism in England. Indeed pupils seemed unaware of the term and, unlike references to 'racism', no understanding was expressed of the national or global history of antisemitism. When pupils were asked about negative

behaviours towards Jews today their responses were made in comparison with the atrocities they had learnt about through their study of the Holocaust:

> I - And do you think it still happens today?
>
> W04 - Erm ... not necessary with concentration
>
> camps but Jews still get beaten up and stuff.

and

> I think probably after it [the Holocaust] people
>
> were a bit bad but not as bad … it's got better.
>
> (WO9B)

There was a common perception that any negative attitudes or behaviours towards Jews today were insignificant. Comparisons were frequently made to the atrocities in the Concentration Camps. There was no understanding shown that such behaviours or attitudes could re-occur: 'I don't think it's the same as how Hitler treated them in the gas chamber' (WO3B), and: 'If people are nasty they are not as nasty as what they were, er ... because not many people are that nasty anymore' (WO2B).

The research revealed no evidence to suggest that pupils' attitudes to Jews had become more positive through their study of the Holocaust, nor that they had developed skills to counter the prejudices of others. Although references were made to engagement, it was an emotional response to graphic resources. One pupil shared with the interviewer her upset during the watching of Herman's film *Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008). Upon probing it appeared that the distress was not related to the

inhumanity illustrated in the film towards the Jews, but that it was the 'wrong' boy (a gentile not a Jew) who dies:

> I - What was particularly sad about the film?
>
> W5 - Er he wasn't a Jew. His dad worked in
>
> the army I think. He was like … but not a Jew.

A similar response was made by another pupil who identified the story as 'tragic' because:

> It was like ... the boy wanted to help the boy in
>
> the striped pyjamas to find his dad but they
>
> couldn't find it so they went into the chamber
>
> where they tried to find him but then they all
>
> got taken away and they all died at the end.
>
> (WO1)

Common to all the pupils' response to the vignette was that any Jews coming to their school could expect negative attitudes and behaviours; a consequence of being 'different'. Such logic is reminiscent of the findings of Eiser (1978, p. 245) regarding rape victims being perceived as responsible for their attacks in order to portray a just and fair world. This perception might also explain why, as identified later in this chapter, pupils made no reference to actively supporting Jews when being teased. Their passive reactions were not because of recriminations by fellow non-Jews, but because such treatment was a natural consequence for any pupils who chose to be 'different'.

The pupils interviewed did readily distance themselves from the instigators of negative behaviours: People would say take it off [the

kippah] and stuff but people like me, I'm quite nice and polite I'm not bothered if they wear them' (WO3B).

As indicated in the above example the role adopted by the pupils interviewed was not one of perpetrator or collaborator, but of bystander. Sometimes, this resulted in internalising the injustices being exhibited, such as expressed by one pupil when listening to Holocaust denial by fellow pupils:

> I - And what do you say or don't you say anything?
>
> W2 - I don't say anything. I just mutter to myself.
>
> I - Do you? What do you mutter?
>
> W2 - I wouldn't like to say on tape.

No references were made to respondents intervening to support Jewish pupils or to challenge perpetrators, through either their own actions or alerting teachers. Advice to Jewish pupils was volunteered, however, its nature was limited to how to avoid or minimise negative behaviours from their peers. Most frequently referred to was to remove the *kippah* in school (e.g. W4; WO8, WO9) with one pupil making an emphatic plea in the interview 'take your hats off. Don't wear your hats' (W4). Other advice given implied that the school context would not be one of integration between Jews and gentile pupils, with reference to: 'Stand up for yourself '(W3); 'Stay away from the far corner of the field' (W4) and 'Stay together' (W3).

Conclusion

This chapter began by considering teachers' perception regarding their confidence in designing and delivering curriculum Judaism. It identified that particular challenges exist for teachers in portraying the integrity of Judaism as a contemporary religious tradition. Through an analysis of teachers' formal and broad education experiences it emerged that few teachers had any prior learning relating to contemporary Judaism. A similar analysis of informal education experiences realised that a significant number of teachers had never had any personal social encounters with Jews, or visited synagogues. Such limited experiences exacerbated a lack of confidence in answering pupils' questions, which often related to implications of Jewish life-style, or expressions of misconceptions and stereotypes.

In the second part of the chapter the relationship between pupils' perceived attributes of Jews and the development of their attitudes to Jews was considered. It became apparent that the content selected for curriculum Judaism, as considered in the previous chapter, informed meaning-making regarding Jews and Jewish life-style. Through their study of curriculum Judaism pupils constantly compared their own life-style to features of Jewish life-style; a process resulting in the formation of a schema of 'difference'. This schema was consistently applied to the interpretation of pictures and to the hypothetical situation in the vignette.

From pupil responses it was evident they were aware of negative attitudes to Jews; indeed it appeared as the 'backdrop' of both school

and home life. Catalysts for such responses seemed to relate to Jews being perceived as 'different', and in particular the wearing of *kippot*.

Pupil respondents were keen to distinguish themselves from the perpetrators of negative behaviours. This they often did by volunteering advice to Jews. However, no respondents referred to any active support they would give to Jewish pupils. There were also no references to challenging the actions of perpetrators, nor to informing teachers in the school. The respondents all placed themselves in the role of a bystander, with differing levels of sympathies.

The fact that the main catalyst for negative behaviours was the wearing of the *kippah* reflects the argument of Schneider (2005), considered in Chapter 2, that negative attitudes to others can be traced back in history to a time when groups of ancient humans developed badges in the form of dress and behavioural customs to differentiate themselves from one another. No evidence emerged from teachers that they were aware of pupil perceptions regarding the symbolic nature of *kippot*.

