

A survey of **TEACHERS'**  
experiences and  
perceptions in relation  
to teaching about  
**THE HOLOCAUST**

by Anders Lange



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The study was conducted on the commission of the Living History Forum. It can be downloaded or ordered from [www.levandehistoria.se](http://www.levandehistoria.se)

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Printed by: Elanders Gotab 2008

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ISBN: 978-91-977487-0-4

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## **The Living History Forum**

Taking history as our point of departure, we investigate contemporary processes that can lead to intolerance and injustice. We proceed from facts about the Holocaust and other genocides, but also from events that have taken place in Sweden. By means of education, cultural events and discussions, the Living History Forum works to consolidate both democracy and the insight that all people are of equal worth.

## **About the writer**

Anders Lange is emeritus professor of international migration and ethnic relations at Stockholm University. He holds a Ph.D. in psychology (Stockholm) and is a "docent" ("dozent", "reader": "associate professor") in education and educational psychology. He has almost 30 years of experience of research on - amongst other subjects - attitudes and values. Anders Lange is attached to Living History Forum as a senior adviser in the area of social and behavioural sciences.









## Foreword

The Living History Forum is a Swedish government agency which, taking the Holocaust and other crimes against humanity as its point of departure, works to promote tolerance and democracy on the basis of the fundamental value that all people are of equal worth. This is a task that requires both continuity and a long-term approach. Safeguarding democracy, preventing prejudice and working to combat intolerance takes time and the work is both constant and ongoing. Young generations grow up, and new students have to be educated about fundamental values and inspired to adopt them. Teachers bear a great deal of responsibility in the context of this work.

As a complement to regular teacher training and further training programmes, the Living History Forum has for a long time now provided teaching tools and interdisciplinary materials for students, which can be used by teachers in leading discussions on fundamental values from both a historical and a contemporary perspective. But there is always room for improvement, both in teacher training and in the work of the Living History Forum. In order to improve the work conducted in this area, the study presented in this report charts the Swedish teaching profession's experiences of teaching about the Holocaust and also their knowledge of this subject. It has always been important for us to listen to teachers and to take their views on board.

The study, which has been entitled *A survey of teachers' experiences and perceptions in relation to teaching about the Holocaust*, shows that teachers generally view Holocaust education as very important and that the subject functions as a means of entering into much broader discussions of ethical and moral issues. It is pleasing to be able to say that students are assessed to be motivated to learn about the Holocaust and that the feared "Holocaust fatigue" has only been noted to a very limited extent. One conclusion we can draw on the basis of the study is that teachers should be encour-

aged to participate in further training on the Holocaust, genocides and other crimes against humanity in order to improve the important work they conduct with respect to the transmission of fundamental values and the democratic mission of the school system.

In addition to questions related to the Holocaust, the questionnaire also included questions on the Roma, racial biology and on a variety of different social phenomena. The objective has been to create a broader and deeper background for the analysis. A number of questions were also included in the questionnaire by the Department of Integration and Gender Equality on the issue of "honour-related oppression". The results from these questions constitute a separate part of the study and will be presented by the Department of Integration and Gender Equality in a report of their own.

Finally, it is important to emphasise that the survey is not a purely Swedish project. The initiative for the teacher survey was originally taken by the international collaborative organisation, the *Task Force For International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF)*. Several of the 25 member countries plan to conduct similar national surveys on teachers' experiences of teaching about the Holocaust. Sweden has taken the first step. When additional surveys have been conducted in other countries it will be possible both to make comparisons and to broaden the analyses and further improve their depth.

Stockholm, June 2008

*Eskil Franck*

Director, Living History Forum

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# I Background

In 2005, a discussion was initiated within the international organisation the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF) on the need for a comparative international survey with the objective of charting the prevalence of opposition to teaching and learning about the Holocaust. A survey of this kind would also illuminate the causes of such opposition. A working group was established within the ITF with the task of planning the survey. The task of formulating a draft questionnaire for use in the survey fell to Sweden.

The draft, which was developed by Swedish academics in collaboration with the Living History Forum, was presented to the ITF in October 2005. The questionnaire was directed at teachers working at the compulsory school level, and also in upper secondary schools (i.e. further education). The possibility was also discussed of conducting a similar survey among pupils and students in school.

The survey's principal objective was that of charting whether, and to what extent, the attitudes of different actors in schools – teachers, school managements, students and parents – create and maintain opposition to teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Opposition of this kind, for which “anecdotal” evidence has been described in certain countries, jeopardises efforts to use teaching and the acquisition of knowledge to create an understanding of a historical event of singular importance and, over the longer term, to obstruct those forces in society that make such events possible.

The questionnaire also covered other relevant factors, such as how much time teachers devote to teaching about the Holocaust, what training they have received in this area, the availability of teaching materials, and the teachers' own knowledge of the subject. The questionnaire covered the following themes:

- the training received by teachers on the subject of the Holocaust
- the teachers' own attitudes towards the subject
- the amount of time devoted to teaching about the Holocaust
- how important teachers view the subject as being
- the teachers' own knowledge about the Holocaust
- the teachers' perceptions of attitudes towards teaching about the subject among their colleagues and school managements as well as among students and their parents
- the teachers' assessments of how various external factors – such as guilt issues, conflicts in relevant geo-political areas, competition from other subjects etc. – impact upon teaching about the Holocaust
- influences from external factors, such as guilt issues, competing subjects, etc.

By studying these factors, the intention was to produce a better picture of how teachers perceive teaching about the Holocaust, what obstacles they identify, and how these various perceptions, attitudes and assessments interact with one another. In turn, this would allow the ITF, on the basis of a better empirical foundation, to attempt to remove obstacles to Holocaust education and to assess the extent of certain problems in relation to others. An international comparison of the results from the surveys would make it possible to tackle certain problems by means of joint projects among those member countries who were found to be experiencing similar difficulties. It was deemed important to emphasise that the surveys

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were *not* intended as a means of comparing member countries with regard to their successes and failures in relation to teaching about the Holocaust.

The author of this report took over responsibility for the implementation of the survey in December 2005.<sup>1</sup> A detailed plan for the international comparative survey was formulated and presented to the ITF in 2006. One central proposal included in the plan was that the bulk of the logistics for the survey – the printing of the questionnaire, its distribution to the participant countries, the scanning of completed questionnaires and the preparation of a data file containing the results – would be carried out in Sweden by Statistics Sweden (SCB). It was proposed that the costs for this centralisation of the survey's logistics – which was necessary to ensure the quality of the survey – would be born by the ITF.

It proved however to be difficult to find support for this aspect of the proposal within the ITF, primarily due to the fact that the costs were deemed to be too high. Following a long process of discussions within the ITF during the course of 2006, the international comparative project was shelved. The Living History Forum subsequently decided to conduct the Swedish survey independently, irrespective of the fate of the international project.

The questionnaire was then subjected to a comprehensive revision. In part, this revision was linked to the Living History Forum being instructed to carry out two additional projects by the Swedish government. The first of these was to focus attention on the history of racial biology in Sweden, to compile a review of the research in the field and to study the state of the knowledge relating to this phenomenon. The other involved “Antiziganism” and the situation of the Roma both during the Holocaust and also in

present day Sweden. The Living History Forum felt that the teacher survey presented a good opportunity to gain insights into the perceptions and knowledge of teachers in relation to these issues, and the questionnaire was therefore expanded to include two additional sections of questions.

When conducting such a large-scale survey on three distinct themes, it is important to ensure that the results relating to these themes can be related to other respondent characteristics. The usual method is to use what are referred to as “background variables” (sex, age, region of residence etc.) for this purpose. In actual fact, such characteristics may be viewed as “marker variables”, i.e. as characteristics that provide an indication of, or represent, the presence of other characteristics that are more difficult to access. “Age”, for example, is a highly complex bio-psycho-social characteristic and the number of years that designate individuals’ biological age (or alternatively an age-range) say very little about this complex characteristic. Even if a statistically significant correlation is found between biological age and a tendency to respond to a certain survey question in a certain way, it is difficult to argue that this correlation explains the tendency noted in a way that is of any interest. Similar arguments can be made in relation to sex, another commonly used “background variable”. Depending on the theme of the survey in question, other “internal” respondent characteristics may provide much more fruitful insights into various response tendencies.

For these reasons, a number of other questions and statements were included in the questionnaire instrument. These related to areas such as perceived difficulties associated with the work of teachers, the occurrence of xenophobia and racism in their schools, perceptions and attitudes relating to various aspects of the multicultural society, the teachers’ political sympathies and so forth.

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<sup>1</sup> The reason was the unexpected and untimely death of Jan Ahlberg (of the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention).

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# 2 Population, sample, data collection and non-response

## 2.1 Population and sample

In the current study, the survey population, i.e. the objects about which one wishes to be able to draw conclusions, comprises 111,504 teachers. The survey population is defined as “teachers at middle and high schools in compulsory education and teachers at upper secondary schools”. In order to select a sample from the population, a sampling frame is created which delimits, identifies and makes it possible to link to objects in the population. Delimitation involves specifying certain conditions relating to various characteristics of the individuals in the population, such as specifying a minimum period of time for the individuals to have worked as teachers, for example.

When preparations for the survey were already underway, an enquiry was received from the Minister for Integration and Gender Equality as to whether it would be possible to include a small number of questions focusing on the teachers’ observations of the possible occurrence in schools of what was referred to as “honour-related oppression”. The Living History Forum was subsequently instructed by the government to introduce this addition to the survey. This meant that the specification of the sample became significantly more complicated, since it would have to satisfy the needs of both interested parties – the Living History Forum and the Department of Integration and Gender Equality. The questions on “honour-related oppression” were to be directed to the entire teaching population, whereas the questions focused on teaching about the Holocaust were primarily to be directed at those categories of teachers who were currently or had been involved in such teaching.

The instruction to Statistics Sweden thus stated that estimates (i.e. estimates of the population values based on the results obtained from the respondents)

were desired for *all teachers working in middle school, high school and upper secondary school* and that, in addition, the following categories of teachers should be well-represented:

- High school and upper secondary school:
  - History teachers
  - Teachers of SO (“social orientation”), religious studies, philosophy and literature
  - Teachers of Swedish and German.
- Middle school
  - Teachers with SO 1-7 training.
  - Middle-school teachers in general.

These two requirements meant that it had to be possible to exclude primary school teachers and that all teachers working in middle schools, high schools and upper secondary schools had to be included. The register employed has a number of flaws as regards both its coverage and the variables it includes. The sampling frame may therefore include a number of primary school teachers. The second of the two requirements meant that it had to be possible to divide the sampling frame into the groups (strata) where oversampling might be desirable. It is not possible to know with complete certainty which subjects a given teacher teaches. The strata described below have been specified by matching training and teaching-position codes. These strata ought to a large extent to include the groups specified in relation to the second requirement.

- 1 = History teachers, high school and upper secondary school
- 2 = Teachers of SO, religion, philosophy and literature, high school and upper secondary school

- 3 = Teachers of Swedish and German, high school and upper secondary school
- 4 = Teachers with SO 1-7 training in middle school
- 5 = Middle-school teachers in general
- 6 = Other teachers working in middle school, high school or upper secondary school

The sampling frame employed in the study has been created on the basis of Statistics Sweden's Teachers' Register. The sampling frame comprised a total of 98,121 teachers in the late autumn of 2006. The sample size was specified at 10,000 individuals on the basis of a consideration of both costs and the level of precision required.

A stratified simple random sample of 10,000 was then drawn on the basis of the sampling frame using a sampling program developed by Statistics Sweden. The use of a stratified simple random sample means that all objects within a given stratum (i.e. a given sub-category of the members of the sampling frame) have the same probability of being included in the sample.

The effect of this stratification can be seen from Table 1. As the table shows, strata 1-5 have been substantially "over-sampled", i.e. weighted-up, within the sample by comparison with the proportion they comprise of the population as a whole. Of the teachers in Stratum 1, for example, 62 percent of the population has been included in the sample, as compared with 3,3 percent of the population in Stratum 6. The second from last row in the table shows the effect of the oversampling within the sample (compare with the second row from the top of the table). The final row in the table shows a good level of agreement between the

proportions that the various strata comprise of the gross sample, and the proportions they account for among the respondents who completed the questionnaire.

This stratification and the "oversampling" of Strata 1-5, which is of relevance for issues relating to the Holocaust, produced the following proportions of teachers who teach (or who have taught) about the Holocaust in the different strata (the proportions are based on the teachers who completed the questionnaire):

The two tables presented on the following page show that the stratification procedure resulted in a satisfactory distribution of respondents across the different categories of teachers.

## 2.2 Questionnaire and data collection

The Living History Forum formulated the questionnaire items, which were then subjected to a cognitive test at Statistics Sweden's measurement technologies laboratory. The questionnaire was comprised of 78 items, of which several included sub-questions, generating a total of 223 variables. The principal section of the survey, which focuses on teaching about the Holocaust, Swedish racial biology, the Roma and related issues accounted for 190 of these variables (see Appendix 1; note that the block of items on "honour-related oppression" has been excluded from this appendix). The remaining 33 variables comprised a distinct and separate block at the end of the questionnaire that focused on the occurrence of "honour-related oppression".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This part of the survey will be presented in a separate report, which will be published by the Department of Integration and Gender Equality at a later date.

**TABLE 1.** Relationship between sampling frame, gross sample and respondents by stratum.

	Stratum 1	Stratum 2	Stratum 3	Stratum 4	Stratum 5	Stratum 6
Sampling frame, no. of objects in stratum	1 575	2 135	3 317	5 203	9 081	76 810
Stratum's proportion of sampling frame	1.6%	2.1%	3.3%	5.3%	9.3%	78.3%
Gross sample, no. of objects in stratum	987	1 181	1 477	1 743	2 062	2 550
Gross sample's proportion of no. of objects in corresponding stratum in sampling frame (% of no. of objects in row 1)	62%	55%	45%	33%	23%	3.3%
Proportion of gross sample (10,000 individuals) in different strata	10%	11.8%	14.7%	17.4	20.6%	25.5%
Proportion of the <b>5081 respondents</b> in the different strata	10.5%	12.8%	16.2%	15.7%	20.3%	24.4%

**TABLE 2.** Proportions per stratum among the respondents who teach or have taught about the Holocaust (weighted data).

Teach/taught about Holocaust %	Stratum						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Alla
"Yes"	93.4	86.8	35.1	37.2	51.2	22.4	28.8

In addition to the variables collected by means of the questionnaire, a number of register variables have been collected from Statistics Sweden's Total Population Register (TPR) and Statistics Sweden's Teachers' Register. The variables collected from the TPR were: year of birth, sex, marital status, country of birth (grouped into classes), citizenship (grouped into classes), municipality of residence and income. Information was collected from the Teachers' Register on the number of years spent teaching, whether the teachers worked full time/part time, their type of employment contract, qualification code, teacher training, type of school, school identity and school code. The data collected from the TPR were updated to 14/5 2007 while the data from the Teachers' Register relate to the 2006/07 academic year and were collected in October of 2006. For the marital status variable, "registered partnership" (RP) has been recoded as "married", "separated partner" has been recoded as "divorced" and "surviving partner" has been recoded as "widow/widower". The reason these variables were recoded was that the groups involved were too small to be presented separately.

The front page of the questionnaire took the form of a cover letter in which the respondents could read about the background to the survey and its objectives.

It also stated that the survey was being conducted in the form of a collaboration between Statistics Sweden and the Living History Forum. The letter also informed the respondents that information had been collected from the Total Population Register and from the Teachers' Register, told them what information had been collected from these sources, and explained that all the information is protected by the Data Protection Act and the Secrecy Act, that participation was voluntary and that an anonymised data file, and anonymised questionnaires, would be delivered to the Living History Forum.

"Informed consent" is required from survey respondents if Statistics Sweden are to be able to deliver data and completed questionnaires to another party. Informed consent in this case means that by completing and returning the questionnaire, the respondent agrees to their answers being supplemented with the register variables, and otherwise dealt with in the way described in the cover letter on the first page of the questionnaire.

An internal confidentiality test was conducted at Statistics Sweden in relation to the provision of the register variables from the TPR and the Teachers' Register. In addition, a confidentiality agreement has been drawn up between the Living History Forum and Statistics

**TABLE 3.** Description of response proportions in different phases of the data collection process and non-response per stratum. Percent.

	Stratum						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
After first dispatch	36.5	35.1	36.0	29.9	32.6	30.9	32.9
After ToR-card	12.7	12.7	12.4	10.0	11.2	11.1	11.5
After questionnaire reminder	5.2	7.6	7.4	6.2	6.8	7.2	6.8
Total response proportion	54.3	55.3	55.8	46.1	50.5	49.3	51.2
Non-response	45.7	44.7	44.2	53.9	49.5	50.7	48.8
Net sample	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sweden regarding how the anonymised data set and the anonymised questionnaires were to be handled.

The legal department of Statistics Sweden was informed that the study involved the treatment of personal information. Links to this personal information are removed three months after the delivery of the data file with the results.

The survey was conducted in the form of a postal questionnaire with two reminders. The letter sent to the individuals in the sample included a stamped addressed envelope for returning the completed questionnaire. The information contained in the completed and returned questionnaires was read using a scanner, and a data file was then produced.

The questionnaires were dispatched on May 21st. The first reminder took the form of a thank-you and reminder card (ToR), and was sent on June 1st. The second reminder also included a new questionnaire and was sent on September 4th. The data collection was concluded on September 25th. The data file was delivered to the Living History Forum on October 10th 2007. Table 3 summarises the proportion of questionnaires returned in different phases of the data collection process and presents the level of non-response per stratum.

The table shows that the proportion of respondents is greatest in Stratum 2 (teachers of SO, religion, philosophy and literature in high school and upper secondary school) and smallest in Stratum 4 (middle school teachers with SO 1-7 training).

### 2.3 Non-response

The non-response is comprised in part of *object non-response* which means that the questionnaire has not been completed at all, and in part of *partial non-response*, which means that the questionnaire was returned but that some of the questions had not been completed. If the non-response differs from the respondents in terms of characteristics of relevance to the theme of the survey, estimates of population values based only on the respondents may be misleading. In order to reduce this non-response bias, *weights* were calculated by means of a procedure known as calibration (see Appendix 3).

Object non-response may amongst other things be due to a given individual being unwilling to participate in the survey, to a failure to reach the individual concerned, or to his or her being unable to participate, e.g. as a result of illness.

The object non-response for the current survey is described in Table 4. The label “no information” means that no information has been provided as to why the questionnaire was not completed. “Unable” and “declined” refer to cases where Statistics Sweden has been informed that the individuals have been unable to or unwilling to participate in the survey. “Wrong person answered” refers to cases where the questionnaire was completed by someone other than the individual for whom it was intended. Table 4 describes the non-response in terms of these different categories.

Partial non-response may be due to a question being of a sensitive nature or difficult to understand, or to the respondent forgetting to answer the question,

**TABLE 4.** Specification of different types of object non-response.

	Antal	Procent
No information	4 731	47,6
Post returned	23	0,2
Secret/protected/missing address	2	-
Unable to participate	4	-
Declined to participate	49	0,5
Returned blank	30	0,3
Wrong person answered	9	0,1
Total	4 848	48,8

or to the fact that the instructions provided in relation to contingent questions (questions where respondents answering in a certain way are instructed to skip a number of subsequent questions) are misinterpreted, with the respondent failing to answer the correct questions as a result. Double-responses and answers that cannot be deciphered are also counted among the partial non-response.

In the current survey, the partial non-response varies between 0.2 and 15.6 percent. The following questions have a level of partial non-response that is markedly higher than the other questionnaire items (see the questionnaire in Appendix 1):

- 15.6% “Which of the following camps were built primarily in order to murder Jews?” *Response alternative “Hadamar”*
- 15.4% “Which of the following camps were built primarily in order to murder Jews?” *Response alternative “Katyn”*
- 14.9% “Which of the following camps were built primarily in order to murder Jews?” *Response alternative “Gulag”*
- 12.3% “Which of the following camps were built primarily in order to murder Jews?” *Response alternative “Chelmno”*

The most likely explanation for these questions having been skipped is that the respondents did not know the answer and missed ticking “Don’t know”.

- 12.1% “What is the reason for you teaching about the Holocaust?” *Response alternative “The school management requires it”*
- 10.7% “What is the reason for you teaching about the Holocaust?” *Response alternative “It’s in the curriculum”*
- 9.5% “Which political party would you vote for if there was a general election today?”

As a result of a technical error, the alternative “Green Party” was not included among the responses to this last question. When this mistake was identified, Statistics Sweden dispatched letters containing instructions as to how respondents should write in order to include the Green Party in questionnaires that were completed subsequent to the receipt of reminders. Despite this measure, the mistake may be one reason why this item was subject to a relatively high level of partial non-response. At the end of the questionnaire, however, space was provided for comments on the questionnaire. Many respondents have written fairly extensive comments, and many of these noted the mistake relating to the Green Party, some of whom then also stated that they would vote for this party. These “indirect” answers to the affected question were incorporated into the data file, which served to compensate for the mistake to a large extent.

In order to compensate for possible biases in the results that might be caused by differences between the respondents and the non-response in relation to relevant characteristics, Statistics Sweden has employed a highly sophisticated method that it has itself developed to produce what are referred to as calibrated weights. Stated in simplified terms, this calibration involves constructing weights that are then used to “weight up” the results from the sample to the level of the population. These weights incorporate components based on a non-response analysis in which the respondents are compared with the non-response in relation to a number of known register variables (i.e. in relation to characteristics on which data can be collected from official registers; see Appendix 2).

In order to give the reader an idea of the relationship between the characteristics of the non-response



**TABLE 5.** Largest and smallest proportions of respondents in various categories of seven register-based characteristics.

Characteristic	Category	Response proportion in %
Sex	Male	47.0
	Female	50.3
Age (range)	41 – 50	44.6
	61 –	55.5
Region of birth	Rest of Europe	55.4
	Rest of the world	37.8
Qualification	Qualified	51.4
	Unqualified	36.8
No. of years active teaching	3 – 5	46.0
	16 –	52.2
Employment contract	Permanent	50.1
	Temporary/unknown	42.4
Stratum	Teacher Swedish/German upper secondary school.	55.8
	Teacher SO 1-7 middle school	45.8

and the respondents respectively, Table 5 presents the largest and smallest response proportions for a number of register variables.

The table shows that four characteristics – age, region of birth, qualification, and stratum – stand out in the sense that the response proportions differ substantially between certain categories. A larger proportion of teachers born in the “rest of Europe” responded to the questionnaire than of teachers born in Scandinavia. It should be noted that individuals born in the “rest of the world” (i.e. outside Scandinavia and the rest of Europe) only comprised 2.9 percent of respondents (weighted data; see section 3.1 below). When constructing the calibrated weights, the calibration procedure employs those characteristics found to be most highly correlated with the propensity to respond, i.e. those characteristics where the difference in response frequencies between different categories is greatest. Besides “weighting up” the results from the sample to the level of the population (or more correctly, the sampling frame), the calibrated weights compensate for the type of “biases” described above.

#### **2.4 A short digression on the subject of non-response**

A substantial level of non-response is of course anything but desirable in the context of a questionnaire survey. In the current study, the total level of

non-response amounts to 48.8 percent, which has to be characterized as high. At the same time, it should be born in mind that the level of non-response varies markedly between different strata: from 44.2 percent in stratum 3 to 53.9 percent in stratum 4 (see Table 2). The experience of Statistics Sweden is that the level of non-response in postal questionnaire surveys on average lies at around 40 percent; sometimes it lies above this figure, and sometimes below it. The Schools Division at Statistics Sweden, which conducts a large number of surveys among teachers, has informed us that the non-response among this group of respondents is usually somewhat lower, at between 30 and 35 percent.

On the other hand, one could ask what methods can reasonably be used to improve the response frequency – “chasing respondents with a blow torch” can easily become a counterproductive exercise. Over the course of the past ten to fifteen years, a good deal of research – first and foremost in the USA – has been devoted to the question of whether one should attempt to achieve as high a response frequency as possible at any price, and the results of this research indicate that the answer is “probably not”. *It is in fact far from self-evident that the representativeness of the results (for the target population) increase with any regularity with an increasing response frequency.* Amongst other things, it has been shown that postal questionnaire surveys with a very low response frequency (approximately 20 percent) have produced

significantly more robust results than telephone interview surveys with a much higher response frequency (approximately 60 percent). In this latter case, it could be shown that the more effort the researchers made attempting to increase the response frequency, the less representative the resulting sample became for the target population. Another important finding has shown that the central conclusions drawn on the basis of a questionnaire survey most often remain unchanged even when the response frequency has increased dramatically, and that *ex post facto* statistical corrections to adjust for demographic sampling biases have a negligible effect on the conclusions drawn from the results of correlational analyses. This applies first and foremost to surveys employing what are referred to as probability samples, such as simple random samples for example.<sup>3</sup>

It should here be noted that the ideal situation, i.e. a census whereby all individuals in the target population are selected and wish to participate in the survey, is hardly ever achieved in the context of large populations – the costs would be far too high. It is also important to realise that a high response frequency does not necessarily guarantee that the results will be sufficiently representative of the target population to be regarded as acceptable. It is of course trivially true that a response frequency of, say, 98 or 100 percent would give a high level of representativeness, given that the survey meets the remaining methodological criteria. It would however be naïve to believe that a response frequency of 75 percent, for example, always guarantees a better level of representativeness – and thus more robust results – than a response frequency of 50 percent. The crucial factor here is that of the extent to which one suspects that there may be a correlation between the tendency not to participate in the survey (i.e. to be part of the non-response) and the central themes covered by the survey, as these have been operationalised with the help of the questionnaire. Quite recent studies have been able to show that there is no systematic and clear correlation between the size of the non-response and its biasing effects on survey results (“non-response bias”).<sup>4</sup> A non-response

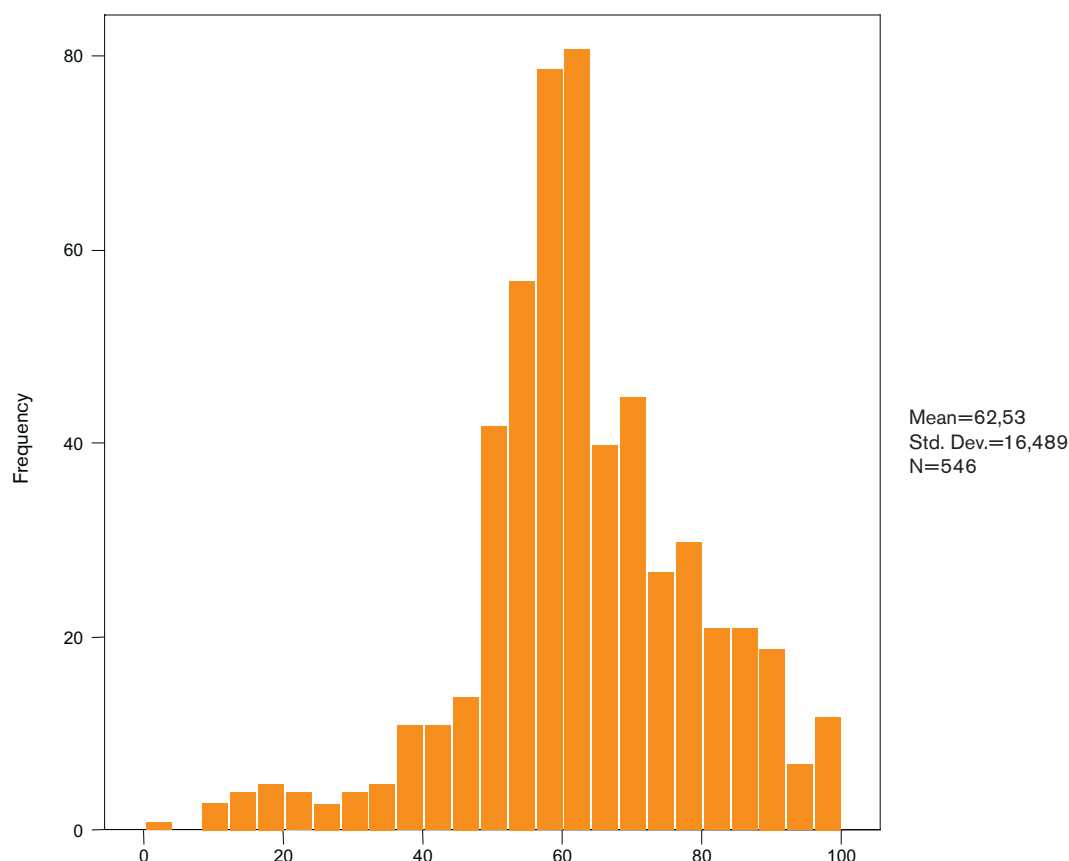
of 25 percent, for example, in a study where there is a strong correlation between the likelihood of being part of the non-response and the tendency to respond to the questionnaire items in a certain way, would produce significantly more biased results than a non-response of 45 to 50 percent in another survey where any correlation of this kind was either very weak or non-existent.

At the same time, non-response analysis is a very difficult task in real surveys, i.e. studies that are neither computer simulations nor surveys organised with the objective of measuring non-response effects. This can be exemplified using the current survey in the following way. The non-response among unqualified teachers is significantly larger than it is among qualified teachers – 63.2 percent as compared with 48.6 percent (note that unqualified teachers comprise only 16.5 percent of the total). Thus the probability of participating in the survey co-varies to some extent with whether or not teachers are qualified, and unqualified teachers may be said to be *under*-represented among the respondents to some extent. Among those who did participate in the survey, qualified teachers had a *markedly better knowledge* of the Holocaust than their unqualified counterparts. It does not necessarily follow from this however that the unqualified teachers included among the non-response are characterised by the same level of knowledge as the (unqualified) teachers who completed the questionnaire – the teachers’ level of knowledge is determined by many other factors than simply whether or not they are qualified. Among the unqualified teachers who completed the questionnaire, there is a relatively large amount of variation in their level of knowledge about the Holocaust – they do not all have the same score on the knowledge measure. One could, for example, hypothesise that it was specifically those unqualified teachers with a *good* knowledge of the Holocaust who chose not to participate in the survey, for some (unknown) reason or other. *In actual fact it is impossible to obtain any information as to whether or not the teachers included among the non-response differ from those who participated in the survey with regard to their values on the variables included in the questionnaire.* It is therefore *not* possible to state – by reference to the facts that unqualified teachers are *under*-represented among the

3 See e.g. Krosnick, JA, 1999. Survey Research. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 50:537-567; Visser, PS et al., 1996. Mail surveys for election forecasting? An evaluation of the Columbus Dispatch Poll. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60:181-227.

4 See Tourangeau, R, 2004. Survey Research and Societal Change. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 55:775-801; Curtin, R et al., 2000. The effects of response rate changes on the Index of Consumer Sentiment. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 64:413-428; Keeter, S et al., 2000. Consequences of reducing nonresponse

in a large national telephone survey. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 64: 125-148; Merkle, D & Edelman, M, 2002. Nonresponse in exit polls: a comprehensive analysis. In: Groves, RM et al. (eds.), 2002. *Survey Nonresponse*. New York: Wiley.



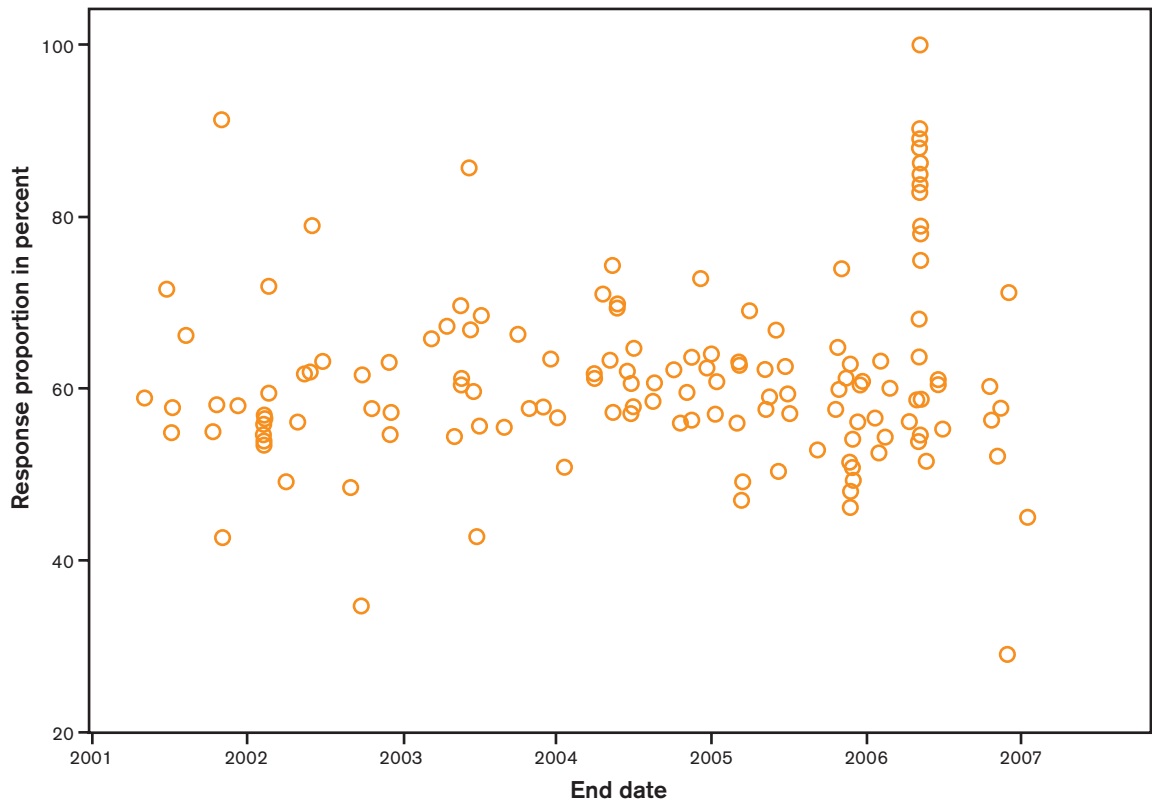
**FIGURE 1.** Distribution of response proportions for the 546 surveys for which it has been possible to calculate the response proportion (source: Lundström & Fritz 2007)

respondents and that those unqualified teachers who completed the questionnaire had poorer knowledge of the Holocaust than the qualified teachers who did so – that the survey *overestimates* the level of teachers’ knowledge about the Holocaust by arguing that if the unqualified teachers who are absent from the survey had instead participated, then the total knowledge-level among the respondents would have been even lower. There is no basis for stating that the *unqualified* teachers who are now counted among the non-response would – if they had participated in the survey – have answered the knowledge questions in the same way as the *unqualified* teachers who in fact completed the questionnaire.

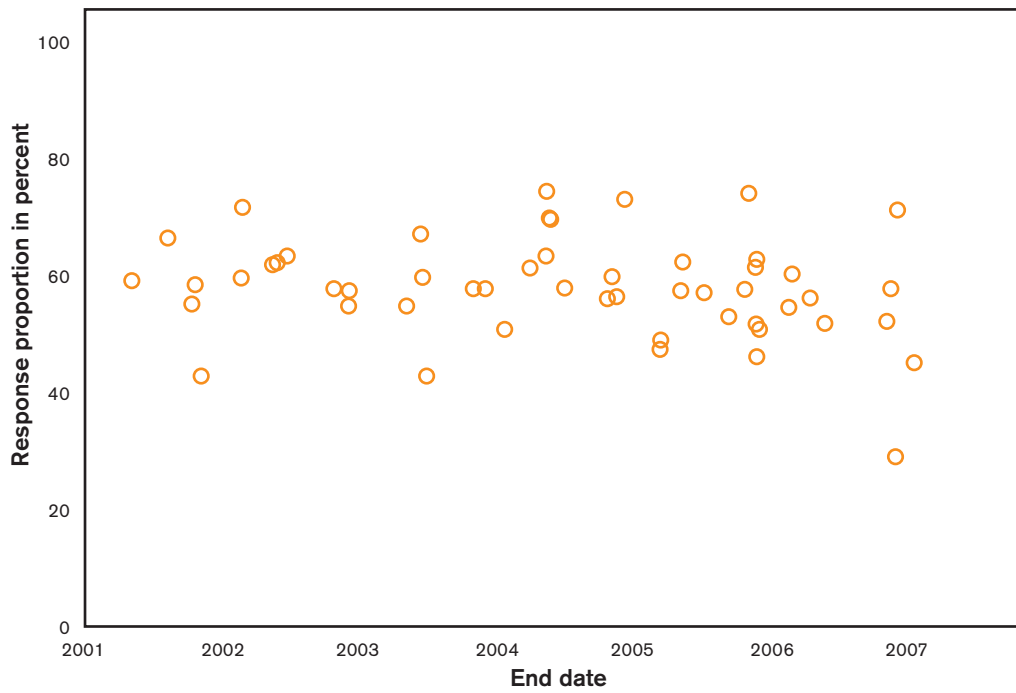
The calibrated weights constructed by Statistics Sweden that have been employed when working with the results of the current study improve the precision of estimates of the population values on the basis of those values recorded among the respondents only

to the extent that they “correct” the biases that it has been possible to identify by relating the propensity to participate in the survey to register variables (e.g. sex, age, area of residence, area of birth and so on; see Appendix 3). This is because register data constitute *the only available information on the non-response*. If there is *no* marked correlation between the likelihood of *not* participating in the survey (i.e. of falling into the non-response category) and the way in which individuals respond to the questionnaire items, then the use of calibrated weights produces reasonably good estimations of population values. If such a marked correlation does exist, however, then the calibrated weights cannot “repair” the biases that may arise as a result of this. The problem is simply that there is no available method that would make it possible to determine whether or not a correlation of this kind in fact exists.

In order to provide some additional perspective on the size of the non-response in the current survey, I



**FIGURE 2.** Response proportions (%) distributed over time for all 150 surveys directed at the general public. Vertical axis: Response proportion in percent; horizontal axis: date of completion (source: Lundström & Fritz 2007).



**FIGURE 3.** Response proportions (%) distributed over time for the 52 surveys directed at members of the public aged between 18 and 75 years. Vertical axis: Response proportion in percent; horizontal axis: date of completion (source: Lundström & Fritz 2007).

present below a number of diagrams from a large methodological study of non-response in survey studies conducted by Statistics Sweden.<sup>5</sup>

Figure 1 shows the response proportions recorded in 546 surveys conducted during the years 2001-2006. We can see that many of the surveys have had response frequencies of between 50 and 60 percent.

While Figure 1 is based on surveys irrespective of their respective target populations, Figure 2 shows response proportions in 150 surveys directed at the general public. We can see that the majority of these surveys have recorded response proportions in the range of 50 to 70 percent (in Figures 2 and 3 the non-response is the mathematical complement of the response proportion, i.e. with a response proportion of 60 percent, the non-response is 40 percent etc.).

In Figure 3, the authors have further restricted the sample of surveys so as to include only those directed at members of the public aged between 18 and 75 years. Here the number of surveys drops to 52, but the distribution of response proportions remains almost unchanged and ranges once again between 50 and 70 percent. I feel also that a weak downward trend can be discerned in the size of the response proportions over the last three years.

In summary, these analyses show that a non-response in the range of 45 – 50 percent is far from being unusual in questionnaire surveys directed at the general public. In the majority of the strata in the teacher survey, the non-response lies at approximately 44-45 percent, which is thus not particularly remarkable. I have no reason to believe that the teachers who have not participated in the survey should differ markedly from the respondents in relation to the questions posed in the questionnaire.

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<sup>5</sup> Lundström, S & Fritz, M, 2007. *Vilka faktorer påverkar svarsfrekvensen i enkätundersökningar? Analys av databas över datainsamlingar genomförda under åren 2001-2006.* [Which factors affect the response frequency in survey studies? An analysis of a database on data collections conducted between 2001 and 2006] Statistics Sweden, internal report.

# 3 Results

## 3.1 The respondents

I will begin by presenting the backgrounds of the respondents. In the context of this description I will be using weighted data, which in very simplified terms (and with certain reservations) may be viewed as “simulating” a situation in which the questionnaire had been completed by the entire sampling frame. All of the characteristics described below will also be employed in the analyses of the results of the survey.

The sex distribution among the teachers is such that 35.5 percent are male, and thus 64.5 are female. Their age varies between 26 and 73 years. Table 6 presents the distribution of the teachers across five age classes for males and females respectively.

The table shows that a larger proportion of the females are located in the youngest and second youngest age classes by comparison with the males, whereas this relationship is reversed within the oldest age range.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents were born in Sweden. Table 7 presents the distribution of male and female teachers across three regions of birth.

It can be seen that the proportion born in the rest of Scandinavia etc. is somewhat larger among the males than among the females. It may be worth mentioning that the proportion (of males and females) born in the rest of Scandinavia is 2.6 percent, the proportion born in the rest of Europe is 3.4 percent and the proportion born in Asia is 1.8 percent. The proportions born in the remaining aggregated birth regions – North America, South America, Africa, Oceania and “Other” – lie at between 0.0 and 0.7 percent.

Two variables were created to describe the respondents’ geographical region of residence. The presentation below shows the composition of these variables, which are comprised of aggregated countries.

TABLE 6. Proportions of males and females in five age-ranges.

Sex	Age range (years)				
	26 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 60	61 -73
Male	12.5	23.7	23.3	22.3	18.1
Female	16.0	26.9	23.4	20.2	13.6

TABLE 7. Proportions of males and females born in three different regions.

Sex	Birth region		
	Sweden	Rest of Scandinavia, rest of Europe and North America	Rest of the world
Male	89.6	7.7	2.8
Female	91.4	5.6	3.0
Total	90.8	6.3	2.9

Region 1	Region 2	Region 3	Region 4
Kronoberg	Jönköping	Stockholm	Dalarna
Blekinge	Kalmar	Uppsala	Gävleborg
Skåne	Gotland	Södermanland	Västernorrland
Halland	Västra Götaland	Östergötland	Jämtland
	Värmland	Örebro	Västerbotten
		Västmanland	Norrbottn

The division into these four regions largely follows the geography of Sweden from south/west to north/east.

An additional division was produced with the objective of differentiating between Sweden's three metropolitan counties and the remainder of the Swedish counties. Where necessary – and where there is a sufficiently large number of respondents – it is also possible to present results for individual municipalities.

Urban 1	Urban 2	Urban 3	Urban 4
Stockholm	Malmö	Gothenburg	Other counties

Table 8 shows that in relation to the “Region” classification, the largest proportion of teachers is found in Region 3, which includes amongst others the county of Stockholm. This is also the county with the largest proportion of teachers among the three metropolitan counties specified in the “Urban” classification. At the same time, the “Other counties” class – quite naturally – includes over 50 percent of the respondents. It is also perhaps worth mentioning that both sex and the age-groups are fairly similarly distributed across the four regions and the four area classes of the “Urban” classification.

Moving on to respondent characteristics of a rather more school-related nature, 73.3 percent of the teachers are qualified specifically for the position that

TABLE 8. The respondents' region of residence in relation to two geographical classifications.

	Region of residence							
	"Region"				"Urban"			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Proportion in %	20.4	26.7	36.2	16.7	18.0	12.6	15.8	53.6

they hold, 10.2 percent have a “general qualification” and 16.5 percent are unqualified. The proportion of unqualified teachers varies substantially by age group: the largest proportion (26.1 %) is found among the 35-44-year-olds, followed by the youngest age group, 26-34 years (23.7 %). This can be compared with the age range 55-73 years, where the proportion of unqualified teachers lies at only slightly over seven percent.

Among the respondents, 87.3 percent have permanent contracts, while the remainder have temporary contracts of employment. The proportion of teachers on temporary contracts is substantially larger within the youngest age groups by comparison with the oldest groups. The proportion of teachers with permanent contracts is somewhat higher among the females (89%) than it is among the males (84 %).

Describing the distribution of teachers across different school stages is rather complicated. No register data are available, and the respondents were therefore asked to state “What type of school do you teach in?” Since the respondents were able to tick several response alternatives – many teachers work in more than one stage in a given school – certain assumptions were required, and some recoding of the responses

**TABLE 9.** Distribution of respondents across different school stages by sex. The table shows column percentages and should be read as follows: of all middle-school teachers (Stage 2), 21.2 percent are men and 78.8 percent are women, etc.

Sex	School stage				
	1	2	3	4	5
Male	11.6	21.2	33.9	50.0	39.0
Female	88.4	78.8	66.1	50.0	61.0

was necessary in order to produce an approximation of this distribution. The resulting stages are thus not entirely “distinct”:

- 1 = primary school
- 2 = middle school + occasional primary school
- 3 = high school + occasional middle school
- 4 = upper secondary school + occasional high school + occasional “other”
- 5 = Other

Table 9 presents the results by the sex of the teachers.

It is perhaps not entirely surprising that women are massively over-represented among the teachers working in primary and middle-schools, and also that they constitute a substantial majority of the high school teachers. At the upper secondary school level the proportions of male and female teachers are identical. The fact that primary school teachers – who were in fact to have been excluded from the sampling frame – are found among the respondents is due to the shortcomings of the Teachers’ Register that were described earlier.

One of the items in the questionnaire asked the teachers to state which subject they teach. Since they were able to tick several subjects, it is not meaningful to describe the percentage distribution of the teachers across the different subjects. By recoding the teachers’ responses, I have examined which combinations of subjects most commonly appeared together. I then grouped the subjects into four subject areas, although the borders between these areas are not entirely distinct:

*History:* History or Religious Studies and/or Social Studies or Geography

**TABLE 10.** Male and female teachers working in the different school stages who teach in the respective subject groups. Percentages are column percentages and should be read as follows: of all teachers of Swedish etc. in middle schools (Stage 2), 6.8 percent are males and 93.2 percent are females etc.

School stage/sex	Subject group			
	Physics	Physical ed.	History	Swedish
1 Male	10.9	11.8	-	32.7
Female	89.1	88.2	-	67.3
2 Male	15.8	29.8	-	6.8
Female	84.2	70.2	-	93.2
3 Male	42.2	54.0	59.9	15.2
Female	57.8	46.0	40.1	84.8
4 Male	64.0	70.4	61.9	25.5
Female	36.0	29.6	38.1	74.5
5 Male	34.9	66.3	50.0	23.8
Female	65.1	33.7	50.0	76.2

- 1 = primary school
- 2 = middle school + occasional primary school
- 3 = high school + occasional middle school
- 4 = upper secondary school + occasional high school + occasional “other”
- 5 = Other

*Physics:* Physics, Chemistry and/or Technology or Biology or Maths

*Swedish:* Swedish or English or other languages

*Physical ed.:* Physical Education (sports and health studies) or Music.

Table 10 presents the distribution of teachers across the four subject groups by school stage and sex.

Besides constituting a background to the analysis of the survey results, the table provides a good overview of the relationship between sex on the one hand and teaching subjects and school stages on the other.

The respondents were also asked how long they had worked as teachers. Table 11 presents the length of the teachers’ professional experience by sex.

The proportions of teachers in the different categories of the teaching experience variable are fairly similar across the two sexes.

The final item in the questionnaire asked the teachers: “Which political party would you vote for if there was a general election today?”. It is perhaps appropriate to describe the respondents’ political sympathies as a “background characteristic”. Table 12 presents the



**TABLE 11.** Number of years teaching experience, by sex. The table presents row percentages.

Sex	Number of years teaching			
	1 – 5	6 – 9	10 – 15	Over 15
Male	13.1	22.7	15.6	48.6
Female	16.3	21.4	16.7	45.5

distribution of these sympathies for men and women respectively.

There are certain differences in the number who “voted” for the different parties between regions and age groups, but since this does not belong to the central theme of the study, these differences will not be discussed further in this context.

### 3.2 Perceptions of school and the teachers' work environment

A number of questions were included at the beginning of the questionnaire focusing on the teachers' perceptions of how a number of different conditions affect their work in school and their experiences of their work situation (see Appendix 1, questions V23 – V30. The proportions of responses across the different response alternatives are also presented in this appendix).

