

Holocaust Memorial Day Impact Study

Final Report

Will Eadson, Sarah Pearson, Mike Foden, Elizabeth Sanderson and Nadia Bashir



Holocaust Memorial Day Impact Study: Final Report

A report to the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust

Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) Sheffield Hallam University

November 2015

Acknowledgements

Many thanks are due to all who contributed to the study by taking part in interviews and by completing the survey.

Thanks also to the Chief Executive of the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, Olivia Marks-Woldman, for her help in guiding and informing this study, and her colleagues at the Trust who provided invaluable supporting in helping to organise data collection activities.

Contents

Summary	i
. Introduction	1
1.1. Holocaust Memorial Day	1
1.2. The HMD Impact Study	1
What has happened? HMD activities and events	3
2.1. HMD events and activities	3
B. What do people feel that they know? HMD impacts on und information	
3.1. Has HMD made people more informed?	5
How do people feel about people from different backgrounds treatment of others? HMD impacts on awareness, attitudes and pe	
4.1. Qualitative reflections	12
What do people do? HMD impacts on actions and further involven	nent15
5.1. Action undertaken/planned as a result of HMD	15
5.2. Participation in HMD the following year (participants and organise and 2015)	
5.3. Attitudes and actions undertaken between as a result of HMD 2014 of	one year on 20
5.4. Participation in other HMD activities	22
5.5. Qualitative reflections	23
Conclusions	25
Appendix 1: Qualitative data sources	26
Appendix 2: Respondent attributes	28

Summary

This is the final report from an Impact Study of Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD) conducted by the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University between November 2013 to October 2015.

This report draws on data from two main sources to assess the extent to which HMD impacts on people's knowledge, attitudes and actions.

- Face-to-face interviews with individuals involved in organising and/or attending HMD activities, conducted in January 2014 and January 2015.
- Online surveys of HMD participants and organisers carried out in January-February 2014 and 2015 (n=716 in 2014 and 676 in 2015), with follow-up surveys carried out six months after HMD (n=191 in 2014 and 170 in 2015). In the 2015 HMD survey, respondents who took part in HMD 2014 were asked a set of questions about change over the year from HMD 2014 to HMD 2015.

Key findings

People's knowledge and understanding of genocides has increased as a result of HMD. Many people felt that they had a good understanding of the Holocaust prior to HMD, although participation in events and activities plays an important role in deepening people's understanding, and prompting them to reflect on aspects of the Holocaust which they had not previously considered. Events which include the testimony of survivors, or explore the lived experiences of those affected by the Holocaust and genocides, play a particularly important role in this aspect.

HMD impacts positively on people's views on the unfair treatment of others, and awareness of the causes and conditions that can lead to genocides. Seventy per cent of survey respondents felt that, following their participation in HMD, they were more aware of the causes and conditions that can lead to genocide.

HMD leads to people changing their attitudes towards others. For example, 66 per cent of survey respondents reported that HMD was responsible for them feeling more sympathetic toward people from different backgrounds.

People who take part in HMD are likely to act in some way following participation, in particular by telling others about HMD (large numbers of respondents indicated that they had told friends and family members about HMD) and encouraging them to take part in future events. Ninety three per cent of survey respondents took some form of action as a result of attending an HMD event.

Participants in the study continue to report changes in their knowledge, attitudes and actions up to a year after their participation in HMD and the majority of these attribute those changes to HMD. For example, 66 per cent of respondents surveyed a year after HMD 2014 had encouraged young people to learn about the Holocaust and/or genocide in the period between HMD 2014 and HMD 2015.

Over half of those responding to the study in 2014 indicated an intention to attend or organise and activity in 2015; and around 40 per cent of those involved in organising events reported that their event had prompted people to engage in additional events or activities linked to the Holocaust and genocides.

Conclusions

The study presents strong evidence of the impact of HMD across knowledge, attitudes and actions, particularly in relation to changes in attitudes and perceptions about Holocaust and genocides: increasing understanding in relation to the causes and conditions of genocide, fostering sympathies for those from different backgrounds, and opposing the unfair treatment of others.

Perhaps as would be anticipated these impacts occurred most frequently in the period around HMD, when the participants in the study were reflecting on the impact of events and activities which they had recently experienced. However, the study has also revealed that HMD has a longer term impact in changing attitudes and behaviours, and participation in HMD contributes to ongoing engagement with the issues addressed.

The study has also highlighted the role that HMD plays in offering opportunities for remembrance and learning about the Holocaust and genocides in ways that promote deep and reflective engagement. Throughout the study, participants highlighted the impacts of events in challenging their views and attitudes, and prompting them to consider the lived experiences of those involved in ways that they had not previously done. Events which were most likely to impact in these ways were those which included the testimonies of survivors and/or arts and cultural activities.

The findings outlined in this report confirm HMD's important role in building knowledge in relation to the Holocaust and genocides, promoting cohesion and tolerance and providing a regular, and enduring, focus for education and remembrance.

Introduction

This is the final report from an Impact Study of Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD).

1.1. Holocaust Memorial Day

The Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (HMDT) is the charity, established in 2005, which promotes and supports Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD). HMD has taken place in the UK each year since 2001 and includes both national and local events on or around the 27th January (this date marks the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the largest Nazi death camp) which focus on remembrance of those killed in the Holocaust, Nazi Persecution and genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Darfur. There were more than 2400 HMD events in 2014 and over 3600 in 2015. The work of HMDT has been funded by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) since 2007.

Further information can be found at: http://www.hmd.org.uk/

1.2. The HMD Impact Study

HMD is an important vehicle for commemorating the history of the Holocaust and subsequent genocides, and promoting social cohesion through education and remembrance. The study has addressed four main research questions which reflect the central aims of HMD:

- What has happened to mark HMD? What activities and events have been undertaken? Has HMD encouraged people to participate in memorial events and activities?
- What do people know? Has HMD made people better informed about the Holocaust, Nazi Persecution and subsequent genocides?
- What do people feel? Has HMD altered people's attitudes toward the Holocaust and genocide? Do people feel differently?
- What do people do? Has HMD encouraged people to act? For instance by speaking to family and friends about the Holocaust and subsequent genocides, taking part in further activities, learning more or joining community groups.

The study was conducted by the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University and ran from November 2013 to October 2015. This report builds on interim evaluations presented in May 2014 and May 2015 and draws on data from two main sources:

- Face-to-face interviews with individuals involved in organising and/or attending HMD activities, conducted in January 2014 and January 2015.
- Online surveys of HMD participants and organisers carried out in January-February 2014 and 2015 (n=716 in 2014 and 676 in 2015), with follow-up surveys carried out six months after HMD (n=191 in 2014 and 170 in 2015). In the 2015 HMD survey, respondents who took part in HMD 2014 were asked a set of questions about change over the year from HMD 2014 to HMD 2015.