No understanding was expressed regarding the history of antisemitism. Pupils compared the atrocities illustrated in the resources used in their study of the Holocaust to their experiences of the prevalent negative attitudes to Jews. The severity of the latter was perceived as almost insignificant compared to the treatment of Jews in concentration camps.

In the following and final chapter both pupils' and teachers' perceptions are analysed. From a consideration of the main findings of each chapter recommendations are made for the development of curriculum Judaism

which will better equip pupils to counter negative attitudes to Jews in modern Britain.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: Findings and Recommendations

Aims and Structure

The thesis has explored relationships between a study of curriculum Judaism at Key Stage 3 and pupils' perceptions of and attitudes to Jews (the people of Judaism). Three key questions were addressed:

- What is the nature of pupils' attitudes and perceptions of Jews?

- What are teachers' perceived confidences in teaching about Judaism and related attitudinal development?

- What key messages may be drawn to influence the development of curriculum Judaism in order to promote positive attitudinal development to Jews?

This final chapter reviews the thesis and offers the principal conclusions and recommendations which arise from the study, by briefly analysing the main findings of each chapter. The chapter will also describe some of the limitations of the research and will conclude by identifying recommendations and potential areas for future research.

This study interrogated pupils' attitudes to Jews after having engaged in a study of curriculum Judaism in Key Stage 3. It did not set out to evaluate or assess pupils' knowledge or understanding of Judaism. Nor did it seek to evaluate the skills of teachers in delivering or planning curriculum Judaism. The findings relate to teachers' perceptions of their confidence and the areas they perceive as most challenging. The study was positioned within two specific contexts. Firstly, curriculum

Judaism as a part of the Key Stage 3 RE programme in schools without a faith character. Secondly, the location of the sample within England a history of negative attitudes and behaviours to Jews.

Central to the argument of this thesis is the belief that perceptions and attitudes are not fixed (Schneider 2005) and that they can be generated and influenced in many ways. Consequently, they can be changed or modified through interventions, especially formal and informal educational experiences. Also central is the belief that education, and particularly RE, can impact on pupil attitude development. As exemplified in Chapter 3, a frequent claim made regarding the importance of the curriculum subject relates to the development of pupils' positive attitudes. Further claims are made regarding the potential of effective RE to challenge misconceptions and stereotypes held by pupils, enabling them to challenge the negative views of others.

Each chapter will now be summarised to show the main findings relating to the relationship between curriculum Judaism and pupil attitudes to Jews.

Summary of Findings

The first two chapters addressed the complexities of attitude development and the characteristics of negative attitudes and behaviours towards Jews. Chapter 1 argued that attitude formation was complex and susceptible to being influenced, positively or negatively, by different stimuli and interventions. Of particular significance was the identification of the consequences of categorisation into insider and

outsider groups. Particularly relevant for the argument of the thesis was the generation of specific attributes and characteristics of each group. From the analysis of pupil responses their meaning-making, during curriculum Judaism, was dependent upon such categorisation, with respondents identifying themselves as one group and Jews as another. Demarcations between the two groups were established, so forming a perceived schema of attributes assigned to each group and, consequently, reinforcing dissimilarities. Maylor and Read (2007) draw attention to the importance of the nature of the attributes which usually relate to a value-judgement. For this thesis two arguments relating to the process of categorisation are particularly significant. The first, advocated by Gluck Wood (2007), is that perceptions of hostility are increased if members of the outsider group are perceived as homogenous and lacking in diversity. The second is, as argued by Schneider (2005), that negative attitudes towards the outsider groups are exacerbated if symbolic dress is worn. As illustrated later in the chapter this is particularly relevant to pupils' perception of the wearing of the *kippot*, acting as a catalyst for their negative attitudes and behaviours to Jews.

The sample involved pupils from different classes in two different schools but responses indicated that attitudes and perceived characteristics of Jews exemplified what Finch termed 'commonly understood norms' (1987, p. 107). The chapter established that different stimuli may exacerbate the formation of group attitudes and confirmed Allport's (1954) view that a person was readily pre-

disposed to the formation of particular attitudes and that these would drive, or at least have an influence on, consequent behaviours. This notion is referred to later in an analysis of pupils' reactions to the vignette proposed as part of their interviews. The chapter argued that in order to challenge misconceptions and existing negative attitudes it was crucial that the nature of such be realised and, consequently, drive the selection of intervention strategies.

Concurring with Katz and Braly (1933), Schneider (2005) and Elton-Chalcraft (2009) that attitudes are not fixed, the chapter investigated intervention strategies, particularly relevant in the context of schools. The potential impact of inter-group encounters was articulated, but with a caveat regarding the characteristics of such activities. As encounters they need to go beyond superficial sightseeing (Davies 2008) to incorporate opportunities for dialogue and the recognition of shared human experiences. They also need to have been planned, recognising any pre-existing misconceptions of pupils, to ensure that elements of the encounter did not reinforce existing stereotypes or negative attitudes.

Chapter 2 focussed specifically on negative attributes and behaviours towards Jews, an area into which there has been little research within an English context. Again relationships between categorisation, attribute and characteristic association and attitude development were illustrated, with specific reference to Wuthnow's (1982) typology of attributes associated with Jews. The multiplicity and fluidity of attributes allow applicability to any given contemporary situation. A

fluid schema of attributes was evident in examples of antisemitic incidents from the CST data. It was also evident in the range and characteristics of attributes that emerged from pupils' perceptions of Jews.

