Holocaust Education and Citizenship Education in a turbulent international context

Paula Cowan, Elysha Ramage, Henry Maitles & Andrew Killen

Abstract

This article discusses the relationship between Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust (TLH) and Global Citizenship Education (GCE), the development of school-based TLH in Scotland, and the impact of turbulent international contexts on teachers who teach the Holocaust. These contexts include the Israel-Hamas War (2023-2025). Using evidence from Scotland, where teaching the Holocaust is not mandatory in the curriculum, this article highlights the importance of a whole-school approach where TLH and GCE are seamlessly integrated, and where networking and clear leadership are common practices in school-based TLH. The article also explores the challenges teachers face when delivering TLH and our findings would suggest that despite a turbulent educational context, teachers' commitment to TLH remains consistent.

Educación sobre el Holocausto y educación para la ciudadanía en un contexto internacional turbulento

Resumen: Este artículo analiza la relación entre la enseñanza y el aprendizaje del Holocausto (EAH)[1] y la Educación para la Ciudadanía Global (ECG), el desarrollo de la EAH en las escuelas de Escocia y el impacto de los contextos internacionales turbulentos en el profesorado. Estos contextos incluyen las tecnologías digitales emergentes y la actual guerra entre Israel y Hamás. Basándose en la evidencia de Escocia, donde la enseñanza del Holocausto no es obligatoria en el currículo, este artículo destaca la importancia de un enfoque integral donde la EAH y la ECG se integren a la perfección, y donde la creación de redes y un liderazgo claro sean prácticas comunes en la EAH en las escuelas. El artículo también explora los desafíos que enfrentan los docentes al impartir la EAH, y nuestros hallazgos sugieren que, a pesar de un contexto educativo turbulento, el compromiso del profesorado con la EAH se mantiene constante.

Palabras clave: Educación para la Ciudadanía Global, educación sobre el Holocausto, enseñanza y aprendizaje del Holocausto

Éducation sur l'Holocauste et éducation à la citoyenneté dans un contexte international turbulent.

Résumé: Cet article traite de la relation entre l'enseignement et l'apprentissage de l'Holocauste (TLH)[1] et l'Éducation à la Citoyenneté Mondiale (GCE), du développement de TLH à l'école en Écosse, et de l'impact des contextes internationaux turbulents sur les enseignants. Ces contextes comprennent les nouvelles technologies numériques et la guerre Israël-Hamas en cours. En utilisant des preuves provenant d'Écosse, où l'enseignement de l'Holocauste n'est pas obligatoire dans le programme, cet article souligne l'importance d'une approche globale où TLH et GCE sont intégrés de manière fluide, et où le réseautage et un leadership clair sont des pratiques courantes dans TLH à l'école. L'article explore également les défis auxquels les enseignants font face lors de la dispense de TLH et nos résultats suggéreraient que, malgré un contexte éducatif turbulent, l'engagement des enseignants envers TLH reste constant.

Mots-clés : Éducation à la Citoyenneté Mondiale, éducation à l'Holocauste, enseignement et apprentissage de l'Holocauste.

Educação sobre o Holocausto e Educação para a Cidadania num contexto internacional turbulento.

Resumo: Este artigo discute a relação entre o ensino e a aprendizagem sobre o Holocausto (TLH)[1] e a Educação para a Cidadania Global (ECG), o desenvolvimento da TLH nas escolas da Escócia e o impacto dos contextos internacionais turbulentos nos professores. Estes contextos incluem as tecnologias digitais emergentes e a Guerra Israel-Hamas em curso. Utilizando evidências da Escócia, onde o ensino do Holocausto não é obrigatório no currículo, este artigo destaca a importância de uma abordagem que envolva toda a escola, onde a TLH e a ECG estejam perfeitamente integradas e onde o networking e a liderança clara sejam práticas comuns na TLH nas escolas. O artigo explora também os desafios que os professores enfrentam ao lecionar a TLH e as nossas descobertas sugerem que, apesar de um contexto educativo turbulento, o compromisso dos professores com a TLH permanece consistente.