Survey respondents included people with a range of demographic characteristics, including variations in age, household income, ethnicity and religion. Further details can be found in Appendix 2. It is important to note that, throughout the report, findings on HMD events, and their associated impacts, is drawn from survey respondents. Participation in the surveys was voluntary, and open to all involved in HMD events. Because the majority of HMD events are open access, and data on the characteristics of attendees is not collected, it is not possible to say definitively whether these survey respondents are representative of all those involved in HMD. However, qualitative data collected through interviews and observations suggests that the survey sample is reasonably illustrative of the composition of those involved in attending or organising HMD events.

Survey data is analysed and presented in different ways in the report, using the labels shown in Table 1.1, below. Where surveys are combined for analysis steps have been taken to ensure that double counting has not occurred. For instance, we have combined Surveys 1 and 3 to provide a larger grouping for robust analysis. In this case only one survey per person is counted: if a participant or organiser completed a questionnaire in 2014 and 2015 only their 2014 response is used.

Table 1.1: Labels used for survey data analysed in this report

Label	Description
Survey 1	Survey of HMD 2014 participants and organisers immediately after HMD 2014 (February 2014)
Survey 2	Follow-up survey of HMD 2014 participants (July 2014)
Survey 3	Survey of HMD 2015 participants and organisers immediately after HMD 2015 (February 2015)
Survey 4	Follow-up survey of HMD 2015 participants (July 2015)

The remainder of the report is structured as follows:

- Chapter 2 provides information on the activities and events which took place for HMD in 2014 and 2015.
- Chapter 3 presents evidence of the impact of HMD in terms of people's understanding of Holocaust and genocide.
- Chapter 4 looks at the impact of HMD on people's attitudes and perceptions toward Holocaust and genocide.
- Chapter 5 explores whether HMD has impact in terms of influencing people's actions in the period immediately after commemorative events and in the longerterm.
- Chapter 6 presents conclusions.
- Appendix 1 provides details of the location and nature of HMD events where interviews were carried out in 2014 and 2015.
- Appendix 2 contains information on the characteristics of survey respondents.

What has happened? HMD activities and events

This chapter draws on data from the survey of organisers and participants to provide brief evidence on the types and size of activities and events that were attended by individuals participating in the study, to provide context for the findings on HMD impact in terms of knowledge, attitudes and actions, which are explored in later chapters of this report.

2.1. **HMD** events and activities

Figure 2.1 provides detail on HMD events and activities across both years of the study. Reflecting the commemorative nature of HMD, a large proportion of respondents to the survey were involved in public memorial events. Over two-fifths (44 per cent) of organisers and 57 per cent of participants responding to the survey were involved in events of this nature. A large number of events involved speakers such as Holocaust and genocide survivors. Just under two-fifths of responding organisers had helped run an event with speakers, and over half (57 per cent) of responding participants had attended this type of event.

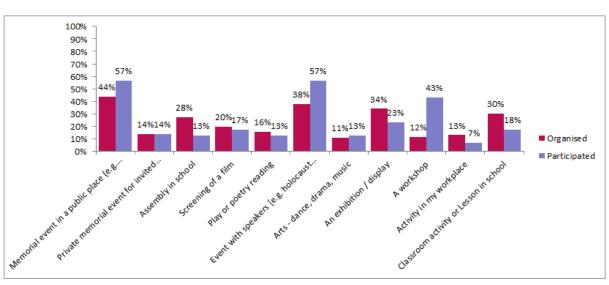


Figure 2.1: Types of events/activities organised or attended

Base: 887 respondents (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

Figure 2.2 illustrates the range in the size of HMD activities and events by showing the distribution of total numbers of people involved (as estimated by those who helped run them). Almost one-fifth of organisers responding to the survey estimated that between 51 and 100 people took part in their event or activity by either attending, visiting, participating, organising or helping out. Similar proportions of responding organisers estimated that between 101 and 200 people (22 per cent) or more than 500 people (21 per cent) had been involved in their activity or event.

1-5 6-10 26-50 1% 1% 2% 26-50 500+ 9% 21% 50-100 401-500 19% 4% 301-400 6% 201-300 101-200 11% 22%

Figure 2.2: Size of events/activities (organisers 2014 and 2015)

Base: 541 respondents (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

This chapter has provided information on the nature and size of HMD events, as reported by survey respondents involved in attending or organising events. The majority of these were public memorial and commemorative events involving speakers (which may include survivors of the Holocaust and genocides). Forty one per cent of, these HMD events attracted between 50 and 200 participants. Almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of events had more than 100 participants.

Chapter Three begins to look at the impact of HMD, by exploring changes in knowledge resulting from HMD activities.

What do people feel that they know? HMD impacts on understanding and information

This chapter explores the impact of HMD on people's understanding in relation to the Holocaust and genocides. It draws on data from the surveys conducted on or immediately after HMD (in January and February 2014 and 2015), and interviews with participants and organisers.

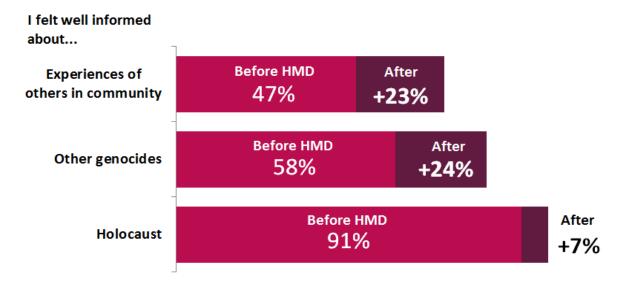
3.1. Has HMD made people more informed?

Survey respondents were asked to reflect on the extent to which they felt well informed about the Holocaust and other genocides before and after taking part in HMD. The results are presented in Figure 3.1. Ninety-one per cent of respondents felt well-informed or very well informed about the Holocaust before taking part in HMD, rising to 98 per cent after taking part. This included a rise from 43 per cent to 60 per cent of those who felt 'very well-informed' about the Holocaust. Pre-existing knowledge about other genocides was lower, with 58 per cent feeling well informed beforehand. However, taking part in HMD appeared to have a marked effect on respondents' knowledge about other genocides, with 82 per cent feeling well informed about these after participation in HMD.

Similarly, the extent to which respondents felt informed about the experiences of other people in their local community rose by a substantial margin, from just under half (47 per cent) before taking part in HMD to almost three-quarters (71 per cent) after participation.

There were some differences in the responses given to these questions by organisers and participants. Organisers were more likely than participants to report that they were well-informed about other genocides (a difference of 14 percentage points before HMD and 12 percentage points afterwards). There was little difference in how well informed organisers and participants felt about the experiences of others within their local community before taking part in HMD, although organisers were more likely than participants to feel well informed afterwards (a 10 percentage points difference).