Particularly significant for this thesis was the identification (Julius 2010) of a distinctive English antisemitism. He argues that it is characterised not by pogrom or violence, but by innuendos and slur. Such responses by their very nature are less explicit and consequently difficult to challenge. The extent of the negativity is often determined by the intent of the perpetuator. Whether such attitudes lie dormant or become more explicit depends upon potential catalysts. This argument was reinforced in Chapter 2 by the analysis of antisemitic incidents reported to the CST. The significant majority were opportunistic and involved verbal assault, with particularly offensive references made to the Holocaust and the use of 'Jew' as an insult. A significant feature of this data is the large number of young adults involved as either victims or perpetrators. This reinforced the relevance of the focus of the thesis on pupil attitudes and behaviours and the importance of planned intervention strategies. Testimonies from expert witnesses as part of the APPG Inquiry (2006) reflect a particular concern regarding the increase and impact of 'antisemitic discourse'. Of the many recommendations made from the inquiry a number were related to the importance of intervention strategies in schools. In particular recommendations were made regarding pupils' understanding of

Judaism and antisemitism and the importance of opportunities for pupils to experience quality interfaith encounters.

Chapter 3 and 4 examined the relationship between attitude development and curriculum Judaism. The review of relevant literature and government policies identified that not only was the teaching of world religions expected to promote positive attitudes to religious believers, but also it was intended to skill pupils to challenge negative attitudes. Chapter 3, however, identified many concerns regarding this claim. One concern related to imprecise understandings of language, often resulting in unclear aims and outcomes and, according to Vogt (1997), result in little discernible action being taken. Examples of questions regarding greater consideration were: What are the differences between racism and antisemitism? What attitudes are expected to be promoted through the study of world religions? What is the shared understanding of such attitudes in terms of definition and outcome?

The presumption that learning about a religious tradition or culture automatically engenders positive attitudes was rejected through an analysis of the research findings of Malone (1998) and Smith and Kay (2000). Indeed, it was argued that learning about a religious tradition could actually exacerbate misconceptions and negative attitudes. As will be later argued the findings from this thesis maintain that crucial to the effective teaching of Judaism is the selection of teaching methods which provide opportunities for pupils' questions emerging as a result of their meaning-making. The researcher thus concurs with the

view of Baumfield (2007) that the skills of the teacher are highly influential in determining the attitude development of pupils.

This critical role of the teacher was further explored in Chapter 5, where consideration was given to the influential role that teachers play in selecting, interpreting and presenting the content of curriculum Judaism. Relevant was the identification of the distinctive history of curriculum Judaism compared with other religious traditions. Two areas were of particular significance. Firstly, the tendency of teachers to interpret Judaism through a Christian lens. Secondly, the historical deficit of teacher access to appropriate in-service training and resources which present Judaism as being distinctive, diverse and a contemporary religious tradition.

The issues raised in Chapters 2 and 3 were further examined through a case study of one specific area of content. As a result of the prevalence of references by both teachers and pupils, the Holocaust was selected for particular consideration. An emphasis on the Holocaust as part of curriculum Judaism reflects national priorities (Jackson et al. 2010). Despite such prevalence, however, there has been little research regarding the teaching of the Holocaust in RE , particularly compared with that within the History curriculum. Issues raised reflect those of previous considerations regarding the subject content of curriculum Judaism; in particular the precise purposes of the study, the teaching methods used, the resources deployed and the skills required of the teacher. It was argued that the study of the Holocaust within curriculum Judaism was expected to make a difference to pupils'

attitudes and behaviours in order to prevent similar atrocities. However, a lack of clarity often exists regarding the aims and the outcomes of the study, particularly regarding distinctions between empathy, awe, horror and trivialisation.

This research was concerned with teachers' and pupils' attitudes and perceptions, which by their nature are unable to be validated as truth claims. The most valid sources of data regarding perceptions had to be the teachers and pupils themselves. A phenomenological methodology was applied with the intention of reaching beyond the experience in order to arrive at the 'essence of the experience' (Lichtmann 2011). Qualitative methods of data collection were employed to capture the subjects' points of view (Denzin and Lincoln 1998) and to allow for further probing (Troyna and Hatcher 1992, Elton-Chalcraft 2009). The focus was on the respondents' perceptions and incorporated three data collection strategies (interviews, questionnaires and vignettes) to capture the lived experience. Through the iterative process of data analysis and triangulation, several themes emerged from the responses to the research questions. These constituted the findings in Chapters 6 and 7.

Firstly, pupil responses were invariably influenced by their understanding of Judaism through their study of curriculum Judaism in Key Stage 3. No references were made by pupils to the significance of learning through informal education or in previous Key Stages. The areas they studied were shown to have significantly impacted upon meaning-making of Judaism and their attitudes to Jews. As a part of

the meaning- making process all the students interviewed had used a process of categorisation, resulting in clear demarcations being established between their lifestyles and those of Jews. There was little evidence from teachers or textbooks that this process had been the result of any externally promoted strategy. The demarcation between pupils and Jews appeared to evolve naturally as a 'default' position, as pupils tried to make sense of the content they were studying. As a result of the categorisation two groups had been generated (Jews and themselves), each with distinguishing characteristics. Often the pupils concluded that if one of the groups had specific characteristics, the other would not. It was little surprise therefore, that pupils' defining perception of Jews was that they were 'different.' This perception was exacerbated by textbook portrayals and a lack of encounters with Jews, .either first hand or second hand, through teacher references.