Palavras-chave: Educação para a Cidadania Global, educação sobre o Holocausto, ensino e aprendizagem sobre o Holocausto

Introduction

This paper aims to discuss teacher challenges to teaching TLH in 2024 within a turbulent international context. It explores the impact of global antisemitism on TLH and the integration of antisemitism education within TLH, highlights innovative practices in TLH through the Vision Schools Scotland initiative, (established in 2017) and identifies the role of educator networks in supporting TLH. Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust (TLH) comprises historical learning *about* the Holocaust as well as contemporary learning *from* the Holocaust Cowan and Maitles (2017). The Holocaust has universal lessons for all pupils (indeed all people) and the ideas embedded in learning particularly *from* the Holocaust cut across all boundaries and are relevant to all cultures and identities. Indeed, we would claim that this kind of learning can lead to intercultural and transcultural competence (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2017; Lau, 2015; Mirza, 2011; Rapanta et al., 2021).

The relevance of school-based TLH, irrespective of the cultural or religious diversity is widely recognised (Gryglewski, 2010; Magalnick; Nates, 2010; Short, 2012; Vitale & Clothey, 2019). This is also irrespective of the political situation at any one time. Debates over the contribution of TLH to Global Citizenship Education (GCE) focus on the value of the opportunities that TLH brings to GCE and the tensions between these opportunities and universalising the Holocaust. The positive contribution to GCE from TLH is widely recognised (Cowan & Maitles, 2002, 2005, 2007; Endacott, 2014; McBride et al., 2014). Further research in secondary schools provides evidence that TLH can make a significant contribution to citizenship in developing pupils' awareness of human rights, genocide, stereotyping and scapegoating (Ben-Peretz, 2003; Cowan et al., 2024; Cowan & Maitles, 2007, 2015, 2017; Davies, 2012; Eckmann, 2015; Maitles & Cowan, 2004, 2012; Szejnmann et al., 2018).

The events on the 7th October 2023 and the subsequent conflict in the Middle East between Israel and Hamas, Iran and Iran proxies, have led to an unprecedented rise in global antisemitism (CST, 2025; ECRI, 2024; ENMA, 2025), some from countries with little or no previous history of antisemitism, such as Australia (Nathan, 2024) and Canada (Government of Canada, 2025). This suggests a growing international problem.

The transnational, interdisciplinary and longitudinal analysis of social media content undertaken by the 'De-coding Antisemitism' project identified the frequency of occurrences of explicit and implicit forms of antisemitism and its growth on social media platforms (Becker et al., 2024; Becker et al., 2022). Their findings (2024) were that the 7th October 2023 was a turning point in online antisemitism; 80% of the comments in moderate online space were implicit, and expressions of support and celebration of the attacks on Israeli Jews were explicit.

Furthermore, the emergence of social media and more recently, generative AI cha-tbots such as ChatGPT, and Grok, have provided new platforms for antisemitism and hate-speech to grow (Makhortykh, 2024). For example, unfiltered content on Grok prai-sed Hitler and gave antisemitic responses to questions posed by users (Al-Jazeera, 2025; Politico, 2025). Such usage, combined with a lack of accurate knowledge about the Holocaust, increases the risk of Holocaust falsification and distortion and norma-lising of antisemitic content (Schwarz-Friesel, 2019). Educators and learners require accurate knowledge about the Holocaust to address this ongoing phenomenon.

In England, where the Holocaust is mandatory in History, there have been consis-tent findings that there are gaps in both pupil (Foster et al., 2016) and teacher kno-wledge about the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009), although this has seen impro-vement in recent years with the advent of better resources and specialist Continued Professional Development (CPD) (Hale et al., 2023). These findings of the gaps in knowledge justify Dwork (2018, p. 393) assertion that if *'the point of studying the past is to help us understand the present, pupils' knowledge of the Holocaust is insufficient to help them negotiate the world in which they live'*. This has important implications for TLH as pupils' study of the lessons *from* the Holocaust will be se-verely restricted without accurate core historical knowledge of the Holocaust. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance[1] and many researchers (Chapman, 2020; Cowan & Maitles, 2017; Foster, 2020) share the view that historical knowledge is at the core of TLH.

Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust and antisemitism are referred to throughout, the following definitions of each are included to highlight the distinction between each term. Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust (TLH) is education that is primarily the historical study of the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by Nazi Germany and its collaborators. It provides a starting point to examine warning signs that can indicate the potential for mass atrocity (UNESCO, 2018). One of the objectives of TLH education is to con-front the reality of hatred. It looks to empower young people to recognize and resist it in all forms. Teaching about the Holocaust fosters moral clarity, compassion, and vigilance (Friedman, 2025). Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, throughout time and not restricted to the Holocaust, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed towards Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities (IHRA, 2016). Therefore, antisemitism education is an essential component of TLH which can support student understanding of the different expressions of antisemitism.