Figure 3.1: How informed respondents felt before and after HMD



^{*} Combined answers of those who said they felt 'well informed' or 'very well informed' before and after **HMD**

Base: 975-990 respondents (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

Qualitative data also highlight the positive impact of HMD on improving knowledge and understanding. On the whole, people participating in interviews carried out at HMD events tended to report that they were informed prior to attending events. This was especially true for participants attending civic commemorations or those held in places of worship. For these participants attendance at events served to 'remind' them about Holocaust and genocide, and reinforced existing knowledge.

Other interviewees did however highlight the impact of HMD in bringing new knowledge and understanding. For example, participants who were interviewed at arts events emphasised the knowledge they had gained about the lived experiences of Nazi Germany, the Holocaust and genocides, and revealed that their participation in HMD activities extended knowledge 'beyond the statistics'.

The themes for both 2014 and 2015 were seen by interviewees as good ways of highlighting different aspects of the Holocaust and genocides. For instance, relating to the 2014 theme of 'Journeys', a number of interviewees explained how they had not previously given a lot of thought to the journeys made by victims of the Holocaust, and that the activities had greatly improved their knowledge of this.

The 2015 theme of 'Keep the memory alive' was seen as effective in emphasising personal stories, which in turn helped build richer understandings of the Holocaust and/or other genocides. For example, one event in London centred on a survivor telling their story as a Kindertransportee, which led an interviewee to reflect on the individual experiences of children in the events leading up to the Holocaust:

Obviously you hear more about adults than the children's perspective; You don't realise, like when he said that he couldn't play in the park, they weren't allowed bikes. I must admit I didn't know any of that before. You just thought that they were persecuted and that was it, you didn't think of the individual things that they remember, you know, not being able to play football in the park, never heard that before. (Maureen, London)

The strength of personal stories was a recurrent theme, both in terms of knowledge and attitudes, as another participant explained:

It's very important to hear people's personal experiences, and I know it's very important to them, that personal experiences are heard and remembered ... personal experiences which are increasingly rare. (Peter, 54, Yorkshire and the Humber)

Similarly, Leena in the South West noted how:

When people say Holocaust you think about it in terms of an abstract event that happened a long time ago and when you hear the stories of the survivors it reminds you of the actual people involved and I think it's easy to forget that.

Improving knowledge about the Holocaust, other genocides and HMD were also seen as important by interviewees involved in organising events. For instance, one volunteer emphasised the importance of learning as an integral part of HMD:

I learn a new approach every year and I hope others do too because I think that's what... we're very good at commemorating, we're very good at lighting candles and saying a prayer or two and being solemn and that. I don't think is an adequate commemoration if one is not learning anything. (Tim, South West)

This chapter has looked at evidence in relation to the impact of HMD in adding to. and deepening, people's knowledge in relation to the Holocaust and genocides. There is clear evidence that people's knowledge and understanding of genocides has been increased as a result of HMD. Whilst many people felt that they had a good understanding of the Holocaust prior to HMD, participation in events and activities plays an important role in deepening people's understanding, and prompting them to reflect on aspects of the Holocaust which they had not previously considered. Events which include the testimony of survivors, or explore the lived experiences of those affected by the Holocaust and genocides, play a particularly important role in this aspect.

The next chapter considers the impact of HMD in relation to people's attitudes and perceptions of community and toward those with different backgrounds or who have been unfairly treated.

How do people feel about people from different backgrounds and the unfair treatment of others? HMD impacts on awareness, attitudes and perceptions

This chapter explores the impact of HMD on people's attitudes and perceptions regarding their local area, towards people from different backgrounds and in relation to genocide and unfair treatment of others. Data discussed in this chapter are drawn from three sources:

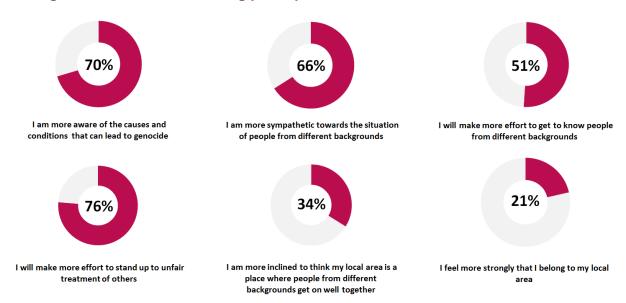
- Surveys of HMD event participants and organisers carried out on or soon after HMD (in January and February 2014 and 2015) - these surveys are designed to capture impact in the period immediate following HMD events.
- Follow-up surveys of respondents to each of the January/February surveys these surveys capture longer-term impacts, and explore the degree to which HMD contributes to change.
- Interviews with HMD participants and organisers carried out at a number of sites.

Survey respondents were asked about changes to their attitudes across a range of variables, outlined in Figure 4.1. Some change was recorded across each of the six aspects covered by the survey, and in four of the six areas covered a majority of respondents agreed that their attitudes had changed. In particular, three-quarters (76 per cent) of respondents said that they would make more effort to stand up to the unfair treatment of others, 70 per cent of respondents felt that they were more aware of the causes and conditions that can lead to genocide, and two-thirds (66 per cent) were more sympathetic towards the situation of people from different backgrounds.

Organisers were more likely to report having experienced a change in attitude across all variables. Most prominently, organisers scored 11 percentage points higher than participants when asked if they felt that they were more aware of the causes and conditions that can lead to genocide.

There were also some small differences between 2014 and 2015 survey respondents. In 2015 respondents were less likely to say that they were more aware of the causes and conditions that lead to genocide (six percentage points lower), and less likely to say that they would make more effort to stand up to the unfair treatment of others (six percentage points lower).

Figure 4.1: Attitudes following participation in HMD



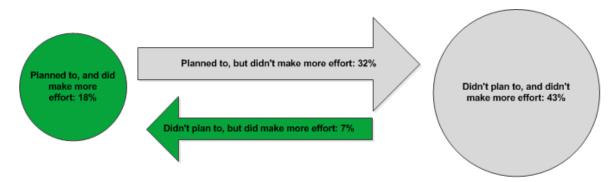
Base: 942 respondents (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

Evidence from the follow-up surveys demonstrates the extent to which these changes in attitudes were still felt six months after HMD. This can be analysed in two ways. First, where respondents expressed an intention to change behaviour making more of an effort to get to know people from different backgrounds or to stand up to unfair treatment of others - it is possible to comment on whether or not those particular respondents acted on those intentions. The results of this analysis are shown in Figure 4.2, below. It shows that around two-fifths of those who planned to make more effort to get to know people from different background then went on to do so over the following six months, accounting for 18 per cent of all respondents. A further seven per cent of respondents did not plan to make more effort, but did then do so over the next six months. In total, 25 per cent of people had made more of an effort to get to know people from different backgrounds.