With regard to the question “*To what extent do you feel that the following factors have a negative effect on the work of the school*”, the teachers were asked to assess six different factors in relation to graded scale from “*not at all*” to “*to a very great extent*”. In this context it may be interesting to focus primarily on the proportion of teachers who chose the latter response alternative. An examination of the responses presented in Appendix 1 shows that one condition in particular stands out with a high proportion having answered “*to a very great extent*”: 70 percent of all teachers feel that *insufficient financial resources* have negative consequences for the work of the school to a very great extent. More than one in three teachers makes the same assessment in relation to “*Disciplinary problems*”, “*That the acquisition of knowledge is not prioritised*” and “*That the local authority has responsibility for the school*”. Almost one-third of teachers feel that “*The students' lack of respect for the teachers*” has negative consequences for the work of the school to a very great extent and one in five make the same assessment in relation to the issue of “*Inadequate contact between teachers and parents*”. If the response al-

**TABLE 12.** Political preferences among teachers by sex. The parties are listed in alphabetical order. The table presents column percentages.

Party	Men	Women	Total
Centre Party	5.6	6.5	6.2
Christian Democrats	2.8	4.4	3.8
Feminist Initiative	0.6	1.1	0.9
Folkpartiet (Liberals)	9.9	11.2	10.8
Greens	8.8	6.9	7.6
Left Party	10.1	7.4	8.4
Moderates (Conservatives)	14.0	15.1	14.7
Social Democrats	27.8	24.1	25.4
Sweden Democrats	0.4	0.2	0.2
Other	4.4	3.7	3.3
Return blank ballot paper	3.3	3.2	3.3
Don't know	12.2	16.3	14.8

ternative “*To some extent*” is included in these response proportions, between 80 and 90 percent of teachers feel that four of the six conditions have negative consequences for their schools *at least to some extent*.

A cross-tabulation of these assessments in relation to school stages (with the exception of “Other”, whose content is unknown) produced the following findings: the largest proportion (74.8 %) of teachers who feel that *insufficient financial resources* negatively affect the work of the school *to a very great extent* is found in middle schools, and the smallest proportion (63.5 %) is found among teachers working in upper secondary school. This could also be expressed by saying that between two of three and three of four teachers make such an assessment. The largest proportion of teachers making the most negative assessment (“*to a very large extent*”) in relation to *the students' lack of respect for the teachers* is found in middle schools (36.7 %) and the smallest proportion in upper secondary schools (25.4 %).

In relative terms, “*Inadequate contact between teachers and parents*” is clearly the issue of least concern in this context – between 16.1 % (upper secondary schools) and 26.6 % (middle school) feel that this condition has a substantial negative effect. “*Disciplinary problems*” are assessed most negatively in middle schools and primary schools (37.3 and 37.2 % respectively) and least negatively in upper secondary schools (30 %). “*That the acquisition of knowledge is not prioritised*” is first and foremost assessed to be a problem *to a very great extent* by teachers working in upper secondary schools

(43 %) and in high schools (38.2 %), at the same time as the smallest proportion of teachers making this assessment is found in middle schools (30 %). *It might be worth noting that almost every other teacher in upper secondary schools and more than two of three high school teachers perceive the low priority assigned to the acquisition of knowledge to constitute a major problem.*

“*That the local authority has responsibility for the school*” is primarily viewed as a very negative condition by high school teachers (41 %) and teachers in upper secondary schools (38.5 %), whereas primary school teachers appear to be the least concerned group (27.1 %). It is worth noting, however, that even in this last group, one in four teachers view this as constituting a major problem.

There is also some variation in the proportions who assess the problems to be very substantial between different age groups. Among the teachers aged 26 – 34 years, for example, 29.3 percent view *disciplinary problems* as having a very substantial negative impact on work in school, whereas the corresponding proportion among those aged between 55 and 73 years is 38.3 percent. Thus older teachers find that disciplinary problems constitute more of a strain than teachers in the youngest age group. The low priority assigned to knowledge acquisition is viewed as a major problem by 44.1 percent of the oldest group of teachers and by 33.6 percent of the youngest group. A very marked difference emerges in relation to assessments of the effects of insufficient financial resources: 75.9 percent of the youngest group of teachers regard this as constituting a major problem, as compared with 58.9 percent of teachers in the oldest age group. The reverse is the case with regard to assessments of local authority responsibility for the school: 23.5 percent of the youngest group of teachers view this as constituting a very substantial problem as compared to 47 percent of the teachers in the oldest age group. Thus the younger teachers are more concerned about the economic situation in schools than their older counterparts at the same time as the latter group are more concerned about the local authority responsibility for schools.

Finally, I would like to mention a selection of results from cross-tabulations conducted using two other background characteristics, namely subject area and age group. Of those teaching history, 42.2 assess the low priority assigned to *knowledge acquisition* to constitute a major problem, and this perception is even more widespread among those teaching *Swedish etc.* (46 %). At the same time, almost half of the history teachers (49.6 %) and a substantial, albeit somewhat smaller,

proportion of those teaching *Swedish etc.* (41.9 %) view local authority responsibility as constituting a very substantial problem. *Slightly over one third* of those teaching *Swedish etc.* and *physical education/music* view *the students’ lack of respect for the teachers* and *disciplinary problems* as constituting major problems. The largest proportion of teachers who view *insufficient financial resources* as constituting a very substantial problem is found among those who teach *physical education/music* (75.2 %).

It may be interesting to examine the degree of covariance among the teachers’ assessments of these six conditions. By far the strongest correlation ( $r = 0.71$ ; controlling for sex and age group)<sup>6</sup> is found between “*The students’ lack of respect for the teachers*” and “*Disciplinary problems*”, which is perhaps not surprising. Moderately strong<sup>7</sup> correlations are found between the first of these conditions and “*Inadequate contacts between teachers and parents*” ( $r = 0.42$ ; with the same control variables), between this last factor and “*Disciplinary problems*” ( $r = 0.44$ ; as above) and between “*Disciplinary problems*” and *the low priority assigned to knowledge acquisition* ( $r = 0.42$ ; as above; all coefficients are statistically significant,  $p < 0.001$ ).

The strength of these correlations varies substantially however between different groups of teachers. I have examined the correlations between on the one hand “*That the local authority has responsibility for the school*” and on the other “*That the acquisition of knowledge is not prioritised*” and “*Insufficient financial resources*” separately for teachers in each of the four subject groups. The strongest correlation between local authority responsibility and the low priority assigned to knowledge acquisition is found among teachers in physics etc. ( $r = 0.28$ ; with controls for sex and age group;  $p < 0.001$ ), with history teachers in second place

6 When estimating the strength of the correlations, the response alternative “Don’t know” has consistently been recoded as “missing”.

7 It should be noted that in social scientific research, and particularly research focusing on complex subjective phenomena (assessments, attitudes, opinions, values etc.), it is rare to find correlation coefficients larger than 0.8. Correlations producing coefficients of a size between 0.30 and 0.50 can therefore be roughly classified as “moderately strong” and those producing coefficients larger than 0.50 can be classified as “strong”. I use the labels “moderately weak” for correlations producing coefficients between 0.20 and 0.30 and “weak” for coefficients in the range 0.10 – 0.20. If the number of individuals in the data set is large – which is almost always the case when weights are employed – even weak correlations become statistically significant, which means that the likelihood of them having been produced as a result of random factors given a “real” zero correlation is very small.

( $r = 0.25$ ; as above). Among those teaching Swedish and other languages, the correlation is weaker ( $r = 0.18$ ; as above) and the correlation is weakest among those teaching physical education and/or music ( $r = 0.09$ ; same controls;  $p < 0.01$ ).

As regards the correlation between local authority responsibility and limited financial resources, the strongest correlation is found among those teaching history etc. ( $r = 0.32$ ; with controls for sex and age group;  $p < 0.0001$ ). Next come those who teach physics etc. ( $r = 0.18$ ; as above) followed by those teaching Swedish etc. and physical education/music ( $r = 0.13$ ; same controls;  $p < 0.001$ ). It is not of course possible to interpret correlation coefficients as indicators of causal relationships among the teachers' perceptions, and even if one were to do so, it would be impossible to determine what constitutes the chicken and egg respectively. With major reservations it is possible – perhaps – to say that the variation in the strength of the correlations between different subject groups *suggests* that these factors are linked to one another with a varying degree of strength in the perceptual world of teachers, depending on the subjects that they teach.

Four of the six conditions were employed in a similar question included in the 1998 Teacher Survey<sup>8</sup>. The samples employed in the two surveys are rather different, but with the help of Statistics Sweden<sup>9</sup> it has been possible to substantially improve the level of comparability by means of a retroactive correction of the sample employed in the 2007 survey. As regards the two conditions *insufficient financial resources* and *the students' lack of respect for the teachers*, the comparison produces rather unclear results: by comparison with 1998, a somewhat larger proportion of teachers chose the response option "To some extent" in 2007 in both cases and a smaller proportion the response alternative "To a very great extent". On the basis of an optimistic interpretation, this may be viewed as a sign that financial problems were viewed as less pressing in 2007. At the same time – by comparison with the situation in

1998 – fewer teachers in 2007 felt that the local authorities' responsibility for the school and inadequate contacts between parents and teachers had a negative impact on the work of the school (see Appendix 2).

The above section focused on presenting the results relating to the individual conditions' effects on the work of the school. In order to reduce the six variables (conditions) to more manageable measures, the teachers' assessments were subjected to a factor analysis<sup>10</sup> the results of which showed that the responses grouped themselves into two factors, here referred to as A and B:

- A.
- Disciplinary problems
  - The students' lack of respect for the teachers
  - Inadequate contacts between teachers and parents
  - That the acquisition of knowledge is not prioritised
- B.
- That the local authority is responsible for the school
  - Insufficient financial resources

It should be noted that the condition "*That the local authority is responsible for the school*" is only very weakly correlated with the other conditions.

Factor analysis groups the teachers' assessments in such a way that the responses in one group (or factor) are more strongly correlated with one another than they are with the responses in the other group or factor. The first variable or condition (possibly the first two variables) may be said to provide an idea of how the factor's content or meaning should be interpreted. It is fairly clear that Factor A relates to *internal conditions* in school, with disciplinary problems serving as a kind of "vector of meaning", whereas Factor B is instead focused on *external* administrative and economic conditions. On the basis of these factors, two composite measures – indexes – were constructed, which we can refer to as Index A and Index B. Table 13 shows the mean values for these indexes for males

8 Lange, A & Hedlund, E, 1998. *Lärare och den mångkulturella skolan*. (Teachers and the multicultural school) Stockholm University: Ceifo förlag.

9 Appendix 2 presents tables showing detailed comparisons of all questions used both in 1998 and 2007. I would like to express my gratitude to chief statistician Sixten Lundström and statistical methodologist Mattias Fritz at Statistics Sweden for their quick and efficient help with finding a solution to the problem of making the two samples as comparable as possible. The introduction to Appendix 2 explains how it was possible to improve the level of comparability. One of the factors that contributed to the difference between the two samples could not however be compensated for after the event and the comparisons between the two studies must therefore be interpreted with certain reservations.

10 I employed "Principal Components Analysis" with a varimax-rotation of the factors. Prior to the analysis the response alternative "Don't know" was recoded as "missing". This increases the internal non-response in the data, but with the exception of the question on local authority responsibility for the school (13.1 % "Don't know"), the proportion of "Don't know" answers lies at between 0.2 and 2.9 percent. Thus the level of internal non-response for the remaining variables was negligible.

**TABLE 13.** Mean values for the two indexes based on assessments of negative conditions affecting the work of schools among males and females in the different school stages. Note that the means cannot be compared across the two indexes, but rather only across the sexes and the school stages within each index. Values on both indexes range between 1 and 4.

Stage	Sex	Index A	Index B
1	Males	2.9	3.1
	Females	2.6	2.7
2	Males	2.5	3.0
	Females	2.7	2.8
3	Males	2.5	2.9
	Females	2.8	2.9
4	Males	2.4	2.7
	Females	2.5	2.8
5	Males	2.5	2.7
	Females	2.6	2.8

- 1 = primary school
- 2 = middle school + occasional primary school
- 3 = high school + occasional middle school
- 4 = upper secondary school + occasional high school + occasional "other"
- 5 = Other

and females working in the different school stages:

With regard to Index A – the school’s internal working conditions – male primary school teachers present the most negative assessments and male upper secondary school teachers the least negative. Note however that only slightly over eleven percent of primary school teachers are males. Otherwise females assess these conditions more negatively than males, but it is only the differences between the sexes in middle schools and high schools that are statistically significant.

As regards Index B – local authority responsibility for the school and insufficient financial resources – male primary school teachers once again constitute the group presenting the most negative assessments, closely followed by male middle school teachers. Hereafter I will primarily be employing these two measures in the context of analyses of the answers to other questions included in the survey.

Two further questions relating to the teachers’ assessments – or rather perceptions – of their work situation were included in the questionnaire. One of these read as follows: “*How often do you feel bad about going to work at school because of the conditions there?*”.

The response alternatives were “*Never*”, “*Quite rarely*”, “*Quite often*” and “*Very often*”. The other item asked teachers to state their level of agreement with the statement “*It happens increasingly often that I feel inadequate in my work*” with the help of the same response alternatives. Given a degree of caution, one could argue that the first question places more emphasis on the respondents’ perceptions of their work situation in school, while the second focuses more on their perceptions of themselves in relation to their work, which almost certainly touches on factors such as self-esteem, perceptions of their own strength, perceptions of the opportunities available to them to affect their work conditions and so forth.

One might suspect that the two questions – in spite of the interpretation described above – largely focus on the same type of perceptions. Let’s look a little more closely at this question. Estimated on the basis of all the teachers, the correlation between these two reported perceptions is moderately strong ( $r = 0.39$ ; given controls for sex, age group and school stage;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This correlation is far from being sufficiently strong to argue that one of the questions is superfluous, however. I have therefore examined the answers to the two questions separately. In doing so, I have used a multivariate method known as MCA<sup>11</sup>, since there is reason to suspect that different background characteristics will affect response tendencies in various ways.

When the question on *feeling bad about going to work* is analysed with age group, sex and school stage as control variables, no appreciable differences in perceived bad feelings about going to work emerge

<sup>11</sup> MCA (Multiple Classification Analysis) is a multivariate analytical method with a number of advantages. Independent variables may be nominal or ordinal classifications, but the nominal or ordinal categories do not need to be recoded into “dummy-variables”, which is the case when using multiple regression. The dependent variable should however be measured on an interval scale with a distribution that is not overly skewed; a dichotomous dependent variable is also acceptable. The underlying model in MCA is additive. MCA is able to handle a weak level of multicollinearity in data and also non-linear relationships between predictors and the dependent variable. It is analogous with the use of “dummy-variables” in multiple regression but presents the results in a more accessible manner. “Spurious” correlations are made very clear. MCA presents mean values for the dependent variable corrected for the effects that the independent variables included in the analysis may have. The interpretation of the beta-coefficients in MCA is analogous to that of the beta-coefficients in multiple regression. For a technical presentation, see e.g. Andrews et al. 1973, *Multiple Classification Analysis*. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan; Hardy, M A & Baird, C L, 2004. *Multiple Classification Analysis*. In: *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. London: SAGE Publications; Retherford, R D & Choe, M K, 1993. *Statistical Models for Causal Analysis*. New York: John Wiley.

in relation to these factors. The results relating to the question on *perceived inadequacy in one's work* show a more marked variation, however. Sex is responsible for the strongest effect (beta = 0.21), with women perceiving themselves to be more inadequate than men, independently of school stage and age. Shifting the focus to age, the effect is weaker (beta = 0.10), with the younger teachers feeling more inadequate than their older counterparts. The variation across school stages is somewhat more marked (beta = 0.15) and it emerges that perceived inadequacy is strongest among primary school teachers and weakest among teachers in upper secondary schools (independently of age and sex), although the difference is far from dramatic. It must however be emphasised that in total, these three background characteristics together explain only a very small part of the variance in perceived inadequacy ( $r^2 = 0.09$ ).

One of these questions – that on perceived inadequacy in one's work – was also included in the 1998 Teacher Survey. In this area, the result of a comparison between the 1998 and 2007 surveys is gratifying: the proportion of teachers reporting that they had this type of feeling of inadequacy *very often* is less than one-third of the size of the corresponding proportion in the 1998 survey (see Appendix 2).

It is of interest to examine the extent to which the two questions on how the teachers perceive their work situation covary with their assessments of factors that can have a negative impact on the work of the school. To begin with I calculated the correlation coefficients between these two questions (V29 and V30 in Appendix 1) and the six conditions (V23 – V28 in Appendix 1) separately for each school stage<sup>12</sup>. The coefficients vary between 0.04 and 0.34, but it was not possible to discern any clear pattern. I therefore included both the assessments of the six conditions and the answers to the two questions on perceptions of the work situation in a single factor analysis<sup>13</sup>. The results produced the same two factors as were presented above, with the difference being that I was now able to see how the teachers' perceptions of their work situation were related to the six conditions. Both *feeling bad about going to work* and *a feeling of inadequacy* were found to be stron-

gly correlated with Factor B, i.e. the factor comprised of the conditions *the local authority having responsibility for the school* and *insufficient financial resources*. This means that the more teachers feel that the local authority's responsibility for the school and insufficient financial resources have a negative impact on the work in school, the more they feel bad about going to work and the stronger the feeling of inadequacy that they report (or vice versa)<sup>14</sup>. The two "feelings" are also weakly (but highly significantly) correlated with Factor A, whose meaning is linked to the conditions *"Disciplinary problems"* and *"The students' lack of respect for the teachers"*. Relationships of this kind should however be interpreted with caution, first and foremost due to the fact that the analysis includes a mixture of different types of question.

### 3.3 Ethnic diversity in schools, exposure to racist and other propaganda and the prevalence of ethnic conflict, racism and xenophobia.

Towards the end of the questionnaire, a number of questions were included focusing on what is usually referred to as the "multicultural society" (see questions V143 – V156 in Appendix 1). It is worthwhile taking the time to present the results on this theme in these introductory sections.<sup>15</sup>

The teachers were asked to estimate how large a proportion of the students in their respective schools had a non-European background (see V152 in Appendix 1). Table 14 shows these estimates for the four regions. The top four percentage ranges have been combined to form larger categories.

The table does not really require any commentary since the percentages reflect what is already known about the population structure in different counties. Note however that the figures represent the teachers' *estimates*, and not data drawn from population statistics.

We also asked the following question: *"Do you think there are problems with racism, anti-Semitism, hostility towards immigrants and ethnic conflicts in your school?"* (see V153 – V156 in Appendix 1). The response alternatives ranged from "Not at all" to "Very substantial" problems (and "Don't know"). The questions on "anti-Semitism" and "ethnic conflicts" were associated with the largest proportions of "Don't know" respon-

<sup>12</sup> The "stage" labelled "Other" was excluded from these calculations, since I have no information on its content.

<sup>13</sup> In this case I used the "Promax" rotation method, which allows the factors to be correlated with one another. In some cases – like the present one – this method is advantageous because the "analytical motor" does not then have to exert itself to place the variables on right-angled (uncorrelated) co-ordinate axes.

<sup>14</sup> It is important to emphasise that this type of correlation doesn't say anything about possible causal relationships.

<sup>15</sup> A battery of statements at the end of the questionnaire (see V158 – V189 in Appendix 1) were included as well, with the objective of investigating the teachers' attitudes towards "multiculturalism" and a number of other phenomena.

**TABLE 14.** Teachers' estimates of the proportion of students in their schools with a non-European background, by region. The table presents row percentages. The percentages have been rounded off to the nearest whole number.

Region	Proportion of students with a non-European background			
	0–10%	11–20%	21–40%	over 40%
1	55	22	13	11
2	62	21	9	8
3	49	21	19	12
4	76	16	6	2
Whole of Sweden	58	20	13	9

Region 1	Region 2	Region 3	Region 4
Kronoberg	Jönköping	Stockholm	Dalarna
Blekinge	Kalmar	Uppsala	Gävleborg
Skåne	Gotland	Södermanland	Västernorrland
Halland	Västra Götaland	Östergötland	Jämtland
	Värmland	Örebro	Västerbotten
		Västmanland	Norrboten

ses (15.6 and 10.3 percent respectively). According to the assessments of the teachers, anti-Semitism appears to constitute the most minor problem – a total of 76.4 percent felt that the problem doesn't exist or that they didn't know. If the response alternatives "Quite substantial" and "Very substantial" are combined (the highest proportion found in the latter category was 3.5 percent, in relation to hostility towards immigrants), then hostility towards immigrants came in "first place" (15.2 %), followed by racism (9.6 %) ethnic conflicts (7.5 %) and finally anti-Semitism (2.2 %).

The same question was also included in the 1998 Teacher Survey. A comparison of the results from the two surveys shows that teachers perceived all these school problems to be *greater* in 2007 than had been the case in 1998. The differences in relation to *racism* and *hostility towards immigrants* are particularly marked, with the proportion of teachers who felt that there were no problems at all in these respects having dropped to just over half of their 1998 levels, and with the proportion of teachers who felt that the problems were quite substantial or very substantial having increased to three times the levels found in the 1998 survey (see Appendix 2).

The responses relating to the four questions were subjected to a factor analysis, which produced a single

factor, indicating that the teachers were assessing phenomena that are related to one another. We might therefore expect that the level of these problems would covary with assessments of the proportion of students from a non-European background in a similar way. This was not found to be the case, however: while only weak (but significant) positive correlations were found between the assessed prevalence of racism and anti-Semitism and the proportions of youths from a non-European background ( $r = 0.15$  and  $0.16$  respectively;  $p = 0.01$ ), the correlation between the (teacher assessed) prevalence of ethnic conflicts and the (assessed) proportion of students from a non-European background was found to be much stronger ( $r = 0.43$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). By contrast, no correlation was found between the proportion of students with a non-European background and the assessed prevalence of hostility towards immigrants ( $r = 0.02$ ). One reasonable interpretation of these findings is that a higher level of "ethnic diversity" in schools produces a higher probability of ethnically related conflicts, but that these conflicts need not necessarily be a result of "hostility towards immigrants". How the teachers have interpreted the expression "ethnic conflicts" is unclear however – is it exclusively a question of conflicts between members of the majority population and other ethnic groups, exclusively conflicts between ethnic groups who are not members of the majority population or both?

Age was only weakly negatively correlated with assessments of the prevalence of racism, anti-Semitism and hostility towards immigrants ( $r = -0.11$ ,  $-0.13$  and  $-0.12$  respectively), which means that the older teachers to a certain (limited) extent assess these problems to be somewhat less common than their younger counterparts.

Question V151 (see Appendix 1) read as follows: "Over the past two years, has any racist, anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi propaganda been disseminated at your school?" Table 15 presents the distribution of answers across the four geographical regions of Sweden.

It can be seen that there are no dramatic differences across the various regions as regards the (teacher assessed) dissemination of propaganda of these kinds in schools. Nor were any notable regional differences found in relation to the dissemination of propaganda when the analysis instead focused on the alternative regional division – i.e. that which contrasts the three metropolitan areas with the rest of the Swedish counties.

**TABLE 15.** Teacher reports of the prevalence of racist, anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi propaganda in their schools, by region. Percentages rounded off to the nearest whole number. For the content of the "Region" variable, see Table 14.

Region	Prevalence of propaganda			
	Never	Quite rarely	Quite often	Very often
1	49	47	3	1
2	54	40	5	1
3	53	42	5	1
4	58	40	2	0
Whole of Sweden	53	42	4	1

### 3.4 Perceptions of and attitudes towards the "multicultural society"

The reason for including questions and statements (with the latter eliciting responses indicating the level to which the respondent agrees or disagrees) relating to what is in Sweden usually referred to as "the multicultural society" in a survey whose principal focus is teaching about the Holocaust was that attitudes towards this teaching are likely not to be isolated from other perceptions, values and attitudes. If the questionnaire only included questions on teaching about the Holocaust, the presentation of results would be limited to the usual cross-tabulations, in which teachers' perceptions about this teaching were examined in relation to sex, age, school stage and so on. As an historical phenomenon, the Holocaust touches upon a number of deep-seated issues relating to amongst other things morality, ethics, guilt, collective and individual responsibility, "human nature", and to such social conditions as may facilitate – or obstruct – systematic mass murder and other crimes against humanity. It was therefore important that the survey should include questions touching on themes other than the Holocaust that would at the same time activate more deep-seated values and attitudes among the respondents.

Since the answers to these questions will constitute part of the background to which the teachers' perceptions and experiences of teaching about the Holocaust will be related in the analyses, it is reasonable to present the results produced by these questions at this stage.

A number of questions were included on issues that are currently under discussion in the "discourse"

surrounding "multiculturalism".<sup>16</sup> Question V152 (see Appendix 1) read as follows: "What do you think about Muslim girls who want to do so wearing the veil/headscarf in school?" Table 16 presents the responses to this question for male and female teachers respectively.

The table shows that the women are somewhat more accepting than the men, with the exception of the first response alternative, representing the most accepting attitude. In total, slightly over 80 percent of the teachers accepted this custom, while at the same time more than one in four either doesn't like it or finds it unacceptable (with this last alternative accounting for only four percent of the teachers).

There is a moderately weak correlation between the degree of acceptance and age ( $r = 0.21$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ; control for sex), which means that older teachers have a more negative attitude towards the wearing of the veil/headscarf than their younger counterparts, although this attitude is not a great deal more negative. A correlation of this size means that a substantial proportion of the older teachers in fact express a tolerant attitude towards the custom (slightly over 56 percent of the teachers aged over 54 have ticked one of the first two response alternatives). I found no differences of any note between the attitudes expressed in relation to this question among teachers living in different regions of Sweden. Nor did I find a correlation between these attitudes and the (teacher assessed) proportions of students from a non-European background in school, which may at least at first glance appear somewhat surprising. This may indicate, though, that the attitudes are based on principle and are not directly affected by how often teachers see girls wearing the veil/headscarf in school.

The exact same question was included in the 1998 Teacher Survey. A comparison between the 1998 and 2007 surveys shows a marked shift towards a more "accepting" attitude in the teachers' responses to this question (see Appendix 2).

The next question on "multiculturalism" read as follows: "Do you think it is a good thing if non-Christian students can do the following?" Five different things were then listed, in relation to which the teachers could express their attitudes by answering "Yes", "No" or "Don't know" (see V144 – V148 in Appendix 1). A quick inspection of the response patterns indicates

<sup>16</sup> My placing these terms in quotation marks is a signal that I (together with a number of other researchers) view them as problematic. I cannot however expand upon and explain my objections in the present context.

**TABLE 16.** Teachers' perceptions about Muslim girls wearing the veil/headscarf in school, by sex. The table presents row percentages.

Sex	Response alternative				
	I accept it and think it is a good thing	I accept it	I accept it but don't like it	It is unacceptable	No opinion
Males	11.6	50.1	26.4	6.1	5.7
Female	9.5	60.6	24.3	2.9	2.7
Total	10.3	56.9	25.0	4.0	3.8

The Chi-square measure of association shows a significant difference between the sexes ( $p = 0.001$ ), with the differences between males and females in columns 2, 4 and 5 contributing most to the Chi-square measure. The more appropriate measure  $c$  (contingency coefficient) shows a weak correlation between the sex of the teachers and their views on this issue ( $c = 0.13$ ).

directly that the teachers perceive these opportunities as comprising two different and distinct categories: the opportunity to *get* certain things in accordance with religious prescriptions, and the opportunity to *avoid* (be excused from) certain things for the same reason. A factor analysis of the responses provided very clear confirmation of this distinction: two distinct factors emerged, with the first comprising the opportunities to “*Eat in accordance with their religious principles*” and “*Have time off for their religious holidays*”. A little over 90 percent of the teachers had answered “Yes” in relation to the first of these two opportunities, and slightly over 78 percent in relation to the second. It may be noted that the level of acceptance in relation to being given the opportunity to take time off in connection with religious holidays is somewhat lower than it is in relation to ethnically/religiously conditioned eating habits. A comparison with the results from 1998 shows that the teachers' attitudes have become more accepting by 2007 even in this regard – first and foremost in connection with the question of “food”. The change is not as marked as it is in relation to the issue of the wearing of the veil in school however.

The second factor is made up of responses relating to the opportunity to be excused from lessons in a number of different subjects, divided into three groups, as a result of one's religious faith. An overwhelming majority of teachers have answered “No” in relation to the question of students being given these opportunities: 90.6 percent do *not* feel students should be able to be excused from *religious studies*; 94.2 percent hold the same view in relation to the question of being excused from lessons on *sex and anatomy*; 96 percent say “No” to being excused from lessons in *physical education, music, art and languages*. A comparison with the 1998 survey shows – somewhat surprisingly – that the teachers' attitudes in relation to the possibility of being excused from lessons have

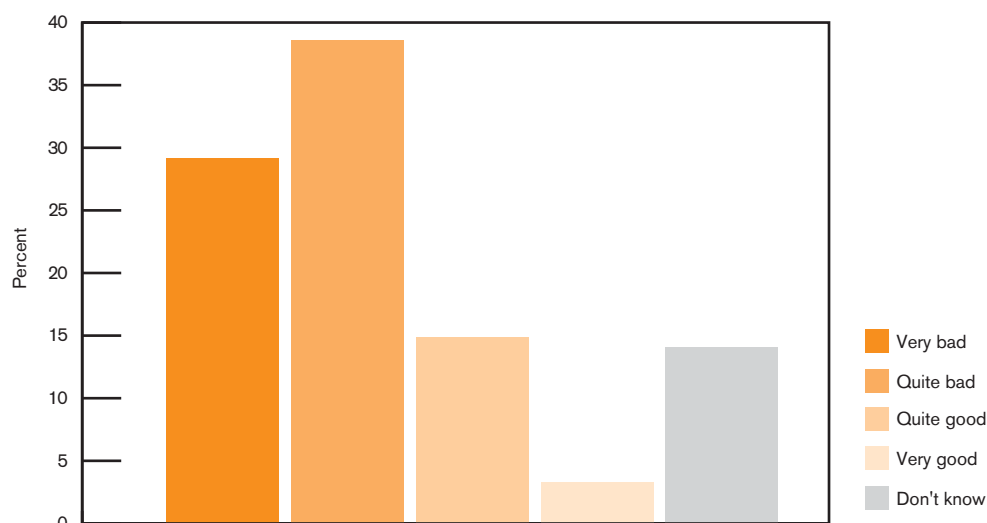
become *harsher* in the 2007 survey, first and foremost in relation to being excused from religious studies, where almost 97 percent (in the corrected sample from 2007) answered “No”, as compared with just under 77 percent in 1998.

The teachers' attitudes in relation to these opportunities are weakly – but statistically significantly – correlated with sex, with an interesting pattern emerging. Female teachers show themselves to be somewhat more accepting than their male counterparts in their attitudes towards being given “religious/ethnic” food and getting time off in connection with religious holidays, whereas this pattern is reversed in relation to being excused from lessons – in this regard the female teachers are somewhat less accepting than the men.

Age only has a limited effect in relation to the teachers' attitudes towards students being given these opportunities, with older teachers being somewhat less accepting than their younger counterparts, but only in relation to two of the opportunities listed: being given food in accordance with one's religious beliefs and being excused from religious studies. The strongest correlation – in relative terms – was found in relation to the second of these two opportunities (MCA,  $\beta = 0.19$ ). With regard to the school stages in which the teachers work, only moderate differences emerge, and then only in relation to two of the five opportunities listed: primary school teachers are somewhat more accepting than upper secondary school teachers in relation to being given the opportunity to have food in accordance with religious prescriptions and to take time off in connection with religious holidays. The geographical division into four regions is not correlated with the teachers' views on students being given any of the five opportunities. By contrast, a cross-tabulation employing the regional division which divides the country into the three metropolitan counties and the rest of the Swedish counties shows



**FIGURE 1.** Teachers' responses to the question "Do you think that ethnically/nationally oriented schools where the teaching takes place in the group's mother tongue are generally a good or a bad thing?"



that teachers in the counties of Stockholm and Skåne are somewhat less accepting than teachers in Västra Götaland and those in the remaining Swedish counties in respect to one of the opportunities listed, namely the opportunity to have time off in connection with religious holidays.

Another question that has been the subject of quite considerable discussion is that of the advantages and disadvantages associated with *ethnically and/or nationally oriented schools* at which teaching takes place in the *native language* of the group concerned. The teachers were therefore asked whether they feel that such schools are generally a good or a bad thing<sup>17</sup> (see V149 in Appendix 1). When the response alternatives "Very bad" and "Quite bad" are combined into a single category "bad" and the alternatives "Quite good" and "Very good" are combined to form "good", 67.8 percent of teachers view such schools as a "bad" thing, while 18.2 percent view them as a "good" thing. Thus slightly over two-thirds of teachers distance themselves from schools of this kind. A relatively large number of teachers felt they could not express a view on this question – 14.1 percent answering "Don't know" constitutes a relatively large proportion.

<sup>17</sup> The question was posed in a highly simplified and generalised fashion. In reality the issue is substantially more complex. One should first and foremost specify different ways in which such schools might produce positive or negative effects, as well as specifying whom these effects may impact upon. It has not been possible in the context of the current survey to include more than a single item focusing on this issue however.

In the 1998 Teacher Survey, this question was formulated in a more detailed way: instead of asking for the teachers' "global" assessment as was the case in 2007, the 1998 survey instead specified the native languages in terms of seven concrete languages which the teachers were asked to assess separately.<sup>18</sup> It is therefore difficult to compare the findings from the two surveys, but in order to at least get an idea of whether the situation has changed between 1997 and 2007, the seven languages specified in the 1998 survey were combined to form an index. A cautious comparison, which is of course associated with a number of reservations, indicates that teachers' attitudes towards schools of this kind are more "accepting" than was the case in 1998.

In 2007, male teachers were somewhat more negative towards ethnically/nationally oriented schools than their female counterparts (with the proportions answering "bad" accounting for 73 and 65 percent

<sup>18</sup> The question was formulated in the following way: "Do you think that ethnically/nationally oriented schools where teaching is conducted in the following languages are generally a good thing or a bad thing?" The following languages were then specified: Arabic, Estonian, Finnish, Greek, Lappish, Spanish and Turkish. The response alternatives were identical in both surveys. Schools where teaching was conducted in *Lappish* and *Finnish* were associated with the least negative attitudes (just over 52 % and just over 66 % of responses in the combined "Very bad" + "Quite bad" category respectively), whereas schools conducting teaching in the remaining native languages were assessed to be either very or quite "bad" by between 72 and 75 percent of respondents.

of the respective sex groups). There is a weak but statistically significant correlation between age and the teachers' attitudes on this question – with older teachers tending to be more negative than their younger counterparts. No significant differences were found in relation to attitudes of acceptance towards schools of this kind between the three metropolitan counties and the remaining Swedish counties. On the other hand, moderate but statistically significant differences were found across the four Swedish regions: in Region 1 (Kronoberg, Blekinge, Skåne and Halland) the proportion of teachers responding that such schools are a “bad” thing lies at 73 percent, while the corresponding proportion is 60 percent in Region 4 (northern Sweden). It can further be noted that middle school teachers are somewhat more accepting than teachers from the other school stages, and that teachers born outside Europe express a more positive attitude first and foremost by comparison with Swedish born teachers, but also by comparison with those born in the rest of Scandinavia etc. (See Table 7). All of the differences described above have also been analysed by means of MCA (see footnote 8), where the analyses also included simultaneous controls for the “background variables” sex, age, region, non-Swedish background and school stage. The differences are significant, but it must be emphasised that these characteristics only “explain” (in the statistical sense of the term) a very small amount of the variance in the teachers' views on schools with an ethnic/national orientation.

A further school-related question linked to the issue of “multiculturalism” relates to independent religious schools. The questionnaire asked the teachers “*Do you think that independent religious schools are generally a good thing or a bad thing*” and provided the same response alternatives as those used in connection with the previous question (see V150 in Appendix 1). Eighty-one percent of the teachers expressed the view that such schools were either a very bad or quite a bad thing, whereas 9,5 percent viewed them as quite or very good. The attitude among teachers towards religious schools thus appears to be more negative than their attitude towards schools with an ethnic/national orientation.

When the teachers' attitudes towards religious schools are examined using MCA<sup>19</sup> the results are

similar to those found in relation to the issue of ethnically/nationally oriented schools. The youngest teachers have a more positive attitude than their older counterparts, particularly those in the age range 55 – 64 years. Those living in Region 1 (southern Sweden) are most negative by comparison with the remaining regions, and those living in Region 4 (northern Sweden) are the most positive. Women are slightly more positive (or rather perhaps slightly less negative) than men, middle school teachers express the least negative attitudes, primary school teachers the most negative. Once again it is important to note that the differences are not large and that these background variables only “explain” a small part of the total variance in the teachers' responses to this question.

At the end of the questionnaire, a relatively extensive block of statements was presented to the respondents which for the most part relate to *attitudes towards different aspects of immigration and the multicultural society, but also to certain other values and attitudes* (see V158 – V180 in Appendix 1). The response alternatives expressed varying degrees of agreement and, as usual, included the “Don't know” option. The objective with the inclusion of these statements in a survey whose primary focus is directed at teachers' experiences and perceptions of teaching about the Holocaust is twofold: on the one hand, the attitudes and values that are expressed in these statements provide a background to analyses of the questions focused on teaching about the Holocaust; on the other hand, the majority of these statements were included in the large-scale 1998 Teacher Survey, and it is thus interesting to be able to compare the situation across the two years. A number of comments are necessary however in relation to these statements.

Some of the statements contain expressions such as “Jews”, “Muslims” and “immigrants”. These expressions can be criticised for – amongst other things – being “collectivising”, i.e. they group together a large number of heterogeneous individuals and give them a collective label, which leads to their being viewed as being as similar as peas in a pod. When the intention with asking people to state their opinion of such statements is to investigate the extent to which they harbour prejudices or group-related antipathies (and sympathies), there is however no other option

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one looks at the difference between the sexes, for example, this difference is corrected to take account of the effect of the remaining independent variables, in this case age, non-Swedish background, region and school stage. The other variables – age, region etc. – are then examined one at a time in the same way.

19 An analysis of this kind examines attitudes towards religious schools while simultaneously controlling for those characteristics that are chosen for inclusion as independent variables. When

available. Prejudices are more or less always directed at groups or categories and it is not possible to expose them by asking questions about individuals.

It has been argued that the use of such “collectivising” labels creates and cements prejudices and reinforces an “us and them” way of thinking. Such arguments are completely groundless, since nobody has succeeded in proving that this is the case. Many group-related prejudices and antipathies are a great deal older than attitude surveys. I would also like to emphasise the fact that it is the distinction between “us” and “them” that constitutes the basis of all types of group-formation in every society, irrespective of whether it is a question of groups formed on the basis of religion, ethnicity, politics or any (of hundreds of) other distinctions. In highly simplified terms, we could say that eliminating “us and them”-thinking would require that all group-formations in all societies were dissolved and forgotten. To date nobody has succeeded in achieving anything of this kind anywhere on the planet. It is furthermore ironic that those who use the term “collectivisation” as a means of criticising others, and who call for the abolition of “us and them” at the same time silently accept certain group-based distinctions (and their associated collectivisations) while they vociferously reject others.

The use of statements to “elicit” and expose attitudes is as old as attitude surveys themselves. Certain methodological difficulties arise in this context, which also however affect other types of question that are focused on emotive and sometimes quite simply problematic views. A well-known and much discussed problem relates to what is termed “social desirability”, which refers to the possibility that people may respond to such questions or statements in a way that they view as being acceptable in society at large, and which is furthermore in line with the image of themselves that they wish to present to the world. There are no patented countermeasures to deal with social desirability, although those who conduct research in this area have attempted to develop a number of stratagems to deal with the problem. In the current survey we employ two approaches that may to some extent provide an indication of the presence of socially desirable answers. The first is that the questionnaire includes a small number of statements that are ambiguous, i.e. they can be interpreted in different ways – and therefore generate different responses – depending on the respondents more deep-seated values and attitudes. One example of such a statement is “*It is natural for children to see and make value judgements about racial*

*differences*” (see V167 in Appendix 1). It is only when attitudes expressed in relation to this statement are related to the answers provided in connection with other questions that it may be possible to see differences between different interpretations. The fact that the statement is ambiguous means that it is not self-evident what would in fact constitute a socially desirable answer. The second approach relates to the fact that the response alternative “*Partly disagree*” expressed in relation to statements can in some cases be regarded as a kind of “emergency exit” for the respondent – when he or she, as a result of social desirability considerations, does not feel able to even partially agree with a problematic statement, at the same time as completely distancing him or herself from the statement is not satisfactory either, the response “Partly disagree” provides a way out but nonetheless indicates that the respondent actually agrees with the statement, even if only to a certain extent.

Working with and analysing the responses from this type of survey almost always involves *reducing* the data substantially. Certain questions can, of course – and should – be treated separately, i.e. without being “bunched together” with other questions and information. The descriptive phase of the analysis however primarily involves an examination of covariation patterns in the data, and a consideration of which groups of questions and information “belong together” within the material. These questions can then possibly be combined to form summarising measures (indexes) on common themes or “dimensions” that comprise several variables. The principal techniques that are employed in this type of context are factor analysis and cluster analysis, of which there are several different variants.

It is particularly difficult to construct indexes that measure psychological dimensions, such as attitudes towards immigration, for example, or towards “multiculturalism” and so forth. The mathematical-statistical methods employed provide no more than a basis for making interpretations as to the internal dimensions that may lie behind people’s tendency to answer a number of questions in the same direction.

In the current instance, the task has been to condense 23 statements<sup>20</sup> into a small number of summary measures. A first step in this data reduction process

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<sup>20</sup> I should point out at this juncture that several of the statements have been used in previous surveys, of amongst others teachers (Lange & Hedlund 1998). Some can be dated all the way back to 1969, when the first Swedish survey was conducted of attitudes towards “immigration and immigrants”.

was to conduct an exploratory factor analysis of all the statements and to study the patterns of correlations among the answers.<sup>21</sup> This analysis showed that the majority of the statements formed groups or clusters, at the same time as a few variables were only slightly correlated with the others. These were excluded from further analysis. In the subsequent analysis four groups emerged, one of which comprised the four statements that in different ways touch upon Jews and the Holocaust (VI60, VI63, VI66 and VI77 in Appendix 1). The other three groups express attitudes to immigration and “multiculturalism”.

Four combined measures (indexes) were formed on the basis of these analyses.<sup>22</sup> The reader is asked however to inspect the response frequencies on the statements included in the indexes in Appendix 1 – the proportions answering “Completely agree” and “Partly agree” are very low in relation to all of the statements that may be perceived as provocative (see amongst others VI59 and VI61 for example). In this regard I must refer again to the discussion presented above on how the response alternative “Partly disagree” may be viewed. Note, however, that in certain cases – e.g. VI59, which expresses an explicitly racist opinion – the proportions of this type of response are also very small.

The four indexes have the following composition<sup>23</sup>:

21 Prior to the factor analyses, all “Don’t know” answers and skipped answers were recoded as the mean values of the respective variables, calculated separately for all combinations of age group and sex. An “imputation” of values of this kind may be said to constitute a (mild) violation of the data, but without imputation, these “missing values” accumulate in the context of a factor analysis and produce a situation where a relatively large proportion of the respondents are excluded from the analysis. The procedure was not employed in relation to the four statements that in different ways touch upon issues relating to Jews and the Holocaust however.

22 The indexes were constructed in the following way: a simple additive index was first produced by summing the values of the variables included in each factor. A commonly used formula was then employed,  $I = ((a - a_{\min}) / r_a) \times S$ , where  $I$  = the new transformed index,  $a$  = the value on the additive index,  $a_{\min}$  = the minimum value assumed by the additive index,  $r_a$  = the range, i.e. the difference between the highest and lowest values on the additive index, and  $S$  = the number of scale categories in the final index. This is followed by a “trimming” procedure which has to be employed because the formula usually generates values with a large number of decimal places. In the course of this recoding into whole numbers  $I$  have attempted to the greatest possible extent to preserve the form taken by the distribution of values in the original “raw index”. In certain cases this was difficult as a result of extremely small proportions of responses expressing agreement (or disagreement respectively). The formula employed requires a higher level of metricity than the data actually have, but if strict metricity requirements were imperative, quantitative social scientific and behavioural research would be largely impossible.

23 The order in which the statements are presented follows the size of what are referred to as the factor loadings of the different statements that emerged in the factor analysis, from highest to

#### ■ Index 1

- *“Given the differing norms of the Romani culture, it is hardly surprising that the Roma are not accepted in Swedish society.”*
- *“Some cultures are so different from Swedish culture that people from these cultures can’t really adjust to Swedish society.”*
- *“It is a major problem in schools that male students from certain cultures do not acknowledge the authority of female teachers.”*
- *“Public sector agencies and the media often conceal uncomfortable facts about the consequences and costs of immigration for the Swedish people.”*
- *“Islam constitutes a threat to the social and cultural advances made in the west.”*
- *“Muslim immigrant parents in Sweden do not look to the best interests of their children.”*
- *“All immigrant children should learn that Swedish is their mother tongue right from the start.”*

#### ■ Index 2<sup>24</sup>

- *“We should allow Jewish kosher slaughter and Muslim halal slaughter in Sweden.”*
- *“There should be more people with an immigrant background in the political assemblies.”*
- *“Sweden’s immigration and refugee policy should be more liberal than it is today.”*

#### ■ Index 3

- *“It is against the laws of nature for people from different races to have children together.”*
- *“It is better for a society if people from different cultures live separately and do not mix with one another.”*
- *“Immigrants in Sweden who have come from countries outside Europe should return to their countries of origin.”*

lowest. With some reservations, the two statements that come first on each index may be viewed as expressing the “direction” in which the content of the index can be interpreted.

24 In strict technical terms, it is not entirely appropriate to construct an index with only three variables (four variables can also be argued to be too few). This is also reflected in the value of Cronbach’s Alpha, which is a measure of the “internal consistency” in a composite measure. While the alpha value for Index 1 is 0.75, which is reasonably satisfactory, the corresponding values for Index 2, Index 3 and Index 4 are 0.53, 0.52 and 0.52 respectively. This is partly due to the fact that the size of the alpha coefficient is a function of, among other factors, the number of variables included in an index. On the other hand, the factor analysis showed that four relatively distinct factors could be extracted, whose contents were quite clearly distinct from one another.

- “It is natural for children to see and make value judgements about racial differences.”

■ Index 4

- “There is altogether too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews.”
- “The Jews exploit the Holocaust for their own ends.”
- “The Jews have too much influence in the world today.”
- “The Holocaust is not relevant today because it took place over 60 years ago.”

It is wise to be cautious when interpreting composite measures based on the results of factor analyses. It should be born in mind that such an interpretation ought reasonably to correspond to some kind of psychological reality among the respondents, which means that the statements in an index cannot function purely as a projection screen for the interpretational imagination of the researcher. One means of checking the plausibility of interpretations of this kind is to relate the index scores to other questions from the survey, with additional support for the interpretations then being found to the extent that meaningful correlations emerge from this process.

Index 1 appears to indicate an unfavourable attitude towards what is often referred to as “multiculturalism”, combined with a dash of both “Islamophobia”<sup>25</sup> and a favourable attitude towards “compulsory assimilation”, i.e. the perception that immigrants should as far as possible imitate the host population’s culture and – by extension – give up their own cultural distinctiveness.

Index 2 is comprised of only three statements, all of which express a positive attitude towards immigration and “multiculturalism”. Index 3 contains an explicitly racist statement<sup>26</sup>, an ambiguous “control statement”

<sup>25</sup> “Islamophobia” is a much debated term and I use it in the absence of a better one and not without a certain reluctance.

<sup>26</sup> Observe however once again the very low response frequencies for the response alternatives “Partly disagree”, “Partly agree” and “Completely agree” in relation to this statement (see V159 in Appendix 1). The statement cannot therefore contribute very much to the scores on this index. The fact that the statement, despite the very limited variance among the responses, is nonetheless sufficiently strongly correlated with the remaining statements that comprise this index shows however that the index at least to some extent does reflect and capture a racist attitude. I use the term “racist” for the sake of simplicity, but generally speaking I am very restrictive in my use of this now rather “wishy washy” term, which has today almost completely lost its original gravity. The reader who might be interested in my attempts at conceptual analysis is welcome to look at Lange, A, 2001. Reflektioner kring “rasifiering” och några andra ord. (Reflections on “racialisation” and a few

TABLE 17. Distribution of the respondents’ scores on the four indexes in percent. Weighted data.