Although the pupil respondents were from different classes and schools the same subject content had been studied using the same textbooks. Perhaps this accounts for the group ownership of particular attributes used as illustrations to justify their perception of 'difference'. A typology of attributes was referred to in pupil responses. The characteristics of these did not reflect the 'old stereotypes' identified by Wuthnow such as 'money-grabbing' or 'manipulating'. Instead, they incorporated what might appear innocuous attributes such as 'foreign'. It was the assumptions,intent and attributes with that perception that resulted in more negative attribute association such as 'clannish' and 'exclusive'. This

relationship between meaning-making through the content studied, assumptions and perceptions was evident through pupils' perceptions of Jews as 'different'. Justifications for this conclusion often related to content studied during curriculum Judaism, with references to Israel, Hebrew and kosher food. Of particular significance for pupil attitude development was that as Jews were perceived as foreign, then they would speak a different language and that any communication would therefore be impossible. No references were made by pupils to any perceived commonalities with Jews. This led to the many questions pupils wanted to find out regarding how Jews 'felt' regarding the Holocaust and particular aspects of life-style such as dietary regulations and Shabbat practices. In interviews their understanding was always based on an assumption that Jewish lifestyle was homogenous and orthodox.

None of the pupil respondents illustrated any overt negativity towards Jews; indeed the majority expressed a positive desire to visit a synagogue in order to meet Jews and ask questions. Their interest, however, had not resulted in their embarking upon independent research through the internet or other sources. With reference to the four stages of Allport's (1954) 'prejudiced personality' the researcher was aware that one should not conclude that prejudices do not exist. For the significant majority of pupil respondents, issues relating to Judaism were not a part of their world. References were made by pupils to the perceived lack of Jews both locally and nationally. Some respondents justified this conclusion with references to the mass

exterminations during the Holocaust or to negative attitudes prevalent in the area.

In the interviews it became consistently apparent that pupils' worlds included a 'back drop' of negative attitudes to Jews in and outside the school with many references being made to the use of 'Jew' as a derogatory term with the intent to insult. A common pupil perception, emerging from the vignettes, was that it was inevitable that Jews entering the respondents' school would experience hostility. The nature of this hostility was conveyed not in terms of physical violence but verbal harassment, often referred to as 'skitting'. Justifications for such attitudes and behaviours consistently referred to Jews as 'different'. This was the same justification that had been used to explain Hitler's antisemitism. No references were made to the 'new antisemitism' (defined in Chapter 2) which relates Jews to events in the Middle-East. Indeed, although an awareness was expressed by pupils of associations between Israel and Jews there was no evidence to suggest that issues regarding the Israel/Palestinian conflict nor Zionism had formed part of curriculum Judaism.

Perceived as a symbol of 'difference' the *kippah* was a significant catalyst for pupils' negative attitudes and behaviours towards Jews. Although frequently referred to by pupils as a means of identifying Jews, little understanding was expressed regarding its theological significance, nor the diversity of practices regarding its use. A commonly held conviction of pupils was that Jews had elected to wear the *kippah* in order to distinguish themselves from non-Jews. The

associated negativities implied by pupils reflected Schneider's (2005) identification of the relationship between perceived threat and the wearing of ceremonial badges and dress.

Despite assumptions that Jews would face hostilities from peers none of the respondents identified such behaviours as antisemitic; indeed they were often inferred as natural behaviours towards anyone 'different'. Predicted negative behaviours to Jewish pupils were compared to the atrocities of the Concentration Camps they had learnt about in curriculum Judaism; and as such evaluated as inconsequential. There were no indications that pupils' studies had skilled them to counter the negative views or actions of others, either personally or through informing teachers. Although keen to distinguish themselves from peer perpetrators, the significant majority of pupil respondents presented their actions as those of bystanders. The only actions referred to were the offering of advice to Jewish pupils regarding which areas of the school to avoid, and reasons for removing *kippot*. Despite a predominance of references to their study of the Holocaust no indication was given that pupils had been asked to consider theological, philosophical or moral issues relating to the roles of bystanders.

The lack of teachers' perceived confidence in teaching Judaism was analysed in Chapter 7. Of particular significance was the impact of teachers' limited formal and informal learning experiences, exacerbated by a perceived scarcity of relevant resources. From responses to the three questionnaires two areas emerged as particularly

significant: the inability to represent Judaism as a diverse living tradition, and the inability to deal with pupils' questions emerging from their learning.

The teachers' formal education had rarely included the study of Judaism as a living tradition. For those who had studied Judaism as part of a university degree the significant emphasis had been within a contextualisation of Christianity. The majority of teachers had not visited a synagogue themselves nor dialogued with anyone who was a Jew. Such limited experiences will have impacted on teachers' ability to recognise and confidently challenge any stereotypes or misconceptions they encountered either in class textbooks or amongst pupils.

Teachers consistently indicated a lack of confidence in dealing with pupils' questions or responses. Poor educational practice was shown when teachers admitted to minimising opportunities for pupil questioning to avoid contention. Similarly areas of content which could be perceived as contentious and result in debate were omitted from the content selected to be studied. Although clearly relevant to the integrity of Judaism as a living tradition no study had included issues such as *shechitah* (ritual slaughter of animals); *agunah* (chained women); contemporary antisemitism; 'marrying out' or Zionism. Similarly, despite a significant focus on the Holocaust there had been no inclusion of contentious issues such as the role of the Church or that of bystanders.

Some Limitations of the Study

Prior to offering responses to the final question some limitations of the study will be identified. Many of these relate to the specificity of the study. For example pupils and teachers were asked to relate their answers specifically to curriculum Judaism, despite other religions being studied and taught. Similar data collection methods could have been used in relation to other world religions and comparisons could have been drawn from a range of other distinctive phenomena inherent in curriculum Judaism. The focus specifically on Key Stage 3 created a further limitation. A longitudinal study of the same pupil sample could have investigated the relationship between curriculum Judaism and pupils' attitudes to Jews at each Key Stage. By doing so specific issues regarding age appropriateness, curriculum design and teacher professional development would have emerged.