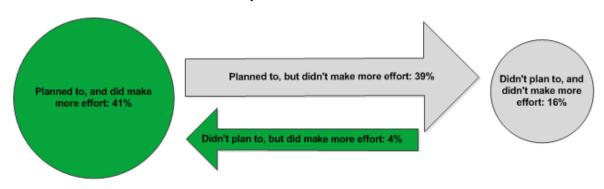
These figures rise somewhat when looking at whether respondents made more effort to stand up to the unfair treatment of others. Over half (53 per cent) of those that planned to do this then went on to do so, accounting for 41 per cent of all respondents. A further four per cent had not planned to change their behaviour, but had done in the intervening six months before taking part in the follow-up survey.

Figure 4.2: Did respondents plan to change behaviour, and then act on this?

"I will make more of an effort to get to know people from different backgrounds"



"I will make more effort to stand up to the unfair treatment of others"



Base: 303 respondents (all surveys combined)

Second, across the sample it is possible to compare the overall proportions of respondents reporting changes in attitudes immediately after participation in Holocaust Memorial Day and six months later. As Figure 4.3 shows, six months after participation, fewer respondents reported each of the four changes in attitudes: 51 per cent felt they had been more aware of causes and conditions that can lead to genocide; 50 per cent had felt more sympathetic towards the situations of people from different backgrounds; 22 per cent had been more inclined to think that people from different backgrounds got on well together in their area; and only 12 per cent said they had felt more strongly that they belonged to their area.

80 70 60 50 51 50 Percentage 40 34 20 22 21

Figure 4.3: Attitudes immediately following participation in HMD, and six months later

Base: 303 respondents (all surveys combined)

I have been more aware of the

causes and conditions that can

lead to genocide

10

0

Respondents to the follow-up surveys who reported any of the above changes in attitudes were asked to reflect on the extent to which their participation in HMD activities had been responsible for the changes (Figure 4.4) Typically, respondents felt that these changes could be attributed, at least partly, to their involvement in HMD activities: 12 per cent felt it was 'very responsible' and a further 54 per cent felt it was 'quite responsible'. However, just over a fifth (22 per cent) reported that participation in HMD activities were 'not at all responsible' for their changes in attitude.

■ Immediately ■ After 6 months

towards the situation of people

from different backgrounds

12

belong to my local area

I have felt more sympathetic I have been more inclined to think I have felt more strongly that I

my local area is a place where

people from different

backgrounds get on well together

Don't know Very responsible **12**% 12% Not at all responsible 22% Quite responsible 54%

Figure 4.4: Extent to which participation in HMD was responsible for changes in attitudes (participants and organisers, follow-up surveys 2014 and 2015)

Base: 301 respondents (surveys 2 and 4 combined)

4.1. Qualitative reflections

As outlined above, survey data show that, for most people, HMD had a positive impact in terms of raising awareness and changing attitudes towards unfair treatment of others and people from different backgrounds. Qualitative data from interviews provide insights into the ways in which HMD contributes to attitude change and, importantly, suggests that for many, a key impact of HMD is not that it engenders new opinions, but that it strengthens, or brings to the fore, views which are already held. For instance, one participant in Southend referred to the way in which attending an HMD event had reinforced attitudes he already held: It adds to it. It's not something that I would necessarily feel that I can empathise with any more, but it is something that I'm acutely aware of, it adds to it. (John, Southend)

Some respondents noted that this was a function of the fact that in many cases, attendees were people already engaged with HMD, or were of a like-mind in relation to related issues around equality, ethnic and religious tolerance:

The people here are aware of all of this. It's a matter of spreading the message. (David. Yorkshire and the Humber)

These data highlight the importance of HMD as a regular opportunity for remembrance: as one interviewee suggested, HMD brings "it all to the forefront again... because you think about it and then forget about it" (Brenda, York). In line with the discussion on knowledge above, much of the discussion in relation to attitudes among participants related to the development of greater emotional connection to the victims of the Holocaust and genocides. And for one participant in the South West HMD also acted as a reminder of the 'big picture' when so much of everyday life tended to be consumed by inconsequential concerns:

[the speaker said], we worry about our mobile phones being charged and I think it just adds to that. I think it just puts a different perspective on how our lives are here. (Tina, South West)

Other interviewees suggested that participation in HMD had caused them to reflect on their own views and actions. Two interviewees reported how the event made them think critically about their own levels of tolerance and the extent to which they enacted values of equality and dignity for all in their daily lives. For another interviewee in Neath, HMD had prompted consideration of personal responses to difference:

It has made me question my own response to various things when people are different. I like to think I am a right on leftish educationalist (but the event) made me think 'how far are you actually holding those values up? How much are you protecting the rights of the under privileged? (David, Wales)

There were also examples of attitudes undergoing more significant change. A participant in HMD 2015 in the East of England, for example, explained how attendance at an event focusing on the persecution of the Roma had changed his views entirely. He had previously held very firm views on Roma in Britain and said that he had attended the event this year because a friend from University wanted to attend, and had asked him to come with him. He suggested the event had been 'enlightening', and had completely changed his perceptions. It had given him far greater understanding, and dispelled a lot of the received wisdom he had held before.

I think you do get a lot of people from the same groups coming along to things like this, but for me, it's totally changed my perspective. (Steven, East of England)

He felt that it would be good if events could reach a wider, and more mixed, audience, in order to effect a greater degree of change.

Finally, a recurrent theme in these interviews was reflection on contemporary attitudes to more recent conflicts. For instance at the time of HMD 2014 the UK Government was first considering military intervention in Syria. This prompted interviewees at different events to make links between events in Syria and other acts of persecution.

This chapter has reported on the impact of HMD in terms of people's attitudes and perceptions. It has highlighted how HMD impacts positively on people's views on the unfair treatment of others, awareness of the causes and conditions that can lead to genocide, and outlook towards people from different backgrounds. These impacts are realised most strongly in the period immediately following HMD, although there are also longer-term impacts: around half of the survey respondents also reported increased awareness of the causes of genocide and sympathy toward those from different background six months after HMD. A majority of those indicating a change in their attitudes and perceptions attributed this change to HMD. The chapter has also discussed the important role for HMD in prompting people to remember the

Holocaust and genocides, acting as a stimulus for people to reassess their own views and values, and reinforcing resolve to challenge discrimination and unfair treatment.

Chapter Five looks at the impact of HMD in terms of people's actions by exploring whether people have or planned to undertake additional activities and actions as a result of their participation in HMD.

What do people do? HMD impacts on actions and further involvement

This chapter examines whether participating in HMD has encouraged people, either as individuals or in a group, to take any further action or to be further involved in future HMD events. It draws on the 2014 and 2015 baseline and follow-up surveys previously discussed and qualitative data from interviews in both years.