Index	Scale scores			
	1	2	3	4
Index 1	32.8	35.4	18.5	13.4
Index 2	14.6	13.6	43.4	28.3
Index 3	60.3	19.1	10.8	9.8
Index 4	70.0	12.1	8.1	9.8

(“It is natural for children ...”) and two statements that express an unfavourable attitude towards “multiculturalism” and the presence of non-European immigrants in Sweden. Index 4 comprises four statements all of which in one way or another express anti-Semitic sentiments. Table 17 presents the distributions of the scale scores from these four indexes.

The table shows that the distributions are highly “skewed”, i.e. they are to a large extent concentrated towards the lower and higher index scores respectively. Particularly in relation to the “negative indexes” 3 (which includes a racist statement) and 4 (which expresses anti-Semitic sentiments) we find a very high proportion of respondents with scale scores of 1 or 2, i.e. expressing low levels of antipathy and aversion. The similarly negative Index 1 is characterised by a somewhat more uniform distribution, but even here the majority of respondents have scale scores of 1 or 2. The distribution of scores on the “positive” Index 2 is inverted in relation to the other indexes, with over 70 percent of the teachers having scores of 3 or 4 (expressing a positive attitude towards “multiculturalism” and immigration). It is very important to emphasise that the percentages in the table cannot be interpreted literally – under no circumstances *is it permissible for example to say that “9.8 percent of Swedish teachers harbour strongly racist opinions”* (the proportion of respondents with a score of 4 on Index 3). The index scores are the result of a smoothing out of the underlying raw data, particularly in the case of Indexes 3 and 4, where the variance in the responses to the statements comprising the indexes is very limited. In order to allow for the calculation of correlations with other variables, I have been forced to “stretch” the highest scale scores on

other words) in: Cederberg, I (ed.): *Törnroslandet. Om tillhörighet och utanförskap*. Norrköping: integrationsverket; Lange, A, 1997. *Reflektioner kring rasism*. (Reflections on racism) Stockholm university: Ceifoförlag, is also relevant in this context.

these indexes, which means that they do not reflect the distributions in the raw data completely correctly. On the other hand, it is quite possible to state that an absolute majority of Swedish teachers disagree with racist views.

The “control statement” in Index 3 (v167 in Appendix 1) is weakly but statistically significantly *negatively* correlated with Index 2, which expresses a “positive attitude towards immigration” ( $r = -0.12$ ;  $p = 0.01$ ). This may be interpreted as indicating that different categories of respondents have responded to the statement in the same way, but for different reasons. Among a minority of the teachers, agreement with this statement is correlated with agreement with the explicitly racist statement and the two statements expressing an attitude of hostility towards immigration.<sup>27</sup> Others perhaps interpreted the statement as expressing a fact from the field of developmental psychology. I am thus able with some confidence to conclude that Index 3 does to some extent capture a racist attitude (see also footnote 20).

The four indexes are correlated with one another in the following way:

**TABLE 18.** Correlation coefficients between the four attitude indexes. The coefficients represent partial correlations<sup>28</sup> with simultaneous controls for the effects of sex, age, school stage, region of residence and region of birth.

	Index 1	Index 2	Index 3
Index 1			
Index 2	-0.37		
Index 3	0.49	-0.24	
Index 4	0.26	-0.11	0.26

The pattern of correlations is hardly surprising. We would expect Index 2 which expresses a “positive atti-

tude towards immigration” to be negatively correlated with Indexes 1 and 3, which the table shows to be the case. On the other hand, it can be noted that the correlations are not particularly strong, which means that many of the respondents may *simultaneously* harbour perceptions that correspond to moderate scores on the three different indexes. The strongest correlation is that between Index 1 and Index 3, but the limited strength of this correlation means that the attitudes captured by the indexes are not entirely consistent with one another. A respondent may for example have a moderately strong negative attitude towards “multiculturalism” etc., without at the same time expressing any kind of racist sentiment at all.

The fact that Index 4 – which I will for the sake of argument label “anti-Semitic sentiment” – presents only a moderately weak positive correlation with Indexes 1 and 3 may be interpreted as a confirmation of the view that anti-Semitic attitudes, at least to some extent, lie on another “attitude dimension” than more general xenophobic sentiments and racism. This is also confirmed by the very weak negative correlation between anti-Semitic sentiment and Index 2 (expressing a “positive attitude towards immigration”) – it seems entirely possible to have a sympathetic attitude to the questions contained in Index 2 while at the same time harbouring anti-Semitic views. In summary, we can say that the pattern of correlations between the four Indexes “makes sense”.

I will now take the opportunity to describe the effects of the various background variables on the index scores. In order to examine these effects I have once again employed MCA<sup>29</sup> with simultaneous controls for sex, age, school stage, region of birth<sup>30</sup> and region of residence.

The mean scores on Index 1 show a clear increase with increasing age – the older teachers express markedly more negative views on “multiculturalism” etc. by comparison with the youngest group of teachers ( $\beta = 0.17$ ). Teachers born in the rest of Europe and North America have somewhat more negative attitudes than those born in Sweden and the rest of the world ( $\beta = 0.04$ ; a very weak effect). Females are less negative than males ( $\beta = 0.12$ ) and the teachers working in Region 1 are somewhat more negative than

<sup>27</sup> The ambiguity of the “control statement” emerged very clearly in the factor analysis. The statement had small but not negligible factor loadings on three of the four factors. The statement loaded highest (0.34) on Factor 1, which forms the basis of Index 1. Its lowest factor loading was (0.15) was in relation to the factor that forms the basis of the “racist” Index 3. Expressed in simplified terms, factor loadings represent correlations between variables and factors and constitute one of the results of a factor analysis. The value of factor loadings varies between  $-1$  and  $+1$  and the higher their value, the better the variables are represented by the factor in question. The content of the variables (e.g. questionnaire items) that have the highest loadings on a given factor provide an indication of the factor’s “meaning”.

<sup>28</sup> The partial correlation is a measure of association that has been “cleansed” of the effects that the selected control variables may exert on the strength of the correlation. In technical terms, the coefficients express correlations between what are referred to as residuals, i.e. the variance in the variables that remains once the variance associated with the control variables has been removed.

<sup>29</sup> See footnotes 11 and 19 for explanations.

<sup>30</sup> The teachers’ region of birth is divided into three categories: born in Sweden, born in the rest of Europe and North America, and born outside both Europe and North America. The modest size of the number of respondents born outside Sweden does not allow for a division into a larger number of categories.

those in the other regions (beta = 0.09). The views captured by Index 1 do not appear to vary significantly across the different school stages. On the whole, these correlations confirm the results from previous studies conducted among both the general population (see e.g. Lange & Westin 1993; Lange 1995, 2005) and teachers (see Lange & Hedlund 1998).<sup>31</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the pattern found in relation to Index 2 – which expresses a “positive attitude towards immigration” – is the reverse. The positive attitude measured by this index declines with increasing age (beta = 0.10), but there are no differences in index scores by either sex or region of birth. Primary school teachers appear to have a somewhat less positive attitude first and foremost by comparison with teachers working in upper secondary schools (beta = 0.06) while teachers working in Region 1 have the least positive attitudes and those working in Region 3 the most positive (beta = 0.10).

Index 3 largely follows the same pattern as that which emerged in relation to Index 1. The xenophobic and racist-like attitudes increase with increasing age (beta = 0.12), females are somewhat less negative than males (beta = 0.06), no clear differences are found in relation to region of birth, primary school teachers have a somewhat more negative attitude first and foremost by comparison with teachers working in upper secondary schools (beta = 0.06) and teachers working in Region 1 are more negative first and foremost by comparison with those working in Region 3 (beta = 0.10).

Index 4 – “anti-Semitic sentiment” – behaves in a similar way to Indexes 1 and 3, but some of the differences emerge more clearly than they do in relation to the latter two measures. As described above, “anti-Semitic sentiment” increases to some extent with increasing age (beta = 0.10). The pattern found in relation to region of birth is more marked, however: teachers born in Sweden harbour significantly lower levels of this kind of sentiment than teachers born in

the rest of Europe and North America, but the difference is greatest in relation to teachers born in the rest of the world, who clearly express the most powerful anti-Semitic attitudes (beta = 0.14). The difference between the sexes is also substantially more marked, with females – as usual – expressing such attitudes to a significantly lesser extent than their male counterparts (beta = 0.17). These attitudes are less conspicuous among primary school teachers than they are first and foremost among teachers working in upper secondary schools (beta = 0.12). No differences were found in relation to the teachers’ region of residence however.

It must be emphasised that the correlations between the background factors and the scores on the four indexes as presented above are consistently rather weak<sup>32</sup> and are most marked in relation to Index 4.

Perceptions of what is required to be regarded as “Swedish” constitute a further ingredient in the “discourse” surrounding the multicultural society. The following question was therefore included in the questionnaire: “*When do you think a person ceases to be an “immigrant”, that is, when does a person become “Swedish”?*” The respondents were asked to assess nine factors in terms of the following response alternatives: “Completely unimportant”, “Quite important” and “Absolutely essential” (see V181 – V189 in Appendix 1). It may be interesting to note that only 4.3 percent of teachers felt that it was absolutely necessary to be born in Sweden to be regarded as Swedish, and that even fewer – 0.6 percent – felt that the condition “*When you can’t tell by looking at a person that he or she has roots in another country*” was absolutely necessary. On the other hand, 43.9 percent felt that Swedish citizenship was a necessary condition for “Swedishness”.

A factor analysis of the responses resulted in two distinct factors. One of these is comprised of the “leading”<sup>33</sup> statements “*When the person’s family has lived in Sweden for at least five generations*” and “*When the person’s family has lived in Sweden for at least 2 years*”. Thereafter comes the statement “*If a person is born in*

31 Lange, A & Westin, C, 1993. *Den mångtydiga toleransen: Förhållningssätt till invandring och invandrare 1993*. (The ambiguity of tolerance: Attitudes towards immigration and immigrants 1993) Stockholm: Ceifoförlag; Lange, A, 1995. *Den svårfångade opinionen. Förhållningssätt till invandring och invandrare 1995*. (The transience of opinion. Attitudes to immigration and immigrants 1995) Stockholm: CEIFO; Lange, A, 2005. *Förhållningssätt till invandring och invandrare 2005*. (Attitudes to immigration and immigrants 2005) Completed but unpublished nationally representative survey; Lange, A & Hedlund, E, 1998. *Lärare och den mångkulturella skolan*. (Teachers and the multicultural school) Stockholm University: Ceifoförlag

32 This can be seen from the relatively low beta-values. A summary measure of the clarity of the correlations is provided by  $R^2$ , which shows the proportion of the total variance present in the data that is “explained” (in statistical terms) by the background variables. In the above analyses, the value of  $R^2$  varies between 0.03 and 0.08, values which can be described as low. This can also be expressed such that the largest proportion of the variance in the scores on the four indexes is due to factors other than sex, age, region of birth, school stage, and region of residence. It is most likely that these factors are not found in the data generated by the current survey.

33 In this context the term “leading” simply means that the factors “have the highest factor loadings”.

*Sweden*". I will therefore call this factor the "genealogical" view of "Swedishness", which given a slightly twisted interpretation can be associated with the "Blut und Boden"-romantic view – it is about being *born* in a certain *place* that was also inhabited by previous *generations*. The second dimension found in the teachers' perceptions of the conditions for "Swedishness" is primarily represented by the perceptions "When a person has a job and a home in Sweden" and "When a person has lived in Sweden for at least five years". In third position on this dimension comes *Swedish citizenship*. I will therefore label this dimension the pragmatic-progressive view of "Swedishness", perhaps spiced up with a hint of liberalism.

Two indexes were constructed on the basis of these factors. The correlation between these two indexes is relatively weak ( $r = 0.19$ ;  $p = 0.001$ )<sup>34</sup>. This means that the two measures relate to attitudinal dimensions that are largely independent of one another. When the variation in the index scores for the "genealogical" view are examined using MCA (with simultaneous controls for the effects of sex, age, region of residence, school stage and region of birth) an interesting result emerges: the only significant variation is found in relation to region of birth – *the further from Sweden one is born, the more significance one ascribes to the "genealogical" conditions for "Swedishness"*. There is a marked difference between teachers born in Sweden and teachers born outside Europe and North America ( $\beta = 0.13$ ). This finding surprised me, since I – on the basis of my own prejudices – expected to find more substantial differences between e.g. different regions and age groups in Sweden.

The results from the analysis of the pragmatic-progressive view are somewhat different. Older teachers place more weight on the criteria that comprise this dimension than their younger counterparts ( $\beta = 0.12$ ), which is also true of women by comparison with men ( $\beta = 0.11$ ). Interestingly, no differences emerged either between different regions of birth or of residence. Nor does school stage make any difference in this context.

It may be interesting to examine the correlations between these two approaches to "Swedishness" and the four attitude indexes. The strongest correlation is to be found between the "pragmatic-progressive" view and Index 1 ( $r = 0.39$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ), while the correlation between the "genealogical" view and this index

is significantly weaker ( $r = 0.21$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ). Once again, I find this a little surprising, since I had expected to find the opposite – an unfavourable attitude towards other cultures and religions and an "assimilative" attitude towards immigrants ought reasonably to be associated with "Blut und Boden"-like sentiments to a greater extent than with a pragmatic progressive attitude towards what is required for an individual to be regarded as a valid member of a national community. Similar patterns of correlations are found in relation to the remaining index, although in these cases the correlations are weaker.

Having focused briefly on the mystery of Swedishness, I must return to the battery of statements themselves (see V158 – V180 in Appendix 1). Five of these statements – V162, V169, V172, V179 and V180 – could not be included in an index, and I have therefore examined the correlations between these "homeless" statements on the one hand and a number of other questions on the other. The statement "*So-called 'honour violence' in certain cultures is an expression of the same male oppression of women that is found in all western societies*" is not correlated to any notable extent with any of the indexes (including the measures of "Swedishness") or to any of the above mentioned statements, and must therefore for the present be regarded as quite distinct. A total of 26.7 percent of the teachers agreed wholly or in part with this statement, and it is interesting that there was almost no difference between the sexes in this respect.

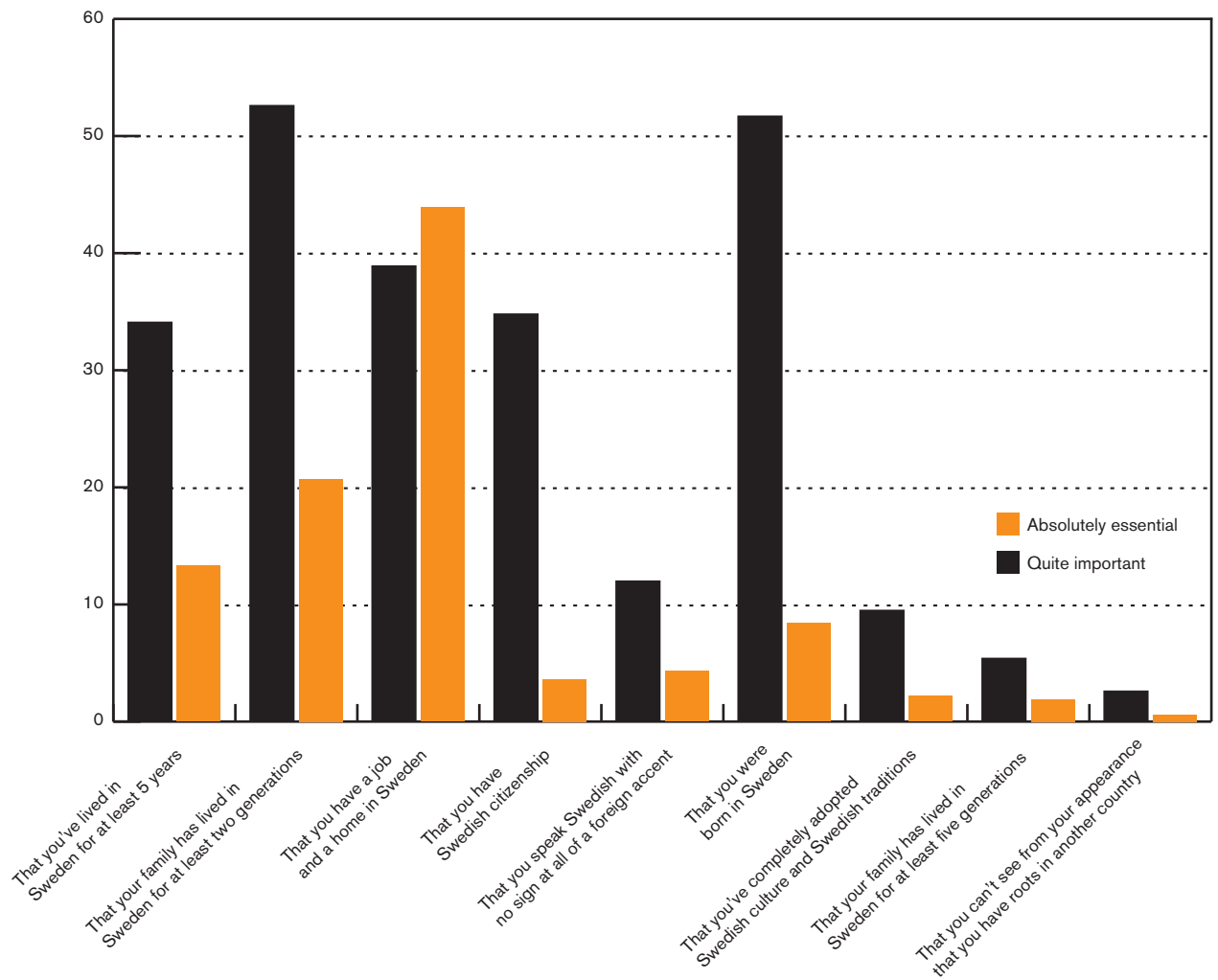
The statement "*It is important for Sweden to select a political leader who can govern the country with a firm hand*" may at least in part be viewed as ambiguous. It has been used in other surveys, amongst others the 1998 Teacher Survey mentioned above, in order to sound out possible authoritarian tendencies among the respondents. A total of 25 percent of the teachers in the current survey agreed in full or in part with this statement, but there is reason to suspect that this agreement may be associated with several different types of attitude on other issues. The pattern of correlations<sup>35</sup> between responses to this statement and the indexes and "homeless" statements confirms this suspicion. The strongest correlation ( $r = 0.41$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ) is found in relation to Index 1, which indicates that a far from negligible proportion of the respondents who feel that Sweden should be governed with a

34 The partial correlation with controls for age, sex, region of birth, region of residence and school stage.

35 All the correlations described in this section are partial correlations which include controls for the effects of age, sex, region of birth, region of residence and school stage.



**FIGURE 2.** "When do you think a person stops being an "immigrant", i.e. when does a person become "Swedish"? State how important you think the different factors are." The third response alternative, which has been excluded from the diagram, was "Completely unimportant"



“firm hand” harbour at the same time an unfavourable attitude towards “multiculturalism”, immigration, Islam etc. The correlation with Index 2, representing a “positive attitude towards immigration”, is negative, as it should be, but is at the same time weak ( $r = 0.19$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ), which means that some of the teachers with relatively high values on this index have at the same time agreed – at least in part – with this statement. The correlation with the “anti-Semitic” Index 4 is rather weak ( $r = 0.18$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ), which indicates that these two attitudes are relatively independent of one another, albeit with a certain tendency towards a covariation in the same direction. It may be interesting to note that the statement is more strongly correlated with the “pragmatic-progressive” view of “Swedishness” ( $r = 0.26$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ) than it is with the “genealogical” view ( $r = 0.16$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ). It is possible that my expectation that this relationship ought to be the reverse is linked – once again – to certain prejudices on my own part.

The next “homeless” statement (i.e. with no clear place in any of the indexes) expresses a general view of human nature: “*It’s part of human nature to be self-centred*”. The responses to this statement are moderately positively correlated with Index 1 ( $r = 0.29$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ), which can no doubt be seen as quite reasonable, are completely uncorrelated with Index 2, which expresses a “positive view of immigration”, and are more weakly positively correlated with Indexes 3 and 4 ( $r = 0.20$  and  $0.14$  respectively;  $p = 0.001$  in both cases). In the 1998 Teacher Survey (Lange & Hedlund 1998)<sup>36</sup> I was able to identify an interesting “syndrome” which was labelled a “pessimistic view of human nature”, which included amongst others this particular statement. In the current study, a number of the other statements that comprised this “syndrome” are missing.

The statement “*Students with national socialist and racist sympathies ought to be allowed to voice their ideas and perceptions about things like the Holocaust*” is not correlated in any notable way with any of the indexes with one exception: the correlation between this statement and the pragmatic-progressive view of Swedishness lies at  $0.23$  ( $p = 0.001$ ), which is quite weak but nonetheless statistically significant. This statement is of interest later on in the report in the context of the discussion of the teachers’ views on teaching about the Holocaust. At this point, however, it can be noted

that agreement with this statement may – at least in some cases – express a strict view of the freedom of expression, which maintains that all opinions have a right to be freely expressed irrespective of what they are. If this were the case, this interpretation would to some extent be in harmony with the “liberal” aspect of the pragmatic-progressive view of “Swedishness” and it may be this that is reflected in the correlation coefficient.

The remaining statement reads as follows “*A person shouldn’t depend on anyone but him or herself*”. In the 1998 Teacher Survey, this constituted one of the other elements in the “pessimistic view of human nature syndrome”. In the current study, there are moderate correlations between this statement and the indexes and also the “homeless” statements discussed above. It is not particularly surprising that the correlation with the perception that it is human nature to be self-centred lies at  $0.22$  ( $p = 0.001$ ). The correlation with Index 1 lies at  $0.26$ , with Index 2,  $0.12$ , with Index 3,  $0.21$  and with Index 4,  $0.17$  ( $p = 0.001$  in all cases). Thus the teachers who do not rely on anyone but themselves tend at the same time also to harbour the views captured by the Indexes, at least to a certain extent. It is thus not entirely surprising that the correlation between the responses to this statement and the view that Sweden should be governed with a firm hand lies at  $0.22$  ( $p = 0.001$ ).

Almost all of these statements (with the exception of V162, see Appendix 1) were also included in the 1998 Teacher Survey. Since there are a total of 22 such statements, presenting all of the relevant comparisons would require much more space than the present context allows<sup>37</sup> and I will therefore be restricting the focus of the presentation to those statements where the differences between 1998 and 2007 are most marked. One of the more interesting findings relates to the statement “*Islam constitutes a threat to the social and cultural advances made in the west*”. Significantly fewer teachers agreed in whole or in part with this statement in 2007 by comparison with the responses recorded in 1998, which some might consider remarkable given

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>37</sup> The interested reader is referred to Appendix 2, where I present comparative tables for all of the statements employed in both surveys, together with estimates of the statistical significance of the differences between the results. In the introduction to Appendix 2, I present the measures that have been taken to make the two samples more comparable. It has not been possible to produce a perfect “matching” of the two data sets, and thus the comparisons must be viewed with certain reservations. Some of the differences are so substantial however that they are likely to be “genuine”.

that the 1998 study was conducted prior to the attack on the World Trade Center. Another clear positive shift is found in relation to the statement “*Some cultures are so different from Swedish culture that people from these cultures can't really adjust to Swedish society*”, where substantially fewer teachers agreed in whole or in part in 2007 by comparison with 1998. Similarly, the proportions who completely or partly agreed with the “ambiguous” statement “*It is natural for children to see and make value judgements about racial differences*” were markedly lower in 2007 than was the case in 1998. The same is true in relation to the rather brutal statement “*Immigrants in Sweden who come from countries outside Europe should return to their countries of origin*”, and also in relation to the perception that “*Given the deviant norms of the Romani culture, it is hardly surprising that the Roma are not accepted in Swedish society*”. Finally, It could be noted that the distrust among teachers of public sector agencies and the mass media in relation to the “consequences of immigration” – “*Public sector agencies and the media often conceal uncomfortable facts about the consequences and costs of immigration for the Swedish people*” – appears to have diminished substantially between 1998 and 2007.

In summary, I can state that the differences between the two surveys indicate that teachers’ attitudes towards “multiculturalism”, immigration etc. have become substantially more positive – in connection with twelve of the fifteen “negatively” formulated statements, larger proportions of respondents express disagreement in 2007 than was the case in 1998, while the proportions of teachers expressing partial or complete agreement have increased in relation to all three of the “positively” formulated statements. Even though an (unknown) proportion of these differences can be ascribed to individuals giving “socially desirable” answers, my own belief is that the remainder indicate a real change in this regard.

### **3.5 Awareness of the Holocaust in an historical age-cohort-period-perspective**

Taking with us the results from the analyses presented in the previous sections, I will now move on to the central theme of the survey, i.e. the teachers’ perceptions of and attitudes towards teaching about the Holocaust.

The teachers who participated in the survey represent a time-span of 47 years – the oldest were born in 1934 and the youngest in 1981. The oldest teachers have lived through the Second World War; the youngest

have read about this war in school, and perhaps had grandparents who were able to describe their wartime memories. The teachers included in the survey were born during different periods of history, which produces a number of complex consequences for the rest of their lives. One of these consequences is that they have gone through the various phases of their lives during different periods of history. Within the fields of sociology and demographics, categories of people who were all born during the same year (or during the same decade) are referred to as *age cohorts*. The problems I have touched on above actually relate to one of the most complicated issues faced by the social sciences, namely the age-cohort-period-problem. In actual fact, this “triad” leads straight to the very heart of the fundamental conditions affecting the study of human development and social change. I will not be attempting here to address this problem in any great detail, but since the Holocaust is largely a question of *living history*, a few reflections in this area are nonetheless warranted.

In the above sections I have used the characteristic “age” as a background variable in the context of various analyses and in describing their results. It is important to be aware that the often quite unproblematic concept of age – which is a self-evident ever-present on the list of independent variables in sociological studies – becomes transformed against the background of the age-cohort-period-problem into one of the most complicated of human characteristics. Viewed in isolation, cohort, period and age are objective, or “public” phenomena, which can be specified without reference to the individual’s subjective conceptions or perceptions. At the simplest level, the individual’s cohort-membership is defined by her year of birth, her age is measured by the number of years she has lived, and her period can be specified as the chronological time between two points on the historical time-scale. If these concepts are regarded together, however – which is unavoidable – the complex interaction between cohort-membership and people’s life trajectories becomes clear. The concept “period”, particularly when it relates to longer passages of time, e.g. decades, is in actual fact extremely complicated. It envelops the totality of all the events, processes etc. that occur at the same time and that can be shown or supposed to be of relevance for people’s psychosocial development and change. The content of a given period is not simply the aggregated results of the actions of all those people living during the period, but rather also comprises a sediment from the past which determines the conditions for and interacts with the present.

The ways in which the content of an historical period impacts upon the development of an age cohort and affects the lives of cohort members are many and our knowledge of them is far from exhaustive. At a general level, there is probably some kind of diffuse socio-cultural “osmosis”, which is channelled and intensified through more targeted and controlled primary and secondary socialisation processes in the individual’s immediate environment. Tracing the more subtle ways in which the various events that characterise a given period – the diffuse “spirit of the age”, socio-cultural changes (which for the most part are of course a result of human activity), economic changes, political events and processes – penetrate into the individual’s micro-environment and thereafter into her inner world, is obviously very difficult. In this perspective, age should be seen as a point on a life trajectory that began at another point in a multi-dimensional space-time of culture and history. Age marks the height on a column of sedimented experiences, which are in turn a consequence of the interaction between the given values of initial conditions and the ways in which the individual manages these through action in a more or less elastic living space of opportunities and restrictions, which are served up by the historical period she happens to have landed in.

Society can be conceived of as a kind of “socio-cultural gestalt” that moves along the chronological axis of history, and that can be likened to a kind of “moving walkway” which individuals step onto at birth and step off when they die. This process can also be likened to a kind of socio-cultural-demographic “metabolism”, with the average life-expectancy for each cohort determining how long they have before all the individuals have been substituted by others over the course of a certain period. The transmission of culture via the process of socialisation ensures continuity. The relevant content of each historical period – however this is defined – must naturally have a different effect on the different cohorts, depending on the phase of their life trajectories which it “impacts upon” or “irradiates” and on the nature of the experiential sediment that the individuals in each cohort have acquired during the earlier parts of their life trajectories.

This is in turn dependent on the initial conditions and subsequent initial life circumstances, which are linked to the individuals’ location in the given social stratification structure, but also to their micro-social conditions – these, as we know, are not perfectly correlated. Furthermore, the different generations in every society constitute a significant part of the content of

a given historical period *for each other*, since not even the most substantial generation gaps can completely neutralise the social, cultural and psychological effects that the cohorts are subjected to by one another. One interesting observation that can be made in this context is that what must be *achieved* by one generation in a certain society – and which is therefore regarded by many of the members of this generation as a highly “action-conveyed”<sup>38</sup> circumstance in life – may be regarded as quite self-evident and taken for granted by the next generation.

One way of identifying the relevant content in an historical period and charting the way it is conveyed to individual life-trajectories is by distinguishing what might be termed *life-events*. One useful distinction in this context is that between *individual* and *cultural* events. Individual events are those that occur as “natural” elements in the normal life-course (in a given society, during a given period). Examples include sexual maturation, marriage, military service and the like. Other examples of individual life events include traumatic episodes of various kinds in the individual’s immediate environment – deaths in the family, accidents, serious illness etc.

Cultural events (in connection with which the term “cultural” is employed in a very broad sense) on the other hand are events that cannot be regarded as natural elements in the normal life course (in a given culture and during a given historical period) and which *simultaneously* happen to large groups of people: wars, economic depressions, natural disasters etc. These events play an important role in determining the historical socio-cultural context for every age cohort. Besides impacting on those cohorts that are present at the time these events actually occur, and which are therefore affected more or less directly, the events continue to exert an indirect influence by constituting essential, but temporally distant factors that continue to affect future social and cultural change. Certain more radical cultural events can affect the size and composition of the cohorts by changing mortality and fertility, through migration or through changes in the sex ratio. These

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<sup>38</sup> The term “action-conveyed” is one of my own – very rare – contributions to the social scientific terminology (see Lange 1992). The degree of action-conveyance may be defined as the extent to which the circumstances of an individual’s life – both current and biographical – are and/or are perceived to be consequences of her own goal-oriented choices and actions. The opposite to a high degree of action-conveyance is found in a scenario where the circumstances of an individual’s life are completely or almost completely determined by factors over which she has not had any influence whatsoever.

changes may in turn produce knock-on effects, primarily in relation to the character of family structure. In addition, family size, the age of spouses at marriage, the interval between births, the stability of family ties and so on can change more or less selectively for different categories within the cohorts, with psychosocial consequences being produced as a result.

The impact of the historical period on different cohorts and categories is not uniform. We might rather refer to what occurs as “selective exposure” and “selective susceptibility”. Different categories of people (and to some extent different individuals) within a given cohort may thus both be exposed to various events during the period to a different extent and may for various (individual and/or collective) reasons be susceptible to the consequences of these events to a varying degree. To take one example, a cultural event such as an economic depression does not have the same effect on all of the age cohorts present at the time in a given society; nor are its effects uniform across different sub-categories within these cohorts. The effects depend primarily on the stage the individual is at in his or her life course at the time, the individual’s location in the socio-economic structure, and what her immediate environment looks like – first and foremost the structure and integrity of the family.

The cohort concept can be linked to other circumstances than the year or decade of birth. In the field of life-course research, the concept “event cohort” is also employed, and refers to a category of people who have simultaneously experienced and/or suffered a *radical* historical event. This last factor – that the event must be of a radical nature – is very central to the concept and means that the event must have had a major and lasting effect on the category of people in question. In certain cases, the definition of meaningful event cohorts is fairly self-evident, in others it may be associated with considerable difficulties. Examples of self-evident event cohorts are “Auschwitz survivors”, “survivors of the Hiroshima bomb”<sup>39</sup>, “those who experienced the great depression in the USA” etc. It is more difficult to determine whether the Swedish teachers in the current study who were born prior to the Second World War and who experienced it (at a distance) as children, might constitute a meaningful event cohort. It is similarly difficult to determine the

extent to which the Swedish students who participated in the student revolt of 1968, for example, might be viewed as an event cohort. In many ways this constitutes what we often refer to as an “empirical question”, i.e. we must study these people in some way in order to be able to determine whether the common experience has had a similar, penetrating and lasting effect. In the current study, I have no information on individual life events in the teachers’ lives. On the other hand it is possible to sketch the consequences of cultural events that have occurred during periods that are relevant to the current study. This requires that age categories first be translated into birth periods, which has been done in Table 19 below.

In order to illustrate the way in which the above discussion of one of the most complex problems in the social sciences may be used in the current study, I must anticipate the coming presentation of the results relating to teaching about the Holocaust. The questionnaire included a number of items whose objective was to ascertain the teachers’ knowledge about different aspects of the Holocaust (see V97 – V107 in Appendix 1). I will be presenting these questions a little later, but for the moment it is sufficient to inform the reader that a summary measure – a “knowledge index” – was created on the basis of these items. Scores on the index vary between 1 and 5, and the mean for all the respondents<sup>40</sup> is 2.06. The mean for the category of respondents included in the table – teachers of history<sup>41</sup> – is 3.23.

Differences between different pairs of values are statistically significant.<sup>42</sup> We can see that the youngest cohort, born between 1973 and 1981, has the poorest knowledge, while those born between 1947 and 1952 know most. Those born between 1963 and 1972 also

39 Japanese has a special word – hibakusha – for these people, who developed a distinctive identity, rooted amongst other things in the physical injuries caused by the radiation from the atomic bomb.

40 Quite a large number of teachers chose not to answer a number of the knowledge questions, which means that the level of internal non-response is quite high. As I have noted earlier, values can be “imputed” in such situations by estimating means on the basis of different combinations of age group and sex, for example. In this case I chose to refrain from conducting such a procedure, primarily because the variance in the index-scores is limited. The means for the history teachers who have answered the knowledge questions are therefore (using weighted data) based on 3,815 individuals instead of the 5,705 contained in the sampling frame.

41 See the text that follows Table 9 for an explanation of the division of teaching subjects.

42 When weighted data are employed, the number of individuals – even in the many of the sub-categories – becomes so large that even quite small differences become statistically significant. The difference between 2.6 and 4.7 on a five-point scale must however be regarded as substantial, particularly given that scores at the top of the knowledge index are a little “thin on the ground”. This can be contrasted with the differences on mean scores between age groups within the material as a whole, where the greatest difference is of size 0.25.

**TABLE 19.** Relationship between age groups, birth periods, “period effects” (in the current instance reduced to teacher training) and mean scores on a summary measure of knowledge about the Holocaust. Mean scores relate to teachers of history (irrespective of school stage) and are based on weighted data. **The two highest mean scores are marked in bold lettering.**

Age category	Born during period	Undergone teacher training during the years (approximate periods)	Mean score* on index of knowledge about the Holocaust
26 – 34	1973 - 1981	End of 1990s – beginning of 2000s	2.6
35 – 44	1963 – 1972	1980s – 1990s	<b>3.3</b>
45 – 54	1953 - 1962	1970s – 1980s	3.0
55 – 60	1947 – 1952	End of 1960s – 1970s	<b>3.9</b>
61 - 73	1934 - 1946	1950s – 1960s	3.2
All teachers			2.1

\* The means are corrected (with the help of MCA) for the effects of sex, region of residence, school stage and number of years teaching. In this way, differences between means – hopefully – reflect relatively “pure” effects of age, cohort and period. It may be interesting to note that age was the variable that had the strongest effect on the variance in values on the knowledge index in the MCA-analysis (beta = 0.27; the relationship is non-linear).

have quite a high mean score on the knowledge index. The fact that the oldest category of teachers has a lower level of knowledge than two younger age groups may at first appear somewhat surprising – some of the members of this cohort have as we know experience of the war as children, others were born shortly after the end of the war. We might perhaps expect this chronological proximity to the war, which must reasonably have been reflected in the media and in literature, to create better conditions for cementing knowledge about – amongst other things – the Holocaust. On the other hand, there was a great deal of fatigue among people in general after the war, and an enormous need to “move on”. In Sweden, there was a gradual move towards constructing an image of a “good Sweden”, a country free of the attitudes and values that resulted in the war and the Holocaust. In Sweden, the Holocaust almost became a “non-issue”, something that happened a long way away and that didn’t seriously affect us. The greatest interest was instead focused on the history of the war itself and on the resistance movements in the various countries involved.<sup>43</sup>

In order to further filter the relevant group of teachers, Table 20 shows the corresponding values for history teachers working in upper secondary schools.

We can see that the pattern of differences between the age groups differs from that found among history teachers in general in Table 19. The youngest

cohort has one of the two lowest mean scores and the second oldest cohort (aged 55 – 60 years) has by far the highest mean score. In this case, one might be bold enough to say that the difference in the level of knowledge between the second oldest and the oldest cohort is dramatic. The control included for the effect of teaching experience (number of years teaching) is important in this context. The level of knowledge in relation to the Holocaust increases sharply between those teachers who have worked for at most nine years, and those who have been teaching for ten or more years even when other background factors are held constant. The youngest age cohort – and also to some extent the 35–44 year olds – are “disadvantaged” in this respect since it is impossible for them to acquire the increase in knowledge that is produced by many years of teaching experience. I will be discussing this factor in more detail later on in the text.

It would probably be possible to write an entire book about the “cultural events” that have occurred during the first 20-25 years of the lives of the respective cohorts and on the hypothetical traces that these events may have left on the cohort members. At the same time it is unclear to what extent the things (i.e. cultural events) that happen *subsequent* to the individuals reaching adulthood can leave lasting traces in the psyche of the cohort members. In the current context, however, I will have to content myself with a brief sketch of (some of) the cultural events that have

<sup>43</sup> I would like to thank Heléne Lööw for her – as usual – insightful comments, which I have used in writing this paragraph.

**TABLE 20.** Relationship between age groups, birth periods, “period effects” (in the current instance reduced to teacher training) and mean scores on a summary measure of knowledge about the Holocaust. Mean scores are based on weighted data and relate to teachers of history working in upper secondary schools and who have answered that they teach or have taught about the Holocaust. **The three highest mean scores are marked in bold lettering.**

Age category	Born during period	Undergone teacher training during the years (approximate periods)	Mean score* on index of knowledge about the Holocaust
26 – 34	1973 – 1981	End of 1990s – beginning of 2000s	2.8
35 – 44	1963 – 1972	1980s – 1990s	<b>3.2</b>
45 – 54	1953 – 1962	1970s – 1980s	<b>3.2</b>
55 – 60	1947 – 1952	End of 1960s – 1970s	<b>4.7</b>
61 – 73	1934 – 1946	1950s – 1960s	2.6
All teachers			2.1

\* MCA-correction employed for the effects of sex, region of residence and number of years teaching. Within this group, the effect of age on the variance in scores on the knowledge index is even stronger than in Table 19 (beta = 0.48; the relationship is non-linear).

occurred in relation to the Holocaust.<sup>44</sup>

The division into periods is a little shaky – they “overlap” somewhat – because each period begins when the oldest individuals in the cohort turned 20 years of age, and ends when the youngest turned 25. Since the presentation necessarily only provides a rough outline of events, this factor is not of any major significance. The restriction of the periods described to the time interval during which the cohort members were aged between 20 and 25, is due to the major difficulties that would be associated with attempting to identify historical events that might have affected the individuals prior to their entering their twenties. It is more or less certain that some of the conditions that a person faces as a child and teenager leave lasting traces on her psyche, but in the current context, such attempts would lead me too far from the principal theme of the study. It is very likely that the majority of our respondents went through their teacher training between the ages of 20 and 25. It is similarly likely that the cultural events that occurred during the cohort members’ teacher training – as well as the structure and content of this training – will have affected their propensity to acquire and consolidate knowledge about the Holocaust.

*The period 1954 – 1970 (The oldest age cohort were between 20 and 25 years of age)<sup>45</sup>*

In December 1959 a synagogue is vandalised in Köln. This represented the beginning of a wave of anti-Semitic graffiti, vandalism of Jewish cemeteries etc. that spread across more or less the whole of Europe. People started talking about a “Swastika epidemic” – swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti also spread across the USA, Latin America, Australia and Africa. As this wave began to ebb out in February/March of 1960, almost 2,500 anti-Semitic incidents had been reported from over 400 places across the globe. In Sweden, these events led to an extensive debate, in the aftermath of which the first school survey on this theme was conducted as well as the first state-organised public information campaign about the Holocaust. Anti-Semitic attacks also took place in Sweden – in Stockholm, for example, a Jewish family had its staircase daubed with texts such as “Jews out”. Anti-Semitic incidents were also reported from dozens of other places around the country. The attention in the media led however to the mobilisation of popular movements and schools across a broad front to attempt to answer the increasing agitation by means of public information campaigns and education. In Stockholm youth clubs, for example, the filmstrip “Lest we forget” was shown.

<sup>44</sup> According to the terminology described above, the Holocaust itself may also be regarded as a “cultural event”. Using this label feels a little uncomfortable for some reason, but the concept and the term are established in life course research and the definition I have presented shows that the term is not intended to detract from the dignity of the events so described.

<sup>45</sup> I would like to extend my thanks to Heléne Lööv, Christer Mattsson and Henrik Bachner, who supplied me with a goldmine of material for use in this sketch of the relevant “corridor of history”. Without their help I would not have been able to write this section of the report.

A review of Swedish newspapers (Aftonbladet, Göteborgs-Posten, Dagens Nyheter and Ny Wermlands-Tidningen) during the first years of the 1960s shows that neither the Holocaust nor the Second World War received any great attention other than in the form of sporadic and unconnected articles and letters to the editor.

There was a dramatic exception to this rule in connection with the capture, trial and execution of Adolf Eichmann, and all the diplomatic activity connected with these events. The Nazi war criminal was arrested in Argentina in 1960 and his trial started in Jerusalem in 1961. The trial received a great deal of attention in the Swedish media and led to one of the first major expositions of the genocide. These events were front page news for several days on four different occasions and in the interim, articles were published on the subject repeatedly.

Besides articles on Eichmann as an individual, a large number of articles were published on Nazism, leading Nazis and the Holocaust. The genocide of the Jews was the focus of special attention, without it being referred to as the Holocaust – it was consistently referred to as a genocide. The coverage made it clear that anti-Semitism constituted one of the primary motivating forces of Nazism.

This mass media focus continued for a long period of time – between May 1960 and July 1962 – which in combination with its broad impact and comprehensive coverage ought to have affected Swedes' interest in knowledge on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. Aftonbladet, for example, published a series of articles during the entire month of April 1961, in which the paper presented the personalities behind Eichmann and the extermination of the Jews.

At the same time as the trial was taking place in Jerusalem, the media focused attention on the Nordiska Rikspartiet in Sweden directly in connection with the reports and articles on Eichmann. The journalists' ambition was apparently to show that Nazism still existed. A number of articles were also published on Nazi movements around the world. It may be interesting to note that all this media coverage occurred in competition with the launch of the Soviet cosmonaut Gagarin.

In 1963-65 the Auschwitz-trials were held in Frankfurt am Main, which also contributed to the currency of the Holocaust in the public consciousness. The Six Day War in the middle east in 1967, which received a major amount of attention in the Swedish media, and which was perceived by many to constitute a threat to

the existence of the Jewish state of Israel, once again brought the fate of the Jews during the second world war to the fore.

#### *Teacher training*<sup>46</sup>

In the 1933 grammar school statute, teaching subjects were distinguished from practical subjects. Within the elementary schools all subjects were for a long time referred to as teaching subjects and were divided up into reading subjects and practical subjects. It was not until the elementary school statute of 1958 that school subjects were divided into three groups: teaching subjects, practical subjects and vocational subjects. In the compulsory school reform (Lgr 62) school subjects were divided up into obligatory and optional subjects and subsequent to this the compulsory school system no longer used the label teaching subjects other than to characterise certain types of teacher in connection with the new school statute of 1962. New designations for groups of subjects became established, such as orientation subjects and practical-esthetical subjects. In everyday language the term theoretical subjects is often used for what had previously been referred to as teaching subjects.

Subject teacher positions in the teaching subjects had long existed within higher secondary grammar schools, secondary schools, girls' schools and other schools referred to as "higher schools". These gave the qualification required to teach at both the upper secondary schools and at junior secondary school. In combination with the comprehensive schools trial from the mid 1950s, and then from 1962, such subject teacher posts were also introduced into the new high schools (13-16 year olds). These posts were generally based on the equivalent of a master's degree or a bachelor's degree in groups of subjects that were determined according to the school's needs, and that usually comprised two subjects. In addition there was a probationary year, or a course in practical teaching lasting a year or a term at a probationary secondary grammar school. In connection with the development of the trial with comprehensive schools, and the later introduction of a nine-year compulsory education,

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46 I have not been able to find a description focused specifically on changes in the training of history teachers during all of the periods sketched below. On the other hand, I did find Göte Rudvall's excellent "Teacher training and teaching posts during the post-war period" ("Läroarbildningar och lärartjänster under efterkrigstiden") (Malmö högskola, läroarbildningen, rapport om utbildning [Malmö University, teacher training, report on training] 2/2001), from which I, with the author's permission, cite in all sections under the heading "Teacher training".



there arose a major shortfall of traditionally trained subject teachers for high schools. This led to the need for subject teachers being met in a variety of ways through the use of elementary school teachers who had undergone additional education. This took place in a number of different ways. In part special paths were created for the acquisition of the subject teacher qualification, and at the same time a new type of subject teacher post was created which required a lower level of qualifications than those otherwise required for the post of subject teacher.

The first modern teacher training college was established in Stockholm in 1956. The teacher training college in Malmö was established in 1960 and was quickly followed by colleges in Gothenburg (1962) and Uppsala and Umeå (1964). The old teacher training seminaries for elementary school teachers continued their work in a somewhat reformed fashion until 1967, when Parliament ruled on the introduction of a completely new teacher training organisation. In 1960 a special inquiry known as the LUS had been established to examine the issue of teacher training, and this presented a proposal for reform in 1965. The Inquiry's view was that – following the introduction of the nine-year compulsory education system – the sharp distinction that had existed between the teacher training seminaries for the old elementary school teachers, and the university education for teachers in the secondary and grammar schools should be replaced by a more unitary form of teacher training. The old dichotomy largely remained, however, in the emerging modern teacher training colleges.

#### *The period 1967 – 1977 (The 55 – 60 year olds were aged between 20 and 25 years)*

This period “overlaps” the previous one to some extent, which is in fact true of all the periods described in this section.

The end of the 1960s and a large part of the 1970s were dominated by other matters than the Second World War and the Holocaust. The Vietnam War, the left-wing activism that began in 1968, the “green wave” that formed the beginning of a budding environmentalist movement, the Cold War, the arms race and the threat of nuclear weapons all constituted the focus of attention during this period. The powerful ideological left-wing movement that swept through the western world during the late 1960s and during the first few years of the 1970s ought reasonably, however, to have affected levels of interest in Nazism and the Holocaust. In Germany, for example, direct links

could be noted between the '68-movement and the awakening of an interest in the country's Nazi past and thereby also in the issues of collective and individual responsibility. No such discussion was carried on in Sweden during this period, but it is very likely that the left-wing movement brought with it a strong and manifest depreciation of Nazism and racism, although the manifestations against racism first and foremost focused on contemporary racism.

The oil crisis, which was preceded by the 1973 Yom Kippur War<sup>47</sup> between on the one hand Egypt and Syria and on the other Israel, involved a dramatic increase in the price of oil, producing major economic consequences across the globe. The oil producing OPEC-countries refused to export oil to countries who assisted Israel during the war, first and foremost the USA and the Netherlands. The Netherlands were said to function as a form of assembly point for Soviet Jews on their way to emigrate to Israel, and the authorities there also permitted the recruitment of volunteers to Israel. In this way the “Jewish question” once again became current, albeit from a slightly different angle.