TLH in Scotland and the Establishment of Vision School Scotland

The Holocaust is not mandatory in the Scottish curriculum and its teaching depends on individual school policy, and/or teachers to integrate it into the curriculum (Cowan et al., 2024; Cowan & Maitles, 2017; Maitles et al., 2006). This means that unlike their peers in England and Europe, Scottish pupils may not have studied the Holocaust per se in school. They may, however, have encountered relevant themes through Religious, Moral and Philosophical Studies, History, Modern Studies and/or Citizenship Education. However, it is less likely that secondary teachers in Scotland will have participated in Career Long Professional Learning (CLPL)[1] in developing their knowledge and skills in teaching the Holocaust than their counterparts in England, as CLPL tends to be heavily focused on curriculum requirements. Thus, because Holocaust Education is part of the National Curriculum in England, teachers have more scope to access specialist courses that are offered, for example the Centre for Holocaust Education at the University College of London (UCL) provides free CPD on the Holocaust to History Teachers in England (Centre for Holocaust Education, 2021). Nonetheless, there is plenty of scope and flexibility within the Scottish curriculum to teach the Holocaust.

More than a decade ago, Cowan and Maitles (2011) stated that the three initiatives which most impacted on Holocaust education in Scotland were the introduction of a national Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD), the development of Global Citizenship Education (then called Education for Citizenship), and the Lessons From Auschwitz (LFA) Project. Since then, a university-based-initiative, Vision Schools Scotland, has made a significant impact. Created in 2017, in response to the success of the Beacon School Programme for schools in England, delivered at the Centre for Holocaust Education at UCL, Vision Schools Scotland is a partnership between the University of the West of Scotland and the UK Holocaust Educational Trust[2]. Vision Schools Scotland Programme is a free programme that accredits schools that embed TLH in the curriculum, provides a network for teachers to share best practice, and promotes professional learning opportunities for teachers to build confidence and knowledge in TLH (Cowan et al., 2024). Vision Schools Scotland presently comprises a network of 70 schools, and similar to the UNICEF Rights Respecting Schools Award, accredits schools that have met specific criteria, comprises more than one level, and is an award given to schools and not individual teachers.

Methodology

Ethical approval was granted by the University's Ethics Committee and informed consent was provided by the schools and teachers involved. This article derives its data

from two sources. The first is from textual data drawn applications to the Vision Schools Scotland Programme between 2020 and 2022 which have been used to extrapolate the examples of innovative practices. These media and textual documents include lesson plans, videos and samples of student work from 16 accredited Vision Schools. The second from of data is from teacher focus groups which took place between May and October 2024. Thirteen teachers from seven secondary schools took part in focus groups which asked questions about the impact of the Israel-Hamas war on TLH, other challenges they faced, how they approach antisemitism education within the school and questions around networks. Of the seven schools, one was denominational, and six were non-denominational, with one of the schools having Jewish pupils. Data from the focus groups was analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2022) reflexive thematic analysis and data from the textual documentation used a case study approach (Leavy, 2014). The thematic analysis derived two main themes: "Stronger together" which assessed how teachers used networks to support their learning and "Tensions and challenges" which assessed the challenges teachers were currently facing. The case study analysis revealed several examples of innovative practice of which three are discussed below.

Innovative Practice in TLH

Pistone et al (2021) claimed that Scottish research was "a model for future scholarly work in TLH" on the basis of its "academic field that focuses on both TLH and the prevention of antisemitism", and its implementation of TLH that is "followed by educational research to learn about successful forms for its implementation." The examples in this section are products of this approach. Data comes from teachers from accredited Vision Schools. These are schools that have demonstrated the following in TLH: leadership, with sustained support from the school's Senior Management Team; good practice[3]; integration of TLH and GCE; and a commitment to CLPL.

One example of innovative practice came from a school that worked in partnership with a prison for young offenders in their community that was nearby. This initiative was a result of a regular communication between the prison lecturer and School teaching staff. A group of the school's senior pupils visited the prison and shared their learning about the Holocaust from their class lessons and participation in the LFA Project, with young offenders. This unique learning opportunity gave pupils insight into their community, and the nature of prison life. Their engagement with young offenders contributed to their understanding of incarceration, which had been central to their experience in Poland. Pupils subsequently shared their learning with peers and the wider community at an HMD commemorative event (Cowan et al., 2024). This example of integrating TLH and GCE demonstrates pupils' active engagement of citizenship as well as their development of knowledge about citizenship.