5.1. Action undertaken/planned as a result of HMD

The surveys conducted on or around HMD asked respondents to indicate whether they had, or planned to, undertake a range of actions related to telling others or finding out more about the Holocaust and genocides. Responses are outlined in Figure 5.1. In total, 93 per cent of respondents had taken some form of action, and 43 per cent planned to do take action at a later date. Only 6 per cent of respondents had not done anything and did not plan to take action at a later date.

Watch a documentary or feature film about the Holocaust 62% 12% 26% and/or other genocides Learn more about the Holocaust and/or other genocides 42% 27% through reading or attending a relevant lecture/event Find out more about the Holocaust and/or other genocides 52% 21% 28% online (e.g. through HMDT website) Talk about Holocaust Memorial Day through social media (e.g. 43% 45% 12% Twitter / Facebook) Tell people I work with / go to school or college with about 22% 72% Holocaust Memorial Day Encourage children or young people I know to find out about the 20% 65% Holocaust and/or other genocides Tell a friend or member of my family about Holocaust Memorial 2% 11% 87% Day 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100% ■ Plan to ■ Have done already ■ Not done vet / not planned

Figure 5.1: Action undertaken/planned as a result of participation in HMD

Base: 1016 (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

Respondents were most likely to have already told someone about HMD in person. For instance, 87 per cent of respondents had already told a friend of family member about HMD, 72 per cent had already told colleagues and 65 per cent had encouraged children or young people to find out more about the Holocaust and/or other genocides.

In addition, 62 per cent of respondents had watched a documentary or feature film about the Holocaust and/or other genocides. This figure was 10 percentage points higher in 2015 than 2014, most likely reflecting the increased media focus on HMD in relation to the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, which included a number of documentaries and films being shown on national television.

Slightly smaller proportions of respondents had already taken action through other means: for instance 52 per cent had already found out more about the Holocaust or other genocides online and 42 per cent had learned more through reading or attending a lecture/event. However, in both these cases, around a guarter (21 per cent and 27 per cent respectively) intended to carry out the activity in the future as a result of taking part in HMD.

43 per cent of respondents had already talked about HMD through social media and this rose by seven percentage points between 2014 and 2015 (from 41 to 48 per cent), although this also had the highest number of responses saying that respondents did not plan to take action. This is likely to relate to both the immediacy of social media - people tend to use it to talk about things that have just happened and the fact that a relatively large proportion of the population do not use it at all.

Overall, organisers were slightly more likely to have taken action across almost all of the action areas. This difference was most prominent in relation to encouraging young people to find out about the Holocaust and/or other genocides (a 14 percentage point difference) and telling colleagues about HMD (a 19 percentage point difference).

Respondents to the follow-up surveys in 2014 and 2015 were also asked to indicate what action they had undertaken in the six months following HMD. A summary of responses is shown in Figure 5.2, below.

76 70 50 40 30 20 10 Told friends or Watched a film Encouraged Told people I Started thinking Found out more Found out more Talked about family members or documentary children/young work with / go about organising Holocaust about the about the Holocaust about Holocaust about the people to find to school or Holocaust Memorial Day an activity for Memorial Day Holocaust out about the college with HMD the and/or other and/or other through social genocides and/or other Holocaust about Holocaust following year genocides online media genocides and/or other Memorial Day (eg HMDT through reading (facebook/ books and/or Twitter) genocides website) articles

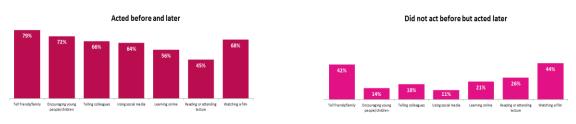
Figure 5.2: Action undertaken in the six months following HMD (participants and organisers follow-up surveys 2014 and 2015)

Base: 303 respondents (surveys 2 and 4 combined)

Over 75 per cent of respondents had told friends or family members about HMD in the six months after HMD, 60 per cent had watched a film or documentary and over half had encouraged young people to find out about the Holocaust or other genocides and/or told colleagues or fellow students about the Holocaust or other genocides. In line with the smaller numbers of respondents planning to talk about HMD through social media at a later date immediately after HMD, the smallest proportion (37 per cent) had done this six months later.

A comparison of individual respondents' actions immediately after HMD with respondents' actions six months later also helps to understand the longer-term effects of HMD. Figure 5.3 below, shows that - as might be expected - those that had acted immediately after HMD were also more likely to have acted in the following six months. 72 per cent of those that had already encouraged young people or children to find out about the Holocaust and/or other genocides immediately after HMD went on to do so in the following six months, whereas only 14 per cent of those that had not acted immediately acted later. The positive side to this is that not acting immediately does not preclude action at a later date. Notably, 42 per cent of those that had not told friends or family about HMD immediately after taking part went on to do so in the following six months, and 44 per cent of those that had not watched a film immediately after HMD went on to do so in the following six months.

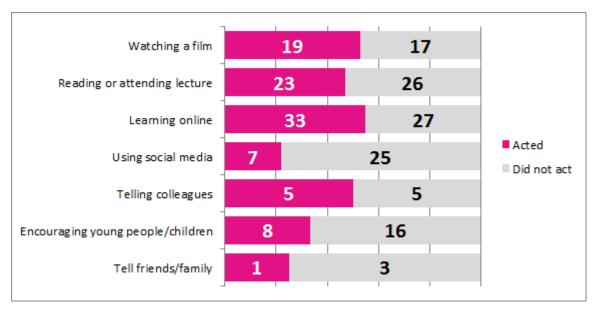
Figure 5.3: Acting immediately and acting later



Base: 303 respondents (all surveys combined)

It is also possible to explore whether those respondents who indicated in the surveys conducted on or around HMD that they had not yet acted but that they intended to do so, went on to carry out those actions in the following six months. These data are presented in Figure 5.4 below. The numbers of respondents are small, even when combining both years, so the results of this analysis should be seen as only indicative of likely behaviour. The results are displayed in terms of actual numbers, and data represent planned actions, rather than the numbers of respondents (as respondents could indicate an intention to act across one or more areas). There were 215 planned actions in total following HMD. Forty-five per cent of these planned actions had been fulfilled six months later. Similarly to the analysis of overall actions, above, the conversion from planned act to completed act was greatest in areas that involved finding out more about the Holocaust and/or other genocides. The lowest conversion rate (where more than five people had planned to act) was among those that planned to use social media to talk about HMD: only seven out of thirty-two participants who intended to do this went on to do so.

Figure 5.4: Did those that planned to act carry out their intentions?