#### *Teacher training*

The teacher training reform that was initiated in 1968 led to an organisation which included what were termed Trial and Demonstration schools (*FoD-skolor*) within the municipalities, which replaced the former central government run training schools that had existed for the teaching practice of teacher trainees in connection with the seminaries. The objective of this change was to make teacher training more responsive to the work that was at the time being conducted out in the school system to modernise teaching methods in various ways. Amongst other things special ITV-institutions (Internal television) were created where different teaching situations were recorded and could be shown on video in the course of teacher training. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, there was an over-confidence in the effectiveness of technology based solutions to teaching problems, which also involved the use of programmed teaching and the use of special language laboratories for the teaching of languages.

Another element in the reform of the teacher training system involved a desire to combine teaching in a practical subject with a theoretical subject. A special inquiry was established to investigate how this might

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<sup>47</sup> The war was started by Egypt and Syria on the 6th October 1973, which is the date of the Jewish “Yom Kippur” holiday.

be arranged. The endeavour met with opposition from a large number of sources, however, and despite a quite extensive trial project, it was not until much later, when a new reform of teaching in compulsory education was completed in 1988, that subject combinations of this kind became common. The teacher training reform of 1968 was largely already out of date as soon as it was implemented. In 1969 a new national curriculum for compulsory education was introduced and in 1970 a new curriculum for an integrated upper secondary school, containing approximately 20 educational programmes instead of the three different school forms that had previously been found in further education – upper secondary schools, vocational training schools and occupational schools.

At the end of the 1960s, Swedish university studies were re-organised in a way that made it easier to create courses that were directly adapted to the needs of the school system. The system of grading once per term, that had been the most common up to that point, was replaced by courses based on a course credit system, where one course credit represented a week of study (with twenty course credits representing a full term of studies). This system made it possible to combine a number of shorter courses whose contents better corresponded to the needs of the school subjects than had previously been the case. In order to produce a situation where subject teachers in high schools were given a broader competence so that the students would not need too many different teachers, it was determined that teachers would have to have at least three different subjects, instead of just two, in order to teach at high school. Two subjects remained sufficient for teachers at the upper secondary level.

A series of organisational measures proposed by the LUS to improve contacts between the subject departments for the various school subjects at the universities on the one hand and the teacher training colleges on the other were felt to be too cumbersome however and they met with opposition from the universities and were therefore not implemented. The distinction between the subject teaching at the universities and the practical teacher-training of the teacher training colleges remained quite sharp. At the central level, however, there was a strong desire to make the subject studies of the universities more relevant to the school system.

The new teacher training organisation involved six large teacher training colleges providing both class teacher and subject teacher training. In addition to those already mentioned, a new teacher training

college opened in Linköping. In addition there were approximately 15 smaller teacher training colleges focused exclusively on the training of class teachers. These were some of the former seminaries, which in this way were able to live on in a new guise.

*The period 1973 – 1987 (The 45 – 54 year olds were aged between 20 and 25)*

In 1979 the TV-series “The Holocaust” premiered and attracted a great deal of attention throughout the world, including in Sweden. The series was also broadcast in Sweden during the same year, under the Swedish title “Förintelsen”. The series attracted a large number of viewers and was discussed in the media. Following its huge popularity with the public, the title of the TV series became the established concept for Nazi Germany’s genocide of the Jews. Previously concepts such as “the extermination of the Jews” and “the mass murder of the Jews” had both been used as synonymous and parallel concepts. One of the reasons behind the success of the TV series was that it succeeded in combining the larger historical picture with the fates of individual people during the Holocaust, which significantly increased the likelihood that viewers would themselves identify with the main characters. The series follows the fates of the individuals involved over a long period of time and the combination of realistic individual portraits and the length of the series (eight episodes shown over the course of as many weeks) gave rise to both spontaneous conversation and various forms of debate. These debates focused not only on the Holocaust but also on contemporary Swedish anti-Semitism. Attention was focused on Swedish organisations and activists, amongst others on Felderer, a Swede who denied the Holocaust and whose organisation Bible Researcher spread material denying the Holocaust in schools. The organisation intensified its activities in connection with the broadcasting of the TV series and much was written about the organisation’s fliers and brochures.

Besides the historical revisionist and anti-Semitic fliers, there were reports that people who had appeared publicly to talk about their experiences of the concentration camps had been subjected to murder threats and had been terrorised by telephone. The anti-Semitic propaganda in the country’s schools led the Swedish National Board of Education to send a letter to all boards of school governors in Sweden urging them to focus their attention on and work to combat this propaganda.

The racist organisation BSS (Keep Sweden Swedish) was founded at the beginning of the 1980s. It had been active from 1979, however, in the form of a network that spread its xenophobic views via fliers, first and foremost in Stockholm. The first appearance of the BSS took place on a street in Södertälje in February 1980 and ended in public order disturbances and fighting. The emergence of the BSS gave rise to what might be referred to as a moral panic both in the mass media and among public debaters, leading figures in public sector agencies and politicians. The BSS received massive condemnation, and the “hunt for racists” escalated. This culminated in leading BSS activists being fired from their jobs. On the one hand this involved the creation of the first extreme nationalist martyrs, while at the same time the perception was established that criticism of immigrants could not be expressed without risk.

The BSS came to serve as a model for a new form of extreme nationalism. For the most part the members had been active Nazis, but now chose to tone down their Nazism and instead turn their propaganda against immigrants. This served to attract a new group of activists and sympathisers and to generate much more attention in the media than had been the case during the previous decades. The activities of the BSS became the starting point for a long series of notable racist campaigns during the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. During the 1980s a new form of Nazi movement formed that would take over the function of the old Nazi parties as the hub of Swedish Nazism. The neo-Nazi movement was based much more than previously on music and collective partying. Collectively it came to be referred to as the White Power Movement and initially the movement grew side by side with the activists from the BSS. They attracted the most attention in association with their demonstrations, particularly on November 30th when they celebrated the anniversary of the death of the Swedish King Charles XII. Towards the end of the 1980s, these demonstrations were met by counter-demonstrations, which often developed into hand-to-hand fighting, and which attracted enormous attention in the media. The movement also became known for threatening and harassing well-known individuals and for the highly publicised murder of a gay man in Gothenburg.

As a result of the growing organised racism of the 1980s, several national and local campaigns were initiated by public sector agencies, political parties, voluntary organisations and private individuals. The Swedish Immigration Board established a unit with

the task of producing arguments to counteract racist groups. In 1988 a commission against racism was formed by the then chairman of the metalworkers union Leif Blomberg. The same year SOS-racism was established in France, which was followed by the establishment of several sections in Sweden.

The years 1978-1981 witnessed the so-called Faurisson-affair in France. Robert Faurisson’s historical revisionism, and subsequently also his trial and conviction, focused a great deal of attention on the denial of the Holocaust and thus also on the Holocaust itself. Whilst there have been denials of the Holocaust ever since the Second World War, the denial of the Holocaust was now thrown into the spotlight in a much more intensive fashion. The affair also attracted the attention of the Swedish media and led to debate, not least as a result of the support for Faurisson provided by Jan Myrdal.

#### *Teacher training*

In 1977, the majority of the proposals to reform the higher education system put forward by the major public inquiry into the universities, known as U 68, were realised. One central idea behind the new organisation was that the best opportunities to develop contacts with the different professions, school forms and societal institutions that the universities educated people for existed at the local level. For this reason, one of the essential aspects of the new system involved establishing study programme boards with public representatives, e.g. teachers and school managers. These programme boards would ensure that plans would be formulated locally and that these would be well-adapted to local conditions. These plans were developed on the basis of generally formulated course-plans that were centrally stipulated by the National Board of Universities and Colleges. For the subject teacher programmes, the contact between theoretical studies in the relevant subject at the universities and practical teacher training was first and foremost provided for by study programme boards, on which all interested parties were represented. This became the substitute for the forms of collaboration with the universities that had been proposed by the LUS and which were described above. This local freedom produced a situation where conditions developed very differently at different universities and other institutes of higher education. In some places, there were no great changes in relation to the situation that already existed. In others a greater level of differentiation emerged between the teaching that took place in

the higher education departments focused on teaching the various academic subjects and those which taught teaching methods and practice.

There were also cases however where the level of collaboration between the departments teaching the academic subjects and the teacher training departments developed and became more intense, so that an increasing focus was directed at didactic factors both in the context of developmental work and in the research conducted at these institutions.

Just a few years after the 1968 teacher training reform, a new teacher training inquiry was established, LUT 74. It would however take approximately ten years to introduce extensive changes in the teacher training system on the basis of this inquiry's findings, and the path to the introduction of these changes was filled with obstacles and difficulties. The proposals presented by LUT 74 in its 1978 report received a great deal of criticism. The principal objective in relation to the training of teachers in compulsory education focused on breaking down the existing distinction between the training undergone by class teachers and subject teachers respectively. The proposal meant that the training of teachers in compulsory education would comprise a total of 140 course credits (3.5 years), and would include a base-year comprising 40 course credits in the subjects Communication, Swedish and Maths. Completing this part of teacher training would qualify the teachers to follow students throughout their time in compulsory education in the subjects of Swedish and Maths. In addition to this base year there would be a number of specialisations focused in part on different groups of subjects and in part on the teaching of younger or older pupils respectively. According to the proposal, the actual specialisation would only comprise 60 course credits. The practical-teaching part of the training would, in addition to the base year, comprise a further 40 course credits. It would also be possible for teachers, after between two and eight years of teaching work, to undergo a supplementary training programme comprising 20 course credits.

The training of teachers for work in upper secondary schools was not to change so much. For teachers of the teaching subjects a training programme comprising 180 course credits was proposed, of which 40 course credits would be in practical teaching method. In addition, a large number of study programmes were proposed, of varying length, for teachers in the practical and esthetic subjects, as well as programmes combining a subject of this kind along with a teaching subject. These training programmes would also include 40 course credits in

practical teaching method. The criticism focused on the proposal put forward by the LUT was particularly strong in relation to the training of teachers in the compulsory education system. Many, and particularly representatives of the universities, objected to the idea of "standard teachers", who would in part be able to follow pupils throughout their time in compulsory education. In part as a reaction to these proposals to change the training of teachers in compulsory education, the so called "knowledge movement" developed with the emergence of the society *Knowledge in schools*, who made an appeal against what they saw as the anti-intellectualism and hostility towards knowledge that had characterised the school reform process ever since the 1950s. Thus the campaign against the reforms proposed by the LUT became rather bitter. During this period there were also shifts in the government, which meant that experts working at the Swedish ministries reworked the proposals, in the end quite dramatically, in a number of different phases. The presentation to parliament of a Government Bill on this question was postponed several times, with the economic crisis experienced in Sweden around the year 1980 also playing a part in the delays.

#### *The period 1983 – 1997 (The 35 – 44 year olds were aged between 20 and 25 years)*

During the 1990s the Nazi movement and the White Power movement became divorced from the Sweden Democrats producing a new division into Nazis and extreme nationalists. The violent demonstrations declined towards the end of the 1990s, but not before reaching a violent climax during the first half of the decade.

The 1990s witnessed a number of high-profile murders carried out by Nazis, along with break-ins in military mobilisation supply depots and bank robberies. It would have been clear to anyone who followed the media coverage that there were Nazis who would stop at nothing to achieve their political objectives. Murder, breaking and entering, vandalism, robbery and rioting became increasingly strongly linked to the names of the various Nazi groups, and particularly VAM (White Aryan Opposition). There were no long periods without media coverage of serious crimes committed by these groups and there was an intensive debate focused on this issue. These activities lead amongst other things to several more punitive legislative changes whose objective was to make it more difficult to offend or violate individuals on the basis of racist motives.

During this period it became much more common for Holocaust survivors to visit schools and teacher training programmes in order to talk about their experiences. One of the reasons for this – according to the Holocaust survivors themselves – was a concern about the increasingly visible Nazism. A further reason was that the majority of those who now visited schools had themselves retired at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s which meant that they had better opportunities to visit schools during the daytime.

In 1993 the film *Schindler's list* premiered and subsequently had an enormous impact. Throughout the 1990s, the film was used in teaching at high schools and onwards, often in combination with visits from Holocaust survivors. From the mid-1990s, it became increasingly common for Swedish students to visit the museum at Auschwitz – with the number of Swedish visitors growing from just under 1000 at the beginning of the 1990s to six times this figure towards the end of the decade.

The end of the 1980s and the 1990s witnessed a series of important events. In 1989-1990 the “Cold War” came to an end and the former Soviet Union was broken apart. The archives were opened in Russia and other countries, which had a marked effect on levels of interest in the Holocaust. From the start of the 1990s both research into and the debate about the Holocaust became markedly more intense.

In 1987 a local radio station started transmitting in Sweden under the name “Radio Islam”. The station spread seriously anti-Semitic propaganda and also broadcast features denying the Holocaust. In 1989, the broadcaster responsible for the station was charged with the penal code offence of agitation against a national or ethnic group and was sentenced to six months imprisonment. These events led to public debate around the issues of anti-Semitism, the denial of the Holocaust and – by extension – the Holocaust itself.

Between 1988 and 1992 there was a wave of attacks against refugee reception centres. In 1991-1992 the individual referred to in the media as the “Laser Man” committed a series of serious violent crimes against eleven individuals characterised by dark hair and/or dark skin (a number died, more were seriously injured<sup>48</sup>). These events focused attention on violent acts with racist and Nazi motives, which were then discussed in the public debate.

In 1992 the revisionist historian Robert Faurisson visited Sweden at the invitation of Ahmed Rami. Holocaust survivors protested and the event was the subject of a great deal of media coverage, which led to more intense attention being focused on both the denial of the Holocaust and the Holocaust itself.

#### *Teacher training*

The parliamentary resolution passed in 1985 showed that a great deal of consideration had been paid to the public criticism. The teacher training programme for teachers in the compulsory school system that was described in the resolution contained a great deal more subject-focused studies and less focus on practical teaching methods than had been described in the LTU's proposal. And the length of subject-teacher training at the upper secondary school level and in adult education was increased in several subjects. Training in Swedish, English, German and French came to comprise 80 course credits in each subject, which meant an increase of 20 course credits for Swedish and of 40 for the other languages.

The resolution on a new teacher training programme was adopted by the Swedish Parliament in two stages in 1985 and 1987. Its implementation started from the academic year 1988/89. Teacher training for compulsory education was divided into teaching for two overlapping pupil groups, on the one hand the younger year groups 1-7 and on the other the older year groups 4-9.

Training for teachers focused on the younger pupils, in years 1-7, comprised 140 course credits. The programme included two alternatives for specialisation, the one in Swedish and with a social studies orientation (SO), the other in maths and with a natural science orientation (Ma/No). In addition, there were variants focused on Swedish as a second language and home languages, combined with SO or Ma/No.

Training for teachers focused on the older pupils in years 4-9 comprised 140-180 course credits. This training programme included five different specialisations:

- Swedish and foreign languages (as well as variants with English, Swedish as a second language and home languages)
- Social science oriented subjects
- Natural science oriented subjects
- Natural science oriented subjects with maths
- A practical-esthetic subject in combination with another subject.

<sup>48</sup> I have the privilege of knowing one of these individuals having worked with him as a colleague at my department for many years. It felt almost unreal having a person in my immediate environment who had been subjected to such a completely absurd hate crime.

The majority of these combinations comprised 160 course credits including courses in practical teaching methods, which represents 20 more course credits than had been proposed by the LUT. On the other hand, the LUT proposal on supplementary training, once teachers had been working in schools for a while, disappeared. The combination with practical-esthetic subjects varied between 140 and 180 course credits, depending on which subjects were involved. The central elements of this organisation of the teacher training programme then remained largely unchanged until 2001, although a range of variations developed over this period at the country's different teacher training colleges.

There is thus an overlap in the teacher training programmes with regard to years 4-6, i.e. the former middle-school years. There is no longer a focus on distinct school stages. In this respect the teacher training reform anticipated the new national curriculum for compulsory school which came at the beginning of the 1990s. In this document the division between primary, middle and high school disappeared. Instead there were two "phases" with a check of the pupil's level of knowledge at the end of year five. Thus unusually, a teacher training reform was a step ahead of a reform of the school system. At the same time, however, it had taken 25 years from the implementation of the compulsory education system before a teacher training programme was introduced based on its requirements. The reform meant that the sharp divide between class teachers and subject teachers finally disappeared. Several teachers would share the work during the early school years, and in the later year groups there would no longer be the same level of division across different teachers as had been the case in the old high school. One factor which introduced a balance across the different categories of teachers was that the admission criteria for both types of teacher training had become the same, so that admission to teacher training for the compulsory school system required three years of upper secondary education. Thus the earlier system, which had only required a two year upper secondary programme for class teachers, disappeared. This occurred very close to the time when all upper secondary programmes became three-year programmes.

Continued reform of the teacher training system occurred through a decision by the centre-right government in 1992 in connection with a comprehensive deregulation of the higher education system. The previous programme system was abolished and replaced with regulations on degrees. At the first degree level

this involved the introduction of a system of courses which could be combined to form degree programmes. In the area of teacher training, therefore, the difference in relation to the programme system was not so great in many areas, although the freedom with which various universities and other institutes of higher education were able to organise their teacher training programmes in line with their own ideas increased dramatically. In 1993 a special Degree Ordinance was introduced stating the targets that should be achieved for a certain type of degree. Upon completion of a programme, a special degree certificate is awarded. The Degree Ordinance also states which institutes of higher education have the right to examine students and to award degree certificates. One new factor in relation to teacher training was that the degree for teachers of years 4-9 in compulsory education gave individuals an alternative route to become teachers if they had already completed a sufficient number of subject-specific course credits, obtained through self-contained higher education courses for example. It would be sufficient for such individuals to undergo a programme of practical teaching methods comprising 40 course credits. In this connection it also became possible to become a teacher in only a single subject at the upper secondary level, without this having to be a practical-esthetic subject as was previously the case.

#### *The period 1993 – 2006 (The 26 – 34 year olds were aged between 20 and 25 years)*

This period was rich in relevant events. The Balkan War of 1991-1995, which generated mass murders in amongst other places Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, once again raised the question of the causes of mass murder and genocide. In 1991 a well-known Swedish journalist and debater, Maria-Pia Boëthius, published a book entitled "Honour and conscience. Sweden and the Second World War" and started a debate on Sweden and the Holocaust. In 1995 the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War was celebrated, together with the liberation of Auschwitz, which focused the attention of many people on the Holocaust.

In 1997 a student survey was published in which youths were asked – among many other things – how sure they were that the Holocaust had actually taken place (Lange et al. 1997). The results, as reported (having first been seriously misinterpreted) by the media led amongst other things to the government taking the initiative for the "Living History" campaign, which as early as 1998 published over 1.5 million copies of

a book about the Holocaust entitled “Tell ye your children...”. In 1999 the Holocaust Memorial Day was declared a national memorial day in Sweden. Several international conferences, which attracted a lot of media attention, were organised in Sweden amongst other places, with the governmental conference, the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust in the year 2000 perhaps receiving the most attention. In 2005, the media focused attention on the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz.

During the 1990s a debate flared up around Sweden’s role in connection with the Germans’ confiscation of Jewish assets during the Second World War and a commission was established in February 1997. This “Nazi gold commission” had its origins in international events and was thus not primarily conditioned either by a domestic debate or a Swedish need to lay bare and come to terms with the past. During the 1990s, the international debate focused on stolen Jewish assets became increasingly widespread and demands for investigations into what had taken place became increasingly intense. One of the factors that led to the subject being placed on the political agenda were the intensive efforts made by the World Jewish Congress to raise the question. In April 1996, the American senator and chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, Alfonse D’Amato, initiated a hearing on the actions of the Swiss banks in connection with the confiscations. One month later, Switzerland established the first national commission to investigate the issue. In May 1997 the first Eizenstadt report was published, primarily focused on the measures taken by the allies to restore the property stolen by the Nazis, and was highly publicised.

The international debate, which to begin with focused primarily on the actions of the Swiss authorities and banks, broadened quickly to include the other neutral countries, such as Sweden and Portugal. This meant that a number of countries appointed special commissions of inquiry to investigate the question of the fate of the Jewish assets. All of these events were reflected in the mass media and brought questions relating to the Second World War and the Holocaust to the fore in the public consciousness.

At the same time, the neo-Nazi movements grew stronger – not least in Sweden. The “White Power” world was by now well-established and the mass media focused its attention on extreme right wing movements in connection with a series of tragic events such as, among others, a fire at a mosque in Trollhättan in 1993, murders in Västerås and Klippan in 1995, and

the Malexander murders in 1999. The Holocaust was often found in the background to such events in the form of a dark shadow from the past.

During this period – and for the reasons described above – the Holocaust was given a great deal of exposure, not least in the form of books, films and documentaries. As a means of illustrating this, we can look at the number books published on the themes of the Holocaust, Nazism and Marxism in Sweden between 1970 and 2007<sup>49</sup> (see Figure 3). Nazism and Marxism are here used as “reference concepts”. Since Nazism is often associated with the Holocaust, it is not surprising that the curves for the publications associated with these two themes follow one another. Marxism on the other hand represents an independent search concept and can serve in the present context as a kind of “base line” for comparisons. We can see there was a major increase in publications on the Holocaust from 1997, reaching a peak in 2001, and subsequently falling away again. Note, however, that the number of publications in 2007 is much greater than the figure for 1970-’73, when it lay close to zero. The curve for publications on Nazism follows this pattern closely, but at a lower mean level. Random controls of the material showed that the number of “double hits”, i.e. where the same publication is counted in relation to both “the Holocaust” and “Nazism”, is less than 20 percent.

#### *Teacher training*

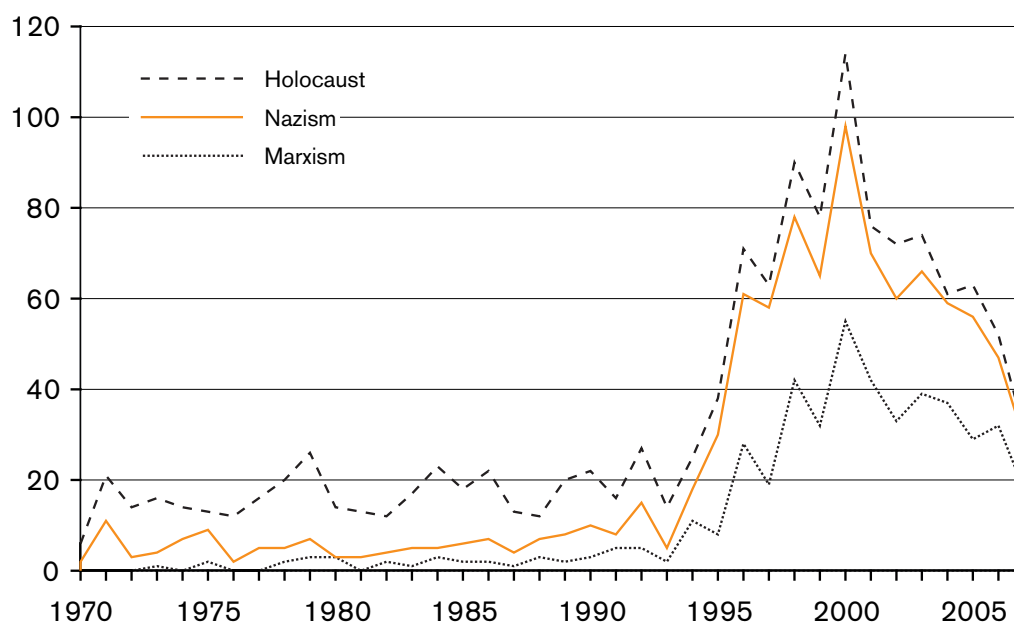
The whole teacher training system became the subject of a renewed review by a parliamentary committee that presented its final report in 1999. The proposals, that in many respects involved a thorough reform of teacher training, were subject to the normal consultation process in 2000, and a Government Bill was presented to Parliament in May of the same year. Parliament voted on the issue in October. One of the changes introduced an increased number of common elements in the majority of teacher training programmes in the form of a common knowledge base.

A not uncommon assessment of the post-war history of the teacher training system is that the breadth of the teachers’ competence has been prioritised to an ever increasing extent, which has unavoidably led to the level of specialisation in their competence becoming successively diminished. The subject-integration that this process demanded has almost certainly been positive in certain respects, but if what

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<sup>49</sup> I would like to thank Christer Mattsson for his speedy and effective assistance with this task.

**FIGURE 3.** Number of publications in Sweden on the subjects “the Holocaust”, “Nazism” and “Marxism” between 1970 and 2007. Source: Libris database, Kungliga Biblioteket (the “Royal Library”).



has previously been referred to as “expertise” among teachers completely disappears to be replaced by a shallow “multi-competence”, it is not only teachers and – first and foremost their students – that suffer, but by extension also society as a whole.

### 3.6 Perceptions and experiences of teaching about the Holocaust

#### All respondents

A number of the items in the questionnaire were directed at all teachers, irrespective of whether they teach, or have taught, about the Holocaust (see V31 – V40 in Appendix 1). The teachers who have not taught on this theme cannot of course describe any experiences in this area, but rather only perceptions.

The block of factors listed in relation to the question “Do you think that teaching about the Holocaust ...” is intended to capture the teachers’ perceptions of possible consequences of this kind of teaching. A factor analysis of the responses showed that two distinct factors emerged.<sup>50</sup> The first factor is dominated by the conse-

quences “increases the students’ interest in and awareness of racism in today’s society” and “increases the students’ interest in and awareness of neo-Nazis in today’s society”.

The dimension of significance captured by the second factor is reflected in the following two consequences: “raises questions about national guilt” and “raises questions about individual guilt”. Two indexes were constructed on the basis of this analysis. The correlation between the two measures is 0.41<sup>51</sup>, which represents a moderately strong correlation and at the same time shows that it is legitimate to use both measures, which capture two different attitude dimensions. The measure based on the first factor (see above) may be said to be more focused on the present and more “instrumental”, whereas the other (based on factor two) appears to relate to more deep-seated moral and ethical factors. Weak to moderately weak (but statistically significant) negative correlations were found in relation to the anti-Semitism measure discussed earlier – for the first factor the size of the correlation<sup>52</sup> is –0.20 ( $p < 0.001$ ), for the second –0.10 ( $p < 0.001$ ). The teachers who harbour – albeit weak to moderate – anti-Semitic attitudes tend to some extent to dismiss the (possible) consequences of teaching about the Holocaust that are described

50 I also conducted separate factor analyses for the teachers who teach about the Holocaust and those who do not do so. Interestingly, the factor structure is identical across the two groups, with almost identical (high) factor loadings. This result indicates that the values and opinions that govern the teachers’ views on these questions are independent of their experiences of teaching on this theme.

51 Partial correlation with controls for the effects of sex, age, region of birth, region of residence and school stage.

52 Partial correlation with controls for the effects of sex, age, region of birth, region of residence and school stage.



by the above mentioned measures. This tendency is stronger in relation to the more “instrumental” and at the same time more concrete of the two factors – i.e. that focused on racism, neo-Nazism and hate crimes in today’s society – than it is in relation to the more principled, ethical and moral measure.<sup>53</sup>

Of the questions directed at all teachers, three statements (V38 – V40 in Appendix 1) remain that may be said to express a restrictive view on Holocaust education, suggesting that such teaching is most important for certain categories of people (students from a Jewish background, Germans and populations in those countries where the Holocaust took place). I must emphasise that an absolute majority of the teachers (between 77 and 81 percent) have expressed *complete disagreement* with these statements. The remaining variation is sufficient however to allow for a meaningful analysis. The responses associated with these three statements are strongly correlated with one another ( $r = 0.75 - 0.83$ ) and I have therefore combined them to form an index<sup>54</sup> having first recoded the response alternatives so that agreement is reflected in the highest scores on the index and disagreement in the lowest. I have then calculated correlation coefficients between this index (called “most important”) and the four attitude indexes separately for those teachers who have participated in teaching about the Holocaust and those who have not done so. The results are presented in Table 21.

The correlations are not strong but are statistically significant. They indicate that the teachers who harbour (most commonly weak) anti-Semitic sentiments tend more often to feel that the importance of teaching about the Holocaust is limited to the categories “students from a Jewish background”, “Germans” and “populations in those countries where the Holocaust took place” and therefore – at least to some extent – deny the universal significance of such teaching. This tendency is significantly more marked among those teachers who *do not* teach about the Holocaust. It is interesting to observe that among the teachers who do participate in teaching about the Holocaust, there are no correlations between the index “Most important” and the three other attitude indexes (the size of the coefficients varies between 0.01 and 0.02). On the other hand there are clear – if not particularly

**TABLE 21.** Correlations between perceptions of the limited importance of teaching about the Holocaust (an index labelled “Most important”) and the four attitude indexes, separately for teachers who teach about the Holocaust and those who do not. Partial correlations (see note 42). For all coefficients  $p = 0.001$ . For a description of the content of the indexes see section 3.4, page XX.

Attitude index	Index “Most important” Teaches about the Holocaust	
	Yes	No
Anti-Semitism	0.10	0.23
Index 1	–	0.21
Index 2	–	-0.13
Index 3	–	0.17

strong – correlations among the teachers who *do not* teach about the Holocaust. These correlations suggest that these “restrictive” perceptions of the relevance of Holocaust education at some background level – and to a certain extent – share the same roots as the values and attitudes manifested in Indexes 1 and 3.

#### *Teachers who teach about the Holocaust*

Subsequent to the questions dealt with in the above section, the focus of the questionnaire was directed at those teachers who teach – or who have taught – about the Holocaust. The first question relates to how many hours the teachers have *spent teaching about the holocaust and other genocides and crimes against humanity* during the previous academic year (in relation to their total teaching time). Almost one-fifth of the teachers have not spent any time teaching about the Holocaust, and 42.1 percent had taught between one and five hours (see V42 in Appendix 1). Over one-fifth of teachers have not spent any time teaching about other genocides and crimes against humanity and almost half (48.1 percent) have taught between one and five hours (see V43 in Appendix 1). This does not look particularly encouraging, but a reference point is required before these percentages can be assessed. Happily, a similar question was included in the 1998 Teacher Survey. There are however certain differences in the wording of the questions: in 1998, we asked about “other mass murders and genocides” and the first step on the time scale was “0 – 5 hours” as compared with “0” and “1-5” hours in 2007. By combining the first two categories in the data from 2007, it becomes possible to compare the results from the two surveys, although naturally with some reservation for the difference in the way the questions were formu-

<sup>53</sup> Once again there is almost no difference between the size of the correlation coefficients calculated separately for those teachers who teach about the Holocaust and those who do not.

<sup>54</sup> A factor analysis produced only a single factor, which indicates that these statements lie on a single dimension of meaning.

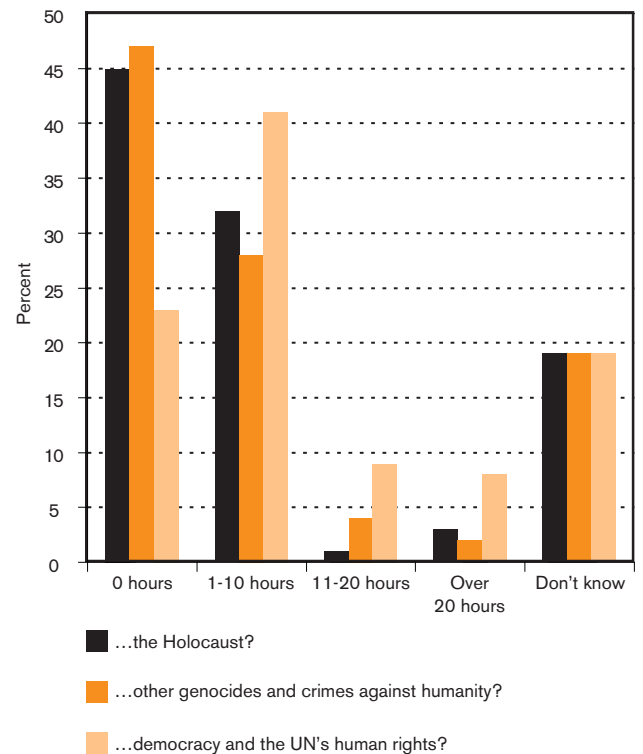
lated. This comparison shows that there has been a substantial change for the better between 1998 and 2007 with regard to Holocaust education: a significantly smaller proportion of teachers answered that they either don't teach about the subject at all, or teach at most five hours, and a significantly larger proportion answered that they spent at least six hours teaching about the Holocaust. The proportion of teachers who spent over fifteen hours teaching about the Holocaust was five times as large as the corresponding proportion in the 1998 survey.<sup>55</sup>

As regards "other genocides and crimes against humanity" (in 1998: "other mass murders and genocides") the change is less dramatic, but is in the same direction and is highly statistically significant.<sup>56</sup> In summary, it can be stated that teachers spent significantly more time teaching on both these themes in 2007 than they did in 1998.

I have also examined the variation in the amount of time spent teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides etc. (in the 2007 data) with respect to age, sex, region of residence and school stage. With regard to teaching specifically about the Holocaust, the teachers aged 35-44 report participating in the largest amount of this kind of teaching, and those aged 61-73 report the smallest amount; high school teachers report substantially more teaching than teachers working in upper secondary schools and middle school teachers. By contrast, no notable differences were found between men and women, nor between different regions.<sup>57</sup>

The degree of variation in the amount of time spent teaching about other genocides etc. is significantly smaller than that found in relation to teaching about the Holocaust. Teachers aged between 35-44 years once again report the largest amount of such teaching, and those aged 61-73 years the smallest amount, but the differences are smaller. No differences are found in relation to either sex or region, but teachers in

FIGURE 4. Teachers' responses to the question "How many hours during your teacher training were devoted to:"



upper secondary schools report spending more time teaching in this area than those working in the other school stages.<sup>58</sup>

With regard to the question "What are the reasons that you teach about the Holocaust?" the respondents were asked to state the significance to themselves of three alternative reasons: "It's in the curriculum", "I think it's important" and "The school management requires it". By far the most common answer was that the teachers' felt it to be important. When the responses are cross-tabulated with sex, age, region of birth, region of residence and school stage, we find that the response proportions vary between 95.2 percent (teachers in upper secondary schools) and 100 percent (teachers working in Region 1, high school teachers and teachers born outside Europe and North America).<sup>59</sup> Since the

55 The change is highly statistical significant. I have tested the difference using both chi-square ( $p = 0.0001$ ) and C (the contingency coefficient;  $C = 0.33$ ;  $p = 0.0001$ ). It should, however, be born in mind that whereas the data from 2007 relate to those teachers who teach (or have taught) about the Holocaust, no such restriction was employed in the 1998 study. For this reason, this comparison (and all other comparisons made) between the studies should be approached with some reservations.

56 Chi-square,  $p = 0.001$ ;  $C = 0.23$ ;  $p = 0.001$ .

57 MCA-analysis with simultaneous controls for age, sex, region of residence and school stage. Age:  $\beta = 0.12$ ; School stage:  $\beta = 0.27$ . Differences between sexes and regions of residence are marginal ( $\beta = 0.02$ ). In total, the four variables "explain" a relatively small proportion of the variance in the amount of time spent teaching ( $R^2 = 0.10$ ).

58 MCA-analysis with simultaneous controls for age, sex, region of residence and school stage. Age:  $\beta = 0.12$ ; School stage:  $\beta = 0.16$ . Differences between regions of residence and between men and women are marginal ( $\beta = 0.02$ ). In total, the four variables "explain" a very small proportion of the variance in the amount of time spent teaching ( $R^2 = 0.04$ ).

59 The proportion of respondents ticking the response option "I think it's important" was 98.5 percent among teachers born in Sweden.

variance in these responses is so limited, I do not view any further analysis as meaningful.

The teachers were asked whether they, together with their students, have *visited concentration and/or death camps, memorials, research institutes and/or museums* as part of their Holocaust education (V47 and V48 in Appendix 1). Slightly less than fourteen percent of the teachers have visited camps and just over 23 percent have visited the various types of institution. When the responses to these questions are cross-tabulated with the background variables, the following pattern emerges. The youngest teachers constitute the group that has *visited camps* least often (10 percent), while the oldest teachers constitute the group in which the largest proportion reported having visited camps (17.6 percent). Male teachers have done so to a somewhat greater extent than their female counterparts (16.2 and 12.3 percent respectively). Teachers in Region 1 (southern Sweden) have visited camps more often (21.5 percent) than teachers in Regions 3 and 4 (10.2 and 10.8 percent respectively). Almost none of the middle school teachers have made such visits (0.7 percent), whereas high school teachers and those working in upper secondary schools have done so to a significantly greater extent (18.7 and 20.6 percent respectively). Teachers born in Sweden have made such visits somewhat less often than those born outside Europe (13.5 and 16.9 percent respectively).<sup>60</sup> It is hardly surprising to note that teachers of history etc. and Swedish etc.<sup>61</sup> have visited camps to a significantly greater extent (23.4 and 18.2 percent respectively) than teachers of physics etc. and physical education etc. (4.1 and 9.4 percent respectively).

As regards visits to *memorial and research institutes and museums*, the pattern is as follows. Once again, the youngest teachers are the group that has made such visits least often (17 percent), but this time it is the age groups 35-44 years and 45-54 years that have most often visited such institutions (25.3 and 27.0 percent respectively). Among the two oldest age groups, nineteen percent of teachers have made visits of this kind. Male teachers have done so to a somewhat greater extent than female teachers (29.6 and 18.4 percent respectively) and teachers in Region 1

(southern Sweden) have more often made visits (30.2 percent) than teachers in Regions 2 and 4 (15 and 20.3 percent respectively). Among teachers at primary and middle school, 6.3 and 2.3 percent respectively have made such visits, but high school teachers and those working in upper secondary schools have done so to a significantly greater extent (31.4 and 32.1 percent respectively). Teachers born in Sweden, and those born outside Europe have visited the various types of institution to a somewhat lesser extent than those born in Europe but outside Scandinavia (21.7, 24.3 and 34.6 percent respectively)<sup>62</sup>. Once again, it is no surprise that teachers of history etc. and Swedish etc.<sup>63</sup> have made such visits significantly more often (23.4 and 18.2 percent respectively) than teachers of physics etc. and physical education etc. (4.1 and 9.4 percent respectively).

In response to a question as to how much time they devoted to teaching about the Holocaust today by comparison with when they first started teaching (see V49 in Appendix 1) almost half of the teachers (49.3 percent) answered that they devote as much time as previously and just under one-third (31.2 percent) answered that they devote more time to Holocaust education today.

It is interesting to have an idea of how much time was devoted to the themes examined in this survey during the respondents' time in teacher training. An item referring to this question was therefore included in the questionnaire (see V59 – V61 in Appendix 1). The responses show that slightly over 45 percent of the teachers have not had any Holocaust education during their teacher training (see figure 4). Almost one-third of respondents have had at most ten hours of such education, and only a few percent have had more than this. When the variance in the number of hours of Holocaust education during teacher training is analysed with MCA, we find that age and the subjects taught by the teachers are of most significance for this variance.<sup>64</sup> Teachers born between 1953 and 1972 –

60 Age: Chi-square = 112.1; p = 0.0001; C = 0.06; p = 0.001. Sex: Chi-square = 89.6, p = 0.0001; C = 0.06, p = 0.001. Region of residence: Chi-square = 454.1, p = 0.0001; C = 0.12, p = 0.0001. School stage: Chi-square = 1937.0, p = 0.0001; C = 0.25, p = 0.0001. Region of birth: Chi-square = 10.6, p = 0.005; C = 0.02, p = 0.005.

61 See the text after Table 9 for an explanation of these subject categories.

62 Age: Chi-square = 228.5; p = 0.0001; C = 0.09; p = 0.001. Sex: Chi-square = 447.2, p = 0.0001; C = 0.13, p = 0.0001. Region of residence: Chi-square = 458.6, p = 0.0001; C = 0.13, p = 0.0001. School stage: Chi-square = 2891.0, p = 0.0001; C = 0.31, p = 0.0001. Region of birth: Chi-square = 122.1, p = 0.001; C = 0.07, p = 0.001. Teaching subject: Chi-square = 1680.1, p = 0.0001; C = 0.25, p = 0.0001.

63 See the text after Table 9 for an explanation of these subject categories.

64 Age: beta = 0.19; Teaching subject: beta = 0.16; School stage: beta = 0.08. Sex and region of residence: no effect. In total, these background variables "explain" only small proportion of the variance in the number of hours of Holocaust education during teacher training ( $R^2 = 0.08$ ).

who thus most probably went through teacher training between the second half of the 1970s and the second half of the 1990s – report having had more hours of Holocaust education than, first and foremost, teachers in the two oldest age cohorts. The number of hours of Holocaust education reported by the youngest age cohort is very similar to that of the first-named group. Having had “more” and “fewer” hours of Holocaust education must of course be regarded in relation to the very large proportion of teachers who reported that their teacher training had included only a very limited element of Holocaust education.

As regards education on other genocides and crimes against humanity during teacher training, the pattern is similar to that found in relation to Holocaust education. Almost three-quarters of teachers report having had between zero and ten hours of such education (47 percent have answered “0”) and six percent have had more than ten hours. The results from an MCA-analysis are very similar to those relating to Holocaust education. Once again the two age cohorts who have probably undergone teacher training between the second half of the 1970s and the second half of the 1990s report considerably more hours of education on this theme than the two oldest age groups. This time, however, the youngest group of teachers is more similar to these latter two groups. Teachers of history etc. report significantly more hours of this form of education than the others, and teachers responding that they teach in the mysterious “Other”<sup>65</sup> school stage report somewhat more hours of this type of education than those teaching in the remaining school stages.<sup>66</sup> It is interesting to note that the proportion of “Don’t know” answers is high in relation to these three questions – varying between 18.6 and 19.5 percent. I find it a little difficult to understand this, since it shouldn’t be so difficult to remember what one studied during one’s teacher training, particularly considering that the questions have been answered by teachers who teach (or who have taught) about the Holocaust. There is no clear correlation between this apparent forgetfulness and age, other than the fact that the second oldest

cohort – aged 55-60 years – has a significantly worse memory than the other age-groups for reasons that I cannot explain. The oldest age group of teachers remembers significantly better, and thus possible age-related changes in memory function do not appear to constitute a particularly reasonable explanation.

The remaining question relates to the extent to which teacher training provides knowledge on *democracy and the UN’s human rights* and here the situation appears to be somewhat more promising. “Only” 22.5 percent report zero hours in relation to this theme, and as many as 41.1 percent have had between one and ten hours. Almost seventeen percent have had eleven or more hours of this type of education. MCA-analysis produces more or less the same picture as before.<sup>67</sup> The two “enlightened” age cohorts stand out once again, as do history teachers and teachers who answered “Other” in relation to the question of which school stage they worked in. This last group reports by far the largest number of hours of all of the categories of teachers examined, which is something that I cannot explain.

Slightly over 64 percent of the teachers have not participated in any *other education* about the Holocaust (see V62 in Appendix 1). A cross-tabulation of the responses to this question with teaching subject shows substantial – easily understandable – differences between the subjects: 45.4 percent of the those who teach history etc. have had no extra education; the corresponding proportions among teachers of physics etc. and physical education etc. are 72.5 and 77.2 percent respectively. If we look at those teachers who have undergone three or more special courses, the order is reversed. There is a clear correlation between the amount of Holocaust education the teachers have had during their teacher training and the level of participation in extra courses: the more hours of Holocaust education the teachers have had, the greater the extent to which they have participated in additional courses subsequent to their teacher training.<sup>68</sup> We might expect to find the opposite – those who haven’t had any Holocaust education during their teacher training ought perhaps to themselves supplement their knowledge in this area to a greater extent. The correlation found in the data suggests however that

65 A cross-tabulation of school stage and teaching subject shows that 56 percent of these “other-school-stage” teachers teach physical education etc. and 32 percent teach Swedish and other languages.

66 Age: beta = 0.19; Teaching subject: beta = 0.22; School stage: beta = 0.08. Sex and region of residence: no effect. In total, these background variables “explain” only a somewhat larger proportion of the variance in the number of hours of education on other genocides etc. during teacher training than was the case in relation to Holocaust education ( $R^2 = 0.10$ ).

67 Age: beta = 0.21; Teaching subject: beta = 0.17; School stage: beta = 0.07. Sex and region of residence: no effect. In total, these background variables “explain” a small proportion of the variation in the number of hours of Holocaust education undergone during teacher training ( $R^2 = 0.08$ ).

68 Contingency coefficient  $C = 0.27$ ;  $p = 0.0001$ .

having participated in Holocaust education during one's time in teacher training significantly increases the motivation to acquire additional knowledge on the subject.

The results of an MCA-analysis show that the propensity to participate in additional education on the Holocaust covaries with all of the background variables examined. The oldest cohorts have participated in such courses to a markedly higher degree than the youngest – perhaps because the latter group has simply not had time to do so. Male teachers have done so somewhat more often than their female counterparts, and teachers of history etc. have participated in additional education to a significantly greater extent than the other groups. The teachers who work in Regions 2 and 3 have participated more often in such courses than those working in Regions 1 and 4. The teachers working in the “other” school stage have participated in more additional education than those working in the remaining school stages, although both high school teachers and those working in upper secondary schools come very close.<sup>69</sup>

A number of questions were posed asking the teachers to give their views on *different aspects of teaching about the Holocaust* (see V63 – V70 in Appendix 1). A summary of the results is presented below:

- Slightly over 50 percent of the teachers feel that *the number of hours* devoted to Holocaust education is “about right”; just over 37 percent feel that *there should be more*. The proportion of teachers who think there should be more hours of Holocaust education is somewhat larger among those teaching in middle schools than it is among those working in high schools and in upper secondary schools. It is somewhat surprising to find that teachers of history etc. and Swedish etc. are less prone to want more hours of such teaching than teachers of physics etc. and physical education etc. – among the latter two groups, more than half of the respondents express a desire for more hours of teaching about the Holocaust.<sup>70</sup> There is a weak correlation between the desire for more hours and the number of hours an individual has actually

taught during the preceding year: the less the teachers have taught about the Holocaust, the greater the extent to which they express a desire for more hours of such education.<sup>71</sup> Views on the number of hours of Holocaust education do not covary to any notable extent with sex, region of residence or age.

- Almost half of the teachers feel that *access to teaching aids* for this form of teaching is “about right”; slightly over 43 percent feel that there *should be more* teaching aids. The proportion who express a desire for more teaching aids is somewhat larger among middle school teachers than it is among those working in high schools and upper secondary schools. Once again, teachers of physics etc. and physical education etc. express a desire for more teaching aids to a greater extent than teachers of history etc. and Swedish etc. – among the *first two* categories, over 55 percent express such a desire, compared with just under 40 percent among the latter two groups of teachers.<sup>72</sup> As was the case in relation to the previous question, perceptions about access to teaching aids do not covary to any notable extent with sex, region of residence or age.
- More than one third of the teachers felt that the *guidelines for teaching* about the Holocaust are “about right”; almost half (48.8 percent) felt that *there should be more*. Just over fifteen percent have answered “Don't know”. The proportion of teachers who feel that there should be *more* guidelines is greatest among primary school teachers (i.e. the small number in this category who have reported that they teach about the Holocaust) and smallest among those working in upper secondary schools (95 and 8 percent respectively).<sup>73</sup> This proportion is smallest among teachers of history etc. and

69 Age: beta = 0.15; Teaching subject: beta = 0.15; School stage: beta = 0.17; Sex: beta = 0.09; Region of residence: beta = 0.08. In total, these background variables “explain” a relatively small proportion of the variation in the amount of additional education the teachers have participated in ( $R^2 = 0.12$ ).

70 Differences between *teaching subjects*: Chi-square = 624.5,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.16$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ .

71 The relationship is non-linear to some extent. Among the teachers who have taught most (> 15 hours) a larger proportion express a desire for more hours of teaching about the Holocaust, than is the case among those who have taught 6-15 hours. This proportion – interestingly enough – is largest among the teachers who haven't taught at all on the Holocaust during the previous school year. Chi-square = 472.6,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.14$ ,  $p = 0.001$ .

72 Differences between *school stages*: Chi-square = 1190.1,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.21$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ . Differences between *teaching subjects*: Chi-square = 711.9,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.17$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ .

73 Differences between *school stages*: Chi-square = 1529.3,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.24$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ .

largest among teachers of physics and physical education.<sup>74</sup> Once again, no correlation was found between views on guidelines and any of the variables sex, region of residence or age.

- A total of 43 percent of the teachers felt that their *own knowledge about the Holocaust* is sufficient; 56.7 percent felt that it could be somewhat or much better (one in ten teachers have answered “much better”). The largest proportion of respondents who feel that their own knowledge could be much better is found among primary school teachers, the smallest among teachers in upper secondary schools (23 and 7.2 percent respectively). As expected, the corresponding proportion is smallest among teachers of history and largest among physical education teachers (5.6 and 14.4 percent respectively). The oldest age cohort contains the largest proportion of teachers who feel that their knowledge of the Holocaust is sufficient, the youngest cohort contains the smallest proportion (55 and 33 percent respectively). In this case sex also has an effect: the proportion of teachers who feel their knowledge of the Holocaust is sufficient is considerably larger among the males than it is among the females (54 and 37 percent respectively).<sup>75</sup>
- Just over one in ten teachers reports that *the school management* is completely *uninterested* in teaching about the Holocaust; 51.2 percent report that *the school management is quite or very interested*. More than one-third of teachers do not know what the school management thinks, which weakens the findings in relation to this question somewhat. The proportion of respondents who report that the school management is very interested is greatest among teachers working in high schools (31 percent) and lowest among those working in primary schools (8 percent; 16 percent among upper

secondary school teachers).<sup>76</sup> No correlations were found between answers to this question and sex, region of residence or teaching subject.

- More than three out of four teachers report that their *colleagues* are quite (56.7 percent) or very (19.1 percent) *interested* in teaching about the Holocaust. More than one in five teachers have no opinion on this question. Sex, age, teaching subject and region of residence do not appear to have any effect on the teachers’ views of their colleagues’ interest.<sup>77</sup> With regard to school stage, the proportion of teachers who feel their colleagues are *very* interested in teaching about the Holocaust is greatest (33.5 percent) among high school teachers and smallest among primary school teacher and teachers in the “other” school stage (8.7 and 9.6 percent respectively).<sup>78</sup>
- Over half of the teachers (52.7 percent) report that the *students’ motivation is high*. More than one in three report that it is moderate, and only 4.5 percent feel that it is low. Sex, teaching subject and region of residence have no effect on the variation in the teachers’ assessment of the students’ level of motivation, although age does. The proportion reporting a high level of motivation is largest in the two youngest age cohorts (62-63 percent) and smallest among the oldest teachers (42.7 percent).<sup>79</sup> The differences between these proportions are even greater across the different school stages: among middle and high school teachers, 63.1 and 64.3 percent report high motivation respectively, whereas the proportions among primary school teachers and teachers in further education lie at 46.2 and 37.9 percent respectively. Among the teachers working in the “other” school stage, only 15.1 percent report student motivation to be high.<sup>80</sup>

74 Differences between *teaching subjects*: Chi-square = 790.7,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.18$ ,  $p = 0.0001$

75 Differences between *school stages*: Chi-square = 1132.4,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.19$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ . Differences between *teaching subjects*: Chi-square = 950.3,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.18$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ . Differences between *age groups*: Chi-square = 736.1,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.16$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ . Differences between *sexes*: Chi-square = 741.4,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.16$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ . The difference between the sexes probably reflects an inter-contextual adaptation of the patriarchal-heteronormative order that dominates Swedish society (N.B.! Irony).

76 Differences between *school stages*: Chi-square = 1080.0,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.24$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ .

77 Cross-tabulations show either non-significant correlations, or correlations that are difficult to interpret. This latter situation occurs when the relationship between the variables is clearly non-linear, e.g. when the level of reported interest among colleagues shifts sharply up and down between consecutive age groups.

78 Differences between *school stages*: Chi-square = 962.0,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.20$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ .

79 Differences between *age groups*: Chi-square = 675.1,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.15$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ . Differences between *school stages*: Chi-square = 2063.7,  $p = 0.0001$ ;  $C = 0.25$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ .

80 When differences between the means of the assessments of student motivation are analysed using MCA, *school stage* produces the most substantial effect (beta = 0.27), with *age* in second place (beta = 0.14). In total, however, these variables “explain” only a small part of the variance in these assessments

- Almost two-thirds of teachers have no view of parents' attitudes to teaching about the Holocaust. Among the remainder, teachers who felt that parents are quite positive constitute the largest group (20.6 percent). Since the proportion of "Don't know" answers is so large, however, subjecting the responses to this question to further analysis is not meaningful.

IN SUMMARY I can say that with regard to what the teachers *would like as regards conditions for teaching about the Holocaust*, relatively large proportions would like *more teaching hours, better access to teaching aids and more guidelines for this teaching*. With regard to the teachers' assessments of the *relevant actors' interest, motivation and attitudes*, a majority assess the *students' motivation to be high*, the interest of *school managements* to be moderate, and their knowledge about the attitudes of parents to be very limited.

The teachers were also asked whether they felt that teaching about the Holocaust differs in certain respects from other topics in the subject areas of history and the social sciences. More than half of the teachers felt that this teaching is as *important* as other topics, 47.2 percent feel that it is more important. An MCA-analysis shows that teaching subject, sex and region of residence all have an effect on the variance in assessments of the importance of this type of teaching. The attitude index that reflects *anti-Semitic sentiment* was found to have a moderate effect – the higher the level of this type of sentiment, the less important teaching about the Holocaust is assessed to be. *School stage* also has a certain affect, with the smallest proportion of those who feel that Holocaust education is more important than other topics being found among primary school teachers, whereas the largest proportions are found among teachers in the "other" school stage and those working in high schools.<sup>81</sup>

A huge majority of the teachers – 83.7 percent – feel that teaching about the Holocaust raises more *moral and ethical questions* than other topics, at the same time as only just over fourteen percent feel that it raises the same amount of such questions. Once again age,

sex and region of residence have no effect on the teachers' assessments of this question. The presence of anti-Semitic attitudes is associated with a reduction in the proportion of teachers who feel that this form of teaching raises more such questions than other topics, which is also true – albeit to a lesser extent – of attitude Index 1.<sup>82</sup>

A majority of the teachers – 54.2 percent – feel that teaching about the Holocaust is neither more or less *interesting* by comparison with other topics, while just over 44 percent feel it is more interesting. No effects were found in this case either in relation to age, region of residence nor in relation to Indexes 1 and 3. Age produces a weak effect, with the oldest two age cohorts viewing this teaching as somewhat less interesting than the youngest cohort. Anti-Semitic attitudes have a weak effect, in the same direction as before of course. High school teachers – to a certain extent at least – include a larger proportion of respondents who feel that teaching about the Holocaust is more interesting than other topics, than do teachers from the other school stages. Teaching subject also appears to have a weak effect, with – perhaps surprisingly – teachers of history etc. and Swedish etc. finding the theme somewhat less interesting than teachers of other subjects.<sup>83</sup>

The final aspect that the teachers were asked to assess in this battery of questions was the *students' interest* in teaching about the Holocaust. An overwhelming majority of the teachers – 93.8 percent – reported that the students are quite interested (51.7 percent) or very interested (42 percent) in the subject. MCA-analysis showed that neither age, sex, region of residence nor either of the two attitude Indexes 1 and 2 had any affect on the assessment of the students' level of interest. These variables were removed from the analysis and were replaced by questions V47 (visits to death camps), V48 (visits to institutions etc.), the index measuring knowledge about the Holocaust, the "anti-Semitism" index and the question on the teachers' own interest in teaching about the Holocaust (V73). Having visited death camps (response alternatives yes or no) showed no effect on the assessment of the students' level of interest. By contrast, *having visited*

( $R^2 = 0.08$ ). When the attitude index is included in the analysis (and with controls for the other variables), anti-Semitic sentiment is found to have a certain negative affect on assessments of the students' motivation – the higher the level of such sentiment (in relative terms), the smaller the proportion of teachers who report high levels of motivation among students.

81 Anti-Semitism Index: beta = 0.25; School stage: beta = 0.16. In total the background variables and the index "explain" a limited amount of the variance in the teachers' assessments ( $R^2 = 0.09$ ).

82 Anti-Semitism Index: beta = 0.16; Index 1: beta = 0.16. In total the background variables and the indexes "explain" a limited amount of the variance in the teachers' assessments ( $R^2 = 0.06$ ).

83 Anti-Semitism Index: beta = 0.15; School stage: beta = 0.09; Age: beta = 0.11; Teaching subject: beta = 0.10. In total the background variables and the index "explain" a limited amount of the variance in the teachers' assessments ( $R^2 = 0.08$ ).

*various relevant institutions* is correlated with these assessments – among teachers who have participated in such visits, the proportion who report that their students are very interested is substantially larger than it is among those who have not made such visits. It is impossible of course to say anything about what may constitute the cause and effect respectively in this context – the students being interested may serve as an incitement to the teachers to make such visits, and having made such visits may increase the level of interest shown by the students. The same analysis showed that – for once – teaching subject also had an effect in the “logical” or “expected” direction: teachers of history etc. assess the students’ interest to be greater than do teachers of physics and physical education etc. Anti-Semitic sentiment has a certain effect on the assessments, in the usual direction. Interestingly, the *teachers’ own interest* in teaching about the Holocaust was found (given controls for the remaining variables) to be quite strongly correlated with their assessments of the students’ interest – the lower the teachers’ level of interest, the lower the level of interest among the students. The *teachers’ knowledge about the Holocaust* also has an effect on their assessment of the students’ interest in the subject – the lower the teachers’ level of knowledge, the lower the level of interest the students are assessed to have in the subject.<sup>84</sup>

Since I have no reference points – I do not know of any survey that has posed similar questions – it is difficult to determine how these results should be assessed. Thus I cannot say whether or not it is satisfactory when (“only” or “as many as”) 47.2 percent of the teachers answer that teaching about the Holocaust is more important than other topics covered by the relevant school subjects. On the other hand, it is nonetheless possible to say that *extremely few* teachers regard this teaching as less important than, as giving rise to fewer moral and ethical questions than, and as being less interesting than other topics. It is possible that this constitutes a satisfactory result. On the other hand, there is absolutely no doubt that an overwhelming majority of the teachers feel that their students are interested in the subject and in this case I am prepared to stick my neck out and say that this does represent a satisfactory result. At the same time

84 School stage: beta = 0.32; Teaching subject: beta = 0.17; Anti-Semitism Index: beta = 0.16; Visits to relevant institutions: beta = 0.11; Teachers’ own interest in the subject: beta = 0.26; Teachers’ knowledge about the Holocaust: beta = 0.16. In total these variables “explain” a not entirely trivial amount of the variance in the teachers’ assessments ( $R^2 = 0.21$ ).

it is important to note the fact that the teachers’ own interest in the subject, their knowledge about the Holocaust and also certain of their attitudes – primarily those attitudes that are rooted in anti-Semitic perceptions – to some extent affect their assessment of all of the factors examined.

A number of questions were posed asking the teachers to report whether they felt that any of a variety of factors – the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, other genocides etc. – make teaching about the Holocaust easier or more difficult (see V75 – V81 in Appendix 1). All these questions had three response alternatives: “Makes it more difficult”, “Neither easier or more difficult” and “Makes it easier”.<sup>85</sup> Five of the seven questions had a fourth response alternative, indicating that the question is not relevant, such as “I haven’t noticed anyone who denies the Holocaust at my school”, for example. I can begin by noting that the majority of the teachers either chose the “middle alternative” (neither-or) or the fourth response alternative indicating that the question was not relevant. To take a couple of examples, just over 60 percent of the teachers felt that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict neither makes teaching about the Holocaust easier or more difficult and almost 60 percent felt the same was true of the presence of students from a Muslim background in their classes. Thus the level of variance in the answers is relatively limited, which of course makes the analysis more difficult.<sup>86</sup>

As regards the question of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – besides the 60 percent who answered “neither-or” – approximately one-fifth of the teachers answered that it makes teaching about the Holocaust easier, and about the same proportion answered that it makes it more difficult, which may be said to constitute “a draw”. The oldest age cohort tends to contain a somewhat larger proportion who answered that it makes teaching about the Holocaust “*more difficult*” than the other age groups, which is also true of the teachers

85 With hindsight, I realise that this response alternative ought to have been formulated somewhat differently. The “neither or” alternative is a risky one to use, since it entices respondents towards an “easy way out” of committing themselves in relation to these questions.

86 Three response alternatives, of which one constitutes a “null alternative” makes the analysis a little problematic. It would of course be possible to recode each response alternative into what is referred to as a “dummy variable” which can assume the values 0 or 1, and then to analyse these using logistic regression, but the number of variables in this block would then be trebled and the process would become very time consuming. I have therefore chosen to analyse these questions using MCA, with the reservation that the limited variance in the teachers’ responses makes the results less distinct.



working in upper secondary schools (in relation to those working in the other school stages). Female teachers also show the same tendency in relation to their male counterparts. Anti-Semitic sentiment also makes a difference here – the higher the score on this index, the larger the proportion of teachers who state that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict makes Holocaust teaching more difficult (although it should be noted that the effect is a weak one). Among teachers of history etc., the proportion who feel that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict makes teaching about the Holocaust *easier* is somewhat larger than it is among teachers of other subjects. Knowledge about the Holocaust has no effect on the teachers' perceptions of the effect that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has on teaching about the Holocaust.<sup>87</sup>

In response to the question on “other genocides, e.g. in Rwanda and Bosnia”, just over 50 percent of the teachers answered that they made teaching about the Holocaust “neither easier or more difficult”. Only four percent felt that these events made such teaching more difficult, and 45 percent felt that they made it easier. Thus there is no “downward” variance in the responses to this question and possible differences between sub-categories of teachers can only relate to the space between “makes it easier” and “neither-or”. Teachers working in upper secondary schools include a larger proportion who responded that other genocides make teaching about the Holocaust “easier” than do teachers working in the other school stages; this proportion is smaller in the oldest age cohort, however, which is also true of the female teachers by comparison with the males. Knowledge about the Holocaust has a certain effect: the more knowledge the teachers have on this subject, the larger the proportions that feel that the events in question make teaching about the Holocaust easier. The higher the teachers' scores on the index of anti-Semitic sentiment, the smaller the proportions who feel that other genocides make Holocaust teaching easier. Teaching subject and region of residence have no effect in this context.<sup>88</sup>

Just over 70 percent of the teachers have not noticed anyone who *denied the Holocaust* in their school.

An analysis of the remaining, limited variance in the responses produces the following results. The youngest age cohort contains a somewhat larger proportion of respondents who feel that individuals who deny the Holocaust make teaching about it more difficult by comparison with the other cohorts. This is also true of primary and middle school teachers by comparison with teachers working in the other school stages. It is also true of female teachers in relation to their male counterparts, and of teachers of Swedish etc. in relation to those who teach other subjects. Anti-Semitic sentiment was found to have an effect that – at least for me – was unexpected: the higher the teachers' scores on this index, the larger the proportion who felt that individuals who deny the Holocaust make Holocaust teaching more difficult. Region of residence has no effect in this context and the same is true of knowledge about the Holocaust.<sup>89</sup>

A logistic regression analysis<sup>90</sup> of the response alternative “*I have not noticed anyone who denies the Holocaust at my school*” shows that high scores on both the anti-Semitism index and the knowledge index involve an increased “risk” for choosing this response alternative (among those with the highest scores on the knowledge index, this “risk” is over 4.5 times as great as it is for those with the lowest levels of knowledge). Interpreting this finding is not altogether easy. It is perhaps understandable to some extent that individuals who harbour anti-Semitic attitudes may have a tendency not to notice individuals who deny the Holocaust, even though it would also be possible to argue for the opposite view. On the other hand, I find it difficult to understand why individuals who know a lot about the Holocaust should be characterised by the same ten-

87 School stage: beta = 0.15; Age: beta = 0.13; Sex: beta = 0.10; Teaching subject: beta = 0.12; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.11;. In total, the variables “explain” a small proportion of the variance in the teachers' assessments ( $R^2 = 0.07$ ).

88 Age: beta = 0.24; School stage: beta = 0.12 Sex: beta = 0.11; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.16. In total, the variables “explain” a small proportion of the variance in the teachers' assessments ( $R^2 = 0.09$ ).

89 School stage: beta = 0.19; Age: beta = 0.13; Sex: beta = 0.13; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.11; Teaching subject: beta = 0.14; In total, the variables “explain” quite a small proportion of the variance in the teachers' assessments ( $R^2 = 0.13$ ). In this analysis the response alternative “I have not noticed anyone who denies the Holocaust..” was recoded as “missing”.

90 For the purpose of this analysis, this response alternative was recoded as a “dummy variable” with the values 1 (= the respondent has chosen this response alternative) and 0 (= he/she has not chosen this alternative). When recoding the age groups, the youngest age cohort was chosen as the reference category; physical education etc. was chosen as the reference category for the teaching subjects variable; the reference category for sex was male; for region of residence the reference category was Region 4 (“northern Sweden”); the reference category for the anti-Semitism index was the lowest index score (1); the reference category chosen for the knowledge index was also the lowest index score (1). Some of the more striking odds ratios: knowledge index, index score 5: 4.53,  $p = 0.0001$ ; anti-Semitism index, index score 4: 1.70,  $p = 0.0001$ , index score 3: 1.50,  $p = 0.0001$ ; teaching subject: Swedish 0.56,  $p = 0.0001$ . The odds ratios are calculated in relation to the respective reference categories for each variable.

gency. Nor is it self-evident that teachers of Swedish etc. should be at only half the “risk” of responding in this way as teachers of physical education etc.

Moving on, 60 percent of the teachers felt that *the presence of students with a Muslim background* in the class neither makes teaching about the Holocaust easier or more difficult. Since a further 27.3 percent answered that they don’t have any students with this kind of background in their classes, the remaining variance in the responses is so limited that any further analysis becomes largely meaningless.<sup>91</sup>

The same is also true of an analogous question that was posed about the *presence of students with a Jewish background* in the class. Almost 57 percent of the teachers have no students from a Jewish background and among those who do have such students, 36 percent feel that their presence makes teaching about the Holocaust neither easier or more difficult. Once again the remaining variance in the responses is minimal. MCA-analysis shows however that *anti-Semitic sentiment* does have a certain effect: the (relatively few) respondents with the highest score on this index include a larger proportion of teachers who feel that the presence of Jewish students makes teaching about the Holocaust more difficult than that found among those with lower scores on the index.<sup>92</sup>

Just as it is pleasing to note that almost 53 percent of the teachers have not noticed any *anti-Semitic attitudes in their schools*, it is rather depressing to note that the remainder appear to have observed such tendencies. One in four teachers answered that the presence of such attitudes neither makes teaching about the Holocaust easier or more difficult.<sup>93</sup> Even here the remaining variance is limited, but MCA analysis nonetheless identifies a number of effects. Although the anti-Semitism index produces a non-negligible effect (beta = 0.17), the result is very difficult to interpret as a result of the fact that the relationship between the variables is non-linear (“rollercoaster” pattern). High school teachers include a slightly larger proportion of respondents who feel that the occurrence of anti-Semitic attitudes in school makes it *easier* to teach about

the Holocaust than do those groups of teachers working in the other school stages. The oldest age cohort includes a slightly larger proportion who feel that such attitudes make teaching about the Holocaust *more difficult* by comparison with the other age groups. For some reason that I find difficult to understand, *sex* appears to have the strongest effect: among women, the proportion of respondents who feel that the presence of anti-Semitism in the school makes Holocaust teaching more difficult is markedly higher than it is among their male counterparts. Neither region of residence, teaching subject or knowledge about the Holocaust produce any effect in this context.<sup>94</sup>

The response alternative “*I haven’t noticed any anti-Semitic attitudes in my school*” was subjected to the same treatment as the response relating to individuals who deny the Holocaust (see above). Logistic regression analysis showed that respondents with moderately high and high scores on the anti-Semitism index are at somewhat higher “risk” of not noticing such attitudes in their schools than are individuals with the lowest score on this index. Further, the “risk” for not noticing such attitudes is one-third of the size among teachers of Swedish etc. than teachers of physical education etc.; it is 53 percent greater among teachers in Region 3 (central Sweden including Stockholm), and is 53 percent greater among women than among men.<sup>95</sup> It is difficult of course to interpret these results as constituting indicators of either the actual incidence of the expression of anti-Semitic attitudes, or the respondents’ “vigilance” in relation to such attitudes.

Among the survey respondents, 14.4 percent reported not having noticed any *anti-Semitic attitudes in society at large*. It does not necessarily follow that the remaining 85.6 percent feel that such attitudes do occur in society at large (see note 90 above). Almost half of the teachers feel that the occurrence of such attitudes neither makes teaching about the Holocaust easier or more difficult. MCA-analysis shows either very weak effects, or effects that are difficult to interpret, in relation to the background variables, the knowledge index and the index of anti-Semitic sentiment, and since the proportion of “explained” variance is

91 MCA-analysis confirms this, identifying no effects at all.

92 Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.14

93 It is of course not entirely unproblematic to interpret the fact that the respondents have ticked one of the other response alternatives – “more difficult”, “neither-or” and “easier” – as a direct indicator of the presence of anti-Semitic attitudes in their schools. It is possible that some teachers have perceived the question as a hypothetical one, i.e. “if there were anti-Semitic attitudes in your school ...”. I would therefore *not* be prepared to argue that the results show that anti-Semitic attitudes occur in 47 percent of Swedish schools.

94 School stage: beta = 0.16; Age: beta = 0.13; Sex: beta = 0.29; In total, the variables “explain” – remarkably perhaps – a non-trivial proportion of the variance in the teachers’ assessments ( $R^2 = 0.18$ ).

95 Teaching subject Swedish etc.: odds ratio 0.33,  $p = 0.0001$ ; Anti-Semitism index, highest score: odds ratio 1.47,  $p = 0.0001$ ; Region 3: odds ratio 1.53,  $p = 0.0001$ .

very small ( $R^2 = 0.06$ ) I will refrain from commenting further upon these relationships.

By contrast, a logistic regression analysis of the response alternative “*I have not noticed any anti-Semitic attitudes in society at large*” produced – if it is permissible to use the expression – a quite bountiful harvest of results. The respondents with the highest scores on the anti-Semitism index are at over 3.5 times the “risk” of not noticing anti-Semitic attitudes in society than those with the lowest scores on this index; those with the highest value on the knowledge index are at twice the “risk” of those with the least knowledge about the Holocaust; among the members of the oldest age cohort, this “risk” is 63 percent higher than it is among the members of the youngest cohort; the “risk” among teachers working in Region 1 (southern Sweden) is three times that of those in Region 4 (northern Sweden) and the “risk” of not noticing anti-Semitism in society among teachers of history is one-sixth of the size of that found among teachers of physical education etc.<sup>96</sup>

I can imagine that the above presentation is a little difficult to digest, but I am unable in the present context to go into any more detailed interpretation of these findings. It is sufficient to note that the teachers’ observations with regard to the presence of individuals who deny the Holocaust and anti-Semitic attitudes in schools and in society at large respectively are on the whole correlated in an interesting way with a series of other characteristics. The analysis could be complicated by introducing additional variables – as an example of this I could mention that the teachers who feel that teaching about the Holocaust is *less interesting* by comparison with other topics have a 38% lower “risk” of noticing anti-Semitic attitudes in society at large than those who answered “neither-or” to this question ( $V73$ ; odds ratio 0.62,  $p = 0.0001$ ). A more detailed reflection over these findings will have to wait until another time.

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<sup>96</sup> Anti-Semitism index, highest score: odds ratio 3.62,  $p = 0.0001$ , reference category lowest index score; knowledge index, highest score: odds ratio 2.15,  $p = 0.0001$ , reference category lowest score; teaching subject, Swedish etc.: odds ratio 0.16,  $p = 0.0001$ , reference category physical education etc.. Region 1: odds ratio 0.32,  $p = 0.0001$ , reference category Region 4. My stubborn use of quotation marks around the word “risk” is related to the fact that this word is not always adequate in connection with the presentation of results from logistic regression analyses. Unfortunately no better term exists. The odds ratio is the ratio between the likelihood of a given event occurring and the likelihood of this event not occurring, and it’s content is thus not synonymous with a probability. In this instance the event in question is the teachers’ choice of the fourth response alternative in relation to the questions (“I have not noticed .... etc.”).

The questionnaire included the following question: “*In some countries school students appear to have become tired of hearing about the Holocaust. Have you noticed any tendencies of this kind among your own students?*” Almost four-fifths of the respondents (78.8 percent) answered “No” to this question. Among the 21.2 percent who answered “Yes”, an overwhelming majority – 19.8 percent (of all respondents) – chose the response alternative “Yes, to some extent”. I am therefore able to conclude that this type of fatigue is – according to the teachers’ assessments – an unusual phenomenon among the students. Despite the limited variance in these responses, I have conducted an MCA analysis employing the usual background variables and the anti-Semitism and knowledge indexes. The only characteristics that show any effect in this analysis are school stage and anti-Semitic sentiment.<sup>97</sup> The stronger – relatively speaking – such sentiment, the more fatigue the teachers tend to notice among their students, although this effect is not particularly strong. School stage, on the other hand, produces a marked effect – teachers working in upper secondary schools report perceiving fatigue in their students to a substantially greater extent than teachers working in the other school stages. I should however point out that the mean for the upper secondary school teachers lies between “No” and “Yes, to some extent”.<sup>98</sup>

The teachers who answered “Yes” to this question were asked to assess a number of reasons for the students’ fatigue on a three category “scale” ranging from “No, not at all” to “To a great extent”. The reasons that elicited the largest proportions of “To a great extent” responses were “*They think they already know enough about the Holocaust*” (21.3 percent) and “*They think the same thing is repeated every year*” (21.9 percent).<sup>99</sup> In third place came “*They think too much of the teaching is devoted to the Holocaust compared with other genocides*” (16.7 percent) and in fourth “*They think there is too much teaching about the Holocaust.*” (14.3 percent).

I have subjected three of these reasons – which I intuitively find to be the most interesting – to an MCA analysis. The reason “*They think that too much teaching is devoted to the Holocaust compared with other genocides...*” ( $V85$  in Appendix 1) produces surprising results –

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<sup>97</sup> Note that an absolute majority of the variance in these answers lies between “No” and “Yes, to some extent”. Only 1.4 percent have answered “Yes, very often”.

<sup>98</sup> Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.17. School stage: beta = 0.42.  $R^2 = 0.25$ .

<sup>99</sup> Note that the base figure for these proportions comprises the minority of teachers who answered “Yes” to the principal question.

several factors show themselves to be significantly associated with responses to this item, although the results are not always easily interpretable. The oldest age cohort lies closest to the response alternative “No, not at all”, whereas the 45-54 year olds lie closest to “To a great extent”. Teachers of physics etc. lie closest to the response alternative “No, not at all”, teachers of history lie a little above “To some extent”. Teachers working in upper secondary schools assess this reason for fatigue as being somewhat more significant than do teachers working in the other school stages. Anti-Semitic attitudes produce a clear increase in the propensity to answer “To a great extent”. The knowledge index produces a strong effect, but the relationship takes the form of an upturned U: those with a score of 3 on this index (i.e. those lying in the centre of the index) lie very close to the response alternative “To a large extent”, while those with the lowest index score lie below the response alternative “To some extent”. I have already pointed out that non-linear correlations of this kind are difficult to interpret. Region 3 (including Stockholm) answers slightly above “To some extent”, Region 4 (northern Sweden) a good deal lower than this response alternative. This reason for fatigue is more often assessed to be less significant among the female teachers.<sup>100</sup>

The reason “*They think there is too much teaching about the Holocaust*” (V83 in Appendix 1) is not affected by very many factors. Teachers working in upper secondary schools and at the high school level assign more importance to this reason for student fatigue than do those working in the other school stages. Male teachers feel that this is more often a reason for student fatigue to a greater extent than their female counterparts.<sup>101</sup> By contrast the teachers’ assessments of the reason “*They think the same thing is repeated every year*” is affected by significantly more factors. The second oldest age cohort (55-60 years) assign this reason the most significance among the various age groups, whereas those aged 45-54 assign it the least significance. Teachers of history etc. feel it is a more important reason for fatigue than teachers of other subjects and

teachers working in middle school, and to a slightly lesser extent high school teachers, assess this reason to be significantly more important than do teachers working in upper secondary schools. Knowledge about the Holocaust affects the teachers’ assessments quite strongly, but the effect is difficult to interpret because the relationship between the variables is markedly non-linear. Anti-Semitic attitudes exert a moderate but clear effect on these assessments, once again in the usual direction (the higher a teacher’s score on the index, the more important this cause of fatigue is assessed to be).<sup>102</sup>

In summary, it may be noted that despite the fact that only one teacher in five reported that he or she had noticed “Holocaust fatigue” among the students (the majority of these “To some extent”), their assessments of possible reasons for this fatigue show interesting correlations with a number of different factors. For my own part, I find the correlation with the anti-Semitism index to be the most interesting. One could of course argue that this correlation is trivial – if a person harbours anti-Semitic attitudes he or she may be expected to interpret student behaviour as a sign of fatigue in relation to teaching on a subject that the teacher has certain reservations about. Given that anti-Semitic attitudes occur at *such low levels* among the teachers, however, I feel that the correlations with assessments of both student fatigue and the other assessments analysed in the previous section are anything but trivial. They show that even “unobtrusive” attitudes and values can sneak in and affect assessments of any number of different phenomena in a far from self-evident fashion.

A battery of questions (V90 – V96 in Appendix 1) was included in the questionnaire which asked the teachers to assess seven statements about the *objectives and goals of teaching about the Holocaust*. In some ways, these statements are similar to a group of questions described earlier that were posed to all teachers who participated in the survey (V31 – V37 in Appendix 1). As usual, a reduction in the number of variables is required, and the responses were therefore subjected to a factor analysis. Two factors were extracted with reasonably high factor loadings. The meaning of the first factor is given by the following two statements (which relate to teaching about the Holocaust): “*It can counteract racist tendencies among today’s young people*” and “*It*

100 Age: beta = 0.23. Teaching subject: beta = 0.35. Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.31. School stage: beta = 0.17. Knowledge index: beta = 0.32. Region of residence: beta = 0.21. Sex: beta = 0.15. The reader will note that the majority of these beta coefficients – which can be interpreted as an indicator of the strength of the effect of the respective variables on the teachers’ assessments – are substantially larger than in the majority of the previous analyses. This also means that the value for R<sup>2</sup> is unusually large at 0.44.

101 School stage: beta = 0.27; Sex: beta = 0.21. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.19.

102 Age: beta = 0.25; Teaching subject: beta = 0.16; School stage: beta = 0.36; Knowledge index: beta = 0.26; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.17. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.29

can obstruct the growth of neo-Nazi tendencies among today's young people". As with the previously analysed group of statements that were posed to all of the teachers, this dimension may be interpreted as expressing "instrumental" and prevention-related interests in relation to teaching about the Holocaust.<sup>103</sup> The other factor's meaning is determined by the statements "*It provides historical knowledge that is of the greatest importance*" and "*It helps keep alive the memory of an important historical event*". The third statement that loads on this factor – "*It raises the question of responsibility*" – has a significantly smaller factor loading, which is linked to the fact that this statement is also "associated with" the "instrumental" dimension, although with a significantly smaller factor loading. This second factor may be interpreted as reflecting more fundamental and deeper moral, ethical and historical values.

As previously, two summary measures – indexes – were created on the basis of the two factors.<sup>104</sup> The two measures present a moderately strong positive correlation with one another ( $r = 0.42, p < 0.0001$ ), which means that attitudes towards the two groups of statements are not entirely independent of one another. At the same time, the correlation is weak enough to warrant the use of two measures. Both indexes have been analysed using MCA.

The "instrumental" index presents a rather weak and non-linear correlation with age – the members of the 45-54 year old age cohort have the highest mean index score, whereas the youngest and oldest age cohorts present lower mean scores of roughly the same size. School stage is also relatively weakly correlated with this index, with teachers working in upper secondary schools having the lowest mean index score, while primary and middle school teachers present the highest. The correlation between the "instrumental" index and the anti-Semitism index is substantially stronger and more unequivocal – the higher the score on the anti-Semitism index, the lower the score on the "instrumental". The other variables included in the

analysis, which include the knowledge index, have no effect on the variance in the "instrumental" index.<sup>105</sup>

Much the same picture emerges in relation to the more "fundamental" morally-ethically focused Index 2. The correlation with age assumes the same form as was the case with Index 1. School stage has no effect, although teachers of history etc. and Swedish etc. have somewhat higher mean scores than teachers of other subjects. The effect of the anti-Semitism index is even stronger than it was in the case of Index 1, and the direction of the correlation is – of course – the same.<sup>106</sup>

I will now move on to a more "tricky" section, which focuses on a number of questions included in the questionnaire in order to gauge the teachers' level of knowledge about the Holocaust (V97 – V107 in Appendix 1).

### 3.7 Knowledge about the Holocaust

Testing teachers' knowledge – irrespective of the type of knowledge in question – is a problematic venture for several different reasons. Teachers constitute an "elite". They are well-educated individuals who have been given – and have accepted – responsibility for a task that is of fundamental importance to society, namely that of conveying and facilitating the acquisition of basic knowledge and values among new generations of the members of society. *On the other hand, few teachers can be better than the teacher training offered to them by society makes it possible to be* – the teachers' work situation in modern day schools leaves little if any opportunity for self-improvement. The Swedish school system, which according to one view has been "reformed to death", has undergone innumerable metamorphoses over the past 60 years, which have only partially been synchronised with changes in the teacher training system. What were once called the "teaching subjects" have increasingly been integrated into large chunks, with depth of knowledge having to give way to something that is usually referred to with words such as "overview", "a broad perspective" and "summary knowledge". It would appear, however, that the zealots of the overview ideology have not sufficiently thought through what is perhaps the most basic condition for the ability to provide such an overview, namely that anyone wishing to attain this highly

103 In total, the two factors "explain" 73 percent of the variance in the responses to the seven statements. The first two statements in each factor have factor loadings greater than 0.85.

104 The first index ranges between scores of 1 and 4, the other between 1 and 3. The indexes were constructed in the same way as previously (see footnote 19). Note, however the *small proportion of responses expressing disagreement* in relation to all of the statements (see V90 – V96 in Appendix 1). If the response alternatives "Partly disagree" and "Completely disagree" are combined, the proportion expressing disagreement – so defined – varies between 0.4 and 7.8 percent. The variance is thus found primarily between the response alternatives "Completely agree" and "Partly agree".

105 Age: beta = 0.10; School stage: beta = 0.13; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.22;  $R^2 = 0.10$ .

106 Age: beta = 0.09; Teaching subject: beta = 0.09; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.27;  $R^2 = 0.10$ .

desirable mental condition must first acquire the *substance* over which they are to develop an overview. Otherwise, “overview” and “perspective” become nothing other than superficial abstractions. A good deal of the discussion that has taken place in relation to these questions has focused on the question of the fate of “detailed knowledge”, a question with is highly relevant for the subject of history.

This final question rose very clearly to the surface in the context of the current study. As the questionnaires were being collected in, I received dozens of phone calls from more or less indignant teachers who criticised the survey for testing unnecessary knowledge of detail. This criticism related to the questions focused on the teachers’ knowledge about the Holocaust. At the end of the questionnaire, the teachers were encouraged to write comments about the survey. Almost 2000 such comments have been collected in, and no mean portion of these comments expressed critical views about the “detail testing” knowledge questions.<sup>107</sup> I am not myself an historian, and in order to be able to work with the knowledge questions included in the survey I have therefore canvassed the opinions of professional historians.<sup>108</sup> I do however have several decades of experience of university teaching, amongst other things in the field of education, and I feel that certain fundamental principles of knowledge acquisition are valid irrespective of the subject matter at issue. Allow me therefore to express a few – only partially amateur – views on the problem of “detailed knowledge” in relation to history.

History has an unavoidable temporal dimension, which – as far as I am aware – is usually referred to with the term “chronology”. Time is an extremely complex dimension of reality, as physicists and cosmologists, among others, are very aware. Applying the chronological dimension in history must involve significantly more than simply mechanically learning sequences of dates, superficially linked to labels for events. Allow me to give one example. On August 24, 1939, the Soviet Union entered into a non-aggression

pact with Nazi Germany which was signed by the Soviet foreign minister Molotov and his German counterpart Ribbentrop. The event is therefore known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Having an historical “overview” and a “perspective” in relation to the Second World War must reasonably involve amongst other things knowing about – and understanding the complex background to – a series of key events that occurred during the years immediately prior to the outbreak of the war, during the war itself, and also during the years immediately subsequent to its conclusion. If a person does not know about the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, I find it difficult to believe that he or she has this kind of overview of the war as an historical period. If another person is aware of the verbal label “Molotov-Ribbentrop pact” and perhaps has a weak conception of what the term refers to, but locates the event as occurring in the year 1940, I would find it almost as difficult to accept that such an individual has this kind of overview. The temporal sequence<sup>109</sup> of particularly certain critical events in an historical process is quite fundamental to any understanding of the process itself. The month of August is also very important in this context, first and foremost because of what happened a short time later.

Both “overview” and “perspective” must in my view consist in some kind of comprehensive “mental framework of reference” or, if one would prefer to use a somewhat more sophisticated expression, in a cognitive (and preferably also an emotionally tinted) matrix, which in historical contexts must include a clear temporal dimension, where significant, critical events are “contextualised” in a meaningful sequence. In some cases an exact date may be very important, in other cases the correct decade. If this cognitive matrix for a given historical period is sufficiently detailed and well-established in an individual’s mental world, or has – to use the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess’s concept – an appreciable intentional depth, the chronology of critical events ought to be the least of a person’s worries in the context of a test of their knowledge.

Moving on now to the results of the knowledge questions, I will begin with the question “*Which of the following camps were built primarily in order to murder Jews?*” (V97 – V103 in Appendix 1). The question was followed by seven names, of which six related to places and one to an institution. Two of the names

107 The volume of comments, constituting as they do qualitative data which are demanding to work with, has made it impossible to incorporate an analysis of these data into this report. It is possible that they will be analysed at a later date.

108 I would like to extend my thanks to Magnus Hermansson Adler, university lecturer in subject didactics at the University of Göteborg and in the teacher training programme at Jönköping University, for his extremely valuable comments on the knowledge questions employed in the survey. I would also like to thank Professor Hans Albin Larsson, from Lund, who was able at extremely short notice to provide me with several texts he has himself written that are of great relevance in this context.

109 It is tempting to use the term “causal process” in this context, but the concept of “causality” in social (including political) contexts is extremely problematic.

constituted correct answers – Chelmno and Treblinka – which were places where the Nazis built camps whose principal objective was to murder Jews. Of the teachers who participated in the survey, 87.8 percent answered correctly in relation to “Treblinka”, 0.9 percent answered incorrectly and 8.2 percent answered “Don’t know”. 16.8 percent answered correctly in relation to “Chelmno”, seven percent answered incorrectly and 76.2 percent answered “Don’t know”. Almost three of four teachers answered incorrectly in relation to the names “Dachau” and “Bergen-Belsen”. 83.4 percent answered “Don’t know” in relation to the name Hadamar.<sup>110</sup>

Since I do not know of another survey where the same questions have been posed to teachers or to a random sample of the whole population, it is once again difficult to assess these proportions. Given the above discussion, I might argue that knowledge about the objectives associated with the Nazi’s establishment of different concentration camps should constitute a part of the desirable intentional depth in teachers’ awareness and understanding of German Nazism as a phenomenon and the Second World War as an historical period.

The two remaining names – Katyn and Gulag – have nothing to do with the Holocaust. Katyn is an area west of the city of Smolensk in Russia where the Soviet security service, the NKVD, murdered between 4,000 and 5,000 Polish officers on orders from Stalin in the spring of 1940 and disposed of them in a mass grave. Gulag is an acronym for “Chief Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps”. The agency was created in 1930 as a department within the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs and the security service and subsequent to its formal establishment in 1934 it constituted a central agency for the administration of all corrective labour camps in the Soviet Union.<sup>111</sup> The two names were included in the question as “diversionary” alternatives.

As regards Katyn, 3.6 percent of the teachers answered incorrectly (“Yes”), 15.4 percent correctly (“No”) and 81 percent “Don’t know”. In relation to the name Gulag, 6.8 percent answered incorrectly, 54 percent

correctly and 39.2 percent “Don’t know”. Once again it is difficult to assess these proportions in the absence of a comparison material. In order to produce a somewhat more detailed insight into how teacher training programmes prepare those teachers who are to teach modern history in schools, I have analysed these teachers’ answers in more depth. In order to produce a better overview I present in Table 22 a more condensed form of answer for all seven alternatives. It is reasonable to combine incorrect answers (“Yes” when the correct answer is “No” and vice versa) with the response alternative “Don’t know”, since both indicate that the respondent does not know what the name in question refers to.

If we focus on the figures in the columns of “correct” responses, we can see that the proportion of such responses increases with increases in the level of specialisation in history. “Treblinka” produces by far the smallest proportion of incorrect answers, but otherwise the results do not appear to be particularly encouraging. Two of three teachers of history working in upper secondary schools do not know what Katyn was, and almost one in five do not know what Gulag means.<sup>112</sup> Between 84 and 85 percent in this same category of teachers do not know the objective associated with the establishment of the concentration camps in Dachau and Bergen-Belsen respectively. Using logistic regres-

112 Even if these two names are not related to the Holocaust, (although both are associated with other mass murders) they nonetheless relate to important events in modern history. The results discussed above indicate that what I have previously referred to as the “cognitive matrix” among many history teachers working in upper secondary schools contains quite a large number of empty cells. Students do on occasion know more than their teachers, but as far as I know (and hope) this is not common, and the most reasonable conclusion is therefore that the students taught by the teachers who have participated in the survey know even less than these teachers. In light of this fact, the proclamation by history teachers against the Living History Forum’s informational campaign about the crimes against humanity committed under communist regimes appears somewhat pathetic – to put it mildly. (DN, 2008-04-02). One formulation in this proclamation – in my view – exposes the signatories quite mercilessly: “*The substantial differences between different historical perspectives on **the communist experience**, for example, bring the risks associated with state history campaigns sharply into focus*” (emphasis added). The use of the word “experience” constitutes in this context an apologetic and “softening” formulation of a very brutal reality. The reader can substitute the word “Nazi” for “communist” and feel how the sentence sounds. The final point made in the proclamation must constitute an “accident at work”, an intellectual banana skin. Following a quotation from the teachers’ manual included in the informational material – “*In a dictatorship, those who write history are always servants of the state*” – the signatories ask the following absurd question: “*What conclusion might students in upper secondary school come to draw in relation to the campaign that is now being initiated?*” These students will naturally draw the self-evident conclusion that Sweden is a dictatorship that is forcing upon them a falsified description of the history of communism’s alleged crimes against humanity.

110 Dachau and Bergen-Belsen were concentration camps, but they were not built with the primary objective of murdering Jews. Hadamar is a small town in western Germany, in which a mental hospital was transformed by the Nazis into one of the six “euthanasia centres” utilised in Action T4, a “euthanasia programme” for the elimination of individuals deemed by the state to be “unworthy of life”, such as people with disabilities and mental illness.

111 Persson, G. 2005. *Gulag*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.

**TABLE 22.** Responses to the question on death camps presented separately for all teachers, teachers of history, irrespective of school stage, and teachers of history working in upper secondary schools. Incorrect responses and “Don’t know” responses combined and presented in “Don’t know” columns. Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

Namn	All teachers		History teachers irrespective of school stage		History teachers in upper secondary schools	
	Correct	Don't know	Correct	Don't know	Correct	Don't know
Dachau	5	95	9	91	15	85
Chelmno	17	83	25	75	35	65
Treblinka	88	12	90	10	95	5
Katyn	15	85	22	78	33	67
Hadamar	14	86	20	80	25	75
Gulag	54	46	61	39	82	18
Bergen-Belsen	6	94	10	90	16	84

sion analysis I have examined the responses for each alternative in question V97 in relation to the usual background variables. Besides the more or less self-evident finding that the results are consistently better for teachers of history than for teachers of other subjects, the only effects found were that the oldest two age cohorts have better results than the youngest in the majority of cases, and that the same is true for female teachers in relation to males. The issue of whether this question focuses on knowledge of unnecessary “details” is one that may be open to discussion, but against the background of the views I have expressed above, I am not inclined to share this opinion.

The next knowledge question (V104 in Appendix 1) relates to *what would happen to a person who refused to participate in the German forces’ executions of Jewish civilians*.<sup>113</sup> The response alternatives ranged between execution and that nothing special would happen to such a person. The final answer is the correct one. The response alternatives are not entirely mutually exclusive, which is probably why a large number of respondents (despite clear instructions to the contrary)

ticked more than one of the alternatives. It is very difficult to correct data of this kind and I must therefore point out that the percentages presented below are not entirely correct. Given this reservation, it is possible to state that approximately half the teachers believe that a person refusing to participate would have been executed, at the same time as only four percent have answered correctly.<sup>114</sup>

In fact this question touches upon one of the most central issues that exists in relation to the understanding of genocides and mass murders in general, and the Holocaust in particular. This is the issue of the extent to which it is legitimate in contexts of this kind to ascribe the perpetrators any personal responsibility. This problem has been discussed extensively among researchers working with the Holocaust and other genocides, and at least a couple of important books have been published on the subject over the past fifteen years. The perception that more or less terrible consequences would befall anyone refusing to participate in the executions is rooted in the relatively common view – cemented by the mass media – that the perpetrators of terrible acts are almost always mentally ill or disturbed in some other way. When it comes to mass murder, this view expresses itself specifically in the conception that the perpetrators are either mentally disturbed or acting under extreme coercion, in the form of the threat of being executed themselves, for

<sup>113</sup> Upon closer examination, the expression “Many Germans participated ...” appears somewhat ambiguous. Some respondents may have been uncertain as to which Germans the question actually relates to: soldiers who were ordered to execute Jews? Civilians who joined military groups that carried out the executions? The question can also be perceived as very difficult as a result of the fact that the response alternative “Nothing special would have happened” is ambiguous to some extent. Respondents may have wondered about what the word “special” might mean in this context. I have consulted with the historical didactician Magnus Hermansson Adler in connection with all of the knowledge questions, and particularly in relation to this one. His view is that the question is central to an understanding of the Holocaust.

<sup>114</sup> The percentages were calculated subsequent to transforming each response alternative into a “dummy-variable” with the values 1 and 0, where 1 means that the respondent ticked the response alternative in question. The percentage for a given response alternative says nothing about the extent to which the respondents who chose a given response alternative have also ticked other response alternatives.



example. The essential axiom in this “explanatory model” is that the perpetrators have absolutely no choice and can therefore be exempted of any personal responsibility for their actions – in one way or another either the individuals themselves, or the circumstances surrounding their actions, are perceived as being anything but normal. I cannot in the present context go into this problem in any more detail however. *If* it is a fact that nothing would happen to an individual who refused to participate in the execution of Jews, this would indicate that they did not act under coercion, and that they could therefore be held to account for their actions.

In order to develop an understanding of how the history teachers view this question, I have isolated the responses relating to the first and last response alternatives (“execution” and “nothing special would happen” respectively) on the one hand for history teachers irrespective of school stage, and on the other for history teachers working in upper secondary schools. The percentages were calculated separately for each response alternative (see note 107). Focusing first on all history teachers irrespective of school stage, 47.5 percent have chosen the first response alternative and 4.8 percent the final response alternative. Among the history teachers working in upper secondary schools, the corresponding proportions were 33.9 and 7.3 percent respectively. Thus there is some increase in the proportion of correct responses and at the same time a decline in the proportion of incorrect responses with an increase in the level of specialisation in history. However, even among those history teachers working in upper secondary schools, only one in fourteen knows the correct answer.