The data collection took place during a year when there was relative calm in Israel and correspondingly little media interest. This was distinct from the previous and following years when considerable unrest in the Middle-East was reflected in the increase of antisemitic attacks in England. As such, the data collection was 'a moment in time' and the study is unable to establish whether if different teaching methods, strategies or content had been selected or a different contemporary context had prevailed, the impact would have been affected. A related question, which would have broadened the study, could have explored teachers' own perceptions of Jews. Addressing this question would address issues of teacher reflexivity and bias, which inevitably impact

on teaching. Teachers' attitudes to issues such as Zionism, *shechitah*, and what constitutes antisemitic discourse would have provided a rich source of relevant data.

Although there is little evidence that comparable findings elsewhere would reveal any more positive results the thesis is unable to claim 'representivity' of the samples. The sample could have been widened to embrace a further study to include schools with a religious character. Indeed case studies could have been made in schools with Christian and Muslim faith characteristics. This could constitute a longitudinal study comparing attitudes between the same pupils at the end of Key Stage 2 (aged 9-11) and Key Stage 3 (aged 11-14). Indeed, such a study could also have continued into adulthood.

Key Recommendations from the Research

As evidenced in Chapter 3 RE in England provides both the opportunities to teach curriculum Judaism and the expectations that through the study pupils' misconceptions and prejudices will be challenged. So preparing pupils for life in a diverse modern Britain. Research findings from Malone (1998) that gaining knowledge about Judaism does not necessarily impact on positive attitudes to Jews was corroborated through the data emerging from pupil interviews. To realise the potential of the aforementioned opportunities, and expectations of curriculum Judaism, the thesis concludes with four recommendations and identified audience targets:

Content Selection

Pupils' responses indicated that learning more information about Judaism did not necessarily impact on their understanding. They had been taught a significant amount of 'facts' but the interviews showed that little was remembered or had impacted upon their meaning-making. As a result four considerations are advocated to curriculum leaders regarding the selection (and omission) of content to be studied in curriculum Judaism.

Firstly, and fundamentally, if a key function of curriculum Judaism is to enable pupils to challenge their own misconceptions, then the identification of such must be made by teachers at the outset of the study. The results from this process should subsequently inform the process of content selection. Without such baseline diagnostic assessment teachers will not know what misconceptions pupils hold. Writers such as Schneider (2005) argue that misconceptions will continue to be perpetuated and will result in negative attitude formation, unless they are identified and challenged through relevant interventions. An example from the thesis of the relevance of this argument relates to the aforementioned pupils' perceptions regarding the reasons some Jews wear *kippot*. Within their process of meaning-making the misconception regarding Jews wanting to distinguish themselves from gentiles had exacerbated negative attitudes.

A second matter regarding content selection relates to the importance of accurately reflecting the diversity and integrity of Jewish belief and practice. The data confirmed that often in curriculum Judaism

insufficient treatment was given to present the rich mosaic of practices, opinions and cultures within the Jewish community. The dangers of presenting communities as artificially homogenous are well rehearsed by many (Jackson 1997, 2004; Geaves 1998; Gluck Wood 2007). Data from the teacher questionnaires and the scrutiny of textbooks showed that the default position for presenting Judaism in curriculum Judaism is as a static 'semi-orthodox' phenomenon. As a result, pupils were unable to express an understanding of the wide spectrum of beliefs and practices adopted by the multiplicity of communities within Judaism. To ignore the significant differences between Jewish groups, such as Charedi or Jubus, robs the tradition of much of its contemporary dynamism and richness. It also robs pupils of the opportunity to appreciate that Judaism is a living tradition and that, as with all religions, the need to recognise its protean character through time is essential to understanding and to presenting it accurately.

A third related consideration advocates the selection of content to reflect the integrity of Judaism as a living religious tradition. The thesis has argued that curriculum Judaism has a historical legacy of manipulation and distortion in order to fulfil agendas other than accurately presenting Judaism. Many of the content recommendations made by Jewish educationalists in the Faith Working Reports (SCAA 1994d) have been ignored in current curriculum planning and textbooks. Particularly under-represented are the philanthropic and Human Rights activities of many Jews in England and the history of antisemitism in England. The Judaism referred to by pupils and teachers was an example of a 'sanitised' (White 2004; Erricker 2010) curriculum in

which potentially contentious issues such as Zionism, antisemitism and the role of women have been ignored.

The fourth matter relates to the need for a reconfiguration of the study of the Holocaust as part of curriculum Judaism. If the Holocaust is to be studied then a clear rationale must be established by the teacher and made transparent to the pupils. In particular the perceived purpose and outcomes of the study need to explicitly influence the selection of teaching methods and resources. As argued in the following recommendation the study of the Holocaust must not present it as an isolated example of antisemitism, but set it within the context of historical antisemitism.

The abolition of the Quality Curriculum Authority(QCA) and the locally controlled nature of Religious Education impacts upon how this recommendation may be taken forward. The most apt organisation would be the Religious Education Council (REC), an organisation which incorporates many associations and faith communities working together to strengthen the provision of Religious Education in schools. As such, the REC could continue to place pressure on publishers to represent Judaism as a diverse and 'living' tradition. Attention should also be given to the curriculum support materials, produced by the REC, that are intended to support syllabi constructors. A review should be conducted to ensure they reflect the integrity of Judaism as practiced, both nationally and globally.

Recognition of Antisemitism

This thesis concurs with the recommendations of the APPG (2006) and the SCAA Faith Working Report (1994d) that pupils should be taught about antisemitism. Although a purposeful study of the Holocaust might be part of that context, the focus should be on the historical and contemporary phenomena of negative attitudes to Jews in England. In particular, a knowledge of the distinctive characteristics of English antisemitism, as defined by Julius (2010), is vital if pupils are expected to counter the prejudices of others.