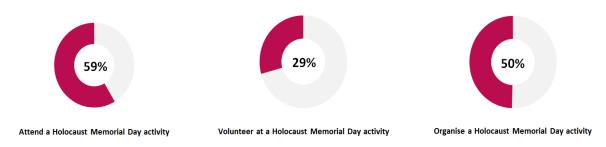
Base: 23-157 (all surveys combined)

5.2. Participation in HMD the following year (participants and organisers Jan/Feb 2014 and 2015)

Respondents to the 2014 and 2015 survey carried out on or around HMD were asked whether they planned to get involved in HMD the following year. The results from this question are shown in Figure 5.5, below. 59 per cent of respondents said they planned to attend an HMD activity, and 29 per cent planned to volunteer at an HMD activity the following year. Almost half of all respondents planned to organise

an activity the following year. In total 87 per cent of respondents planned to get involved in HMD in some way in the following year.

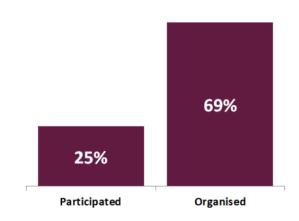
Figure 5.5: Plans to get involved in HMD the following year



Base: 1016 respondents (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

As might be expected, there was a large difference between whether organisers or participants planned to organise an activity the following year (Figure 5.6). Among organisers, almost seven in every 10 (69 per cent) planned to organise an event again the following year. Encouragingly, a further 25 per cent of participants also planned to organise an event the following year. There were some differences between 2014 and 2015: the numbers indicating that they intended to volunteer at an HMD activity the following year had fallen slightly (from 32 per cent in 2014 to 23 per cent in 2015), while the numbers intending to organise an activity the following year had risen (from 38 per cent in 2014 to 54 per cent in 2015). The latter was owing to a large rise in organisers intending to organise an event the following year (increasing from 47 per cent to 74 per cent). It is worth noting here, however, that there was a slight difference in the way this question was asked in 2015 compared to 2014, which could partially account for this change.

Figure 5.6: Plans to organise an HMD activity the following year (Jan/Feb 2014 and 2015)



Base: 1016 respondents (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

5.3. Attitudes and actions undertaken between as a result of HMD 2014 one vear on

Respondents to the 2015 survey were also asked if they had taken part in last year's HMD. Almost three-quarters (72 per cent) of respondents said they had participated in HMD 2014. These respondents were asked to reflect on the period between HMD 2014 and HMD 2015 and any attitudes which had changed or any actions taken by selecting options from a series of statements (outlined in Figure 5.7).

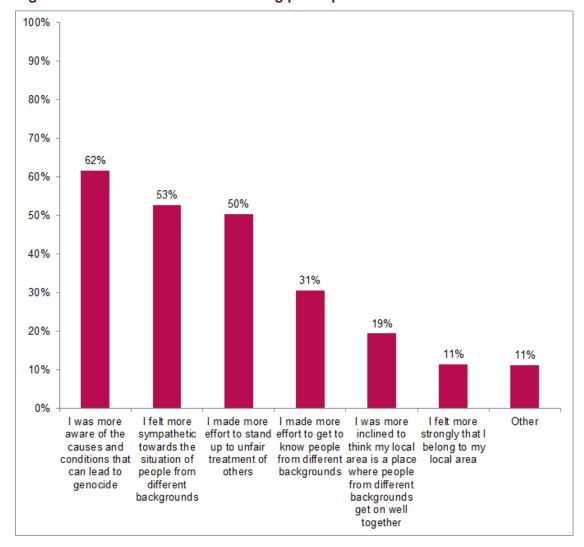


Figure 5.7: Attitudes/Actions following participation in HMD 2014

Base: 403 respondents (survey 3 only)

In total, 87 per cent of respondents indicated a positive response to at least one of the categories shown in Figure 5.7 between 2014 and 2015. Almost two-thirds (62 per cent) agreed that since participating in HMD 2014 they were more aware of the causes and conditions that can lead to genocide. Just over half (53 per cent) of survey respondents agreed that they were more sympathetic towards the situation of people from different backgrounds as a result of participating in HMD 2014, and half of respondents who had participated in HMD 2014 said that between HMD 2014 and HMD 2015 they made more effort to stand up to unfair treatment of others. Almost one-third of respondents also said that they made more effort to get to know people from different backgrounds while almost one-fifth said they were more inclined to think their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together. One in 10 also agreed that they felt more strongly that they belong to their local area.

Respondents were also asked to what extent their participation in HMD 2014 was responsible for the changes or actions they agreed had taken place. Over seven out of 10 (71 per cent) said that HMD 2014 was responsible (57 per cent quite responsible and 14 per cent very responsible). In all, then, 62 per cent of respondents had changed/acted and felt that that HMD was responsible for this change.

This group of respondents who had participated in HMD 2014 were also asked to indicate if during the period between HMD 2014 and HMD 2015 they had undertaken a range of actions related to telling others or finding out more about the Holocaust and genocides. Responses are outlined in Figure 5.8.

The majority of respondents (84 per cent) said that in the period between HMD 2014 and HMD 2015 they had told friends or family about HMD. Two-thirds had also told people they work with or go to school or college with about HMD, or had encouraged children or young people they know to find out more about the Holocaust and/or other genocides. For all the other actions listed between two-fifths and three-fifths agreed they had undertaken them between HMD 2014 and HMD 2015.

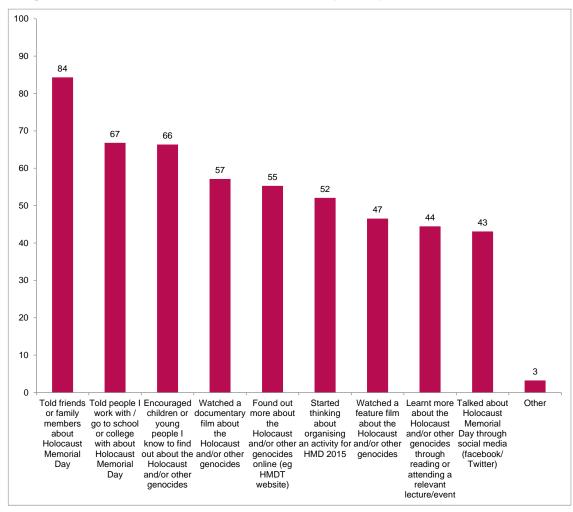


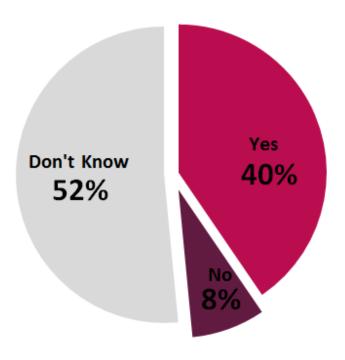
Figure 5.8: Actions undertaken as a result of participation in HMD 2014

Base: 403 respondents (survey 3 only)

5.4. Participation in other HMD activities

Organisers responding to the 2014 and 2015 surveys were asked whether the activity/event they had helped to run had resulted in participants engaging with HMD beyond the activity they were involved with. Forty per cent stated that participants had been prompted to engage further (Figure 5.9). It is important to note that many events were one-off events with little or no further engagement with participants afterwards: for instance, civic events or events in libraries. In these instances it is unlikely that respondents would know whether participants went on to take another action, which explains the high number of respondents who did not know whether participants were prompted to engage with HMD beyond the initial activity.