In question V105, the teachers were asked to choose the correct year among seven alternatives in relation to the statement *In what year did the first mass arrests of jews take place on basis of their ethnic affiliation*. The correct response is 1938 and 24.3 percent of all teachers chose this alternative. One third of teachers answered “Don’t know”. The procedure employed in relation to the previous question was repeated using three response alternatives (the years 1933, 1938 and “Don’t know”). Among all history teachers irrespective of school stage, 4.4 percent (exactly the same proportion as among all teachers) chose 1933, 26.1 percent answered correctly, and 31.9 percent answered “Don’t know”. Among history teachers working in upper secondary schools, the corresponding proportions are 5.5, 34.5 and 20.1 percent. Thus once again there is an increase in the proportion of correct responses and a

reduction in those answering “Don’t know” the closer the teachers’ teaching lies to the subject of history. On the other hand, only one third of the history teachers working in upper secondary schools have answered correctly, and one-fifth of the teachers in this category have answered “Don’t know”.

In the second last question in this knowledge battery (V106), the respondents were asked to state *how large a proportion of the German population in 1933 comprised Jews affiliated with a Jewish congregation*.<sup>115</sup> The response alternatives were stated in percentage intervals from “Less than 1 %” to “Over 30 %”, with the first of these alternatives constituting the correct answer. Almost half of the teachers who teach about the Holocaust (48.4 percent) answered “Don’t know” and almost one in four (24.2 percent) answered that the proportion of Jews was 6-15 percent or greater. 5.7 percent answered correctly. A division of the respondents conducted in the same way as previously shows that the proportion of correct answers increases, and the proportion of “Don’t knows” decreases with an increasing focus on the subject of history among the teachers (11.8 percent and 29.5 percent respectively among history teachers working in upper secondary schools).

This type of question can quite often include a “projective” element, which means that the responses reflect other mental factors besides the respondents’ knowledge of the facts involved. In order to examine this issue, an MCA-analysis was conducted using the usual background variables and the anti-Semitism index. In two cases, the results are surprising: teachers of *history* (irrespective of school stage) *overestimate* the proportion of Jews in the German population more than teachers in other subjects, and respondents with the *lowest* score on the anti-Semitism index over-estimate the proportion of Jews in the German population in the same way to a *greater extent* than those with higher index scores. At the time of writing, I cannot think of a reasonable explanation for these findings – I would have expected higher values on the anti-Semitism index to be associated with greater levels of overestimation. Female teachers overestimate the size

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115 I am unsure about whether the addition to the question placed in parentheses, “*in the sense that they belonged to a Jewish congregation*”, might have confused some respondents. The objective, as far as I can understand it, was to specify what was meant by the term “Jews” in the context of the question. It is possible that some respondents felt that one would have to know the membership figures for the Jewish congregations in order to be able to answer the question. The large proportion of “Don’t know” responses (46.9 % in the unweighted data) together with the approximately 3 % who skipped the question completely, may indicate that this is the case.

of the proportion of Jews to a greater extent than their male counterparts, and the members of the cohort aged 45-54 years does so to a greater extent than the members of the other age groups.<sup>116</sup>

The final knowledge question read as follows: “*How large a proportion of the Jewish children in Europe were killed during the Second World War?*” (see V107 in Appendix 1). The response alternatives took the form of percentage intervals, ranging from 0-20 % to 81-100 %. The correct answer lies within this final interval, and 3.2 percent of all the teachers answered correctly. One in ten of all the teachers chose the interval 0-20 percent. Just over four percent skipped the question completely. Isolating those teachers who teach history, we find that the proportion of correct answers increases to 5.1 percent among history teachers working in upper secondary schools, and that the proportion answering 0-20 percent declines to 4.5 percent. The proportions of answers in the remaining “scale categories” listed among the response alternatives change in the corresponding way.

This question is also a candidate for a “projective” interpretation – under- or overestimations of the proportion of Jewish children might be expected to be affected by other factors than “pure knowledge”, if any such thing can actually be said to exist in this area. An MCA-analysis shows the following: the higher the respondents’ level of *anti-Semitic* sentiment<sup>117</sup> the more they tend to *underestimate* the proportion of Jewish children killed; *history* teachers underestimate this proportion to a lesser extent than teachers of other subjects; teachers *born outside Europe* underestimate the proportion of Jewish children killed to a greater extent than teachers born in Sweden; *male teachers* underestimate more than females; *the age cohort comprised of 45-54 year olds* answers for the lowest level of underestimation among all of the age groups examined; respondents with high scores on *Attitude Index 1* underestimate the proportion of Jewish children killed more than do those with low scores on this index. Neither region of residence nor school stage show any effect.<sup>118</sup> I must point out that all of the effects described are rather weak.

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116 Age: beta = 0.08; Sex: beta = 0.10; Teaching subject: beta = 0.09; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.11. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.04.

117 I must once again emphasise the very limited variance found in the responses to the statements associated with anti-Semitic attitudes. The absolute majority of the teachers completely disagreed with these statements, which means that the results presented only relate to rather weak *tendencies*. But even weak tendencies can direct our attention at important conditions.

118 Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.12; Teaching subject: beta = 0.10; Region of birth: beta = 0.05; Age: beta = 0.08; Sex: beta = 0.10; Attitude Index 1: beta = 0.08. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.04. Note the low value of R<sup>2</sup>.

An identical question was posed in the 1998 Teacher Survey. A comparison of the two years (see V107 in Appendix 2) shows that – by comparison with 1998 – the respondents in the 2007 study show a *greater* tendency to *underestimate* the proportion of Jewish children killed during the Second World War. At the time of writing, I find it difficult to explain this change.<sup>119</sup>

Despite the reservations about the use of certain formulations in the knowledge questions, as described in a number of footnotes, I am inclined to conclude that the teacher training programmes undergone by our respondents have not sufficiently equipped them with the knowledge necessary to convey to younger generations an insight into one of the most important events of modern history.

It can be added that those who have undergone teacher training since 2000 have never generally been given the opportunity to acquire a deeper knowledge about the Holocaust within the framework of their teacher training. Individuals training to become history teachers study history for only a single term. They then have two terms of study focusing on how history can be reconstructed, perceived and conveyed via research, which is interwoven with the writing of a dissertation. In the course of their single term of history studies, teacher training students read about the whole of world history, hopefully with a greater focus on modern history. It would be reasonable to expect that the Holocaust received special attention during this term of study, given that this particular historical event is the only clear concrete example that is mentioned specifically in the existing national curriculum for the school subject history. The results from the knowledge questions posed in the current survey indicate that this is not the case.

Further, since the year 2000, the space available for the study of subject specific didactics in the context of teacher training has been radically reduced in favour of common courses with a more general teaching focus, which can be applied to all teacher training students from pre-school to upper secondary school. The didactics of history have thus also suffered, and this has been particularly serious since the historical and moral aspects of the Holocaust demand a rich variety of methodological approaches in teaching.

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119 Chi-square, p = 0.0001; C = 0.21, p = 0.0001. The difficulties associated with making the two samples as comparable as possible, as were mentioned earlier, should be born in mind however.

The conditions of existence for the subject of history in schools also contribute to the problems. With what is referred to as “block teaching”, a specific subject may suffer depending upon the planning process at a specific school. For the subject of history, this may mean for example that the subject is dealt with in a step motherly fashion in the context of thematic studies in the “SO” (“social orientation”) subject area. There is no guarantee that a certain minimum amount of time will be spent on history within the compulsory education system, but if hours within the “SO” block were distributed evenly, history would end up with three hours per week for years 7-9. The study of history in upper secondary school today involves an average of 75 hours during the A-course, in which the whole of world history is covered. While it is true that the A-course stresses modern history, history is not one of the core subjects and is not read by all.<sup>120</sup>

The very limited number of hours involved makes it difficult for the history teacher, together with his or her colleagues in the teaching team, to develop their own knowledge specifically in relation to the Holocaust, or for that matter in relation to any other critical historical event or period. The limited number of hours available would suggest the need for further training in the art of presenting an overview of history, rather than of being able to provide a more detailed insight into critical events of the kind of which the Holocaust is undoubtedly an example. In addition it should be born in mind that the role of today’s teacher involves more than simply conveying knowledge. The social problems experienced by students, contacts with parents, conferences and meetings, together with the high student numbers in every class, inevitably take their toll on the time available for additional education at the level of the individual teacher.

Against this background, the extensive further education effort focused on the country’s teachers that was initiated by the Living History Forum in 1998 under the title “Society’s value base using the Holocaust as an example”, and which has since been conducted by the Forum in a variety of forms, can only be viewed as a highly necessary one. The vast majority of history teachers have nonetheless not had the opportunity to educate themselves further in relation to, or to themselves update and deepen their knowledge of, the Holocaust.

<sup>120</sup> Personal communication from Gunnar Hermansson Adler.

**TABLE 23.** Proportions (in percent) of respondents located in the five scale categories of the knowledge index among all teachers, history teachers irrespective of school stage, and history teachers working in upper secondary schools. Weighted data.

Scale category knowledge index	All teachers	History teachers irrespective of school stage	History teachers in upper secondary schools
1	29.5	26.4	9.6
2	49.3	46.3	44.0
3	10.3	10.5	14.7
4	7.0	8.8	13.4
5	3.9	8.0	18.4

In order to develop a better overview of the knowledge questions, I have constructed a summary measure – a knowledge index – which I employed earlier in the text in Tables 19 and 20 in section 3.5. The index was constructed in the same way as the other indexes that have been employed in the study.<sup>121</sup> Table 23 presents the distribution of the respondents across different scale categories of the index for three categories of teachers.

<sup>121</sup> For a description of the method employed see footnote 19. The work conducted constructing the knowledge index was very time consuming. The different answers were weighted into the index using different weights and I have been forced to test my way forwards using several different weighting variants in order to produce as “fair” a measure as possible. In this kind of context, the researcher is free to give a specific answer to a question a weight that is five or ten times as great as that assigned to another answer to the same question, entirely depending upon the researcher’s opinion as to how “right” or “wrong” a certain answer should be deemed to be. Weights of this kind can easily become quite arbitrary and in the end I therefore decided to employ a “minimalist” weighting system, with weights varying from –1 through –0.5, 0, +0.5 to +1. I must also point out that I have also included the two questions relating to the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust (V108 and V109 in Appendix 1) in the construction of the knowledge index. It is also important to note that many of the respondents skipped certain of the knowledge questions and have therefore become “missing data” (which accumulates when the questions included in the index are summed together), with a total of 24 percent of the teachers lacking a score on the knowledge index (weighted data). I have also constructed an alternative (“more brutal”) index without using the formula described in footnote 19. This index was constructed such that index scores directly reflect the number of knowledge questions that the respondent answered correctly, with each name in the question relating to the death camps being treated as a separate variable. Only 2 (of 5081) teachers answered all of the questions correctly, and a further fourteen gave correct answers in relation to all but one of the questions. 7.8 % answered all of the questions incorrectly, 27.8 answered all but one incorrectly, 26 % gave two correct answers and 16.6 % gave three correct answers. Thus 70.4 % of the respondents gave incorrect answers to at least eight of the eleven questions.

It is not surprising to note that the table shows the same increase in the proportion with high index scores as we move from left to right along the rows – and the corresponding reduction in the proportion with low index scores – that could be observed in the run through of the individual questions presented above. Once again I must express a word of caution – the percentages in the table cannot be interpreted too literally. Thus we cannot say, for example, that over half of the Swedish history teachers working in upper secondary schools have an extremely deficient knowledge of the Holocaust (the sum of those with index scores of 1 and 2 in the extreme right hand column in the table). Even if this index roughly reflects the nature of the distribution in the “raw data index” (see footnote 19) and thus also the distributions of the variables included in the index themselves, the final whole-number scores are the result of a number of compressions and expansions of the intervals between the values on the raw data index. *The most important reason, however, is the absence of points of reference* – qualitative judgements about the results will have to wait until identical questions have been posed to a comparable sample of history teachers in another country.

In order to get a “bird’s eye view” of the relationship between the knowledge index and a number of other characteristics including whether the teacher is qualified, the anti-Semitism index, question V3 on how long they have worked as teachers and question V73 on how interesting they feel it is to teach about the Holocaust, I have conducted a step-wise MCA-analysis whose results are presented in Table 24.

By following the columns for the respective age categories from the top of the table towards the bottom, the reader can see how the mean score on the knowledge index changes as new control variables are introduced into the model. The clearest change between the first and last rows in the table is found in relation to the 55-60 year old age cohort, where the mean score drops from 4.6 to 4.1. The most marked change occurs when the variable “participated in other educational courses about the Holocaust” is introduced in the final row (from 4.4 to 4.1). This age cohort contains by far the largest proportion of teachers who have participated in three or more additional education programmes relating to the Holocaust, and at the same time the smallest proportion of respondents who have not participated in any additional education about the Holocaust. This gave them an “advantage” in relation to the other age groups in the last but one row of Table 24. When the level of participation in

additional courses on the Holocaust is held constant in the final row of the table, this “advantage” is eliminated. It is interesting to note that participating in additional education has no, or only a very weak, effect on the level of knowledge of the other age cohorts. I am unable to explain why the 55-60 year olds should have been so diligent in their participation in additional educational courses in this area.

The beta coefficients indicate how strong an “effect” each variable has on the variance in the knowledge index in the context of each set of control variables (= each row). Beta constitutes an approximate measure of the “strength” of the correlation between an independent variable, e.g. the number of years working as a teacher, and the dependent variable, in the current instance the knowledge index, when all of the other independent variables (“control variables”) are held constant. The ranking among the beta coefficients indicates the relative capacity of each control variable to “explain” (in the statistical sense of the term) the variance in the dependent variable (the knowledge index) without the influence of the other variables. By following the beta values for age, for example, from the first to the last row of the table, it is possible to see that the relatively strong correlation between age and the knowledge index indicated in the first row of the table is in part due to “interference” from the characteristics that are subsequently successively introduced and controlled for in the rows that follow – the size of this beta value drops from 0.43 to 0.29. At the same time, it can be noted that the correlation between the knowledge index and the number of years working as a teacher does not change a great deal between the first and last rows of the table, which means that the other characteristics do not have any notable impact upon this relationship. I have also examined what happens in the table if a couple of additional variables are introduced, namely V42 (*how many hours teachers taught about the Holocaust during the previous academic year*) and V59 (*how many hours were spent on the Holocaust in the course of their teacher training*). These variables were found to have only a very weak effect on the level of the teachers’ knowledge, and they were therefore excluded from the analysis.

What this in effect means – with regard to the differences between age cohorts – is that when the effects of the variables specified in the final row of the table have been controlled for, the age groups 35-44 years and 55-60 years are those with the highest scores on the knowledge index, and the age groups 26-34 and 61-73 are those with the lowest. This picture deviates

**TABLE 24.** Mean scores on the knowledge index. MCA-analysis with successive addition of control variables. The table relates to history teachers (irrespective of school stage) who have answered that they teach (or have taught) about the Holocaust. The first row shows the mean scores for the different age categories with no controls for the effect of any other variables. The column entitled "Control for" states the variables that are successively included in the analysis. By looking at the column values for each sub-category from the top of the table towards the bottom, it is possible to see the changes (or absence of changes) in the mean scores that occur in the course of this process. The bottom row thus shows the mean scores for each age cohort with simultaneous controls for the effects of all the other variables. The column entitled "Beta" presents the beta coefficients for each control variable in accordance with the numbering in the first column. The column on the extreme right hand side of the table presents the value of R<sup>2</sup> for each step. The analysis is based on weighted data.

Control for	Age category					Beta	R <sup>2</sup>
	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-60	61-73		
1. Age	2.7	3.2	3.3	4.6	3.2	1. 0.43	0.18
1. Age						1. 0.40	0.23
2. Whether qualified	2.7	3.3	3.4	4.5	3.1	2. 0.23	
1. Age						1. 0.40	0.24
2. Whether qualified	2.7	3.4	3.4	4.5	3.0	2. 0.21	
3. Number of years teaching						3. 0.11	
1. Age						1. 0.39	0.26
2. Whether qualified						2. 0.22	
3. Number of years teaching	2.7	3.4	3.4	4.4	3.0	3. 0.10	
4. Sex						4. 0.11	
1. Age						1. 0.38	0.28
2. Whether qualified						2. 0.22	
3. Number of years teaching	2.7	3.4	3.3	4.4	2.9	3. 0.10	
4. Sex						4. 0.10	
5. Region of residence						5. 0.19	
1. Age						1. 0.36	0.29
2. Whether qualified						2. 0.23	
3. Number of years teaching						3. 0.10	
4. Sex	2.7	3.4	3.3	4.4	2.9	4. 0.11	
5. Region of residence						5. 0.19	
6. Region of birth						6. 0.07	
1. Age						1. 0.38	0.33
2. Whether qualified						2. 0.20	
3. Number of years teaching						3. 0.09	
4. Sex	2.7	3.4	3.4	4.4	2.8	4. 0.14	
5. Region of residence						5. 0.20	
6. Region of birth						6. 0.06	
7. Anti-Semitism index						7. 0.20	
1. Age						1. 0.38	0.35
2. Whether qualified						2. 0.17	
3. Number of years teaching						3. 0.11	
4. Sex						4. 0.14	
5. Region of residence	2.7	3.4	3.3	4.4	2.8	5. 0.18	
6. Region of birth						6. 0.04	
7. Anti-Semitism index						7. 0.22	
8. Interesting to teach about the Holocaust V73						8. 0.15	
1. Age						1. 0.29	0.38
2. Whether qualified						2. 0.19	
3. Number of years teaching						3. 0.11	
4. Sex						4. 0.14	
5. Region of residence						5. 0.19	
6. Region of birth	2.9	3.5	3.3	4.1	2.9	6. 0.06	
7. Anti-Semitism index						7. 0.21	
8. Interesting to teach about the Holocaust V73						8. 0.14	
9. Participated in additional education about the Holocaust V62						9. 0.22	

only marginally from that which could be seen from Table 19, and the small deviations that do exist are most probably due to the fact that a narrower sample of teachers have formed the basis of the current analysis (i.e. the history teachers who have reported that they teach about the Holocaust). The age cohorts with the *lowest* scores on the knowledge index in both tables – the 26-34 year olds and the 61-73 year olds – were born during the periods 1973-1981 and 1934-1946 respectively, and most probably underwent their teacher training during the period from the latter part of the 1990s through the first half of the first decade of the 21st century, and from the latter part of the 1950s through the latter part of the 1960s respectively. The age cohort with the *highest* scores on the knowledge index in both tables – the 55-60 year olds – were born during the period 1947-1952 and probably underwent their teacher training from the latter part of the 1960s through the first half of the 1970s.

As a result of considerations of time and the available space I am unable in the present context to undertake the time-consuming task of attempting to explain – or rather to interpret – these differences against the background of the description of the relevant historical periods which I presented in section 3.5. Furthermore, it is not entirely easy in this context to transform quantitative differences into qualitative insights. This presentation will therefore serve for the present as a background and as providing a perspective that interested and patient readers may use as a basis for their own reflections and interpretations.<sup>122</sup> It can however be noted that the second youngest age cohort, i.e. the 35-44 year olds, who probably underwent their teacher training during the period from the mid-1980s through the first half of the 1990s, have – relatively speaking – quite a high score on the knowledge index, which is also true of the “middle cohort”, the 45-54 year olds (teacher training probably from the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s). Both these periods were rich in events related to the Holocaust, and it is possible that the knowledge index shows traces of these events. On the other hand, the period during which the age group with the highest index score – the 55-60 year olds – probably underwent their teacher training was relatively poor in such events, for which

reason I find it a little difficult at first sight to understand their relatively high level of knowledge.

Interested readers can browse further through the figures presented in Table 24 and draw their own conclusions about the impact of the different characteristics on knowledge about the Holocaust. For my own part, more complex analyses, e.g. via the introduction of additional control variables, will have to wait until another occasion. I would however like to mention a number of differences between different categories of respondents based on the final row of Table 24, i.e. when all control variables are included: teachers who are *qualified* specifically for their teaching positions have a markedly better level of knowledge by comparison first and foremost with teachers with a *general teaching qualification*; *men* appear to know more than women, *ceteris paribus*; teachers working in *Region 3* (which includes the county of Stockholm) have the *lowest* score on the knowledge index of all the regions, while those working in *Region 4* (northern Sweden) have the highest; the *anti-Semitism index* is moderately strongly correlated with the level of knowledge, but this relationship is non-linear and difficult to explain: respondents with the *lowest* and the *second highest* scores on the anti-Semitism index have markedly higher scores on the knowledge index than those with the *second lowest* and the *highest* scores.

One might imagine that fanatical anti-Semites (and I doubt very much that there are any such individuals among our respondents) know a great deal about Nazi death camps and other aspects of the Holocaust, since they *want* to know a great deal about how “die *Übermenschen*” organised the extermination of this dangerous “race”. If this is the case, however, I do not understand why those with the highest scores on the anti-Semitism index also have a poor level of knowledge about the Holocaust – their knowledge ought to be even better than that of those found one step lower down on the scale of this index. On the other hand, it is of course the case that far from all relationships found in the world are linear in nature.

The teachers’ perception of how *interesting it is to teach about the Holocaust* is also non-linearly correlated with their level of knowledge, but this may at least in part be due to the somewhat unwieldy way in which the response alternatives were formulated (see my earlier discussion of question V73). The respondents who feel that such teaching is *neither more or less interesting* than teaching on other topics have a markedly lower level of knowledge about the Holocaust (although not among the lowest levels) than those who have answered

<sup>122</sup> It is possible that a different division into age groups might produce different results, at least to some extent. The division I have employed in this report was made in the light of considerations based on the age distribution among the respondents – no age-range could be allowed to include a much larger or much smaller proportion of the respondents than the others.

red that this teaching is either *more* or *less* interesting respectively. Once again, it is somewhat astonishing that respondents who view such teaching as less interesting than teaching on other topics should have a somewhat better level of knowledge than the group who feel it is neither more or less interesting.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, participating in additional education about the Holocaust has a moderately strong and – for once – linear effect on the teachers’ level of knowledge: the larger the number of such courses teachers have participated in, the greater their level of knowledge about the Holocaust.

Allow me finally to step down from the “bird’s eye view” and go to a more concrete “worm’s-eye view”. With the help of the alternative knowledge index (see footnote 121) I have identified the eight respondents with the lowest scores on the knowledge index (incorrect answers to all questions) and the sixteen with the highest scores (two answered all questions correctly, and fourteen answered only one question incorrectly). I then examined the characteristics of these individuals in a number of different respects. By comparing the proportions with these characteristics in these two small groups with those of all respondents who report teaching/having taught about the Holocaust, it becomes possible to say whether certain sub-categories are over- or under-represented in the respective groups examined. The groups are very small and it would therefore be unwise to attach too much significance to the results of this “zooming in” on a couple of dozen individuals. On the other hand, doing so makes it possible to attain a kind of concretised confirmation – or the opposite – of the results generated by the analyses presented above.

Within the group with the *best results* (all of whom of course have the highest score of 5 on the knowledge index) 30-39 year olds are substantially over-represented, 40-49 year olds are somewhat over-represented and respondents aged over 50 are massively *under-represented*. Men are massively *over-represented* and the proportion of persons born outside Sweden is

more or less *the same* as it is among the respondents as a whole. History teachers are massively *over-represented* (constituting ten times as large a proportion of this group as they do of the total number of respondents), while teachers of other subjects are *under-represented* to a greater or lesser extent. These “elite individuals” are drawn from only seven counties, with the counties of Stockholm and Skåne being clearly over-represented while the county of Västerbotten is substantially *under-represented*. The highest score on the anti-Semitism index found within this group is 2, and the proportion of individuals with this score corresponds to that found among the respondents as a whole. Fifteen of sixteen individuals have the lowest score of 1 on Attitude Index 1, which represents a *markedly larger* proportion than that found among the respondents as a whole. As regards political sympathies, it can be noted that individuals who would vote for the Social Democrats, the Centre Party and the Folkpartiet (liberals) are *over-represented*, the proportion of Moderate (conservative) sympathisers is *the same* as that found among the respondents as a whole, and those who would vote for the “Don’t know party” are clearly *under-represented*, while those who would return a blank ballot paper are *over-represented*. Purely out of curiosity I also examined the responses to the statement “*It is important for Sweden to select a political leader who can govern the country with a firm hand*” (V169 in Appendix 1). All the members of the group completely disagree with this edifying opinion, while the corresponding proportion among the respondents as a whole is 54 percent. For me, these “micro-results” largely confirm the above analyses, perhaps with the exception of the findings relating to the 55-60 year olds, none of whom are found in this little group.

Within the even smaller group with the *worst results* (all of whom have a score of 1 on the knowledge index), the picture is as follows. Women are somewhat *under-represented*, 30-39 year olds are substantially *under-represented*, the proportion of 40-49 year olds is the same as it is among the respondents as a whole and those over 50 years of age are substantially *over-represented*. This group does not contain a single *history* teacher, teachers of Swedish are somewhat *over-represented*, teachers of physical education etc. are substantially *over-represented* and teachers of physics etc. are substantially *under-represented*. The respondents in this group are drawn from eight different counties, which makes it impossible to say anything sensible about this – one might possibly say that all of these counties are under-represented. The proportion

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<sup>123</sup> There is some possibility that results of this kind constitute what are referred to as “data artefacts”, i.e. results of unknown “distortions” that statistical programmes (in this case SPSS and SAS) are guilty of producing in the context of more complex analyses. I cannot however assess the size of the risk of this having occurred in the present context. I started to suspect that using the calibrated weights in MCA (it is “permissible” to use weighted data with this method) might produced such effects, but the same analysis conducted on the basis of unweighted data showed that whilst the effects become weaker, and the means smaller, the ranking of the values in relation to one another remains the same.

of respondents with the highest score on Attitude Index 1 corresponds to that found among the respondents as a whole, respondents with the second highest score are clearly *over*-represented, those with a score of 2 are clearly *under*-represented and those with a score of 1 are somewhat *over*-represented. As regards Attitude Index 3, the proportion with the lowest score is the same as it is among the respondents as a whole, the respondents with a score of 2 are *under*-represented, the proportion with a score of 3 is the same as among the respondents as a whole, and the respondents with the highest index score are *over*-represented. Respondents whose political sympathies lie with the Centre Party are substantially *over*-represented, the proportion who would vote for the Social Democrats is the same as that found among the respondents as a whole, and respondents who would vote for the “Don’t know”, “Blank ballot paper” and “Other” “parties” are substantially *over*-represented. While all the members of the “knowledgeable” group completely disagreed with the statement about “a strong leader”, the answers within this group vary between “Partly agree” (a somewhat smaller proportion than that found among the respondents as a whole), “Partly disagree” (substantially *over*-represented) and “completely disagree” (same proportion as that found among the respondents as a whole).<sup>124</sup> Once again I am able to say that this “group profile” largely corresponds with the results of the earlier analysis.

### Teaching about the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust

The Roma were among the ethnic groups that constituted a major problem for Nazi race ideologues in their endeavours to make the German, “Aryan” population as “racially pure” as possible. Nazi anthropologists realised that the Roma spoke an Indo-Aryan language with its origins in northern India, and that there was therefore a risk that they could be argued to be just as “Aryan” – if not even more so – as the Germans. In 1936, a research department was established under the name “Rassenhygienische und Bevölkerungsbiologische Forschungsstelle” (The Racial Hygiene and Population Biology Research Institute) within the Reich Health Office, which was

led by a Dr. Ritter. The unit was given the task of thoroughly investigating what was termed the “Zigeunerfrage” (the “Gypsy” question) and producing data that would form the basis for the formulation of a new “Gypsy Law”. Following the collection of extensive genealogical and genetic data it was stated that the majority of the Roma constituted a threat to German racial purity and that they therefore had to be eliminated. Even though their “Aryan” origins were acknowledged, it was concluded that their nomadic and “primitive” lifestyle had led to a significant “miscegenation” that could not be tolerated in the new Reich. The Roma started being rounded up into ghettos (amongst others the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw) and concentration camps and were murdered “on the spot” where they were found by Nazi Einsatzgruppen. At the end of 1942 the Nazis started transporting the Roma to Auschwitz-Birkenau. As far as I know, there are no reliable data on how many of the Roma the Nazis succeeded in murdering, but estimates range between 220,000 and half a million, with some researchers arguing that the figure is even higher.

From its inception, the Living History Forum has focused attention on the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust, and on the “Antiziganism” that is considered to have intensified in Europe over recent years. For this reason, a number of items were included in the questionnaire focusing in part on the teachers’ knowledge of the persecution of the Roma during the Nazi period, and in part on their inclusion of the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust in their teaching about the Holocaust (V108 – V117 in Appendix 1).

Focusing on the distribution of responses for the two knowledge questions (V108 and V109) we find that, particularly in relation to question V108, the proportion of “Don’t know” answers is very large (87.4 percent). The corresponding proportion for question V109 is 62.8 percent. In addition, 3.5 percent of the respondents have skipped these questions completely. This means that it is difficult to construct indexes on the basis of these questions, since the remaining variance – particularly in relation to question V108 – is very limited. I will therefore examine the questions one at a time.

The first question relates to the correct name for the Nazis’ genocide of the Roma. Four names were listed as response alternatives, together with the usual “Don’t know” alternative. The correct answer was “Porrajmos”, a Romani word which is usually transla-

<sup>124</sup> One individual in this group stands out. This person has the second highest score on the anti-Semitism index, the highest on Attitude Index 1, the second highest on Attitude Index 3, she sympathises with the Centre Party, and only partly disagrees with the statement about a “strong leader”.



ted into English as the “Devouring”.<sup>125</sup> I have coded the response alternatives such that the correct answer gives the value 1, and the remaining alternatives the value 0. The effects of a series of variables have then been examined using MCA. I must emphasise however that only 7.9 percent of the respondents answered the question correctly which involves a powerful restriction on the number of individuals “available” to the analysis. This number is reduced further as a result of my *restricting the analysis to history teachers working in upper secondary schools*.<sup>126</sup>

The youngest two age cohorts have answered correctly more often than the others. Teachers born in the rest of Europe have done so more often than teachers born in Sweden. There is no difference between the sexes, but teachers working in Region 1 answered correctly somewhat more often than those working in the other regions. The number of years working as a teacher has an impact on the responses – those with 10-15 years experience answered correctly more often than the others, with the most experienced group (over 15 years) coming in second place. The more hours of teaching about genocides and other crimes against humanity that the teachers had undergone in the course of their teacher training, the more often they answered this question correctly, which is also true of the number of times the teachers have participated in additional educational courses about the Holocaust.<sup>127</sup>

The second knowledge question asked the teachers to state which group of Roma the Nazis viewed as constituting the greatest problem for the Third Reich. The correct answer was “*Roma from mixed marriages with non-Roma*”.<sup>128</sup> Of all the respondents in the survey, 12.2 percent answered this question correctly and 62.8 percent chose the response alternative “Don’t know”. As above, the correct answers were examined

among *history teachers working in upper secondary schools* with the help of MCA, producing the following results. The 45-54 year olds were the age cohort that most often answered the question correctly, with the youngest age group coming in second place. The oldest age cohort had the worst results. Region of birth had no effect, whereas region of residence produced results which differ from those noted previously: teachers in Region 4 (northern Sweden) were those that most often answered correctly by comparison with the other regions. The proportion of correct answers increases with increasing experience of work as a teacher and for once female teachers answered correctly more often than their male counterparts. As usual, the anti-Semitism index is associated with a “pathological” pattern: those with the *second lowest* and *second highest* scores on the index answered correctly significantly more often than the remainder, and as before I find it difficult to interpret this finding.<sup>129</sup> The amount of teaching about the Holocaust experienced during teacher training produces an effect of sorts, but the relationship is non-linear and difficult to interpret. With some reservation I could say that the more teaching of this kind the teachers had undergone, the more often they answered the question correctly. However, the amount of teaching the teachers had undergone on other genocides and crimes against humanity was more clearly correlated with the likelihood of answering correctly: the greater the amount of such teaching, the larger the proportion that answered correctly, although the effect is not particularly strong. The correlation with having participated in additional educational courses on the Holocaust is once again “strange”, assuming the form of an upturned U, and is difficult to interpret.<sup>130</sup>

The next question relating to the Roma read as follows: “*Do you think it is important that teaching takes up the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust?*” (V110 in Appendix 1). Of all the teachers, only 0.5 percent

125 The two other alternatives, besides the Holocaust, were Shoa and Alnaqba. Shoa (or sometimes Shoah) is a Hebrew word of biblical origin which means catastrophe or disaster. Many people of Jewish background prefer this name over the Holocaust. Alnaqba, or al-Naqba, is the name the Palestinians give to the day in May of 1948 when Israel was proclaimed an independent state. The approximate meaning of the word is “day of catastrophe”.

126 The reason for making this restriction was that I wanted in this case to “isolate” specialisation in the subject of history.

127 Age: beta = 0.24; Region of birth: beta = 0.16; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.21; Region of residence: beta = 0.15; Number of years teaching: beta = 0.35; Additional education on the Holocaust: beta = 0.25; Number of hours of teaching about genocides etc. during teacher training: beta = 0.38.  $R^2 = 0.32$ .

128 My understanding is that this had to do with the previously mentioned difficulties that the Nazi race ideology had with the expansive “miscegenation” of the original “Aryan” Roma.

129 This is a further example of the non-linear relationships found between variables in this study, which are detected using MCA analysis but which would cause problems in the context of multiple regression analysis. When MCA is employed with a dichotomous dependent variable coded with the values 1 and 0 (as is the case with the two recoded knowledge variables relating to the Roma), the results show the proportion of “1:s”, i.e. of correct answers. Proportions are analogous with mean values.

130 Age: beta = 0.32; Region of residence: beta = 0.16; Sex: beta = 0.18; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.23; Number of years teaching: beta = 0.33; Amount of teaching on the Holocaust during teacher training: beta = 0.17; Amount of teaching on other genocides etc. during teacher training: beta = 0.21; Participating in additional education on the Holocaust: beta = 0.18.  $R^2 = 0.30$ .

answered that the subject is completely unimportant and a further 3.2 percent that it is quite unimportant. 52.9 percent answered that it is “Very important” and 10.9 percent answered “Don’t know”. Thus a total of 85.4 percent of all teachers feel that it is quite or very important that this subject is taken up in teaching. The MCA-analysis was conducted among *teachers who reported that they teach history and who work in high schools or in upper secondary schools*.<sup>131</sup> The results show that the importance teachers ascribe to teaching about the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust increases with increasing *age*; female teachers feel it is important to teach about this subject to a somewhat greater extent than male teachers; teachers *born in the rest of Europe* ascribe the subject greater importance than both teachers born in Sweden and those born outside Europe; *Attitude Index 3* is correlated with the responses to this question in the way we would expect: the higher the score on this index, the less important this theme is felt to be; knowledge about the Holocaust is weakly correlated with the responses to this question, such that the more knowledge teachers have, the more important they feel this theme is; and the higher – relatively speaking – the level of anti-Semitic sentiment, the less important the theme is felt to be.

I also employed the statement “*Given the deviant norms of the Romani culture, it is hardly surprising that the Roma are not accepted in Swedish society*” (V164 in Appendix 1) in the analysis in the belief that this statement at least to some extent expresses an “Anti-ziganist” attitude.<sup>132</sup> This is clearly the case, since the respondents ascribe teaching about the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust successively less importance the more they agree with this statement.<sup>133</sup>

The final question in the section on the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust asked the teachers to state in which subjects they take up this theme (VI11 – VI17 in Appendix 1). Since the respondents were able to tick several response alternatives (in the same way as in the earlier question on which subjects they teach), the responses “overlap” one another and the percentages do not provide a correct description of

the situation. To begin with I calculated the proportion of responses naming each subject, using the total number of responses as the base figure (131,452).<sup>134</sup> Of these responses, 22 percent take up the theme in history teaching; thirteen percent in connection with social studies, nine percent in life-skills, two percent in philosophy, 1.3 percent in biology, nine percent in some “Other subject”; 40 percent do not take up the theme in the context of any subject at all. This final percentage figure is “genuine”, since the teachers will hardly have ticked “No subject” having already ticked a specific subject from among the earlier response alternatives. For this reason we can conclude that 60 percent of the respondents take up this theme in *some subject or other*.

I then analysed the answers which stated *history* and *social studies* using MCA. Unsurprisingly, the *history teachers* with better knowledge about the Holocaust take up the issue of the situation of the Roma more often than those with poor knowledge of the Holocaust. What was surprising, however – at least for me – was the fact that middle school teachers take up this theme significantly more often than teachers working in upper secondary schools (the proportion of middle school teachers who do so is three times as large as the corresponding proportion of teachers in the latter group). Older teachers tend to take up this theme to a lesser extent than their younger counterparts, and particularly the youngest teachers. The proportion that take up this theme is somewhat larger among teachers born outside Europe than it is among – first and foremost – teachers born in Sweden. The same tendencies with regard to school stage, the knowledge index and region of birth are also found among the respondents who answered that they take up the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust in connection with teaching on *social studies*, although the effects are weaker in this case.<sup>135</sup>

131 In this context I drew a broader sample of the teachers since the question is of more fundamental importance than the knowledge questions.

132 My belief that this is the case has its origins in the results of the 1998 Teacher Survey, in which this statement was found to be quite clearly correlated with views expressing hostility towards immigrants and racist-like sentiments.

133 Age: beta = 0.18; Region of birth: beta = 0.19; Sex: beta = 0.12; Index 3: beta = 0.11; V164: beta = 0.16; Knowledge index: beta = 0.10; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.12. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.18.

134 Note that the total number of individuals is 98,121 when calibrated weights are employed. The number of stated responses exceeds this figure by 34 %. This means that 34 percent of the teachers have ticked more than one subject.

135 Takes up the theme in history teaching: School stage beta = 0.25; Knowledge index beta = 0.16; Age beta = 0.11; Region of birth beta = 0.09. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.10. Takes up the theme in social studies teaching: School stage beta = 0.20; Knowledge index beta = 0.10; Region of birth beta = 0.10. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.07.

### Is it important to teach about Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene?

The Living History Forum has been instructed by the Swedish government to focus attention on and illuminate the issue of Swedish racial biology. One of the overarching questions for the project to examine reads as follows “*What did the society look like that could develop both a race-biological perspective of this kind and establish research in this area that was accepted by the scientific community?*” Formulated in this way, the task the Living History Forum has been instructed to carry out has such an enormous breadth and depth that it would probably require several years of work by a multi-disciplinary research team. The government’s directive to the agency also included two more manageable elements however: one of them with a theoretical focus, with the Living History Forum being instructed to conduct a review of existing research in the area, to analyse the need for additional research and where needed to initiate such research, and the other with a more practical focus, involving the organisation of courses, seminars, programme evenings, exhibitions and so on with a focus on this theme.

Against the background of this task, the current questionnaire included a number of questions touching on the issue of Swedish racial biology (VI18 – VI42 in Appendix 1). The first of these questions is similar to a corresponding question posed in relation to the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust: “*Do you think that it is important in teaching to take up the establishment of the Swedish racial biology institute and its activities?*” 41.1 percent of the respondents answered “Very important”, 31.5 percent “Quite important” and only 1.8 percent “Completely unimportant”. The proportion of “Don’t know” responses lies at 19.1 percent. I have analysed the responses using MCA<sup>136</sup> with different combinations of control variables. Sex has no effect on the teachers’ assessments of how important it is to take up Swedish racial biology in the context of teaching. With regard to region of birth, teachers born in Sweden assess teaching on this topic to be somewhat more important than do teachers born outside Sweden, and particularly those born outside Europe. Teachers working in the county of Skåne assess such teaching to be least important among teachers in both the three metropolitan areas and the remaining counties; having a higher level of knowledge about the

Holocaust is associated to some extent with this topic being assessed to be more important; higher scores on Attitude Index 1 (expressing a negative attitude towards immigration and “multiculturalism”) lead to this theme being assessed to be less important; the higher the teachers’ scores on the anti-Semitism index, the less important they assess this theme to be; the more hours of teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides and crimes against humanity that the teachers underwent during teacher training, the greater the level of importance (to some extent) that they ascribe to teaching about racial biology.<sup>137</sup>

In the same way as in the question of the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust, the teachers were asked in which subjects they take up the issue of Swedish racial biology etc. Once again the respondents could tick several subjects, which makes the presentation of results on the basis of percentages somewhat problematic. I employed the same approach as that used in relation to the question about the Roma. The total number of responses was 122,956, which represents a figure that is 25 percent larger than the sampling frame (weighted data). This means that 25 percent of the respondents have ticked more than one subject. By using the total number of responses as the base figure I can say that eighteen percent take up the question of racial biology in the context of history teaching, twelve percent in social studies, seven percent in life-skills and eight percent in biology. Forty-three percent of the teachers do not take up this theme in any subject at all, and as was the case in relation to the question about the Roma, this figure represents a “genuine” percentage. We can thus conclude that 57 percent of the respondents *take up* the issue of racial biology in their teaching on *some subject or other*.

An MCA analysis conducted among teachers who reported that they *teach in history and/or social studies and/or life-skills and/or biology* produced the following results: older teachers take up racial biology in *history* less often than younger teachers; female teachers do so

<sup>136</sup> The analysis was conducted among teachers who reported that they teach in history and/or social studies and/or life-skills and/or biology.

<sup>137</sup> Region of birth: beta = 0.21; Urban area: beta = 0.12; Knowledge index: beta = 0.10; Attitude Index 1: beta = 0.15; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.09; Number of hours teaching about Holocaust during teacher training: beta = 0.10; Number of hours on other genocides etc. during teacher training: beta = 0.10. When the final two variables were introduced into the analysis I was forced to exclude region of birth – the small number of teachers born outside Sweden with over ten hours of teaching on these themes during teacher training restricted the variance substantially, which produced certain artefacts in the results. The results relating to these two variables thus relate primarily to teachers born in Sweden.

less often than their male counterparts; interestingly, middle school teachers appear to take this theme up in history lessons substantially more often than teachers working in upper secondary schools in particular; the better the teachers' level of knowledge about the Holocaust, the more likely they are to take up racial biology in history lessons; the more the teachers agree with statement number V164 on the deviance of Roma culture, the smaller the proportion that take up the topic of racial biology in their teaching.<sup>138</sup>

As regards the teachers who answered that they take up the topic of racial biology in *social studies* teaching, the picture is as follows. Age and sex have no effect on the proportion of respondents who take up this theme in social studies; the proportion of teachers born in the rest of Europe who do so is larger than the corresponding proportion in the other two regions of birth, with the smallest proportion of such teachers being found among those born outside Europe; the proportion of teachers who take up this topic in social studies is greatest among primary school teachers (!) and smallest among those who teach in high schools, with middle schools and upper secondary schools coming in second and third place; the teachers who feel it is important to take up the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust in their teaching (V110 in Appendix 1) take up racial biology to a greater extent than those who feel it is unimportant; there is a non-linear correlation between knowledge about the Holocaust and the likelihood that teachers take up racial biology in the context of their social studies teaching.<sup>139</sup>

The next analysis focused on the teachers who answered that they take up Swedish racial biology in their *life-skills* teaching. Once again age and sex had no effect on the respondents' propensity to take up this theme in their teaching; teachers born in countries outside Europe take up racial biology somewhat more often than teachers born in Sweden and the rest of Europe; teachers working in Regions 2 and 4 do so somewhat more often than those working in Region 1; teachers working in primary and middle schools (!)

take up racial biology to a markedly greater extent than high school teachers and those working in upper secondary schools; the teachers who feel it is important to take up the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust take up racial biology substantially more often than those who view this as unimportant; and here too there is a non-linear correlation, which is difficult to interpret, between the knowledge index and the teachers' propensity to take up racial biology in the context of their teaching.<sup>140</sup>

The final analysis focused on teachers who stated they had taken up Swedish racial biology in the context of their *biology* teaching. In this case, the propensity to do so is somewhat greater among female teachers than it is among their male counterparts; region of residence produces a weak effect, with teachers working in Region 1 being somewhat more likely to take up the theme of racial biology than those working in the other regions, and particularly Region 2; high school teachers and those working in upper secondary schools focus on this theme in their teaching to a greater extent than primary and middle school teachers; Attitude Index 3 has a weak, non-linear, effect, where the propensity to take up the topic of racial biology increases somewhat up to the second highest score on the index and then drops away again upon among those respondents with the highest index score; the knowledge index has a somewhat surprising effect: the more the teachers know about the Holocaust, the lower their propensity to take up the issue of racial biology in the context of their biology teaching; the more important the respondents feel it is to take up the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust, the more likely they are to take up the topic of racial biology in their teaching.<sup>141</sup>

In response to the question "*Do you need more knowledge about Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene in the context of your teaching?*" 50.3 percent of *all* the teachers replied "Yes" and, thus, 49.7 percent "No". If the focus is instead directed only at those teachers who stated that they *take up* the issue of racial biology in *some or other* teaching subject, the proportion of "Yes" responses increases to 71.3 percent. An MCA-analysis shows that none of the variables

138 Age: beta = 0.12; Sex: beta = 0.15; School stage: beta = 0.29; Knowledge about the Holocaust: beta = 0.18; Question V164: beta = 0.29. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.13. The analysis employed each of the four "subjects" history (V119), social studies (V120), life-skills (V121) and biology (V123), recoded to 0,1 values, one after the other as dependent variables. The results show the proportions within each "subject category" of teachers who take up Swedish racial biology in teaching their respective subjects. These proportions are corrected for the effects of the other variables included in the analysis.

139 School stage: beta = 0.23; Region of birth: beta = 0.11; Question V110: beta = 0.15. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.11.

140 Region of birth: beta = 0.23; Region of residence: beta = 0.11; School stage: beta = 0.19; Question V110: beta = 0.21. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.12.

141 Sex: beta = 0.08; School stage: beta = 0.20; Region of residence: beta = 0.07; Attitude Index 3: beta = 0.09; Question V110: beta = 0.15; Knowledge about the Holocaust: beta = 0.14. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.10.

sex, region of residence, region of birth, knowledge about the Holocaust nor any of the attitude indexes have any effect on the need for additional knowledge about racial biology. In addition, the need is assessed to be just as large – approximately 72 percent of “Yes” responses – irrespective of the subject in which the teacher teaches. Otherwise, the proportion who perceive this need declines the higher the school stage in question: the proportion is largest among primary school teachers and smallest among teachers working in upper secondary schools. Among the older teachers, substantially fewer (64 percent) state that they need more knowledge by comparison with the youngest age cohort in particular, where this proportion lies at 78 percent.<sup>142</sup> It can further be seen that the teachers’ assessment of the importance of taking up Swedish racial biology in teaching (question V118 in Appendix 1) has a marked effect on the perceived need for more knowledge – the more important the teachers feel this is, the greater the perceived need for more knowledge that they report.<sup>143</sup> This last correlation is perhaps not particularly surprising.

The teachers who answered “Yes” to the question on whether they needed more knowledge about Swedish racial biology were asked which *teaching aids* they need in order to be able to conduct better teaching on this theme (V127 – V130 in Appendix 1<sup>144</sup>). By restricting the respondents to those who answered that they need more knowledge about Swedish racial biology, I was able to obtain adequate percentages: *educational materials*: 59.3 percent; *historical facts*: 61.6 percent; *film material*: 48.8 percent; *tips on relevant literature*: 44.3 percent. We can see that the need for historical facts and educational materials is somewhat greater than the need for film material and tips on relevant literature. Each teaching aid was then subjected to an MCA-analysis. The following results emerged in relation to *educational materials*: sex and region of residence have no effect on the perceived need for this type of teaching aid; older teachers feel they have less need of educational materials than their younger counterparts; high school teachers and those working in upper secondary schools report a somewhat greater need than primary and middle school teachers; teachers of Swedish etc. and physical education etc. report a greater

need than teachers of history and of physics etc.,<sup>145</sup> the more important the respondents feel it is to take up Swedish racial biology in the context of teaching, the larger the proportion that reports needing educational materials,<sup>146</sup> which is what one might expect to find. A similar picture emerges in relation to *historical facts*, but with the difference that teachers working in upper secondary schools and in high schools report a need for such facts to a lesser extent than primary and middle school teachers. When *film material* is subjected to the same analysis, no effects are found in relation to school stage and teaching subject, but the effect of age becomes somewhat stronger and the effect of the importance of taking up racial biology in the context of teaching becomes somewhat weaker. With regard to *tips on relevant literature*, teachers in all school stages appear to have a similarly large – or small – need for such tips, at the same time as the differences between the different age cohorts diminish in relation to this need. Teachers of history etc. need such tips to a lesser extent than teachers in other subjects, and in particular teachers of physical education etc.