Schools have a statutory duty to prepare pupils for life in modern Britain (Ofsted 2014). As stated previously, negative attitudes to Jews have been a feature of English life over the centuries. Statistical data of antisemitic incidents compiled annually by the CST illustrate that it remains thus. A commonly cited justification for the teaching of world religions is to enable pupils to challenge their own misconceptions and those of others. In order to do so, curriculum Judaism should provide opportunities to enable such discernment and critical analysis. This requires teachers and pupils to identify and analyse the subtleties and innuendos associated with contemporary antisemitism.

Such a study should equip pupils to recognise the role of bystanders within the perpetuation of institutional antisemitism. Although the pupils in the research sample were keen to delineate themselves from the *actions* of the perpetrators they commonly presented themselves as passive bystanders, with no awareness that a more positively effective stance could have been taken. In taking the stance they had effectively

adopted what Cesarani in his witness statement to the APPG (2006) terms 'antisemitism of tolerance'. He describes this as being a situation where Jews are not explicitly welcomed but are allowed to live undisturbed, as long as they conform to the norms of the people around them.

Despite a significant amount of public monies and curriculum time being spent on Holocaust Education and related projects, further research is required regarding its potentially detrimental effect as part of a flawed curriculum Judaism. Teachers' expressed aspirations for its potential to impact positively on life-long lessons for pupils regarding the dangers of prejudice were not evidenced in the data from the pupil interviews. Indeed, the study appeared to have trivialised any contemporary negative behaviours and attitudes to Jews. The emotions and sentiments engendered by the study were often not of rage at the injustice and dehumanisation inflicted on people, but rather pupils' personal horror at the graphic images encountered.

The intended audience for this recommendation includes educationalists and policy makers. Raising an awareness of the history of antisemitism requires professional development training opportunities. Although these may commence in teacher training programmes they need to be ongoing, past the PGCE year to enable teachers to confidently challenge antisemitisms in the class-room. A focus on antisemitism should be included in Ofsted Inspections as part of the scrutiny of a school's provision for spiritual, moral, social and cultural development.

Meaningful Encounters

As evidenced in the thesis, academic literature and educational policy advocate the importance of inter-group encounters to challenge misconceptions and prejudices. As discussed in Chapter 1 an encounter is different in nature from a superficial visit. To be effective it requires skilled and informed organisation to realise its potential to impact on misconceptions and prejudices. Such opportunities are of significant importance and should not be left to chance. Nor should the onus fall solely on teachers. The number of antisemitic incidents perpetrated by young adults which is reported to the CST suggests this is an issue for society. As such stakeholders, including for example schools, SACRE's and Jewish communities should collaborate to devise intervention encounters. Creative approaches need to be considered. The pragmatics of numbers make pupil to pupil schools-linking difficult. Although pupils expressed a desire to visit a place of worship to 'see for themselves' their main identified need was to discuss with Jews their feelings regarding their faith. This does not necessitate face-to-face encounters but can be conducted through the internet as exampled by the research of McKenna et al. (2008). For teachers there was an additional requirement to realise Judaism as a living religion in England.

The targeted audiences for this recommendation are agencies from the Jewish community and from Religious Education. In the 2008 Government response to the All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism (DCLG) acknowledgement was made of the collaboration of agencies

to support Holocaust Education. The same drive, resources and commitment are now needed to give pupils what might be a once in a lifetime opportunity of engaging with Jews.

Teacher Professional Development Opportunities

Throughout the thesis the pivotal roles of the teacher have been identified. A role encompassing planners and deliverers of curriculum Judaism, and as challengers of pupils' misconceptions. Each of the roles requires different skills and development opportunities. Teachers identified a lack of confidence in portraying Judaism as a living religious tradition, an area also limited in the three textbooks. Despite there being over 2000 Jewish charities in England teachers were unable to name any, apart from those linked with the Holocaust. Teacher insecurities, exacerbated by limited first-hand experiences, resulted in thwarted opportunities for pupils to actively make meaning and ask risk-taking questions. Programmes of professional development opportunities should be available for teachers to raise awareness of the diverse activities that English Jewish communities are involved in.

A further role identified for RE teachers relates to the effective challenge of misconceptions and stereotypes of Jews as a part of pupil attitude development. As has been argued throughout the thesis this is complex, particularly as often the intention has to be discerned, rather than the actual words or behaviours. Such a role is not restricted to the RE department. Whole school policies regarding definition of

antisemitic behaviours and discourse should be shared by all in the school community. Thus, there would be a consistency of practice and procedures. Opportunities should be capitalised for school communities (teachers, pupils, governors) to discuss shared understandings of words such as 'tolerance' 'antisemitism' and 'Jew'.

The former three recommendations have indicated the importance of educationalists, policy makers and members of the Jewish community working together. For a national programme of teacher professional development to be effective it needs to be driven by an action plan, informed by relevant agencies working together, with appropriate funding.

The thesis has identified that negative attitudes to Jews has a long history in England and are pervasively embedded in English society. It argues that curriculum Judaism at Key Stage 3 provides interventional opportunities to challenge pupils' misconceptions and negative attitudes to Jews. However, it also argues that without significant professional development for teachers of RE this potential will fail to be realised.

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Appendix A - HEADTEACHER BRIEFING LETTER

An Enquiry into Learning and Teaching about Religion in Religious Education

Dear

I am writing to ask if you would allow your school to take part in a research project for my doctoral studies. I am investigating learning and teaching of religious education at Key Stage Three, with a particular focus on Judaism. Although my focus will be within just one religious tradition the results will have an impact on quality teaching and learning within all aspects of Religious Education and Community Cohesion.