Another example of how TLH contributes to active citizenship is demonstrated by the activities of one School's Foreign Affairs Committee. Comprising pupils 14-17 years, this Committee organised a Holocaust survivor's school visit for S2 pupils, a webcast at which a Holocaust survivor spoke, and the attendance of pupil representatives form their school, at their local authority Holocaust Remembrance event. Pupils also drafted a motion concerning TLH for their School Parliament that was related to their learning of the Holocaust in class and linked to the school's core values. After this motion had been passed at the School Parliament, committee members presented it to the School's Management Team.

A third innovation has been Vision Schools Scotland's engagement with a School and Family Centre for pupils with Additional Support Needs (ASN). During a two-year period, the school has received support from Vision Schools Scotland with respect to creating, developing and delivering an appropriate programme of work to enhance the school's participation and achievement in TLH (Farrell, 2004). Vision Schools' endeavour in this area is consistent with the widely accepted expectation that teachers and practitioners recognise and value difference, facilitate learning opportunities for all pupils in the school community to have their voices heard and be allowed to learn and participate in as wide a range of learning opportunities as possible (Kozleski et al., 2014). This required Vision Schools Scotland to make reasonable adjustments to its Programme while maintaining its qualitative standard with regards to school leadership, sustained good practice and CLPL in TLH. The location of this School in an area where there are several Vision Schools has possibilities for future networking and collaborative work across schools in TLH.

Holocaust Educator Networks

Alongside innovative practices within teaching, the focus groups revealed the way in which teachers and practitioners, such as school librarians, network and communicate with each other. This networking is key to sharing collective knowledge and has supported in the challenging times that they are facing (which will be discussed further in the section below). Three types of networks were identified: intraschool networks; interschool networks; and partnership networks.

Intraschool networks were networks where teachers connected with other teachers and practitioners within the same school and formed Holocaust Education Groups (HEG). Often these teachers were from different curricular areas, bringing different areas of expertise. The purpose of these groups included sharing knowledge and developing teaching materials. Sometimes the intraschool networks were composed of teachers who were responsible for delivering TLH though in some instances these networks were broader and included pastoral and guidance staff. There was

evidence that HEGs contributed to teachers' and practitioners' confidence in handling difficult questions and more sensitive aspects of TLH. These benefits support research findings that professional networks can help with a feeling of connectedness and reduce isolation (Niesz, 2007). Further, Ritchie (2012) advocates for teacher networks in the role of social justice or citizenship education.

Teacher focus group revealed two types of networks: Interschool and Partnership. Interschool networks were when teachers connected with teachers and practitioners outside their own school. Sometimes this was done through online forums as an opportunity to share knowledge and ask questions and sometimes this was through collaboration and events such as working with other schools to invite pupils from a number of schools to listen to a talk by a survivor or second-generation survivor. There was discussion amongst the teachers about wanting to extend inter-school connections further as they valued the benefit of being able to see different methods of teaching.

Partnership networks involved teachers and practitioners working with external Holocaust organizations, such as the Holocaust Educational Trust, to develop their knowledge and practice. This was often in the form of accessing CLPL or resources from websites. These networks were considered invaluable. By using these different networks teachers spoke of feeling more confident in their TLH delivery and also enjoyed sharing their knowledge and the desire to continually want to improve their practice. It was notable that teachers who participated in these networks felt more confident in addressing the challenges that arose. However, this was a small sample, and further research is required to establish a more robust understanding of the value of teacher networks.

Teacher Challenges

The last five years have seen internationally turbulent times. In 2020 the global pandemic put communities, cities and countries into lock-down. For schools and teachers this meant priority to teach core curriculum areas. In addition, there has been a cost of living crisis, with spiralling energy prices and increases to interest rates (Neal & Webster, 2022) and we have seen international conflict such as the war between Israel and Hamas. Three main challenges were identified from the focus groups. These were: anxiety about conversions around the conflict in the Middle East, time pressures and financial constraints.

Whilst anxiety was not unanimous across the schools, some teachers spoke of a great anxiety when discussing the subject. This partly came from not wanting to upset or offend pupils but also an acknowledgement of how complex the political background to the war is and a perception that their understanding of the subject was

inadequate to enable discussion with pupils. There was also a concern of backlash from parents or saying the wrong thing which could then be twisted and taken out of proportion, that could convey a false narrative. In contrast, the schools where there was more confidence around handling the ongoing conflict, were often linked to a bigger staffing group delivering TLH, backed up by a guidance team who shared collective knowledge.