Figure 5.9: Were participants prompted to engage with HMD beyond the initial activity?



Base: 561 (surveys 1 and 3 combined)

When asked what further activities participants had engaged with a number of responses were received. Some examples are as follows:

The display in my school library was accompanied by a book list. The display remains up for a couple of weeks, and books (on all of the genocides) continue to be borrowed from the list. The booklist was mentioned by the teachers in the assembly and on the events on the day.

A group of students I worked with after the main talk, created a virtual Holocaust memorial via Twitter which I monitored.

Looked at films and resources on [HMD] website.

Pledges to do a good deed per each of the 70 days.

All participants listening to the guest speaker on the afternoon were given a luggage label with the name and age of someone. They were each encouraged to go away and find out what happened on that person's journey. Some labels had names of survivors, others were killed during the Holocaust.

Lighting memorial candles.

Some classes were inspired to spend more time/have more discussion etc. as a result of the 20 minute tutor activity that I had prepared. It prompted a lot of discussion amongst staff and pupils outside of lessons.

5.5. Qualitative reflections

Qualitative evidence also reflects on the impacts of HMD in terms of prompting people to action, as individuals and in groups. In terms of individual action, interviewees most commonly gave responses related to further future engagement with HMD. Participants suggested that their involvement this year would make them more 'aware about events next year' (Kevin, Newcastle) or that they would be more likely to attend events.

A number of respondents said that they would seek to either organise their own activities or work with others to publicise HMD. In Wales, for instance, two interviewees proposed to promote HMD events to colleagues and make attendance mandatory for newer members of the organisation they work for. Another planned to work with the organiser of a theatre company where a 2014 event had taken place to look at what other activities they could organise to raise awareness.

The desire to take action by spreading knowledge was another key theme to emerge from these interviews. In particular, respondents said that they would be talking to their children about the activity they had attended and HMD and the Holocaust and genocides more generally. In the South West one respondent outlined the importance of this: "they [my children] are just not that interested and I need to make sure that they're interested" (Sarah, 58, South West), while another reinforced this: "I definitely want to pass it on to the younger generation because they're even more distant from it aren't they?" (Tom, 48, North West). Others continued the theme of 'passing the message on' to friends, families and groups that they were part of across each of the case studies.

Rather than telling others about HMD, some respondents talked about how attendance at HMD events had prompted them to engage more deeply with HMD/the Holocaust on a personal level. For instance, having watched the film 'Ida', one HMD 2015 respondent was making plans to visit their Polish grandfather's birthplace, while two respondents at other events said that the HMD event had prompted them to plan a visit to Auschwitz, and another planned to 'sponsor a soul' on the Yad Vashem website.

Some participants found it difficult to consider specific actions beyond the act of remembrance, which to them was of sufficient importance in itself. For others it was about supporting the organisations that work for human rights and justice:

I am not sure what we can do as individuals apart from to support justice and peace organisations. As a Christian I will pray. (Margaret, Cardiff)

Although actions tended to be guite small – telling another person, attending another event, finding out more about the Holocaust and other genocides - the overriding feelings of participants were that it was important to continue to engage with HMD. summed up by one respondent in Yorkshire and the Humber: "I'm quite conscious that we have a debt to remember the Holocaust and I don't want to shy away from it' (Liam, 42, Yorkshire and the Humber).

This chapter has explored the impact of HMD in terms of actions and involvement in a number of ways:

- by looking at actions taken and reported intention to act in the period on or around HMD
- exploring actions taken six months after HMD, and the degree to which intentions to act which were stated on or around HMD were realised in the ensuing six months
- by looking at the actions undertaken by those attending HMD in 2014 and 2015
- by looking at responses from organisers, reflecting on whether the events and activities that they had organised had encouraged participants to further action.

The overall picture is positive: people who took part in HMD were likely to act in some way following participation, in particular by telling others and encouraging them to take part in future. This action was not limited to a short period after HMD and the follow-up surveys suggest that those who had acted initially were then likely to act again in the following six months. Even among those that did not do anything initially, there was some evidence of action at a later date. And there was some evidence of the impacts on actions and attitudes continuing up to 12 months after HMD.

The final chapter of this report contains the study conclusions.

Conclusions

This report has presented evidence from an impact study of HMD carried out between 2013 and 2015 to assess the extent to which HMD impacts on people's knowledge, attitudes and actions.

It has presented strong evidence of impact across all of these areas, and particularly in relation to talking about HMD (where large numbers of respondents indicated that they had told friends and family members about HMD) and changes in attitudes and perceptions: increasing understanding in relation to the causes and conditions of genocide, fostering sympathies for those from different backgrounds, and opposing the unfair treatment of others. Perhaps as would be anticipated these impacts occur most frequently in the period around HMD, when the participants in the study were reflecting on the impact of events and activities which they had recently experienced. However, the study has also revealed that HMD has a longer term impact: participants in the study continue to report changes in their knowledge, attitudes and actions up to a year after their participation in HMD and the majority of these attribute those changes to HMD.

The study has also highlighted the role that HMD plays in offering opportunities for remembrance and learning about the Holocaust and genocides in ways that promote deep and reflective engagement. Throughout the study, participants have highlighted the impacts of events in challenging their views and attitudes, and prompting them to consider the lived experiences of those involved in ways that they had not previously done. Events which were most likely to impact in these ways were those which included the testimonies of survivors and/or arts and cultural activities.

Finally, the study reveals that participation in HMD contributes to ongoing engagement with the issues addressed. Over half of those responding to the study in 2014 indicated an intention to attend or organise and activity in 2015; and around 40 per cent of those involved in organising events reported that their event had prompted people to engage in additional events or activities linked to the Holocaust and genocides. These data are indictors of the impact of HMD in providing a regular, and enduring, focus for education and remembrance.