The respondents were also asked to assess *the students’ interest in working with Swedish racial biology* (V131 in Appendix 1). The response alternatives took the form of a scale with four categories ranging from “Very great” to “Non-existent”, and of course “Don’t know”. This last alternative was chosen by 51.5 percent of *all* teachers. It is more meaningful however to look at the answers of the teachers who reported that they take up Swedish racial biology etc. in *some subject or other*. Within this group, the proportion of “Don’t know” responses declines to 25.9 percent and the proportion who assess the students’ interest in this theme to be quite or very great increases to 37.7 percent (“Very great” 8.1 %). It is difficult to determine why one in four of the teachers who take up the topic of racial biology in some teaching subject or other do not feel they are able to assess their students’ interest in this topic. I nonetheless feel that an even more satisfactory picture of the students’ interest can be obtained if we exclude those teachers who do not feel they know anything about the level of interest among their students. Following this additional reduction in the size of the group, the response percentages are as follows: “Very great”

142 These percentages are corrected for the effects of school stage in the MCA-analysis.

143 Age: beta = 0.15; School stage: beta = 0.15; Question V118: beta = 0.26. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.12.

144 Appendix 1 reports only the *number* of respondents who chose the different response alternatives.

145 The reader should bear in mind the somewhat indistinct division into teaching subjects discussed in the section entitled “The Respondents”.

146 Age: beta = 0.14; School stage: beta = 0.07; Teaching subject: beta = 0.07; Question V118: beta = 0.23. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.10.

11.0; “Quite great” 40.0; “Quite limited” 42.8; “Non-existent” 6.3. I can thus state that over 50 percent of the teachers who have reported that they take up the topic of racial biology in connection with one of the subjects that they teach, and who feel they are able to assess the students’ interest in this topic, perceive this interest to be either quite or very great.

An MCA-analysis of the responses of those teachers who reported that they take up racial biology in one of their subjects produced the following results. The youngest age cohort assesses the students’ interest to be greater than is the case among the teachers in the oldest age group; teachers born in the rest of Europe (outside Scandinavia) feel that the level of interest shown by students is lower than do both teachers born in Sweden *and* those who are born outside Europe; the students’ interest is assessed to be markedly greater by history teachers in comparison with teachers of other subjects; the higher the respondents’ scores on Index 3 (which reflects “low-frequency” racist-like attitudes) the lower the level of interest they assess their students to have in this topic; the more respondents know about the Holocaust, the greater the extent to which they assess the students interest to be quite or very great; as usual, the anti-Semitism index presents a “pathological” relationship to the perception of the students’ interest: respondents with the lowest score on this index assess the students’ interest to be quite great, but those with a score of 2 on the index assess it to be significantly lower; thereafter, the level of assessed interest increases to peak among those with the highest score on the anti-Semitism index. It is very difficult to assess a finding of this kind – I have tested different combinations of control variables without having succeeded in producing a linear relationship between the anti-Semitism index and the teachers’ perceptions of the students’ level of interest.<sup>147</sup>

Of all of the teachers who completed the questionnaire, 68.1 percent ticked “Don’t know” in relation to the question of *how they assess the availability of teaching aids relating to Swedish racial biology etc.* (V132 in Appendix 1). Among the teachers who reported that they take up this theme in one of their teaching subjects,

this proportion declines to 42.9 percent. Within this same category of teachers, 1.4 percent feel that the availability of teaching aids is sufficient, 30.8 percent feel that it is quite limited and 24.9 percent that it is non-existent. Thus more than 55 percent of the teachers who touch upon this theme in some way or other in the context of their own teaching feel that the availability of adequate teaching aids is either quite limited or non-existent. Why almost 43 percent of this group of respondents should be unable to assess the availability of teaching aids baffles me however.

We also asked *in what way was Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene dealt with in teacher training*. A total of 83.5 percent of all the respondents answered “Not at all” and 16.2 percent “Quite frugally”. Thus there remain only 0.3 percent of the respondents who have answered “Comprehensively”. I can therefore say that the teacher training undergone by the overwhelming majority of Swedish teachers (as defined by the sampling frame) has not contained any kind of focus on Swedish racial biology. When these percentages are calculated separately for the different “subject categories” among the teachers – i.e. among those who have answered that they teach in different subjects – the proportion who have answered “Comprehensively” varies between 0.9 percent (history teachers) and 0.5 percent (Swedish etc. and physics etc.). Similarly, the proportions who answered “Not at all” varies between 75.7 percent (history teachers) and 85.2 percent (physics etc.). Hence the differences between teachers of different subjects with respect to proportions “exposed” to information about Swedish racial biology during teacher training are marginal.

Even though the variance in these responses is very limited, I have analysed them with the help of logistic regression analysis.<sup>148</sup> The results of this analysis showed that teachers of history have the greatest “risk” (or rather opportunity) to have undergone some teaching on Swedish racial biology during their teacher training, which is also true, although to a lesser extent, of teachers of religious studies and/or social studies and teachers born in the rest of Europe (outside Scandinavia). Teachers of Swedish etc. and biology are characterised by a markedly lower “risk”, which is also true of the oldest two age cohorts and of teachers born outside Europe. Sex and being a geo-

147 Age: beta = 0.12; Region of birth: beta = 0.13; Teaching subject: beta = 0.20; Index 3: beta = 0.10; Knowledge about the Holocaust: beta = 0.10; Anti-Semitism index: beta = 0.16. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.10. The beta value for the anti-Semitism index suggests a non-trivial correlation, but MCA “reacts” to the variation in the dependant variable relative to the variation in the independent without consideration to whether or not the relationship is linear. It is therefore possible to obtain high beta values even when the relationship assumes the form of a rollercoaster.

148 Question V133 was recoded to form a “dummy variable” in which the answers “Comprehensively” and “Quite frugally” were coded as 1 and the answer “Not at all” was coded 0.

**TABLE 25.** The nine concepts in V134 – V142 organised by increasing mean scores of teachers' assessments of them on a five category scale ranging from 1 = negative to 5 = positive and proportions (in percent) for the two remaining response alternatives. Figures beside the concepts represent the mean scores. Note that these mean scores are based on all respondents minus the group comprised of the sum of the two percentages presented in columns 2 and 3.

Negative					Positive	Can be both	Not familiar with the concept
1	2	3	4	5			
						25.0	3.6
				stem cell research 4.1 ▲			
				gene diagnostics, 3.6 ▲		28.6	12.6
				gene therapy 3.6 ▲		20.2	30.2
				genetic engineering 3.4 ▲		33.9	4.8
				population genetics 2.8 ▲		16.9	40.4
				▲ eugenics 1.7		2.2	84.9
				▲ racial biology, 1.4		5.2	11.5
				▲ hereditary hygiene 1.4		4.0	21.6
				▲ racial hygiene 1.2		2.3	13.4

red “Can be both” and “I am not familiar with the concept” separately for teachers who had stated that they taught biology, physics etc., history and Swedish etc. (irrespective of the school stage at which they work). No notable differences were found between the proportions of teachers in the different subjects who had chosen these two response alternatives for the nine concepts included in the questionnaire – the differences that did exist involved one or a few percentage points higher or lower. I therefore went a step further and restricted the sample to teachers working in upper secondary schools who teach biology, history and religious studies and/or social studies. The results are presented in Table 26.

A number of reflections can be made in relation to this table. It is quite surprising that upper secondary school teachers who teach biology contain a larger proportion of individuals who are not familiar with the concept of eugenics than is the case among teachers of history and religious studies/social studies. The proportion of respondents who are unfamiliar with the racial hygiene and racial biology concepts is also greater among the biology teachers than among the other groups mentioned, although in this case the proportions are very small. It can be noted however that knowledge of these concepts in general is better among teachers working in upper secondary schools

than it is among the group of teachers as a whole; on the other hand it would be somewhat shocking if this were not the case. I must once again repeat that it is not possible to make any qualitative assessment of these results, since there are no data available that would serve as a reference. I might possibly allow myself the reflection that what was in prehistoric times referred to as “general knowledge” would imply that university-educated individuals who are teaching our young generations should – irrespective of the subject in which they teach – have a better insight into the phenomena that these concepts relate to – they are, after all, and for better or worse, ingredients of modern culture.

A few percent of the respondents have answered “Can be both” in relation to the concepts “racial biology”, “racial hygiene” and “hereditary hygiene”. Even though these concepts are perceived as the most negative by most of the respondents, it may be interesting to examine which individuals feel that they can be both positive and negative (probably depending on the context and the objective with which they are used). I have therefore constructed an index which makes it possible to “isolate” those individuals who answered “Can be both” in relation to all three concepts. In unweighted data, this group comprises 50 individuals, in weighted data it comprises 1.2 percent

**TABLE 26.** Proportions (in percent) of upper secondary school teachers who teach biology, history and religious studies and/or social studies who answered “Can be both” and “I am not familiar with the concept” in relation to nine concepts. The column at the extreme right hand side of the table presents the corresponding proportions among all teachers for the purposes of comparison. The concepts listed in the extreme left hand column are organised in the same way as in Table 25.

Begrepp	Upper secondary school teachers who teach:						All teachers	
	Biology		History		Religious studies etc.		Can be both	Not familiar with concept
	Can be both	Not familiar with concept	Can be both	Not familiar with concept	Can be both	Not familiar with concept		
Racial hygiene	2	4	0	0	0	2	2	13
Racial biology	2	4	1	0	1	2	5	12
Hereditary hygiene	0	8	2	9	2	14	4	22
Eugenics	11	65	2	51	3	58	2	85
Population genetics	21	8	16	24	12	40	17	40
Genetic engineering	22	0	30	0	23	2	34	5
Gene diagnostics	29	2	29	5	25	9	29	13
Gene therapy	16	0	27	16	19	18	20	30
Stem cell research	14	0	22	0	24	2	25	4

of all respondents. I cannot of course know how large a proportion of these individuals *at heart* feel that racial biology, for example, may be something positive, but by examining the relationships between these answers and other characteristics it may be possible to get some kind of indication about this. In my view, the fact that a respondent has answered “Can be both” in itself means that the individual in question feels it is possible that racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene can – in certain circumstances – constitute positive phenomena.

A logistic regression analysis produced the following results. For those born in the rest of Europe (outside Scandinavia) this “risk” is slightly over four times as great as it is for those born in Sweden; for those born outside Europe (bearing in mind the limited number of respondents found in this group) the size of this “risk” drops to around one percent of its size among those born in Sweden; if an individual teaches history, the “risk” drops by 50 percent; whereas the size of the “risk” increases by 2.5 times among those who teach physics etc. (by comparison with those who do not teach in each subject respectively); for those who teach in middle or high schools, the “risk” is between 3 and 3.5 times as large as that found among teachers working in upper secondary schools; and, finally, a kind of (somewhat macabre) “direct hit”: the higher the teachers’ score on the index capturing a “genea-

logical” attitude towards what is required to be truly Swedish (“Blut und Boden”), the greater the “risk” that they are found in the “Can be both” group. The respondents with the highest score on this index are at 3.3 times the “risk” of being members of this group than those with the lowest index score.<sup>152</sup> This last result in particular – but also several of the others – strengthen my suspicion that the response “Can be both” in relation to the concepts “racial biology”, “racial hygiene” and “hereditary hygiene” includes a considerable portion of affirmation in relation to these phenomena. I can illustrate what I mean with a simple linguistic experiment, and the reader is therefore asked to read the following two sentences:

*“Genetic engineering can be both positive and negative.”*

*“Racial hygiene can be both positive and negative.”*

and then to consider whether there is any difference in their respective “tones”. My own view is that the answer is fairly self-evident.

I will conclude with what has now become an almost “historic” question (V157 in Appendix 1): *“The term ‘Holocaust’ is usually taken to mean the murder by*

<sup>152</sup> Odds ratios: *region of birth* (reference category: born in Sweden): born in rest of Europe 4.19,  $p = 0.0001$ , born outside Europe 0.01,  $p = 0.02$ ; *teaches history*: 0.50,  $p = 0.05$ ; *teaches physics*: 2.39,  $p = 0.03$ ; *“genealogical” view of Swedishness* (reference category: lowest index score): index score 4 3.29,  $p < 0.01$ .



*the Nazis of about six million Jews during the Second World War. How sure are you that the Holocaust took place?*"

The exact same question was included in the now notorious 1997 student survey, the misinterpretation of whose results by the mass media led to the establishment of the Living History Forum,<sup>153</sup> and also in the earlier cited 1998 Teacher Survey. The question was also posed in the comprehensive evaluation of the compulsory school system conducted by the Swedish National Agency for Education in 2003 ("Nu03"). The comparison with the 1998 Teacher Survey is problematic for a number of reasons which are discussed in the introduction to Appendix 2. One of these problems relates to the fact that calibrated weights were not used in connection with the 1998 data, which means that comparisons must be conducted on the basis of unweighted data. Such a comparison shows that teachers in the 2007 study were slightly more certain that the Holocaust had taken place<sup>154</sup>, but I must emphasise that the difference is marginal and furthermore somewhat uncertain.<sup>155</sup>

I have however examined the responses in the current study in a little more detail<sup>156</sup> as regards

the respondents who are *not* entirely sure that the Holocaust took place, and a logistic regression analysis produced the following results: the "risk" of belonging to the "doubters" declines among the *oldest* age cohort by comparison with the younger cohorts (but the relationship is non-linear); this "risk" is largest in the 45-54 year old age group; the "risk" of belonging to this group is slightly over nine times as high among teachers *born outside Europe* as it is among teachers born in Sweden; the "risk" is just over eight times as high among *primary school* teachers as it is among teachers working in upper secondary schools; among middle school teachers the "risk" is almost five times as high, and among high school teachers it is 2.7 times as high; the "risk" increases with increasing scores on the anti-Semitism index, and the respondents with the highest score on this index run a "risk" of belonging to the "doubters" that is 21 times as high as that of those with the lowest score on the anti-Semitism index. In addition, I "ran through" a number of the questions from the questionnaire in order to see whether any of them produce an effect in the context of this analysis. The only "hit" I found related to the final attitude statement (V180 in Appendix 1): "*A person shouldn't rely on anyone other than themselves*". The "risk" of having some level of doubt that the Holocaust took place increases the more a person agrees with this pessimistic and asocial "everyone is the architect of their own fortunes" ethic; the respondents that completely agree<sup>157</sup> have a "risk" of belonging to the group of "doubters" that is almost six times as high as that found among those who completely disagree with the statement.<sup>158</sup>

If I might now, as a way of rounding off, dramatise the presentation by presenting a kind of "offender profile"<sup>159</sup>, I would say the following: the "typical" – if one can use this expression – doubter is likely to be

153 It sometimes happens that misunderstandings can lead to something constructive. I have commented upon these misinterpretations on several occasions.

154 The percentages for the different response alternatives in 2007 that are used in the comparison differ somewhat from those presented in Appendix 1, since the latter have been produced on the basis of calibrated weights.

155 In the nationally representative survey on attitudes towards amongst other things immigration, "immigrants" and "multiculturalism", that I conducted in 2005 (unpublished; Dr. Ebba Hedlund collaborated in the survey) the same question was posed about the Holocaust. The age range differed from that found in the current survey – the respondents were aged between 18 and 65 years in 2005. Having adjusted the age-range of the respondents in the two surveys, the results are as follows (weighted data employed in both cases):

	2005 (entire population 26-65 years)	2007 (teachers 26-65 years)
Completely sure	88.4	97.1
Quite sure	7.9	2.0
A little unsure	2.0	0.1
Not at all sure	1.7	0.1
Don't know	0.0	0.7

We can see that compared with the population at large in the same age range in 2005, the teachers are substantially more certain that the Holocaust really took place.

156 To this end the response alternatives were recoded so that the response "Completely certain" was given the value 0, while the remainder, including "Don't know" were coded 1. In this way the respondents who were completely certain were separated from those who express even a minimal degree of doubt. The alternative "Don't know" can also be interpreted as expressing doubt, even though some respondents may have chosen this answer because they were uncertain as to the *number* of

murders. The "doubters" category accounted for 2.9 percent of all respondents (weighted data). 1.1 percent skipped the question entirely.

157 Of the entire group of respondents, 1.4 percent agreed completely and 9.3 percent partially agreed with this statement (weighted data). In the nationally representative attitude survey that I conducted in 2005 (unpublished) the corresponding proportions were 1.4 and 12.7 percent. Thus the teachers are slightly less inclined towards this moral view than the population as a whole.

158 Odds ratios: *age*: (reference category: oldest age cohort): 45-54 years 5.59,  $p = 0.05$ ; *born outside Europe* 9.37,  $p = 0.00001$  (reference category: born in Sweden); *anti-Semitism index* index score 4 21.45,  $p = 0.00001$  (reference category: lowest index score); *school stage*: *primary school* 8.28,  $p = 0.01$ , *middle school* 4.69,  $p = 0.01$ , *high school* 2.69,  $p = 0.03$  (reference category: upper secondary school); *V180: completely agree* 5.89,  $p = 0.001$  (reference category: completely disagree).

159 I hope the reader will realise that this "profile" should be taken with a generous pinch of salt.

aged 45–54 years, was most probably born outside Europe, possibly teaches in primary or (perhaps) middle school, expressed relatively strong anti-Semitic sentiments in answering the questionnaire (anything else would of course be surprising) and furthermore lacks confidence in other people and fosters an “everyone is the architect of their own fortunes” ethic.

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# 4 Summary and conclusions

The data on which this report is based were collected in 2007 by means of a postal questionnaire sent to 10,000 teachers working in years 4-9 of the compulsory school system, and at upper secondary schools (i.e. schools of further education). Statistics Sweden (SCB) conducted the survey on the commission of the Living History Forum.

The results presented in the report include both positive and negative elements. For the Living History Forum, it is pleasing to learn that teachers generally feel that teaching about the Holocaust is important. Over half of the teachers feel that this type of teaching is as important as teaching on other topics, and 47.2 percent think it is more important. Students are motivated to learn about the Holocaust, with almost 90 percent of teachers assessing the students' level of motivation to be moderate or high. Nor have the teachers noted any substantial level of "Holocaust fatigue" among their students.

Just as pleasing is the finding that four of five teachers feel that teaching about the Holocaust functions better than other subjects as a means of leading the students into discussions of moral and ethical issues. This corresponds well with the experiences that the Living History Forum has itself acquired in the course of its work with these questions.

Unfortunately, the report also shows a number of somewhat more worrying tendencies. Forty percent of the teachers who completed the questionnaire state that they have not themselves received any teaching about the Holocaust in the course of their teacher training, and only slightly less than five percent state that they received more than ten hours of such teaching. The report shows that there is a clear correlation between the amount of additional education about the Holocaust that the teachers have participated in subsequent to their time in teacher training and their level of knowledge on this subject. The teachers'

studies at teacher training college do not on the other hand appear to have had any notable effect on their knowledge in this area. This finding is a cause for concern: at the same time as a large proportion of the teachers report that they have not received any – or only a very limited amount of – education about the Holocaust in the course of their teacher training, the education that teachers have received appears to have produced at best an almost indiscernible increase in their level of knowledge.

The questionnaire survey posed a series of questions focused on examining the teachers' knowledge about the Holocaust, and the results show that many history teachers lack the knowledge necessary to be able to convey insights about the Holocaust to their students.

Of the 5,081 teachers who completed the questionnaire, only two answered all of these knowledge questions correctly. In answer to a question asking about the proportion of Jewish children that were killed during the Second World War, only one teacher in twenty gave the correct answer: that more than 80 percent of all the Jewish children in Europe were killed.

Another question asked the teachers which camps were "built primarily in order to murder Jews". Ninety-five percent correctly identified Treblinka as an extermination camp. A worryingly large proportion of history teachers answered incorrectly about some of the other camps however. To take a couple of examples, only 61 percent answered correctly in relation to the Soviet Gulag labour camp system, and only one in ten knew that Dachau was not an extermination camp for Jews.

These results clearly show the need for continued efforts to educate and inform about the Holocaust, genocides and other crimes against humanity.

#### 4.1 Summary of results in bullet form

##### *Population, sample, data collection and non-response*

- The population for the survey was defined as all teachers working in years 4 through 9 in compulsory education and in all year groups at upper secondary schools. The sampling criteria also included the requirement that the following groups should be well-represented:
  - a) History teachers and teachers of SO (“social orientation”), religious studies, philosophy and literature in years 7 through 9 in compulsory education and in all year groups at upper secondary schools
  - b) Teachers with SO 1-7 training; teachers in years 4 through 6 in general.
- This specification of the sampling criteria was associated with a need to satisfy the needs of two interested parties: the Living History Forum and the Department of Integration and Gender Equality, which added a small number of items to the questionnaire relating to teachers’ possible observations of the occurrence in schools of what was referred to as “honour-related oppression”.
- The sampling frame, i.e. the list of all individuals who fulfil the criteria for inclusion in the sample, was created on the basis of Statistics Sweden’s Teachers’ Register, and comprised a total of 98,121 individuals. Statistics Sweden then selected a stratified simple random sample of 10,000 of the individuals included in the sampling frame.
- The questionnaire was comprised of 78 items, of which several included sub-questions. In addition to questions about the teachers’ experiences of and attitudes towards teaching about the Holocaust, the questionnaire also included a number of questions and statements relating to other types of attitudes and perceptions. These questions were included in order to create a broader and more detailed background to the analysis of the questions relating to the Holocaust.
- The survey was conducted in the form of a postal questionnaire with two reminders. The data collection took place between 23<sup>rd</sup> May and 24<sup>th</sup> September 2007. The level of non-response was high – at 49.5 percent – but the possible biases that the non-response might lead to in the results of the survey have been minimised by the use of a sophisticated data weighting technique developed by Statistics Sweden known as calibrated weighting.
- Slightly over 64 percent of the teachers were female and thus slightly over 35 percent were males. The teachers’ ages varied between 26 and 73 years, with a median age of 49. Approximately 47 percent of the teachers had worked in the profession for over 15 years. As regards their place of birth, 90.8 percent of the respondents were born in Sweden, 6.3 percent in the rest of Scandinavia, the rest of Europe and North America, and 2.9 percent in the rest of the world.

##### *Perceptions about school and the work environment*

- The teachers were asked about a variety of factors relating to schools as a work environment. Seventy percent of all teachers feel that *insufficient financial resources have negative consequences for the work of their school to a very great extent*. Over one-third of teachers feel the same in relation to *disciplinary problems*, the fact that *knowledge acquisition is not prioritised* and

the fact that *the local authority has responsibility for the school*. Almost one-third of teachers feel that *the students' lack of respect for the teachers* has substantial negative consequences for the work of the school. Almost half of upper secondary school teachers and more than two-thirds of high school teachers perceive that the low priority assigned to knowledge acquisition constitutes a major problem. The largest proportions of teachers who feel that local authority responsibility for the school has a substantial negative effect were found among the teachers working in high schools (41 percent) and in upper secondary schools (38.5 percent).

- The greater the extent to which teachers feel that local authority responsibility for the school and insufficient financial resources constitute negative factors in relation to the work of schools, the greater the extent to which they feel bad about going to work or inadequate in relation to their work (or vice versa, since it is not possible to establish causal order unequivocally).

#### *Perceptions about ethnic diversity etc. in schools*

- The respondents were asked to what extent they feel that their school experiences problems in the form of racism, anti-Semitism, hostility towards immigrants and ethnic conflicts. When the response alternatives “Quite substantial” and “Very substantial” problems are combined, slightly over fifteen percent perceive hostility towards immigrants to constitute a problem, just under ten percent feel the same about racism, slightly over seven percent feel that there are ethnic conflicts at their school and a little over two percent perceive that there are problems with anti-Semitism. The same question was posed in the *1998 Teacher Survey* and a comparison of the findings shows that these problems – and particularly problems in the form of racism and hostility towards immigrants – were greater in the 2007 survey.
- In the country as a whole, 53 percent of teachers reported that they have never had any *racist, anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi propaganda* disseminated at their schools. When the country is divided up into four regions (from southwest to northeast), this proportion varies between 49 percent (south-western Sweden) and 58 percent

(northern Sweden). The proportion of teachers who report that such propaganda has been disseminated often or very often varies between 0.7 and 3.9 percent.

#### *Attitudes towards the “multicultural” society*

- Just under 30 percent of teachers dislike Muslim girls wearing the veil/headscarf in school (a combination of the response alternatives “*I accept it but I don't like it*” and “*It is unacceptable*”). Women are somewhat more permissive than men in this regard. By comparison with the 1998 Teacher Survey, teachers' attitudes to this question have shifted markedly towards a more “permissive” view.
- Just over two-thirds of teachers feel that *ethnically and/or nationally oriented schools* where the teaching is conducted in the group's native language are “a bad thing” (“Very bad” + “Quite bad”). At the same time, 81 percent feel that *independent religious schools* are quite bad or a very bad thing.
- Very *small* proportions of teachers completely or partly agreed with attitude statements expressing strongly *anti-immigrant, racist-like and anti-Semitic* views. By comparison with the *1998 Teacher Survey*, the teachers' attitudes towards “multiculturalism”, immigration etc. have become markedly more positive.

#### *Perceptions on and experiences of teaching about the Holocaust*

- With regard to the view of the *possible consequences of teaching about the Holocaust* found among all teachers (irrespective of whether or not they themselves have taught about the Holocaust), quite large proportions – between just over 56 percent and just over 76 percent – feel that such teaching increases the students' understanding of how genocide can occur and of why hate crimes, racism and neo-Nazism occur in society today. By contrast, significantly smaller proportions – between just over 14 and just over 23 percent – feel that teaching about the Holocaust raises questions about national and individual guilt or increases the students' interest in the crimes of communism. It thus appears that issues relating to guilt are of less relevance to teachers in this context.

- The teachers were asked to express their level of agreement with three statements suggesting that teaching about the Holocaust is only relevant for Jewish students, for Germans or for countries where the Holocaust took place. A large majority of the teachers – between 77 and 81 percent – completely disagreed with these statements, which indicates that they feel that such teaching is relevant to and concerns everyone. Among the teachers who *do not* themselves teach about the Holocaust there are clear – albeit not particularly strong – correlations between on the one hand the perception that the relevance of Holocaust education is restricted to the categories mentioned above, and anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant attitudes on the other. It should however be noted that anti-Semitic attitudes in particular were only expressed by a very small minority of respondents. Among those teachers who themselves teach about the Holocaust these correlations were largely non-existent.
- Slightly over 98 percent of the teachers reported that *the reason they teach about the Holocaust is that they feel that teaching of this kind is important.*
- Only slightly under fourteen percent of the teachers have *visited concentration or death camps* in connection with their teaching. A somewhat larger proportion, just over 21 percent, have made visits of this kind to memorials, research institutes or museums.
- Slightly over 40 percent of the respondents reported that they had not received any teaching about the Holocaust in the course of their teacher training, while at the same time less than five percent had received eleven or more hours of such teaching. Forty-seven percent had not received any teaching about other genocides and crimes against humanity during their teacher training, and only slightly under six percent had received eleven or more hours of such teaching. Slightly over 22 percent had not received any teaching at all about democracy and the UN's human rights during their teacher training, while seventeen percent had received eleven or more hours. With the reservation that these responses are based on the memory of teachers, we can say that the teacher training undergone by our respondents neglects both the Holocaust and other genocides and crimes against humanity.
- As regards what the teachers would like in relation to their teaching about the Holocaust, fairly large proportions – between just under 40 and just over 48 percent – state that they would like *more hours of teaching, better access to teaching aids* and *more teaching guidelines.*
- Almost 90 percent of the respondents feel that the *students' motivation* in relation to teaching about the Holocaust lies between the alternatives “moderate” and “high”; almost 53 percent assessed it to be high.
- More than four of five teachers (83.7 percent) feel that teaching about the Holocaust *raises more moral and ethical issues* than other topics dealt with in the relevant subjects.
- Ninety-four percent of teachers reported that their *students* are quite (52 percent) or very (42 percent) *interested in the Holocaust* as a teaching topic. It was found, however, that both the teachers' own interest in the topic and their own knowledge about the Holocaust affected their assessments of the students' interest.
- Since there is an absence of any reference points (in the form of other surveys where the same questions have been asked), it is impossible to make a qualitative assessment of either the findings presented above, or those discussed below. It is possible however to say that *very few* teachers feel that teaching about the Holocaust is *less important, raises fewer moral and ethical issues or is less interesting to teach* than other subjects.
- Almost four out of five teachers have *not* observed any *fatigue among their students* in relation to the Holocaust as a teaching theme. Among the teachers who felt that they had noticed such fatigue, almost all stated that it occurred “only to some extent”. The most common reasons given for the fatigue among students was that they felt they already knew enough about the subject, that they felt the same thing was repeated every year and that too much of the teaching was devoted to the Holocaust by comparison with other genocides.
- A number of questions were asked with the intention of assessing the *teachers' own knowledge about the Holocaust.* Many respondents felt that these questions were much too difficult and focused too much on “details”. Professional historians however have judged the questions to constitute adequate indicators of a deeper

knowledge and understanding of this theme. Only two out of 5,081 respondents answered all of these knowledge questions correctly, and a further fourteen gave the correct answer to all but one. Slightly over 70 percent of the teachers gave the wrong answer to at least eight of the eleven knowledge questions included in the questionnaire. At least when it is tested using these particular questions, then, the respondents' level of knowledge about the Holocaust appears to be low. It must however be stressed that it is difficult to assess these results since the questions have to date not been included in any other surveys.

- Understandably, the level of knowledge about the Holocaust is better among history teachers working at the upper secondary school level by comparison with both all history teachers, irrespective of the school stage in which they teach, and all teachers (irrespective of their teaching subject) who teach or have taught about the Holocaust.
- Age and having participated in additional education about the Holocaust (besides any that may have been included during the respondents' teacher training) constitute the factors that produce the most powerful effect on the teachers' level of knowledge. A number of other factors have quite clear, but at the same time weaker, effects. Teachers who are specifically qualified for the positions they hold have a better knowledge of the Holocaust than those with a general teaching qualification, and men are somewhat more knowledgeable than women. When all other factors are controlled statistically, the age groups 35-44 years and 55-60 years are those with the highest levels of knowledge, while the 26-34 year olds and those aged 61-73 years have the lowest. The 45-54 year olds also present a (relatively) high level of knowledge. For two of these groups it was possible to relate these results to historical events that took place during the periods when they went through their teenage years and their teacher training respectively.
- More than half of the teachers feel that it is very important, and almost one-third that it is quite important, that teaching should take up *the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust*. At the same time, 40 percent of the teachers state that they do not take up this theme in any of the subjects they teach in.
- Two knowledge questions were included in the questionnaire on this theme. One of these questions was answered correctly by slightly under eight percent of the respondents who teach or have taught about the Holocaust (just over 87 percent answered "Don't know"), the other by slightly over twelve percent (with just under 63 percent answering "Don't know"). Once again it is difficult to assess these findings, since the questions have not been put to teachers in another country. History teachers working in upper secondary schools answered these questions correctly more often than other teachers.
- Almost three of four teachers answered that it is quite or very important that teaching should take up the establishment and work of the Swedish Institute of Racial Biology. At the same time, 43 percent of the teachers answered that they do not take up this subject in any of the subjects they teach. Both in this case and in the case of the importance of teaching about the situation of the Roma, we catch a glimpse of one of the classic problems associated with research into attitudes, i.e. the relationship between attitudes (as these are measured in attitude surveys) and actions, as well as the effects of social desirability on the answers provided.
- More than half of the teachers feel that they *need more knowledge about Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene* in the context of their teaching, with the majority stating that they need *more teaching materials and historical facts* on this theme.
- Among the teachers who do take up Swedish racial biology etc. in their teaching, more than one-third stated that the *students' interest* in the subject is quite or very great; one quarter answered that they don't know.
- Just over 85 percent of the teachers reported that their *teacher training didn't include any teaching at all on Swedish racial biology etc.*

*On the basis of the above, the following conclusions may be drawn about teaching about the Holocaust and related themes:*

- Virtually all teachers feel that the Holocaust is an important theme to teach about, not least because it increases both the understanding of the students about how genocide can occur and also their understanding of contemporary phenomena such as hate crimes, racism and neo-Nazism. In addition, the teachers state that it raises a large number of fundamental moral and ethical issues.
- According to the assessments of the teachers, students are very interested and highly motivated to participate in this teaching; few teachers have noted any signs of fatigue among their students in relation to this theme.
- At all events, the attitude of school managements does not constitute an obstacle to the inclusion of this theme in the schools' teaching.
- Teachers should be encouraged to educate themselves further in these areas. The opportunities for providing such education should be improved, and additional training in this area should be made available to all teachers who feel they need it.
- The knowledge of teachers is also weak in relation to the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust, at the same time as the majority feel it is important to focus attention on this theme in the context of their teaching.
- According to the answers provided by the teachers, Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene constitute topics that have been neglected in a quite catastrophic fashion in the context of teacher training programmes.



graphy teacher have no effect on these “risks”.<sup>149</sup>

The final question in the battery on Swedish racial biology was rather complex (V134 – V142 in Appendix 1). A number of terms – including hereditary hygiene, genetic engineering and racial biology – were presented and the respondents were asked to assess how they perceived these terms on a five category “scale” from 1 (negatively) to 5 (positively). There were also two additional response alternatives “Can be both” and “I am not familiar with this concept”. I will begin by looking at this last response alternative. Among *all of the teachers* 84.9 percent reported that they were not familiar with the term “eugenics”; 40.4 percent did not know what “population genetics” means and 30.2 percent were unfamiliar with the concept “gene therapy”. More than one-fifth of the teachers were not familiar with the term “hereditary hygiene”. On the other hand only 4.8 percent were unfamiliar with the term genetic engineering and an even smaller proportion – 3.6 percent – were unfamiliar with stem cell research.

In order to provide a better overview of these results, I have organised the different concepts in accordance with increasing mean scores on the five category “scale” in Table 25. If we assume that a score of 3 represents a kind of mid-point (although it would be difficult to argue that this mid-point is “neutral”), we can say that four of the concepts – genetic engineering, gene therapy, genetic diagnostics and stem cell research – are assessed by the teachers in a positive direction (with stem cell research being assessed as the most positive phenomenon), while the other concepts are assessed increasingly negatively, with “racial hygiene” at the bottom. Note however that the assessment of eugenics was only made by 15.6 percent of the respondents.

The assessments made on the five category scale were subjected to a factor analysis, which resulted in two distinct factors. The underlying meaning of the first factor is given by the concepts “stem cell research” and “genetic engineering” and the factor comprises those concepts that the teachers assessed most positively. The second factor is dominated by “racial

biology” and “racial hygiene” and also includes “eugenics”, although the factor loading of this last concept is significantly weaker. This factor clearly comprises the concepts that the teachers assess most negatively. Population genetics landed in a kind of no-man’s land across the two factors with (moderately strong) factor loadings on both, in which context it should be born in mind that almost 43 percent of the respondents were not familiar with the concept.<sup>150</sup>

I am able to conclude that those who are familiar with the “eugenics” concept (15.6 percent of all respondents) more or less uniformly place this concept at the negative pole of the scale, whereas those who feel they are familiar with population genetics assess this concept both positively and negatively and somewhere in between. I must point out again that the teachers who have made these assessments on the five category scale are *not* the same individuals as those who chose one of the other two response alternatives – the respondents could only tick one box on each row. Genetic engineering collected the largest proportion of “Can be both” responses, which means that more than one-third of respondents have thought about different applications of this technique. The teachers who are familiar with the concept, and who do not have an “ambivalent” attitude, on the other hand, locate it very clearly towards the positive end of the scale. In the factor analysis, genetic engineering fell very close to stem cell research, which was the concept that received the largest proportion of unequivocally positive assessments.<sup>151</sup>

It should be noted, however, that even in relation to stem cell research, one in four respondents reported an ambivalent attitude. More than one in four had the same attitude towards gene diagnostics and one in five was ambivalent towards gene therapy. I then calculated the proportions of respondents who answered

149 Odds ratios: Teaches *history* 2.02; teaches *religious studies and/or social studies* 1.22; *born in rest of Europe* (reference category: born in Sweden) 1.29; *born outside Europe* 0.76; teaches *Swedish* 0.69; teaches *biology* 0.69; *age 55-60 and 61-73* (reference category: youngest age cohort) 0.74 and 0.79 respectively. Teaching subjects were dichotomous (0,1) variables. I am surprised at the result among teachers of biology, but on the other hand I know too little about their teacher training to be able to comment upon this.

150 When analysing the answers to questions that focus on “polarised” phenomenon that are easy to assess in terms of the positive-negative pair of opposites, it is very common for factor analysis to group the positive phenomena together on one factor and the negative phenomena on another. This happens even when the respondents are not specifically instructed to make assessments on a scale ranging from positive to negative. This was the case in the analysis of the attitude statements discussed earlier in the text, where Index 2 collected the statements expressing a “positive attitude towards immigration”, while Indexes 1 and 3 collected different groups of statements expressing a negative attitude to the same.

151 Factor loadings (principal components): *factor 1*: stem cell research 0.90, genetic engineering 0.86, gene diagnostics 0.85, gene therapy 0.83; *factor 2*: racial biology 0.90, racial hygiene 0.88, hereditary hygiene 0.84, eugenics 0.49. Together the two factors “explain” 68 % of the variance in the teachers’ assessments.

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# Appendixes

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## APPENDIX 1 QUESTIONNAIRE SHOWING RESPONSE PROPORTIONS

### Weighted data

V1 Which year were you born?  
Year:

V2 Are you male or female?  
35.4 Male  
64.6 Female

V3 How many years have you worked as a teacher?  
1-5 years      6-9 years      10-15 years      Over 15 years  
15.2      21.9      16.3      46.6

Which subjects do you teach?	n
V4 Maths	38963
V5 English	33262
V6 Swedish	41746
V7 Other languages	12323
V8 Biology	23638
V9 Religious studies and/or social studies	29353
V10 Geography	25520
V11 History	27588
V12 Physical education	11499
V13 Physics, Chemistry and/or Technology	22878
V14 Art	16776
V15 Music	8777
V16 Other subjects	30327

What type of school do you teach in?  
(You may select more than one alternative)

	n
V17 Primary school	19229
V18 Middle school	32586
V19 High school	40027
V20 Upper secondary school	32020
V21 Other	2690

+

V22 Where were you born?				
90.6	Sweden			
2.7	Scandinavia outside Sweden			
3.4	Europe outside Scandinavia			
0.1	North America			
0.8	South America			
0.2	Africa			
2.1	Asia			
0.0	Other			

+

To what extent do you feel that the following factors have a negative effect on the work of the school?

	Not at all	To some extent	To a very great extent	Don't know
V23 Insufficient financial resources	1.4	28.2	70.0	0.4
V24 The students' lack of respect for the teachers	11.7	55.7	31.8	0.9
V25 Inadequate contact between teachers and parents	20.4	57.9	20.3	1.4
V26 Disciplinary problems	10.8	54.5	33.9	0.8
V27 That the acquisition of knowledge is not prioritised	13.5	47.2	36.4	2.9
V28 That the local authority has responsibility for the school	21.7	32.1	33.1	13.1

V29 How often do you feel bad about going to work at school because of the conditions there?

	Never	Quite rarely	Quite often	Very often
42.0	47.0	9.6	1.4	

Select the alternative that best describes your own situation:

V30 It happens increasingly often that I feel inadequate in my work

	Never	Quite rarely	Quite often	Very often
8.6	46.4	36.2	8.8	

Irrespective of whether or not you teach (or have taught) about the Holocaust, we

+  
**would like you to say what consequences you think this kind of teaching might have**  
 (in questions V31-V40)

Do you think that teaching about the Holocaust ...

	No, not at all	Yes, to some extent	Yes, absolutely	Don't know
V31 ...increases the students' understanding of how genocide can happen?	0.9	20.8	76.2	2.0
V32 ...raises questions about national guilt?	12.0	51.9	23.1	13.0
V33 ...raises questions about individual guilt?	20.5	44.5	22.2	12.8
V34 ...increases the students' interest in the crimes of communism?	17.3	48.0	14.6	20.1
V35 ...increases the students' interest in and awareness of hate crimes in today's society?	3.1	46.5	45.5	5.5
V36 ...increases the students' interest in and awareness of racism in today's society?	2.1	37.0	58.5	2.3
V37 ...increases the students' interest in and awareness of neo-Nazis in today's society?	2.1	37.7	56.3	3.9

**Some people feel that teaching about the Holocaust is first and foremost something for people from certain countries or with a certain religious background. Please state your level of agreement with the following statements.**

	Completely agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Completely disagree	Don't know
V38 Teaching about the Holocaust is most important for Jewish students	2.8	4.9	5.6	81.0	5.7
V39 Teaching about the Holocaust is most important for Germans	2.9	5.3	6.6	79.4	5.8
V40 Teaching about the Holocaust is most important in those countries where the Holocaust took place	2.9	7.1	7.7	76.9	5.4

V41 Do you teach or have you taught about the Holocaust?

28.8 Yes  
 71.2 No →

Go to question V97 on page: 9

How many hours of your total teaching time during the past academic year have you spent on teaching about ...

	0	1-5	6 - 10	11 - 15	Over 15	Don't know
V42 ...the Holocaust?	0	19.4	42.1	18.0	7.3	8.3
V43 ...other genocides and crimes against humanity?	21.7	48.1	13.5	5.0	4.7	6.9

What are the reasons that you teach about the Holocaust?

V44 It's in the curriculum	58.3
V45 I think that it's important	98.4
V46 The school management requires it	13.6

As part of your teaching, have you (together with your students) visited...

V47 ...concentration/death camps?	13.7
V48 ...memorials, research institutes, museums?	21.3

V49 How much time do you devote to teaching about the Holocaust today by comparison with when you first started teaching?

31.2 I devote more time to it today
13.3 I devote less time to it today
49.3 The same amount of time as before
6.2 Don't know/started teaching only recently

How old are the students that you teach about the Holocaust? (You can select more than one age)

	n
V50 11 years	6523
V51 12 years	9146
V52 13 years	7433
V53 14 years	6604
V54 15 years	1121
V55 16 years	1212
V56 17 years	1
V57 18 years	6419

	5502						
V58	19 years	4180	<b>How many hours during your teacher training were devoted to:</b>				
			0 hours	1-10 hours	11-20 hours	more than 20 hours	Don't know
V59	...the Holocaust?	45.1	31.7	1.5	3.1	18.6	
V60	...other genocides and crimes against humanity?	47.0	27.5	3.7	2.4	19.4	
V61	...democracy and the UN's human rights?	22.5	41.1	8.9	8.0	19.5	

V62	<b>Have you participated in any other educational courses about the Holocaust?</b>						
16.3	Yes, one						
9.6	Yes, two						
9.9	Yes, three or more						
64.2	No, none						

**We would now like to ask some questions about different aspects of teaching about the Holocaust. Answer the questions on the basis of your experiences and thoughts about teaching of this kind. What do you think about:**

V63	<b>The number of hours?</b>						
0.3	Should be fewer						
45.0	About right						
39.4	Should be more						
15.2	Don't know						

V64	<b>The availability of teaching aids such as teaching guides, films, maps, documents?</b>						
0.5	Should be less						
46.3	About right						
42.0	Should be more						
11.3	Don't know						

V65	<b>Guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust, such as suggestions about how courses and lessons could be organised, course plans, etc. ?</b>						
0.9	Should be fewer						
34.9	About right						
48.8	Should be more						
15.3	Don't know						

V66	<b>Your own knowledge about the Holocaust?</b>						
43.0	It is sufficient						
46.3	It could be somewhat better						
10.4	It could be a lot better						
0.3	Don't know						

V67	<b>The interest shown by the school management?</b>						
11.4	They are completely uninterested						
37.3	They are quite interested						
13.9	They are very interested						
37.3	Don't know						

V68	<b>The interest among your colleagues?</b>						
2.4	They are completely uninterested						
56.7	They are quite interested						
19.1	They are very interested						
21.7	Don't know						

V69	<b>The students' motivation?</b>						
4.5	Low						
36.8	Moderate						
52.7	High						
6.0	Don't know						

V70	<b>Parents' attitudes towards teaching about the Holocaust?</b>						
0.0	Very negative						
0.6	Quite negative						
7.6	They're not bothered one way or the other						
20.6	Quite positive						
7.7	Very positive						
63.6	Don't know						

**Do you think that teaching about the holocaust is different from other topics covered by subjects such as history and social studies as regards:**

V71	<b>How important the topic is?</b>						
1.2	It is less important than other topics						
51.6	It is neither more or less important than other topics						
47.2	It is more important than other topics						

V72	<b>The moral and ethical questions it raises?</b>						
2.2	It raises fewer moral and ethical questions than other topics						
14.2	It raises neither more or less moral and ethical questions than other topics						
83.7	It raises more moral and ethical questions than other topics						

V73	<b>How interesting is it to teach?</b>						
44.1	It is more interesting to teach than other topics						
54.2	It is neither more or less interesting to teach than other topics						
1.8	It is less interesting to teach than other topics						

<b>V74</b>	<b>The students' interest?</b>
0.1	They are completely uninterested
6.1	They are quite uninterested
51.7	They are quite interested
42.1	They are very interested

**Do you think that the conditions for teaching about the Holocaust are made easier or more difficult by ...**

<b>V75</b>	<b>...the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?</b>
19.2	It makes teaching more difficult
60.6	It neither makes teaching easier or more difficult
20.2	It makes teaching easier

<b>V76</b>	<b>...other genocides, e.g. in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina?</b>
4.0	It makes teaching more difficult
50.8	It neither makes teaching easier or more difficult
45.2	It makes teaching easier

<b>V77</b>	<b>...the possible presence of individuals who "deny the Holocaust" at your school?</b>
7.3	It makes teaching more difficult
13.5	It neither makes teaching easier or more difficult
8.7	It makes teaching easier
70.5	I haven't notice anyone who denies the Holocaust at my school

<b>V78</b>	<b>...the presence of students with a Muslim background in your classes?</b>
6.4	It makes teaching more difficult
59.9	It neither makes teaching easier or more difficult
6.5	It makes teaching easier
27.3	I have no students with a Muslim background in my classes

<b>V79</b>	<b>... the presence of students with a Jewish background in your classes?</b>
1.0	It makes teaching more difficult
35.9	It neither makes teaching easier or more difficult
6.4	It makes teaching easier
56.8	I have no students with a Jewish background in my classes

<b>V80</b>	<b>...the presence of anti-Semitic attitudes at your school?</b>
12.1	It makes teaching more difficult
25.0	It neither makes teaching easier or more difficult
10.1	It makes teaching easier
52.8	I haven't notice any anti-Semitic attitudes at my school

<b>V81</b>	<b>... the presence of anti-Semitic attitudes in society at large?</b>
15.3	It makes teaching more difficult
48.3	It neither makes teaching easier or more difficult
22.0	It makes teaching easier
14.4	I haven't notice any anti-Semitic attitudes in society at large

<b>V82</b>	<b>In some countries, school students appear to have become tired of hearing about the Holocaust. Have you noticed any such tendencies among your own students?</b>
1.4	Yes, very often
19.8	Yes, to some extent
78.8	No $\longrightarrow$ Go to question V90

**If you answered "yes" to the previous question, to what extent do you think this tiredness is due to the following factors:**

	No, not at all	To some extent	To a great extent	Don't know	
<b>V83</b>	They think there is too much teaching about the Holocaust	12.8	56.9	14.3	16.0
<b>V84</b>	They think the media focuses on the Holocaust too often	26.7	40.1	6.7	26.6
<b>V85</b>	They think too much teaching is devoted to the Holocaust compared with other genocides	15.9	44.0	16.7	23.4
<b>V86</b>	They think to much teaching is devoted to the Holocaust compared with other topics	36.7	55.2	8.1	0.0
<b>V87</b>	They think they already know enough about the Holocaust	19.9	46.2	21.3	12.7
<b>V88</b>	They think the same thing is repeated every year	12.3	51.8	21.9	14.0
<b>V89</b>	They think that teaching aids such as films are hard work emotionally	30.5	41.6	5.5	22.4

**Perceptions about the objective and goals of teaching about the Holocaust vary. We would like to ask you to state to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements about teaching about the Holocaust.**

	Completely agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Completely disagree	
	1	2	3	4	
<b>V90</b>	It provides historical knowledge of singular importance	88.5	11.0	0.4	0.0
<b>V91</b>	It helps keep alive the memory of an important historical event.	84.1	14.1	1.7	0.0
<b>V92</b>	It raises the question of responsibility	77.0	21.0	1.4	0.6

V93	It can help to prevent future genocides	57.4	34.8	6.1	1.7
V94	It can obstruct the growth of neo-Nazi tendencies among today's young people	60.8	33.7	4.9	0.6
V95	It can counteract racist tendencies among today's young people	57.5	35.8	5.9	0.8
V96	It can counteract intolerance against certain groups, e.g. Jews and homosexuals	57.2	36.1	5.8	0.8

**Which of the following camps were built primarily in order to murder Jews?**  
(You can note more than one camp)

	Yes	No	Don't know	
V97	Dachau	73.6	5.2	21.1
V98	Chelmno	16.8	7.0	76.2
V99	Treblinka	87.8	0.9	8.2
V100	Katlyn	3.6	15.4	81.0
V101	Hadamar	2.9	13.8	83.4
V102	Gulag	6.8	54.0	39.2
V103	Bergen-Belsen	71.0	6.3	22.7

**V104 Many Germans took part in the German forces' extensive executions of Jewish civilians during the Holocaust. If a person refused to participate in these executions, according to what you know, what would have happened to that person?**  
(Select the answer you feel is correct)

A lot of teachers selected more than one alternative in relation to this question, which means that the percentages are not entirely meaningful. The correct answer is written in red.