Teachers reported that they were finding the cost-of-living crisis and escalating school costs were having an impact on the delivery of TLH. They spoke about how budgets were stretched in school, making it challenging to fund survivor talks. They also spoke about it being more challenging to arrange school trips, for example, to Auschwitz due an aim to be equitable to all pupils. Teachers discussed how putting on expensive school trips creates a divide between those that can afford to go and those who can't. Whilst they spoke of funding for those with financial constraints, they felt there was a stigma attached to this funding.

With TLH not being mandatory in the Scottish Curriculum, the priority of teachers is to meet curricular requirements. Teachers spoke of the curriculum and professional learning days becoming ever busier and more crowded, making it harder to expand and progress teaching within TLH. All teachers spoke about their ongoing dedication to teaching TLH despite time challenges. Pressures on teachers' time however, often prevented teachers from attending extra CLPL on TLH or having the opportunity to integrate more subjects into the schools TLH programme, bring teaching colleagues on-board, and engage with other schools and the wider community. Teachers in England also expressed this view, reporting an average teaching time of six hours; sometimes only two hours (Foster et al., 2016) and there is evidence of a decline in the past ten years in the frequency and volume of TLH taught to older pupils (14yrs +)(Hale et al., 2023).

Whilst there have been some reports of a reduction in commitment to TLH, for example in 2024 there was marked reduction in the engagement with HMD (Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, 2024), we found no evidence of this. If anything, the opposite was apparent, as teacher participants felt more committed than ever to meet their school's values and address all forms of hate. Teachers discussed wanting to respond to a global increase of "hate". Indeed, teachers spoke of feeling better placed to address this due to their experience of TLH and saw TLH as a mechanism to aid in this alongside other anti-racial programmes and groups, thus linking with the broader citizenship agenda. This increased relevance of TLH to schools, and continuous delivery of TLH *despite* teachers' worry, anxiety and time constraints are surprising.

Teachers described this hate as seeing more extremes in far-right politics and being aware of the reporting of more hate crimes within the media, both within the UK, Europe and America. There was an awareness that these hate crimes included a

rise in antisemitism, and there was concern about the role of the news agencies and social media in feeding this hate by over-simplifying global events and creating polarised views. Teachers spoke about how they encouraged pupils to properly conduct research so they could have an informed opinion, rather than parroting what others had said. Gross (2018) discusses the challenges of universalising the Holocaust and using it as a means to combat all forms of racism due in part to the specificity of the Holocaust. However, other researchers (Chapman, 2020; Cowan & Maitles, 2017; Foster, 2020) maintain that core historical knowledge of the Holocaust is key to being able to combat antisemitism and that there are universal lessons *from* the Holocaust which can be made (Cowan & Maitles, 2017).

One of the criteria to being a Vision School is to explicitly include antisemitism education in TLH. It was evident from teacher feedback that some schools had deeply embedded antisemitism education within their TLH programme. Two teachers talked about it being a fundamental part of the TLH curriculum, a further six teachers spoke about developing their antisemitism education programme to move it towards becoming embedded in the TLH programme. There were three teachers who discussed it as being part of the TLH programme but put no emphasis on its importance and one teacher who spoke about it only being briefly discussed. This variation supports previous research findings of tension between the teaching of TLH and antisemitism education (Cowan, 2025; Cowan & Maitles, 2005; Foster et al., 2016).

Recommendations

From the empirical work this study would make three recommendations; one directed to the senior leadership of the school, and two directed to organisations supporting practitioners to deliver TLH. Whilst this was a small-scale study and generalisation cannot be made, we would cautiously propose that the challenges faced by the teachers in the study are not unique to teachers in Scotland and therefore the recommendations have wider relevance. In schools where there was clearer guidance and leadership there was less anxiety in teachers worrying about how to handle difficult questions. Therefore, our first recommendation would be directed to the senior leadership team in schools to have clear guidance on the school's position on controversial current affairs. This would help teachers have more confidence when teaching. The second recommendation would be for the development of a formal teacher network to support peer-learning and a support network where teachers would have a safe forum to discuss issues relevant to TLH. This would especially benefit to smaller and more remote schools that may feel isolated or have only a small number of teachers delivering TLH. Finally, some teachers were keen to develop and embed their teaching about antisemitism and anti-racism programmes further within TLH and

elsewhere. The reason for developments came from response to attending a recent CLPL event which raised awareness of contemporary antisemitism (often referred to as 'secondary antisemitism' in German-speaking contexts). For this awareness to become action, a practical recommendation for organisations supporting teachers to deliver TLH would be to provide information and resources to help teachers develop antisemitism education within their TLH delivery. This could be in the form of CLPL sessions or downloadable, free resources, that could be used alongside existing material. This recommendation Rajal's (2024) between support and findings so it read "supports Rajal's (2024) findings of a lack of knowledge about the concept of antisemitism in Scottish and Austrian school contexts. The four volume set of publications by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2020a, 2020b) which address antisemitism in the broad school curriculum aims to develop teachers' knowledge of antisemitism through developing teachers': self-knowledge (teachers', values, beliefs and motivations); content knowledge (of antisemitism, prejudice, bias and intolerance); and pedagogic knowledge (strategies, approaches that can be applied to address antisemitism).