In my research I would like to analyse the scheme of work for RE and then talk to small groups of pupils (for about thirty minutes) concerning the different strategies that are used to help their understanding. The proposed interviews would take place during a Religious Education lesson so that no other area of the curriculum or school life would be affected. The discussion would be tape-recorded but no-one will be named on the tape.

The enclosed letters would invite participants and parents/carers to give specific consent for themselves or their child to take part and for the pupils to also give their consent. All participants will be given the option to give or refuse their own consent to take part in the discussion group. There are no right or wrong answers. My research is focussing on what learning and teaching strategies support pupils understanding and engagement.

The researcher has been a teacher and schools inspector and now trains teachers on the PGCE course at Liverpool Hope University. She has an enhanced CRB. The general safety procedures of the school will be applicable at all time. Any contact between the researcher and group of pupils will take place in the school setting during the Religious Education lesson in a publicly accessible and visible area.

 If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me by phone on
 0151-677-5158 or e-mail schmacj@hope.ac.uk

Your help is much appreciated

Yours sincerely

Joy Schmack

Director of RE Services
Liverpool Hope University

APPENDIX A   HEADTEACHER CONSENT FORM

An enquiry into the learning and teaching about religion in Religious Education

Consent Form

I,…………………………………………………………………………………
.
of..…………………………………………………………………………………
…………….
hereby give permission for this school to be involved in a research study undertaken by Joy Schmack for her doctorate. I understand that the purpose of the research is to investigate learning and teaching about religions in Key Stage Three Religious Education. The research involves an analysis of the scheme of work used and a set of follow-up group interviews with consenting pupils from Key Stage Three. I understand that involvement for the institution means that it will be entitled to receive a report based on the analysis of the data generated from all the participating schools which can be used for the purposes of school development.

I understand that

1. the aims, methods and anticipated benefits have been explained to me
2. I voluntarily and freely give my consent for the school to participate in the above research
3 I am free to withdraw my consent at any time during the study, in which event participation in the research study will immediately cease and any information obtained through the school will not be used if I so request
4 the school will not be named in the research or any subsequent publications

Signature

Date ………………..

APPENDIX A - PARENT BRIEFING LETTER

Enquiry into Learning and Teaching about religion in Religious Education

Dear Parent/Carer

I am writing to ask if you would allow your son/daughter/dependent to take part in a research project for my doctoral studies. I am investigating learning and teaching about religion and especially Judaism at Key Stage Three. Although my focus will be within just one religious tradition the results will have an impact on quality teaching and learning within many subject areas

In my research I would like to talk to small groups of pupils (for about thirty minutes) concerning the different strategies that are used to help their learning. The proposed interviews would take place during a Religious Education lesson so that no other area of the curriculum or school life would be affected. The discussion would be tape-recorded but no-one will be named on the tape.

All participants will be given the option to give or refuse their own consent to take part in the discussion group. There are no right or wrong answers. My research is focussing on what learning and teaching strategies support pupil understanding and engagement.

The researcher has been a teacher and schools inspector and now trains teachers on the PGCE course at Liverpool Hope University. She has an enhanced CRB .The general safety procedures of the school will be applicable at all times. The headteacher and governors at xxxxxx school have agreed that this research may happen in the school.

Any contact between the researcher and group of pupils will take place in the school setting during the Religious Education lesson in a publicly accessible and visible area.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me by phone on 0151- 291-3947 or e-mail schmacj@hope.ac.uk. Alternatively the headteacher will also answer any queries you may have.

Your help is much appreciated

Yours sincerely

Joy Schmack
Director of RE Services
Liverpool Hope University

APPENDIX A - PARENT CONSENT FORM

An Enquiry into the Learning and Teaching about Religion in Religious Education

 Consent Form for Parents/Carers.

I,……………………………………………………………………………………
.
of..……………………………………………………………………………………
…………….
hereby give consent for my son/daughter/dependent………………………
to be a participant in the research concerning learning and teaching about religions in Religious Education in Secondary Schools. The research involves solo or group discussion in which pupils will be asked to express their own understandings and views. The research is educationally beneficial and seeks to evaluate strategies that improve pupil's learning and raise standards of achievement.

I understand that

1. the aims, methods and anticipated benefits have been explained to me

2. I voluntarily and freely give my consent to my child's /dependent's participation in the research study

3. a report based on the results from the pupils and teachers from a number of schools will be used for further research but no-one will be named or be able to be identified.

4. individual results will not be released to any person.

5. I am free to withdraw my consent at any time during the subsequent six months. In such case the child's /dependent's participation in the research study will immediately cease and any information obtained will not be used.

Signature

Date

APPENDIX A - PUPIL BRIEFING FORM

Learning and Teaching about Religion in Religious Education

I am writing a report for my University work. My report is going to be about what you learn in your Religious Education lessons and what helps your learning in Judaism. I don't know what young people think about this. So if you agree I would like you to talk with me about what you think about these things. This report will help to let adults know and also help to make better learning.

You don't have to talk to me if you don't want to. If you want to come with the others in your group and listen but not talk then that's okay. When you tell me about your views you can come with some friends in a group or on your own. It's not a test – there are no right or wrong answers to our questions. So please tell me honestly what you want to say. The discussion will take about thirty minutes and will take place during your RE Lesson.

When the people in your group begin talking I will ask a member of the group to put on the tape to record what people are saying. This is because I wouldn't be able to remember all the group say. The words on the tape will be typed up by me and some of the things you have said may be in my final report. I might write about the things you have said but I won't use your name or the name of your school.

If there are any questions you want to ask me then I will be in your RE lesson on X

The contact details of the researcher are: Joy Schmack, Director of RE Services, Liverpool Hope University, Hope Park L169JD.email schmacj@hope.ac.uk.