- 50.8 The person would have been executed
- 17.8 The person would not have been executed but would have been sent to a concentration camp
- 13.1 The family in Germany would have been at great risk of being executed
- 11.9 The person would have been reassigned or excused in some other way from participating in the murders
- 4.0 Nothing special would have happened

**V105 The concentration camp system was introduced shortly after the Nazi Party came to power in Germany. It was not only the Jews who were imprisoned in these camps, and it took a while before Jews were imprisoned purely as a result of their ethnic affiliation. In what year did the first mass arrests of Jews take place on this basis?**

- 4.4 1933
- 8.5 1935
- 24.3 1938
- 12.9 1939
- 7.1 1940
- 6.4 1941
- 2.8 1942
- 33.5 Don't know

Correct answer

**V106 Anti-Semitism was an important issue for the German Nazi Party. They claimed that the Jews had too much influence in Germany and that they constituted an alien racial element in the German population. How large a proportion of the German population was comprised of Jews (in the sense that they were affiliated with a Jewish congregation) in 1933?**

- 5.7 Less than 1%
- 21.8 1- 5%
- 17.8 6-15%
- 5.2 16-30%
- 1.1 Over 30%
- 48.4 Don't know

Correct answer

**V107 How large a proportion of the Jewish children in Europe were killed during the Second World War?**  
(Select the range you think is correct)

- 10.0 0-20%
- 33.5 21-40%
- 34.3 41-60%
- 18.9 61-80%
- 3.2 81-100%

Correct answer

**V108 During the Nazi period in Germany, the Roma (sometimes incorrectly referred to as "gypsies") were persecuted and murdered. This genocide has a name of its own which is sometimes used. What is this name?**

- 7.9 Porrajnos
- 2.7 Shoa
- 0.9 Alnaqba
- 1.2 The Holocaust
- 87.4 Don't know

Correct answer

**V109 The political persecution of the Roma was initiated even before Hitler came to power and it increased in both its extent and intensity, becoming a full scale genocide. The Roma were not an homogeneous group, not even in the eyes of the Nazis. Which group of Roma were viewed by the Nazis as posing the greatest problem to the Third Reich?**

- 3.1 The "racially pure Roma"
- 1.6 The Roma living on occupied ground
- 12.2 Those Roma who came from mixed marriages with non-Roma
- 20.3 Travelling Roma
- 62.8 Don't know

Correct answer

**V110 Do you think it is important that teaching takes up the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust?**

- 52.9 Very important
- 32.5 Quite important
- 3.2 Quite unimportant
- 0.5 Completely unimportant
- 10.9 Don't know

**In which subjects do you take up the situation of the Roma during the Holocaust?**  
(You can select more than one alternative)

n

V111 History	28588
V112 Social studies	17165
V113 Life skills	10538
V114 Philosophy	3074
V115 Biology	1697
V116 Other subject	11829
V117 No subject	52561

<b>V114 Do you think it is important that the establishment and work of the Swedish Institute of Racial Biology is taken up in teaching?</b>	
41.1	Very important
31.6	Quite important
6.5	Quite unimportant
1.8	Completely unimportant
19.1	Don't know

<b>In which subjects do you take up Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene?</b> (You can select more than one alternative)	
	n
V119 History	22080
V120 Social science	14840
V121 Life skills	9301
V122 Philosophy	3351
V123 Biology	10086
V124 Other subject	10924
V125 No subject	52374

<b>V124 Do you need more knowledge about Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene in connection with your teaching?</b>	
50.3	Yes
49.7	No

<b>If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, what do you need in order to be better able to conduct this teaching?</b> (You can select more than one alternative)	
	n
V127 Educational material	36004
V128 Historical facts	38658
V129 Film material	28367
V130 Tips on relevant literature	29025

<b>V131 How would you assess the students' interest in working with Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene?</b>	
4.2	Very great
15.9	Quite great
21.0	Quite limited
7.3	Non-existent
51.5	Don't know



V132 How would you assess the availability of teaching aids relating to Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene?

- 0.8 Sufficient
- 15.8 Quite limited
- 15.3 Non-existent
- 68.1 Don't know

V133: To what extent has Swedish racial biology, racial hygiene and hereditary hygiene been dealt with in the context of your teacher training?

- 0.3 Comprehensively
- 16.2 Quite frugally
- 83.5 Not at all

Words such as "racial hygiene", "racial biology" and the like often give rise to certain associations and feelings. We would like to ask you to state how you perceive the following phenomena (if you perceive something as being very negative, tick "1", if you perceive it as very positive, tick "5"). (Select only one alternative on each row)

	For the scale 1-5 the means are reported, for 6 and 7					the percentages (of all who answered the question)	
	Negative		Positive		Can be both	I'm not familiar with the concept	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
V134 Eugenics			1.7			2.2	84.9
V135 Population genetics			2.8			16.8	40.4
V136 Hereditary hygiene	1.4					4.0	21.6
V137 Racial biology	1.4					5.2	11.5
V138 Genetic engineering			3.4			33.9	4.8
V139 Racial hygiene	1.2					2.3	13.4
V140 Gene diagnostics			3.6			28.6	12.8
V141 Stem cell research			4.1			25.0	3.6
V142 Gene therapy			3.6			20.2	30.2

We would now like to ask you to state your opinions on a series of phenomena and problems that are not directly connected to teaching about the Holocaust.

V143 What do you think about Muslim girls who want to do so wearing the veil/headscarf in school?

- 10.3 I accept it and think it is a good thing
- 56.9 I accept it
- 25.0 I accept it but don't like it
- 4.0 It is unacceptable

3.8 Have no opinion

		Yes	No	Don't know
<b>Do you think it is a good thing if non-Christian students can do the following?</b>				
V144	Eat in accordance with their religious principles	90.9	5.4	3.7
V145	Have time off for their religious holidays	78.4	13.2	8.4
V146	Be excused from religious studies	5.4	90.6	3.9
V147	Be excused from physical education, music, art or language lessons	1.0	96.0	3.0
V148	Be excused from lessons on sex and anatomy	1.4	94.2	4.4
<b>V149 Do you think that ethnically/nationally oriented schools where the teaching takes place in the group's mother tongue are generally a good or a bad thing?</b>				
	29.2 Very bad			
	38.6 Quite bad			
	14.9 Quite good			
	3.3 Very good			
	14.1 Don't know			
<b>V150 Do you think that independent religious schools are generally a good or a bad thing?</b>				
	43.9 Very bad			
	37.4 Quite bad			
	8.4 Quite good			
	1.1 Very good			
	9.2 Don't know			
<b>V151 Over the past two years has any racist, anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi propaganda been disseminated at your school?</b>				
	53.2 Never			
	42.1 Quite rarely			
	3.9 Quite often			
	0.7 Very often			
<b>V152 We would like to ask you to estimate how large a proportion (in percent) of the students at your school have a non-European background:</b>				
	57.3 0-10			
	19.7 11-20			
	8.2 21-30			
	4.7 31-40			
	3.7 41-60			
	4.9 Over 60			
	1.6 Don't know			

		Not at all	To some extent	Quite substantial	Very substantial	Don't know
<b>Do you think that there are problems with racism, anti-Semitism, hostility towards immigrants and ethnic conflicts at your school?</b>						
V153	Racism	32.2	53.7	7.9	1.7	4.5
V154	Anti-Semitism	60.8	21.4	2.1	0.1	15.6
V155	Hostility towards immigrants	23.5	57.3	11.6	3.5	4.0
V156	Ethnic conflicts	42.1	40.2	5.7	1.8	10.3
<b>V157 The term "Holocaust" is usually taken to mean the murder by the Nazis of about six million Jews during the Second World War. How sure are you that the Holocaust took place?</b>						
	97.1 Completely sure					
	2.0 Quite sure					
	0.1 A little unsure					
	0.1 Not at all sure					
	0.7 Don't know					
<b>We will now present a number of statements. Even if some of them may seem strange to you, they nonetheless express opinions and feelings that some people have. We would therefore like to ask you to state whether you agree or disagree with these statements.</b>						
V158	"It is a major problem in schools that male students from certain cultures do not acknowledge the authority of female teachers."	13.6	10.3	35.4	31.5	9.3
V159	"It is against the laws of nature for people from different races to have children together."	96.5	1.8	0.4	0.5	0.9
V160	"The Jews exploit the Holocaust for their own ends."	80.2	8.6	5.9	0.6	4.7
V161	"It is better for a society if people from different cultures live separately and do not mix with one another."	90.9	5.6	2.2	0.5	0.8
V162	"So-called 'honour violence' in certain cultures is an expression of the same male oppression of women that is found in all western societies"	49.4	18.2	20.2	6.5	5.8
V163	"The Holocaust is not relevant today because it took place over 60 years ago."	91.8	3.9	2.6	0.5	1.2

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	Don't know
V164 "Given the differing norms of the Romani culture, it is hardly surprising that the Roma are not accepted in Swedish society."	35.6	28.6	24.5	2.7	8.7
V165 "Some cultures are so different from Swedish culture that people from these cultures can't really adjust to Swedish society."	47.6	27.6	18.5	2.6	3.7
V166 "The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	80.8	7.4	4.1	1.7	6.1
V167 "It is natural for children to see and make value judgements about racial differences."	72.7	10.6	9.2	3.0	4.5
V168 "Immigrants in Sweden who have come from countries outside Europe should return to their countries of origin."	82.2	10.9	4.1	0.4	2.5
V169 "It is important for Sweden to select a political leader who can govern the country with a firm hand."	54.0	15.9	19.0	6.0	5.1
V170 "We should allow Jewish kosher slaughter and Muslim halal slaughter in Sweden."	28.2	12.6	16.5	18.1	24.5
V171 "Muslim immigrant parents in Sweden do not look to the best interests of their children."	59.2	16.4	11.9	1.3	11.2
V172 "It's part of human nature to be self-centred."	25.3	19.6	41.6	9.7	3.7
V173 "All immigrant children should learn that Swedish is their mother tongue right from the start."	56.1	21.2	15.2	4.3	2.8
V174 "Islam constitutes a threat to the social and cultural advances made in the west."	51.8	19.8	16.2	3.3	8.9
V175 "Sweden's immigration and refugee policy should be more liberal than it is today."	14.3	22.6	33.6	13.0	16.5
V176 "There should be more people with an immigrant background in the political assemblies."	3.4	5.0	37.0	47.2	7.4
V177 "There is altogether too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	77.0	12.3	4.5	1.0	5.2

V178 "Public sector agencies and the media often conceal uncomfortable facts about the consequences and costs of immigration for the Swedish people."	38.2	15.6	19.4	6.0	20.7
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V179	"Students with national socialist and racist sympathies ought to be allowed to voice their ideas and perceptions about things like the Holocaust."	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	Don't know
		67.5	14.6	10.7	2.3	4.9
V180	"A person shouldn't depend on anyone but him or herself."	72.1	14.6	9.3	1.4	2.6

**When do you think a person stops being an "immigrant", i.e. when does a person become "Swedish"? State how important you think the different factors are.**

	Completely unimportant	Quite important	Absolutely essential	
V181	That you've lived in Sweden for at least 5 years	52.5	34.1	13.3
V182	That you have a job and a home in Sweden	26.7	52.6	20.7
V183	That you have Swedish citizenship	17.2	38.9	43.9
V184	That you speak Swedish with no sign at all of a foreign accent	61.6	34.8	3.6
V185	That you were born in Sweden	83.7	12.0	4.3
V186	That you've completely adopted Swedish culture and Swedish traditions	39.8	51.7	8.4
V187	That your family has lived in Sweden for at least two generations	88.3	9.5	2.2
V188	That your family has lived in Sweden for at least five generations	92.7	5.4	1.9
V189	That you can't see from your appearance that you have roots in another country	96.8	2.6	0.6

**V190** Which party would you vote for if there was a general election today?  
(Select only one alternative)

6.2	Centre Party
0.9	Feminist Initiative
10.8	Folkpartiet (Liberals)
3.8	Christian Democrats
7.6	The Green Party
14.7	The Moderates (Conservative)
25.4	The Social Democratic Party
0.2	Sweden Democrats
8.4	The Left Party
3.9	Other
3.3	Return blank ballot paper
14.8	Don't know

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!**

## Appendix 2: comparison between the teacher surveys of 1998 and 2007

In the 1998 survey, the target population was defined as follows:

- i. Teachers in compulsory education and upper secondary schools, either under local authority control or independent (general, religious, language/ethnic, and schools employing a special teaching approach)
- ii. Teachers aged between 30 and 60 years
- iii. Teachers with qualification codes 1 and 2
- iv. Teachers with between 3 and 40 years of teaching experience
- v. Teachers working at least 50% of full-time

A selection was made from among the respondents in the 2007 survey, such that the remaining group of individuals corresponded as far as possible to the target population of the 1998 study. The selection was made on the basis of criteria (ii) – (v) above. Criterion (i) could not be taken into account in the context of this correction, since the frame population for the 1998 survey also included primary school teachers. The primary school teachers that are found among the respondents in the 2007 survey have “slipped in” as a result of flaws in the precision of the Teachers’ Register – the frame population in this case was only intended to include teachers working in middle schools, high schools and upper secondary schools (using the old terminology). The correction to the 2007 data meant that 4161 of the original 5081 participating respondents remained.

**To what extent do you feel that the following factors have a negative effect on the work of the school?**

### V23 Insufficient financial resources

	Not at all	To some extent	To a very great extent	n
1998	0.79	14.19	84.20	5442
2007	1.17	24.96	73.61	4119

⚠ Unclear result, larger proportion "To some extent", smaller proportion "To a very great extent"

Internal non-response = 87. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.14; p = 0.0001

### V24 The students' lack of respect for the teachers

	Not at all	To some extent	To a very great extent	n
1998	9.56	39.12	49.09	5427
2007	13.21	54.57	31.61	4103

⚠ Same as above

Internal non-response = 118. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001. C = 0.18; p = 0.0001

### V25 Inadequate contact between teachers and parents

	Not at all	To some extent	To a very great extent	n
1998	12.12	45.59	40.04	5429
2007	20.05	57.88	20.88	4095

⚠ Better contact 2007

Internal non-response = 124. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.21; p = 0.0001

### V28 That the local authority has responsibility for the school

	Not at all	To some extent	To a very great extent	n
1998	11.60	32.62	45.38	5438
2007	18.74	35.09	33.24	4092

⚠ Local authority responsibility less of a concern in 2007

Internal non-response = 118. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.14; p = 0.0001

Select the alternative that best describes your own situation:

**V30 It happens increasingly often that I feel inadequate in my work**

	Never	Quite rarely	Quite often	Very often	n
1998	11.08	11.88	39.00	37.19	5405
2007	6.06	41.44	41.01	11.42	4126

⚠ Clear change for the better 2007

Internal non-response = 117. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.37; p = 0.0001

**V42 How many hours of your total teaching time during the past academic year have you spent on teaching about the Holocaust**

	0-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	Over 15 hours	n
1998	83.60	7.05	2.17	1.87	5250
2007	54.48	21.98	9.23	10.48	2166

⚠ Clear shift to more hours 2007

Internal non-response = 2232. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.33; p = 0.0001

Note that the question was formulated differently across the two years. In 1998 the relevant period was specified as "during the current year", in 2007 as "during the past academic year".

**V43 How many hours of your total teaching time during the past academic year have you spent on teaching about other genocides and crimes against humanity?**

	0-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	Over 15 hours	n
1998	84.54	6.19	1.55	1.39	5233
2007	67.51	16.22	5.13	5.96	2047

⚠ Clear shift to more hours in 2007

Internal non-response = 2368. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.23; p = 0.0001

Note that the question was formulated differently across the two years. In 1998 respondents were asked about "Other genocides and mass murders", in 2007 about "Other genocides and crimes against humanity".

**V59 How many hours during your teacher training were devoted to the Holocaust?**

	0 hours	1-10 hours	11-20 hours	Over 20 hours	n
1998	65.44	13.49	1.51	1.28	5293
2007	34.34	38.73	3.55	4.48	2143

⚠ Substantially more hours devoted to the Holocaust in 2007

Internal non-response = 2212. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.35; p = 0.0001

**V60 How many hours during your teacher training were devoted to other genocides and crimes against humanity?**

	0 hours	1-10 hours	11-20 hours	Over 20 hours	n
1998	68.60	10.55	0.83	0.96	5287
2007	36.78	37.30	3.10	2.96	2126

⚠ Substantially more hours devoted to the theme in 2007

Internal non-response = 2235. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.37; p = 0.0001

Note that the question was formulated differently across the two years. In 1998 respondents were asked about "Other genocides and mass murders", in 2007 about "Other genocides and crimes against humanity".

**V61 How many hours during your teacher training were devoted to democracy and the UN's human rights?**

	0 hours	1-10 hours	11-20 hours	Over 20 hours	n
1998	44.64	27.89	2.59	2.63	5293
2007	17.11	45.85	9.00	8.62	2122

⚠ Substantially more hours devoted to the theme in 2007

Internal non-response = 2233. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.33; p = 0.0001

**V107 How large a proportion of the Jewish children in Europe were killed during the Second World War?**

	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%	n
1998	2.17	19.27	39.65	33.47	5.43	5246
2007	7.74	31.90	33.78	21.45	5.01	3991

⚠ A greater tendency to underestimate the number of Jewish children murdered in 2007

Internal non-response = 411. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.21; p = 0.0001

**V143 What do you think about Muslim girls who want to do so wearing the veil/headscarf in school?**

	I accept it and think it is a good thing	I accept it	I accept it but don't like it	It is unacceptable	n
1998	13.13	28.47	44.87	5.97	5391
2007	14.04	58.49	21.28	2.79	4117

⚠ Substantially more permissive attitude towards wearing the veil/headscarf in 2007

Internal non-response = 140. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.31; p = 0.0001

**Do you think it is a good thing if non-Christian students can do the following?**

**V144 Eat in accordance with their religious principles**

	Yes	No	n
1998	80.17	12.17	5422
2007	94.09	3.22	4132

⚠ Somewhat more permissive attitude in 2007

Internal non-response = 94. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.17; p = 0.0001

**V145 Have time off for their religious holidays**

	Yes	No	n
1998	77.39	14.49	5410
2007	80.84	10.74	4123

⚠ Somewhat more permissive attitude in 2007

Internal non-response = 115. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.001  
C = 0.06; p = 0.001

**V146 Be excused from religious studies**

	Yes	No	n
1998	20.90	69.26	5401
2007	3.38	93.73	4115

⚠ Less permissive attitude in 2007

Internal non-response = 132. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.27; p = 0.0001

**V147 Be excused from physical education, music, art or language lessons**

	Yes	No	n
1998	7.71	82.77	5408
2007	0.80	96.61	4125

⚠ Somewhat less permissive attitude in 2007

Internal non-response = 115. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.17; p = 0.0001

**V148 Be excused from lessons on sex and anatomy**

	Yes	No	n
1998	9.45	78.75	5398
2007	1.19	94.93	4121

⚠ Less permissive attitude in 2007

Internal non-response = 129. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.19; p = 0.0001

**Do you think that there are problems with racism, anti-Semitism, hostility towards immigrants and ethnic conflicts at your school?**
**V153 Racism**

	Not at all	To some extent	Quite substantial	Very substantial	n
1998	56.17	34.69	2.82	0.49	5353
2007	31.97	55.07	8.38	1.55	4129

⚠ Racism somewhat more of a problem in 2007

Internal non-response = 166. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.27; p = 0.0001

**V154 Anti-Semitism**

	Not at all	To some extent	Quite substantial	Very substantial	n
1998	78.14	8.80	0.51	0.11	5339
2007	65.53	20.25	1.91	0.37	4093

⚠ Anti-Semitism somewhat more of a problem in 2007

Internal non-response = 216. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.19; p = 0.0001

**V155 Hostility towards immigrants**

	Not at all	To some extent	Quite substantial	Very substantial	n
1998	45.74	43.05	5.27	0.73	5352
2007	22.74	57.64	13.58	3.55	4108

⚠ Hostility towards immigrants more of a problem in 2007

Internal non-response = 188. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.27; p = 0.0001

**V156 Ethnic conflicts**

	Not at all	To some extent	Quite substantial	Very substantial	n
1998	58.22	28.20	2.70	0.51	5340
2007	48.32	37.87	4.97	1.07	4104

⚠ Somewhat more problems with ethnic conflicts in 2007

Internal non-response = 204. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.13; p = 0.0001

**V157 The term "Holocaust" is usually taken to mean the murder by the Nazis of about six million Jews during the Second World War. How sure are you that the Holocaust took place?**

	Completely sure	Quite sure	A little unsure	Not at all sure	S5	Don't know	n
1998	96.87	2.67	0.13	0.07	0.00	0.26	5439
2007	98.69	1.14	0.00	0.05	0.12	0.00	4134

⚠ In 2007 the teachers are slightly more sure that the Holocaust took place than in 1998

Internal non-response = 75

**V158 "It is a major problem in schools that male students from certain cultures do not acknowledge the authority of female teachers."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	8.04	7.85	37.36	23.03	5362
2007	11.63	10.27	35.52	33.12	4127

⚠ More Completely agree 2007, but more also partly or completely disagree. Somewhat unclear and weak correlation

Internal non-response = 159. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.10; p = 0.0001



**V159 "It is against the laws of nature for people from different races to have children together."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	93.00	3.68	1.37	0.39	5412
2007	98.40	0.94	0.15	0.17	4134

⚠ Fewer agree in 2007 and more disagree. Weak correlation.

Internal non-response = 102. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.11; p = 0.0001

**V160 "The Jews exploit the Holocaust for their own ends."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	83.30	7.46	3.59	0.29	5426
2007	83.98	8.01	4.91	0.36	4132

⚠ No marked change for the most part

Internal non-response = 90. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.02  
C = 0.03; p = 0.03

**V161 "It is better for a society if people from different cultures live separately and do not mix with one another."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	82.50	11.68	3.35	0.31	5429
2007	92.74	5.23	1.28	0.24	4131

⚠ Somewhat more disagree in 2007

Internal non-response = 88. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.14; p = 0.0001

**V163 "The Holocaust is not relevant today because it took place over 60 years ago."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	90.01	5.02	1.83	0.76	5396
2007	95.31	3.17	0.92	0.24	4133

⚠ Somewhat fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 119. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.001  
C = 0.07; p = 0.001

**V164 "Given the differing norms of the Romani culture, it is hardly surprising that the Roma are not accepted in Swedish society."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	21.25	21.14	35.96	9.35	5378
2007	38.85	28.54	23.70	2.00	4106

⚠ Substantially fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 164. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.26; p = 0.0001

**V165 "Some cultures are so different from Swedish culture that people from these cultures can't really adjust to Swedish society."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	24.23	21.58	33.72	7.80	5394
2007	49.98	28.17	16.79	1.54	4104

⚠ Substantially fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 150. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.30; p = 0.0001

**V166 "The Jews have too much influence in the world today."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	72.76	8.39	4.22	0.57	5401
2007	86.37	6.05	2.74	0.68	4117

⚠ Somewhat fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 130. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.001  
C = 0.08; p = 0.001

**V167 "It is natural for children to see and make value judgements about racial differences."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	48.95	12.60	18.89	8.29	5367
2007	77.87	9.35	6.89	2.12	4107

ⓘ Substantially fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 174. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.28; p = 0.0001

**V168 "Immigrants in Sweden who have come from countries outside Europe should return to their countries of origin."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	64.15	17.22	9.49	1.41	5372
2007	86.56	8.70	3.01	0.19	4115

ⓘ Substantially fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 161. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.22; p = 0.0001

**V169 "It is important for Sweden to select a political leader who can govern the country with a firm hand"**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	43.20	15.95	23.88	9.54	5315
2007	57.23	17.09	17.02	4.06	4089

ⓘ More agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 244. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.16; p = 0.0001

**V170 "We should allow Jewish kosher slaughter and Muslim halal slaughter in Sweden."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	35.33	9.23	9.19	11.22	5329
2007	24.55	12.72	18.55	19.23	4097

ⓘ Substantially more agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 222. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.22; p = 0.0001

**V171 "Muslim immigrant parents in Sweden do not look to the best interests of their children"**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	42.69	12.70	11.56	1.64	5353
2007	64.70	16.29	9.17	0.63	4113

ⓘ Somewhat fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 182. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.13; p = 0.0001

**V172 "It's part of human nature to be self-centred."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	22.61	17.45	44.20	10.35	5351
2007	24.70	20.33	43.89	8.11	4117

ⓘ Slightly fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 180. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.001  
C = 0.05; p = 0.001

**V173 "All immigrant children should learn that Swedish is their mother tongue right from the start."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	51.88	20.28	16.15	6.14	5345
2007	63.64	19.62	11.81	2.82	4114

⚠ Somewhat fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 189. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.12; p = 0.0001

**V174 "Islam constitutes a threat to the social and cultural advances made in the west."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	32.40	18.13	21.26	6.38	5361
2007	58.67	19.30	12.95	2.31	4108

⚠ Substantially fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 179. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.24; p = 0.0001

**V175 "Sweden's immigration and refugee policy should be more liberal than it is today."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	18.85	28.02	26.45	9.04	5364
2007	14.13	23.36	33.83	13.18	4097

⚠ Somewhat more agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 187. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.13; p = 0.0001

**V176 "There should be more people with an immigrant background in the political assemblies."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	3.22	7.67	37.75	39.07	5370
2007	3.16	3.77	35.03	50.94	4111

⚠ Somewhat more Completely agree 2007

Internal non-response = 167. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.12; p = 0.0001

**V177 "There is altogether too much talkabout Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	75.31	12.07	4.93	1.08	5379
2007	82.02	11.39	3.09	0.36	4110

⚠ Somewhat more agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 159. Ch<sup>2</sup> p = 0.001  
C = 0.07; p = 0.001

**V178 "Public sector agencies and the media often conceal uncomfortable facts about the consequences and costs of immigration for the Swedish people."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	22.95	16.16	26.12	10.01	5364
2007	43.67	15.66	16.54	4.26	4106

⚠ Substantially fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 178. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.25; p = 0.0001

**V179 "Students with national socialist and racist sympathies ought to be allowed to voice their ideas and perceptions about things like the Holocaust."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	71.03	8.60	10.49	3.28	5398
2007	71.31	13.90	8.53	1.93	4102

⚠ Somewhat fewer agree in 2007

Internal non-response = 148. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.001  
C = 0.10; p = 0.001

**V180 "A person shouldn't depend on anyone but him or herself."**

	Completely disagree	Partly disagree	Partly agree	Completely agree	n
1998	64.37	19.46	12.67	1.44	5405
2007	76.40	14.00	6.60	0.83	4106

Internal non-response = 137. Chi<sup>2</sup> p = 0.0001  
C = 0.14; p = 0.0001

## Appendix 3

### Calibration report

#### 1 Introduction

The estimates produced in a sample survey are always subject to *sampling errors* as a result of the fact that only a subset (i.e. a sample) of the population is studied. Another type of error arises if we fail to get answers from all those included in the sample (non-response), and if those who fail to respond differ from the respondents in relation to the target variables. This type of error is termed *non-response error*.

In order to facilitate the use of the statistics, it is useful if the size of these errors can be estimated. Of the two types of error mentioned above, it is only possible to estimate the size of the sampling error with the help of information relating to the sample. As a rule, information about non-response error can only be acquired indirectly and by approximation through the use of register variables. Both sampling error and non-response error can be reduced by means of an effective weighting procedure.

#### 2 Auxiliary information

The central factor in producing high-quality estimates with a given calibration estimator, is that the weighting procedure is based on "powerful" auxiliary information. The following section describes the work conducted to find a "powerful" auxiliary vector for this particular survey.

##### 2.1 Possible auxiliary variables

Three criteria should be considered when selecting auxiliary variables (see Lundström & Särndal, 2001, and Särndal & Lundström, 2005):

- The first criterion is that the variable covaries well with the response propensity (-probability). This is the most important criterion since it produces a reduction in the non-response bias for all estimates.
- The second criterion is that the variable covaries well with (important) study variables. If this is the case, the non-response bias is reduced for those estimates that are based on these study variables. The variance of these estimates will also be reduced.

- The third criterion is that the variable identifies (important) sub-populations or *domains*. The main effect of this criterion being fulfilled is a reduction in the variance of the estimates for these sub-populations.
- Possible auxiliary variables, i.e. variables believed to fulfil the criteria outlined above, were collected from the Swedish Total Population Register (*Registret över totalbefolkningen - RTB*) updated to 31/3-07, and the Swedish Teachers' Register (*Registret över pedagogisk personal*), in which the data related to the 2006/2007 academic year. The auxiliary variables were defined as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Possible auxiliary variables

Variable (label)	Categories (codes)
SEX	1 = Male 2 = Female
AGE (years)	1 = - 30 2 = 31 - 40 3 = 41 - 50 4 = 51 - 60 5 = 61 -
SEX*AGE	1 = Male, - 30 years 2 = Male, 31 - 40 years 3 = Male, 41 - 50 years 4 = Male, 51 - 60 years 5 = Male, 61 - years 6 = Female, - 30 years 7 = Female, 31 - 40 years 8 = Female, 41 - 50 years 9 = Female, 51 - 60 years 10 = Female, 61 - years
COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1 = Scandinavia 2 = Elsewhere in Europe 3 = Rest of the world
MARITAL STATUS	1 = Married or registered partner 2 = Other
METROPOLITAN AREA	1 = Resident in metropolitan area 2 = Other
QUALIFICATION CODE	1 = Qualified for position, or general qualification 2 = Unqualified
FULL TIME/PART TIME	1 = At least 100 % 2 = Other
NO. OF YEARS ACTIVE TEACHING	1 = 3 - 5 2 = 6 - 15 3 = 16 -
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	1 = Permanent position 2 = Other (Short-term or unknown)
STRATUM	1 = History teachers, high school, upper

	secondary school 2 = Teachers social subjects, religion, philosophy and literature, high school, upper secondary school 3 = Teachers Swedish and German, high school, upper secondary school. 4 = Teacher with social studies orientation 1-7 training, middle school 5 = Middle school teachers in general 6 = Other teachers working in middle schools, high school or upper secondary school
--	--

The following section presents an analysis of the variables described in Table 1 that was conducted in order to determine a final auxiliary vector.

### 3 Analysis of auxiliary information

#### 3.1 Criterion 1: The variable covaries with the response probability

In order to see whether the auxiliary variables fulfilled the first criterion, the correlation between the auxiliary variables and the dichotomous variable respondent/non-respondent was examined by calculating the estimated proportion of respondents in various categories of the respective auxiliary variables. The calculation of the estimates was conducted using the design weight ( $N_i/h_i$ ). Large differences between the response proportions mean that the variable constitutes a strong candidate for auxiliary variable status.

*Table 2.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by sex.

Sex	1	2
Response proportion(%)	47.0	50.3

*Table 3.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by age.

Age	1	2	3	4	5
Response proportion(%)	50.5	47.4	44.6	51.4	55.5

*Table 4.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by sex\*age.

Sex*age	1	2	3	4	5
Response proportion(%)	43.0	44.0	43.6	50.6	50.6
Sex*age	6	7	8	9	10
Response proportion(%)	53.4	49.1	45.1	52.0	58.9

*Table 5.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by country of birth.

Country of birth	1	2	3
Response proportion (%)	49.3	55.4	37.8

*Table 6.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by marital status.

Marital status	1	2
Response proportion (%)	50.3	47.3

*Table 7.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by metropolitan area.

Metropolitan area	1	2
Response proportion (%)	49.3	49.0

*Table 8.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by qualification code.

Qualification code	1	2
Response proportion (%)	51.4	36.8

*Table 9.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by full time/part time.

Full time/part time	1	2
Response proportion (%)	50.4	46.3

*Table 10.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by years of active teaching.

No. of years active teaching	1	2	3
Response proportion (%)	46.0	47.4	52.2

*Table 11.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by employment status.

Employment status	1	2
Response proportion (%)	50.1	42.4

*Table 12.* Estimated proportion (%) of respondents, by stratum.

Stratum	1	2	3	4	5	6
Response proportion(%)	54.3	55.2	55.8	45.8	50.1	48.7

Tables 2-12 show that the strength of the possible auxiliary variables varies in relation to criterion 1. We can see, for example, that the "qualification code" appears to be a strong auxiliary variable, whereas the difference in response probabilities appears to be smaller between those living in metropolitan areas and those living elsewhere.

#### 3.2 Criterion 2: The variable covaries with (important) study variables

It is not possible to find auxiliary variables that covary with all study variables. For this reason the level of covariation with a number of study variables deemed to be of special importance to the survey was examined.

Eleven study variables were selected and transformed into dichotomous variables (i.e. variables that can assume two values). These variables are presented in Table 13.

Table 13. Transformed study variables

Study variable	Explanation (see also questionnaire)
Feel bad about going to work	Fr 29; Very/Quite often (3, 4)
Awareness of neo-Naziism	Fr 37; Yes, absolutely/to some extent (2, 3)
Taught about the Holocaust	Fr 41; Yes (1)
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	Fr 152; 0-10 (1)
Excused from physical education and health	Fr 191; Very/Quite often (3, 4)
Excused from swimming	Fr 192; Very/Quite often (3, 4)
Excused from sex education	Fr 193; Very/Quite often (3, 4)
Excused from biology	Fr 194; Very/Quite often (3, 4)
Excused from religious studies	Fr 195; Very/Quite often (3, 4)
Excused from music	Fr 196; Very/Quite often (3, 4)
Excused from other subjects	Fr 197; Very/Quite often (3, 4)

The following tables present estimates of the proportions of different classes determined by the auxiliary variables, that have a given characteristic (see Table 13). The estimates are derived by the "conventional" method (the weight is set at  $N_h/m_h$ ).

Table 14. Sex

Study variable	1	2
Feel bad about going to work	12.1	10.6
Awareness of neo-Naziism	92.1	95.1
Taught about the Holocaust	28.3	29.4
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	57.8	56.9
Excused from physical education and health	4.7	6.1
Excused from swimming	7.5	10.0
Excused from sex	3.3	4.3

education				
Excused from biology	0.7		1.3	
Excused from religious studies	1.6		1.8	
Excused from music	0.7		0.5	
Excused from other subjects	0.7		0.9	

Table 15. Age

Study variable	1	2	3	4	5
Feel bad about going to work	12.0	10.0	8.9	12.5	13.4
Awareness of neo-Naziism	96.6	94.9	94.5	93.7	91.4
Taught about the Holocaust	24.0	31.1	28.5	29.5	27.2
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	56.7	56.9	58.3	58.4	53.7
Excused from physical education and health	6.8	5.2	4.3	4.8	10.1
Excused from swimming	11.7	8.3	6.4	9.4	13.7
Excused from sex education	3.4	2.9	3.1	3.9	7.7
Excused from biology	1.0	0.6	1.3	0.7	2.6
Excused from religious studies	1.2	1.3	1.4	0.9	5.4
Excused from music	0.1	0.6	1.0	0.3	1.1
Excused from other subjects	2.1	0.6	1.6	0.2	0.6

Table 16. Sex\*age

Study variable	1	2	3	4	5
Feel bad about going to work	2.0	9.3	10.8	15.8	12.8
Awareness of neo-Naziism	99.7	93.0	93.9	91.2	88.0
Taught about the Holocaust	30.9	32.6	29.2	26.1	24.4
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	59.0	52.1	61.7	58.7	59.6
Excused from physical education and health	5.4	2.3	3.1	3.3	14.6
Excused from swimming	14.3	5.4	4.9	5.5	17.5
Excused from sex education	0.5	2.0	3.3	2.2	9.0
Excused from biology	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.5
Excused from religious studies	0.3	0.2	2.1	0.6	6.1

Excused from music subjects	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.5	1.6
Excused from other subjects	0.2	0.1	1.0	0.5	1.5
<b>Study variable</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
Feel bad about going to work	15.1	10.3	8.0	10.5	13.8
Awareness of neo-Nazism	95.6	95.8	94.8	95.2	93.4
Taught about the Holocaust	21.8	30.4	28.1	31.7	28.9
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	55.9	59.1	56.8	58.2	50.2
Excused from physical education and health	7.2	6.6	4.8	5.8	7.6
Excused from swimming	10.8	9.6	7.0	11.8	11.4
Excused from sex education	4.3	3.3	3.0	5.0	6.9
Excused from biology	1.3	0.5	1.4	1.1	3.3
Excused from religious studies	1.4	1.7	1.1	1.1	5.0
Excused from music	0.1	0.8	0.9	0.1	0.8
Excused from other subjects	2.7	0.9	1.8	0.0	0.0

Table 17. Country of birth

<b>Study variable</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
Feel bad about going to work	10.6	15.9	24.4
Awareness of neo-Nazism	94.4	84.0	96.5
Taught about the Holocaust	29.5	20.3	23.0
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	58.9	37.5	25.9
Excused from physical education and health	5.2	10.9	15.5
Excused from swimming	8.6	16.2	18.6
Excused from sex education	3.4	10.6	13.3
Excused from biology	0.9	3.4	5.5
Excused from religious studies	1.4	3.4	11.0
Excused from music	0.4	3.4	2.6
Excused from other subjects	0.7	1.7	2.6

Table 18. Marital status

<b>Study variable</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
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Feel bad about going to work	11.7	10.2
Awareness of neo-Nazism	94.2	93.9
Taught about the Holocaust	29.0	29.0
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	56.3	55.7
Excused from physical education and health	5.3	6.1
Excused from swimming	8.7	9.8
Excused from sex education	3.5	4.5
Excused from biology	1.1	1.1
Excused from religious studies	1.8	1.6
Excused from music	0.6	0.6
Excused from other subjects	0.5	1.3

Table 19. Metropolitan area

<b>Study variable</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
Feel bad about going to work	11.4	11.0
Awareness of neo-Nazism	94.0	94.2
Taught about the Holocaust	30.6	28.2
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	45.8	63.2
Excused from physical education and health	6.3	5.3
Excused from swimming	10.4	8.5
Excused from sex education	5.6	3.0
Excused from biology	1.7	0.8
Excused from religious studies	1.7	1.7
Excused from music	1.0	0.4
Excused from other subjects	0.4	1.0

Table 20. Qualification code

<b>Study variable</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
Feel bad about going to work	11.5	8.5
Awareness of neo-Nazism	94.5	90.8
Taught about the Holocaust	30.1	21.3



Small proportion with non-Swedish background	57.7	53.9
Excused from physical education and health	5.6	5.9
Excused from swimming	9.0	10.0
Excused from sex education	3.6	6.5
Excused from biology	1.1	1.1
Excused from religious studies	1.4	3.7
Excused from music	0.7	0.1
Excused from other subjects	0.7	1.6

Table 21. Full time/part time

Study variable	1	2
Feel bad about going to work	10.0	13.8
Awareness of neo-Nazism	93.8	94.8
Taught about the Holocaust	31.3	23.3
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	57.1	57.6
Excused from physical education and health	5.4	6.3
Excused from swimming	9.5	8.4
Excused from sex education	4.2	3.3
Excused from biology	0.9	1.4
Excused from religious studies	1.4	2.4
Excused from music	0.6	0.7
Excused from other subjects	0.8	0.7

Table 22. No. of years active teaching

Study variable	1	2	3
Feel bad about going to work	11.3	9.0	13.0
Awareness of neo-Nazism	94.3	95.0	93.2
Taught about the Holocaust	25.7	27.9	31.4
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	53.5	56.8	59.2
Excused from physical	6.4	5.5	5.5

education and health					
Excused from swimming	9.7	7.9	10.0		
Excused from sex education	2.8	3.4	4.9		
Excused from biology	0.4	1.3	1.2		
Excused from religious studies	1.6	1.6	1.9		
Excused from music	0.0	0.8	0.7		
Excused from other subjects	1.1	1.1	0.3		

Table 23. Employment status

Study variable	1	2
Feel bad about going to work	11.4	8.9
Awareness of neo-Nazism	94.3	92.3
Taught about the Holocaust	30.4	17.1
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	57.7	53.3
Excused from physical education and health	5.4	7.8
Excused from swimming	8.9	11.3
Excused from sex education	3.7	5.7
Excused from biology	1.0	1.9
Excused from religious studies	1.4	4.4
Excused from music	0.6	0.6
Excused from other subjects	0.7	1.2

Table 24. Stratum

Study variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
Feel bad about going to work	7.7	8.5	9.9	14.4	11.5	11.1
Awareness of neo-Nazism	97.0	97.5	97.3	96.4	95.2	93.5
Taught about the Holocaust	93.3	86.6	35.0	37.3	51.2	22.6
Small proportion with non-Swedish background	57.6	54.8	58.5	70.1	70.6	54.8
Excused from physical education and health	3.6	4.4	4.8	3.3	2.7	6.3
Excused from swimming	5.9	7.4	6.9	6.3	5.2	10.0
Excused from sex education	1.5	1.6	2.7	1.0	2.0	4.5

Excused from biology	0.6	0.0	1.0	0.1	0.4	1.3
Excused from religious studies	1.3	0.8	1.5	0.5	1.1	1.9
Excused from music	0.2	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.7
Excused from other subjects	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.9

In some cases, the strength of the auxiliary variables varies quite substantially from one study variable to another. "Sex" and "marital status" appear to constitute relatively weak auxiliary variables in relation to Criterion 2. The remaining auxiliary variables are stronger with regard to Criterion 2 in relation to at least one of the study variables (see "metropolitan area" for example).

**3.3 Criterion 3: The variable identifies (important) sub-populations**

If the auxiliary variable identifies important sub-populations, the quality may be improved within these groups. First and foremost, the estimates become more robust if the auxiliary variable delimits the sub-population well.

The calibration estimator produces consistent estimates in the sense that the estimator provides exact estimates for the register totals employed.

**3.4 Final selection of auxiliary vector**

Following a combination of the analyses focused on the three criteria, and an examination of the distributions of the weights, the following auxiliary vector has been employed:

*sex* × *age* + *country of birth* + *marital status* + *metropolitan area* + *qualification code* + *full time/part time* + *number of years active teaching* + *employment status* + *stratum*

**4 Technical description of sample and estimation**

We have a population  $U$  comprised of  $N$  individuals. The parameters we are interested in are usually functions of two totals  $Y = \sum_U y_k$  and  $Z = \sum_U z_k$ , where  $y_k$  is the value of variable  $y$  for individual  $k$  and  $z_k$  is the value of another variable for the same individual. Usually,  $y$  (and also  $z$ ) are dichotomous variables, that is to say that

$$y_k = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if individual } k \text{ has the studied characteristic} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases} \quad (4.1)$$

We are usually also interested in the parameters for sub-populations. Let us call these  $U_1, \dots, U_d, \dots, U_D$ , where  $U = \bigcup_{d=1}^D U_d$ . The total for sub-population  $d$  can be written

$$Y_d = \sum_U y_{dk} \quad (4.2)$$

where  $y_{dk} = \begin{cases} y_k & \text{for } k \in U_d \\ 0 & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$

$Z_d$  is formed in a similar way.

A general parameter for sub-population  $d$  ( $d$  can also denote the whole population) can be written  $\theta_d = C \frac{Y_d}{Z_d}$ , where  $C$  is a constant.

The most common parameter is a proportion expressed as a percentage, which is obtained when  $C = 100$  and  $z_k = 1$  for all  $k$ , and  $y$  is defined in accordance with (4.1). If we let  $N_d$  be the number of individuals in sub-population  $d$ , then the parameter can be written

$$P_d = 100 \frac{\sum_U y_{dk}}{N_d} \quad (4.3)$$

We draw a simple random sample  $s_h$  of size  $n_h$  from stratum  $h$  ( $h = 1, \dots, H$ ), but as a result of over-coverage and non-response we only have a response set  $r_h$  of size  $m_h$  on which to conduct the calculations. The size of stratum  $h$  is denoted  $N_h$ .

The "conventional" estimator (for  $Y_d$ ), has the following form:

$$\hat{Y}_d = \sum_{h=1}^H \frac{N_h}{m_h} \sum_{s_h} y_{dk} \quad (4.4)$$

In estimator (4.4), no additional auxiliary information is used other than the stratification information.

In order to obtain an estimator with a smaller sampling error and non-response bias than estimator (4.4) we also use auxiliary information in the

estimation. We form an auxiliary vector  $\mathbf{x}_k$ , that specifies which categories of sex  $\times$  age + country of birth + marital status + metropolitan area + qualification code + full time/part time + number of years active teaching + employment status + stratum that individual  $k$  is a member of. On the basis of the RTB we derive the auxiliary totals  $\sum_{i_j} \mathbf{x}_k$ . We use this auxiliary information in a calibration estimator.

The calibration estimator for the total  $Y_j$  has the following form:

$$\hat{Y}_{cal} = \sum_r w_k Y_{jk} = \sum_r d_k^* g_k Y_{jk} \tag{4.5}$$

where

$$d_k^* = d_k \cdot f_k = 1 / (\pi_k \hat{\theta}_k) \text{ for } k \in r,$$

such that  $w_k$  = the total weight for object  $k$

$\pi_k$  = the inclusion probability for object  $k$

$\hat{\theta}_k$  = the estimated response probability where it is assumed that individuals respond with the same probability and independently of one another

$d_k$  =  $1/\pi_k$  = the design weight

$f_k = 1/\hat{\theta}_k$  = the non-response weight

$g_k$  = an adjustment factor based on the auxiliary information

and

$$g_k = 1 + \left( \sum_{j \neq r} \mathbf{x}_k - \sum_r d_k^* \mathbf{x}_k \right) \left( \sum_r d_k^* \mathbf{x}_k \right)^{-1} \mathbf{x}_k \tag{4.6}$$

When estimating a parameter of the type  $\theta_j = C \frac{Y_j}{Z_j}$  the respective totals are estimated with the help of the calibration weights  $w_k = d_k^* g_k$ .

The following auxiliary totals were used in the calibration:

Table 25. Total number of individuals in the population distributed by sex  $\times$  age.

1	2	3	4	5
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1785	8659	8021	11607	4746
6	7	8	9	10
4560	16990	16044	19028	6681

Table 26. Total number of individuals in the population distributed by country of birth, marital status, metropolitan area, qualification code, full time/part time, number of years active teaching and employment status.

Variable	Category		
	1	2	3
Country of birth	91613	3343	3165
Marital status	58129	39992	-
Metropolitan area	33444	64677	-
Qualification code	81913	16208	-
Full time/part time	68226	29895	-
Number of years active teaching	19408	38262	40451
Employment status	85937	12184	-

Table 27. Total number of individuals in the population distributed by stratum.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1575	2135	3317	5203	9081	76810

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ISBN: 978-91-977117-9-1