Conclusions

Vision Schools Scotland has developed during a period of continuing turbulent contexts. This has brought new challenges to teachers who teach TLH. Despite the pedagogical, time and fiscal challenges the commitment to deliver TLH in Vision Schools from our sample has not wavered; teachers maintained a strong commitment to TLH; and if anything, this commitment had become stronger. Furthermore, Vision Schools Scotland has encouraged innovative practice in school-based TLH which has synergies and links with GCE. This evidence suggests that the work of Vision Schools Scotland and organisations that support or present TLH in schools is extremely important. Educator networks clarified and strengthened teachers' understanding of clarified and strengthened teachers' understanding of the value of TLH in their educational context and contributed to a whole-school approach where TLH and GCE were seamlessly integrated.

This research has demonstrated that while antisemitism is a central feature of the Holocaust, antisemitism education is not always at the centre of TLH. The empirical research presented from teachers in Scotland is but a snapshot of a particular time of teacher motivation; one cannot assume that the teacher commitment to TLH, demonstrated above, has continued given the longevity of the turbulent context. The challenges that have arisen since the teachers participated in the focus groups, may have further impacted on their motivation to teach about the Holocaust. This requires further research, particularly as turbulent contexts prevail alongside unprecedented global antisemitism, heightened influence of social media and AI.

Notas

[1] CLPL is the equivalent of CPD for teachers in Scotland

[2] The Holocaust Educational Trust is a registered charity in England, Wales and Scotland.

[3] Good practice in TLH comprises historical lessons about the Holocaust and wider citizenship lessons from the Holocaust

References

Becker, M. J., Ascone, L., Bolton, M., Bundzikova, V., Chapelan, A., Haupeltshofer, P., Krugel, A., Kurjan, I., Mihaljević, H., & Munnes, S. (2024). *Decoding Antisemitism: An AI-driven Study on Hate Speech and Imagery Online. Discourse Report 6*. T. U. B. Centre for Research on Antisemitism.

Becker, M. J., Ascone, L., & Troschke, H. (2022). Antisemitic comments on Facebook pages of leading British, French, and German media outlets. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, *9*(1), 339. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01337-8

Ben-Peretz, M. (2003). Identifying with horror: Teaching about the Holocaust—A response to Simone Schweber's "simulating survival". *Curriculum Inquiry*, *33*(2), 189-198.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). *Thematic analysis : a practical guide / Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke*. London : SAGE Publications, 2022.

Centre for Holocaust Education. (2021). *Centre for Holocaust Education, Improving teachers' subject knowledge of the Holocaust*. Centre for Holocaust Education. Retrieved 20th December 2023 from https://holocausteducation.org.uk/research/improving-teachers-subject-knowledge-of-the-holocaust/

Chapman, A. (2020). Learning the lessons of the Holocaust: A critical exploration. In S. J. Foster, A. Pearce, & A. Pettigrew (Eds.), *Holocaust Education: Contemporary Challenges and Controversies* (pp. 50-73). UCL Press.

Cowan, P. (2025). The Discord Between Holocaust Education and Antisemitism Education: Working Towards Harmony. In B. F. Liljefors-Persson, O. (Ed.), *Controversial Issues in Religious Education, on Ethics, Values and Beliefs*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Cowan, P., Killen, A., Maitles, H., & Ramage, E. (2024). Leadership and curriculum: embedding teaching and learning about the holocaust in schools in Scotland. *Intercultural Education*, *35*(6), 651-671.