APPENDIX A - PUPIL CONSENT FORM

Learning and teaching about Religion in Religious Education

Consent Form for Young People

I,…………………………………………………………………..

Of ………………………………………………………….School
agree to take part in a study to discuss my views on teaching and learning about religions.

I understand that

- I can be with a group of my friends or on my own and I do not have to take part in the discussion unless I want to
- There are no right or wrong answers and if I don't want to answer some of the questions that's okay.
- Joy is writing up a report for her University work
- Joy may write about some of the things I have talked about but she won't use my name or the name of the school
- Joy will tape the discussion so she can write it up after
- I can say at any time that I want to stop taking part in the discussion and then I can leave the group straight away and go back to my class.

Date

Signature.

APPENDIX A - TEACHER CONSENT FORM

An Enquiry into the Learning and Teaching about Religion in
Religious Education

Consent Form for Trainee Teachers 2010-2011

I…………………………………………………………………………

hereby give consent to be a participant in the study conducted by Joy
Schmack, and I understand that the purpose of the study is an enquiry into
the learning and teaching about religions in Secondary Schools.

The research involves a written exercise.

I understand that

1. the aims, methods, and anticipated benefits, and possible
    hazards/risks of the research study have been explained to me
2. I voluntarily and freely give my consent to participate in the
    research study
3. the data from my responses may be used for research purposes but
    will be coded and my name will be kept separately from it.
4. aggregated results will be used for research purposes and may be
    reported in academic journals
5. I am free to withdraw my consent at any time
6. my responses to the research will have no impact on my PGCE course.

Signature:…………………………………………………..

Date……………

The contact details of the researcher are: Joy Schmack, Director of RE
Services, Liverpool Hope University, Hope Park L169JD.email
schmacj@hope.ac.uk.

APPENDIX B   Teacher Questionnaire 1

Please ensure you anonymise yourself and any school you are referring to.

When you have finished answering your questionnaire please fold it and place it in the box in Eden 012.

1) Please indicate your age group

22-31

32-40

0ver 41

2) Please indicate degree specialism

3) Please indicate if own secondary school education was at a faith or non-faith school

4) Place the six main world religions (Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, I slam, Judaism and Sikhism) in order of your level of confidence in teaching them.

        Most Confident.

1

2

3

4

5

6

        Least Confident.

5) What is your <u>evidence</u> for your rank order of Judaism?

6) Have you ever visited a synagogue?

7) What was the purpose of the visit?

8) What two words best express how you <u>felt</u> in the synagogue?

9) Have you ever, as far as you are aware, held a conversation with someone who is Jewish?

(briefly explain the context).

10) What do you remember about your learning of Judaism in secondary school. Please include in your answers what topics you studied and what strategies did your teachers use to help your studies?

11) Name as many Jewish people and organisations as you can that you might refer to in RE lessons.

Name   Would refer to them because..

12) What areas of Judaism have you observed being taught?

13) What were the main methods of teaching e.g. visits, worksheets, textbooks, etc.

14) Compared to the teaching of the other world religions were pupils more or less engaged when they learnt about Judaism?(please explain).

15) What challenges, if any, do you think you may have in teaching Judaism?

Many thanks.

Please remember to place your questionnaire in the box in Eden 012.

APPENDIX B   TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE 2

Please ensure you anonymise yourself and any school you are referring to.
When you have finished answering your questionnaire please fold it and place it in the box in Eden 014.

From Your Teaching Experience

1- Were you informed by the department/school what the procedures were if a pupil made an antisemitic /anti-Jewish comment?

2-What were those procedures?

3-What, if any, misconceptions did pupils have about Judaism and Jews?

4- Did you hear pupils expressing antisemitic /anti-Jewish comments?

Please describe the nature of these comments and how other pupils/adults reacted.

5- Did you hear the term 'Jew' being used as a form of abuse?

Please describe the context it was used in and how the other pupils and adults reacted.

6- Did any Key Stage Three pupils make reference to the situation between Israel and Palestine?

If so please explain the context.

7-Please identify areas of Judaism taught, pupil response and resources used.

Content Explored	Pupil Response	Resources Used

Many thanks.

When you have finished answering your questionnaire please fold it and place it in the box

in Eden 014.

APPENDIX B   **Teacher Questionnaire 3.**

Please remember to anonymise yourself and any schools.

When you have finished answering your questionnaire please fold it and place it in the box

in Eden 014.

1 - Number the six main world religions in the order that you feel most confident in teaching (please place 6 as being least confident).

      Buddhism
      Christianity
      Hinduism
      Islam
      Judaism
      Sikhism

2 – What is your reason for placing Judaism where you have?

3- Since February what aspects of Judaism have you taught?

4-Which areas of content were pupils interested in learning about ?Please explain how they showed their interest.

5- Which areas of content were pupils disengaged or negative in learning about Judaism? Please explain how they showed their disinterest.

6-What challenges, if any, did you find in teaching about Judaism?

7-What misconceptions and preconceptions, if any, did pupils show concerning Judaism and Jews?

8- Did you hear any antisemitic comments in any of your schools since February?
What was the nature of them?

9- How were they responded to by members of staff?

10-Do you think the school would have reacted in the same way to an antisemitic comment as to a racist comment? Please explain your answer.

11-Were there any issues that you think pupils have benefited from learning about in Judaism. Please explain why?

12- In your teaching did you use the term Jew, Jewish or Jewish faith member or something else?
Please explain your choice.

13-What would help your confidence in the teaching of Judaism ? This might refer to teaching strategies or knowledge and understanding of the tradition.

Many thanks.

When you have finished answering your questionnaire please fold it and place it in the box in Eden 014.

APPENDIX C   PICTURES USED IN INTERVIEWS

Picture A

Picture B

Picture C

Picture D