Table A1.1: Activities attended as part of qualitative fieldwork 2014

Region	Event
Yorkshire and Humber	Heritage walk
Yorkshire and Humber	Film screening
Yorkshire and Humber	Public commemoration
London	Survivor speaker
London	Music concert
South West	Exhibition/display
South West	Survivor speaker
London	Civic event
London	Public commemoration
North East	Secondary school HMD commemoration
North East	Music concert
East of England	Public commemoration
East of England	Civic event
East of England	Survivor speaker
Wales	Civic event
Wales	Theatre and performing arts
West Midlands	Theatre

Table A1.2: Activities attended as part of qualitative fieldwork 2015

RegionEventYorkshire and the HumberTheatreYorkshire and the HumberLecture/talkYorkshire and the HumberCivic eventLondonSurvivor talkLondonCivic eventLondonSurvivor talkEast of EnglandQuestion and Answer sessionEast of EnglandLecture/talkEast of EnglandCivic eventEast of EnglandArts/civic eventScotlandFilmScotlandStorytellingSouth WestFilmSouth WestReligious ceremonySouth WestCivic eventNorth WestGuided walkEast MidlandsArts/schoolsEast MidlandsArts/civic event		<u> </u>
Humber Theatre Yorkshire and the Humber Lecture/talk Yorkshire and the Humber Civic event London Survivor talk London Survivor talk London Survivor talk East of England Question and Answer session East of England Lecture/talk East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	Region	Event
Humber Lecture/talk Yorkshire and the Humber Civic event London Survivor talk London Civic event London Survivor talk East of England Question and Answer session East of England Lecture/talk East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools		Theatre
Humber Civic event London Survivor talk London Civic event London Survivor talk East of England Question and Answer session East of England Lecture/talk East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools		Lecture/talk
London Survivor talk East of England Question and Answer session East of England Lecture/talk East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools		Civic event
London Survivor talk East of England Question and Answer session East of England Lecture/talk East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	London	Survivor talk
East of England Question and Answer session East of England Lecture/talk East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	London	Civic event
East of England East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Lecture/talk Lec	London	Survivor talk
East of England Civic event East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	East of England	Question and Answer session
East of England Arts/civic event Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	East of England	Lecture/talk
Scotland Film Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	East of England	Civic event
Scotland Storytelling South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	East of England	Arts/civic event
South West Film South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	Scotland	Film
South West Religious ceremony South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	Scotland	Storytelling
South West Civic event North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	South West	Film
North West Guided walk East Midlands Arts/schools	South West	Religious ceremony
East Midlands Arts/schools	South West	Civic event
	North West	Guided walk
East Midlands Arts/civic event	East Midlands	Arts/schools
	East Midlands	Arts/civic event



Appendix 2: Respondent attributes

Survey responses

Table A2.1: Number of survey respondents by year

	2014		2	015	2014/2015 combined*		
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Organisers	369	52	406	60	566	56	
Participants	347	48	270	40	450	44	
Total	716	100	676	100	1016	100	

^{*}respondents completing both the 2014 and 2015 surveys are only included once in the combined sample

Table A2.2: Number completing follow-up survey by year

	2014		20)15	2014/2015 combined*		
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Organisers	110	56	112	66	184	58	
Participants	87	44	58	34	131	42	
Total	197	100	170	100	315	100	

^{*}respondents completing both the 2014 and 2015 surveys are only included once in the combined sample

Characteristics of respondents

All tables show 2014 and 2015 surveys combined, with duplicate respondents removed (that is, if one person responded in 2014 and 2015, only their 2014 responses are included).

Table A2.3: Gender

	Organised		Participated		Total		UK	
	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent	Count	Per Cent
Male	179	33.3	158	36.3	337	34.6	31,532,900	49
Female	359	66.7	277	63.7	636	65.4	32,572,800	51
Total	538	100.0	435	100.0	973	100.0	61,105,700	100

^{*}Mid-year population estimates, 2013 (ONS)

Table A2.4: Age

	Org	anised	Parti	cipated	Total		UŁ	(
	Count	Per cent	Count	Per Cent	Count	Per Cent	Count	Per Cent
11-16	2	.4	10	2.3	12	1.2	4,379,800	8
16-24	23	4.3	30	7.0	53	5.5	6,663,380	12
25-34	65	12.1	36	8.4	101	10.5	8,557,700	15
35-49	162	30.2	124	28.9	286	29.6	13,289,400	24
50-64	224	41.7	169	39.4	393	40.7	11,544,400	21
65 or over	57	10.6	57	13.3	114	11.8	10,841,000	20
Prefer not to say	4	.7	3	.7	7	.7		
Total	537	100.0	429	100.0	966	100.0	55,275,680	100

^{*}Mid-year population estimates, 2013 (ONS)

Table A2.5: Ethnic group

	Organised		Participated		UK	
	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent	Count	Per Cent
White British	431	80.6	348	80.4	45 700 400	00
White Other	57	10.7	43	9.9	45,789,400	89
Mixed: White and Black Caribbean/White and Black African/White and Asian	3	.6	5	1.2	484,900	1
Asian or Asian British	7	1.3	10	2.3	2,414,600	5
Black or Black British: Caribbean/Black British: African	7	1.3	4	.9	1,325,800	3
Any Other Ethnic Group	16	3.0	14	3.2	1,563,000	3
Prefer not to say	14	2.6	9	2.1		
Total	535	100.0	433	100.0	51,577,700	100

^{*} Annual population survey, 2014 (ONS)

Table A2.6: Religion

	Orga	anised	Participated		UŁ	(
	Count	Per Cent	Count	Per cent	Count	Per Cent
Christian	295	55.6	228	52.5	37,583,962	59
Buddhist	3	.6	7	1.6	261,584	0
Hindu	1	.2	1	.2	835,394	1
Jewish	71	13.4	56	12.9	269,568	0
Muslim	5	.9	10	2.3	2,786,635	4
Sikh	1	.2	0	0.0	432,429	1
Any other religion	13	2.4	12	2.8	262,774	0
No religion at all	123	23.2	103	23.7	16,221,509	26
Prefer not to say	19	3.6	17	3.9	4,528,323	7
Total	531	100.0	434	100.0	63,182,178	100

Table A2.7: Current situation

	Organised		Partic	cipated	Total	
	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent
In paid work	426	79.5	257	59.6	683	70.6
Registered unemployed/claiming out of work benefits	1	.2	6	1.4	7	.7
Not registered unemployed but looking for work	2	.4	5	1.2	7	.7
In full-time education or training	19	3.5	40	9.3	59	6.1
Long-term sick or disabled	3	.6	13	3.0	16	1.7
Retired	51	9.5	64	14.8	115	11.9
Volunteer	12	2.2	16	3.7	28	2.9
Looking after family or home	3	.6	7	1.6	10	1.0
Not seeking work	3	.6	1	.2	4	.4
Other	16	3.0	22	5.1	38	3.9
Total	536	100.0	431	100.0	967	100.0

Table A2.8: Household income

	Org	Organised		cipated	Total	
	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent
under £10,000	16	3.1	29	7.1	45	4.8
£10,000 - £19,999	34	6.5	41	10.0	75	8.0
£20,000 - £29,999	82	15.7	59	14.4	141	15.1
£30,000 - £49,999	146	27.9	81	19.8	227	24.3
£50,000 - £100,000	107	20.5	79	19.3	186	19.9
over £100,000	10	1.9	13	3.2	23	2.5
Don't Know	19	3.6	21	5.1	40	4.3
Prefer not to say	109	20.8	87	21.2	196	21.0
Total	523	100.0	410	100.0	933	100.0