Cowan, P., & Maitles, H. (2002). Developing Positive Values: A case study of Holocaust Memorial Day in the primary schools of one local authority in Scotland. *Educational review (Birmingham)*, *54*(3), 219-229. https://doi.org/10.1080/0013191022000016284

Cowan, P., & Maitles, H. (2005). Values and Attitudes – Positive and Negative: A Study of the Impact of Teaching the Holocaust on Citizenship among Scottish 11–12 Year Olds. *Scottish Educational Review*, *37*(2), 104-115. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/27730840-03702003

Cowan, P., & Maitles, H. (2007). Does addressing prejudice and discrimination through Holocaust education produce better citizens? *Educational review (Birmingham)*, *59*(2), 115-130. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131910701254858

Cowan, P., & Maitles, H. (2015). Holocaust Education in Scotland: Taking the Lead or Falling Behind? In Z. D. S. Gross, E. (Ed.), *As the Witnesses Fall Silent: 21st Century Holocaust Education in Curriculum, Policy and Practice* (pp. 439-452). Springer.

Cowan, P., & Maitles, H. (2017). *Understanding and Teaching Holocaust education / Henry Maitles*. London : SAGE, 2017.

CST. (2025). *Antisemitic Incidents Report 2024*. CST. https://cst.org.uk/data/file/6/1/Antisemitic%20 Incidents%20Report%202024.1738928091.pdf

Davies, I. (2012). Teaching about Genocide. In P. Cowan & H. Maitles (Eds.), *Teaching controversial issues in the classroom: Key issues and debates*. Continuum.

Dwork, D. (2018). A critical assessment of a landmark study. In *Holocaust Education 25 Years On* (pp. 163-173). Routledge.

Eckmann, M. (2015). *Is teaching and learning about the Holocaust relevant for human rights education?* Springer.

ECRI. (2024). *ANNUAL REPORT ON ECRI´S ACTIVITIES covering the period from 1 January to 31 December 2023*. https://rm.coe.int/annual-report-on-ecri-s-activities-covering-the-period-from-1-junuary-/1680b0505d

Endacott, J. L. (2014). Negotiating the process of historical empathy. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *42*(1), 4-34.

ENMA. (2025). *Holocaust Distortion in Europe: Documentation and Analysis from Five Countries: Towards a Common Framework*. F. A. o. D. f. R. a. I. o. Antisemitism.

Foster, S. (2020). To what extent does the acquisition of historical knowledge really matter when studying the Holocaust. In *Holocaust Education in the Twenty-first Century: Challenges and Controversies* (pp. 28-50). London : UCL Press, 2020.

Foster, S. J., Pettigrew, A. M., Pearce, A., Hale, R. E., Burgess, A. P., Salmons, P. H., & Lenga, R.-A. (2016). What do students know and understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English secondary schools.

Friedman, A. (2025, 25/09/2025). Holocaust education and antisemitism. https://blogs.timesofisrael. com/holocaust-education-and-antisemitism/

Government of Canada. (2025). *Statement of Intent on Combatting Antisemitism*. Ottawa: Canada: Government of Canada Retrieved from https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/nt-ht/ntnl-frm-cmbttng-ntsmtsm/stmnt-ntnt-en.aspx

Gross, Z. (2018). The Process of the Universalization of Holocaust Education: Problems and Challenges. *Contemporary Jewry*, *38*(1), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12397-017-9237-2

Gryglewski, E. (2010). Teaching about the Holocaust in multicultural societies: Appreciating the learner. *Intercultural Education*, *21*(S1), S41-S49.

Hajisoteriou, C., & Angelides, P. (2017). Collaborative art-making for reducing marginalisation and promoting intercultural education and inclusion. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *21*(4), 361-375.

Hale, R., Pettigrew, A., Karayianni, E., Pearce, A., Foster, S., Needham, K., Nienhaus, L., & Chapman, A. (2023). *Continuity and Change: Ten years of teaching and learning about the Holocaust in England's secondary schools*. U. C. f. H. Education.

Holocaust Memorial Day Trust. (2024). *Holocaust Memorial Day 2024 Impact Report*. HMDT. https://www.hmd.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/HMD-2024-Impact-Report_FINAL_Digital-version.pdf

IHRA. (2016). *The Working Definition of Antisemitism*. IHRA. Retrieved 19/12/2023 from https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism

Lau, S. M. C. (2015). Intercultural education through a bilingual children's rights project: Reflections on its possibilities and challenges with young learners. *Intercultural Education*, *26*(6), 469-482.

Leavy, P. (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Oxford University Press. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AzmTAwAAQBAJ

Magalnick, J. A Case for Holocaust Education in Alberta Schools Through the Lens of Citizenship Education.

Maitles, H., & Cowan, P. (2004). One country, many cultures!: Does Holocaust education have an impact on pupils' citizenship values and attitudes. Scottish Educational Research Association conference, Perth,

Maitles, H., & Cowan, P. (2012). Pedagogical issues in teaching the Holocaust. In H. Maitles (Ed.), *Teaching controversial issues in the classroom [electronic book] : key issues and debates / edited by Paula Cowan and Henry Maitles* (pp. 120-129). London : Continuum, 2012.

Maitles, H., Cowan, P., Butler, E., Scotland. Social., R., & Scotland. Education, D. (2006). *Never again: does Holocaust education have an effect on pupils' citizenship values and attitudes?* Scottish Executive. https://go.exlibris.link/V8C1Qbp9

Makhortykh, M. (2024). *AI and the Holocaust: rewriting history? The impact of artificial intelligence on understanding the Holocaust.(2024)*. UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000390211

McBride, H., Haas, B., & Berson, M. (2014). Teaching the Holocaust at a distance: Reflections from the field. *Ohio Social Studies Review*, *51*(1), 18-30.

Mirza, N. M. (2011). Civic education and intercultural issues in Switzerland: Psychosocial dimensions of an education to "otherness". *JSSE-Journal of Social Science Education*, *10*(4), 31-40. https://doi.org/doi:https://doi.org/10.4119/jsse-582

Nates, T. (2010). 'But, apartheid was also genocide… What about our suffering?'Teaching the Holocaust in South Africa–opportunities and challenges. *Intercultural Education*, *21*(S1), S17-S26.

Nathan, J. (2024). *Anti- Jewish Incidents*. E. C. o. A. Jewry. https://www.ecaj.org.au/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/ECAJ-Report-Anti-Jewish-Incidents-Australia-2024-1.pdf

Neal, K., & Webster, P. (2022). The 'cost of living crisis'. In (Vol. 44, pp. 475-476): Oxford University Press.

Niesz, T. (2007). Why teacher networks (can) work. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *88*(8), 605-610.

Pettigrew, A. M., Salmons, P. H., & Foster, S. J. (2009). Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools: An empirical study of national trends, perspectives and practice.

Pistone, I., Andersson, L. M., Lidström, A., & Sager, M. (2021). *Education after Auschwitz–*. T. S. I. University of Gothenburg. https://www.gu.se/sites/default/files/2021-10/Education%20after%20 AuschwitzX.pdf

Rajal, E. (2024). Countering antisemitism through Holocaust education. A comparative perspective on Scotland and Austria. *Educational Review*, 1-20.

Rapanta, C., Vrikki, M., & Evagorou, M. (2021). Preparing culturally literate citizens through dialogue and argumentation: Rethinking citizenship education. *The Curriculum Journal*, *32*(3), 475-494.

Ritchie, S. (2012). Incubating and Sustaining:How Teacher Networks Enable and Support Social Justice Education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *63*(2), 120-131. https://doi. org/10.1177/0022487111428327

Schwarz-Friesel, M. (2019). 'Antisemitism 2.0'—the spreading of Jew-hatred on the World Wide Web. *Comprehending and confronting antisemitism: A multi-faceted approach*, *1*, 311-338.

Short, G. (2012). Teaching the Holocaust in the multicultural classroom. In P. Cowan & H. Maitles (Eds.), *Teaching controversial issues in the classroom: Key issues and debates* (pp. 130-141). Continuum.

Szejnmann, C.-C. W., Cowan, P., & Griffiths, J. (2018). *Holocaust Education in Primary Schools in the Twenty-First Century: Current practices, potentials and ways forward.* Springer.

UNESCO. (2018). *The Importance of Teaching and learning about the Holocaust.* UNESCO. Retrieved 25/09/2025 from

UNESCO. (2020a). *Addressing Anti-Semitism in Schools: Training Curriculum for Primary Education Teachers.* UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2020b). *Addressing anti-semitism in schools: training curriculum for secondary education teachers.* UNESCO.

Vitale, M., & Clothey, R. (2019). Holocaust Education in Germany: Ensuring Relevance and Meaning in an Increasingly Diverse Community. FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education,

Paula Cowan
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7109-435
Email: paula.cowan@uws.ac.uk
University of the West of Scotland (UWS), Scotland

Elysha Ramage
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0008-8844-9473
Email: elysh.ramage@uws.ac.uk
University of the West of Scotland (UWS), Scotland

Henry Maitles
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7810-4438
Email: henry.maitles@uws.ac.uk
University of the West of Scotland (UWS), Scotland

Andrew Killen
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2273-3753
Email: Andrew.lkillen@uws.ac.uk
University of the West of Scotland (UWS), Scotland