

# **THE EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HALLOWE'EN**

**A SURVEY OF CURRENT PRACTICE  
AND TEACHER ATTITUDES  
IN BRITISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS**

by

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# **HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:**

## **Abstract**

This study explores the significance and meaning of the festival of Hallowe'en in past and present British culture, and particularly in respect of the present-day primary school curriculum. The results of a quantitative survey of 138 teachers from 28 schools in 3 South East England local education authorities (LEA's) are presented. They indicate that, in spite of the ongoing popularity of practices associated with the festival among children, primary schools intentionally avoid the celebration and study of Hallowe'en. It is widely believed among teachers that teaching about the festival is in fact proscribed by LEA or school policy. Hostile attitudes towards Hallowe'en are particularly prevalent among members of certain church groups, and especially among those who identify themselves as Evangelical, Charismatic, or Fundamentalist in their religious perspective. School managers (head teachers, deputy heads and senior teachers) are also more likely to take an anti-Hallowe'en stance. The study suggests that, by avoiding this topic, teachers may in fact be doing a disservice to their children, by failing to engage with issues which are of genuine interest and concern to the young people in their care.

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# **HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:**

## **Chapter 1**

### **Personal introduction**

This study is largely the outcome of two separate but connected incidents that occurred in 1992 while I was working as a diocesan schools adviser. On a visit to one of my schools I was faced with an irate primary school headteacher, who, on returning to her office after the holiday break, found a pile of books on the corner of her desk with a scrawled note placed on top. The note was quite categorical: these books were not appropriate for children, and should be removed from the school. The note was signed by one of a group of parents who had been in school over the holidays, helping with some painting and decorating work. On glancing through the titles of the books, it quickly became clear that they all had one thing in common: reference to ghosts, witches, or Hallowe'en. What made the headteacher most angry was the fact that some of the books had been removed from her own bookshelf, just a few feet away!

Less than a fortnight later, I had a telephone call from a second primary school headteacher asking what the diocesan advice was with respect to Hallowe'en. Some of his infant teachers had been doing classwork that had a Hallowe'en theme, and he was beginning to receive complaints from parents.

After some brief research on my part, it quickly became apparent that there was no formal diocesan policy, although an undated booklet had been produced by the diocese



some 5-6 years previously, with guidance materials for teaching about christian saints. This booklet advised about the need for sensitivity in any classroom reference to this subject, but offered a fairly ambiguous conclusion for teachers. The final paragraph of the introduction states:

*“It is not sufficient for schools to ignore the deeply held feelings of some parents on this matter, or blindly to follow developments which are promoted by the media or by commercial interests. It is important that schools seek to establish their own position on this topic, so that if children participate at all, it is in the harmless traditions, but not in ways that stimulate curiosity about the practices of the black arts that lie behind them.”*

After further research over the following months, I discovered that most of the advice being offered to British teachers on the topic of Hallowe'en encouraged avoidance or was of an alarmist nature. This advice was at odds with my own recent experience (1984-85) of having lived for eighteen months in the United States of America. Here, the festival had been a time for light-hearted fun, and the focus on ghosts and witches was regarded as a frivolity rather than as sinister or dangerous, as was insisted on by various outspoken British Christians. Even fundamentalist Evangelical Christians in the American context had participated in the Hallowe'en activities that had been celebrated in the Christian community where I lived. These were all-age, family activities: children's fancy-dress, pumpkin sculpture competitions, apple-bobbing and flour-bowl games, toffee apples and barbecue spreads.

A number of the people I spoke with about this anomaly suggested that there was a major difference between the USA and Britain in respect of occult practices and influences. Britain had a particularly dark and active history of occult activity, which gave a different

significance to our perception of Hallowe'en compared with America. Although not explicitly stated as such, the suggestion was that there was more risk of people in the UK taking an active interest in the black arts and other activity as a result of celebrating Hallowe'en, than would be the case in the USA. I could not fully understand the nature of these assumed differences, but could appreciate the fact that there are differences in outlook on life between the Americans and we Europeans. The New Jersey American mindset seems to me to be far more open and trusting. The danger of any effects from occult powers however, seemed more to do with one's beliefs about the nature of evil than with differences in character between the two nationalities. What I didn't understand, was why American fundamentalist Christians (particularly those who believed in the literal existence of evil spirits) didn't react to Hallowe'en in the same way that their counterparts in the UK did.

In 1993, I published a booklet, *Fear, Fantasy & the Occult in Schools*, which was the result of my research and reflections on the topic. In this publication, I attempted to provide a more balanced overview of the issues involved, in order to counter the seemingly one-sided commentary offered by a number of British evangelical Christian publications. At the same time, I was very aware that there was still much about this topic that I did not understand, and it was with that in mind that I decided to embark on this more detailed academic study.

My enthusiasm in following up these issues in 1992, was an extension of an ongoing interest in the supernatural. My childhood upbringing in a Pentecostal family ignited a fascination with the world of spirits, which I understood could be both benevolent and harmful. As a child at church I observed glossolalia ("speaking in tongues"), 'prophetic'

messages, prayers for healing and the casting-out of evil spirits, and numerous sermons about the spiritual 'powers' which were active in the world around us. I listened to readings from the biblical books of Ezekiel and Revelation, and revelled in the fantastic imagery of spiritual beings with bodies of beasts and amazing powers. As I grew older, I developed the same interest in stories of aliens and UFOs and the strange practices of ancient secret societies. Although that original fascination with the strange and supernatural has now integrated into a wider interest in what makes our world function the way it does, there remains in me a deep conviction that there is more to the world than meets the eye, that there is a level of unseen activity which Western scientific enquiry is only just beginning to unravel, and I remain interested in that. However, I no longer fear the unseen in the way that I did. Whereas as a child, my fascination was driven by fear, now it is much more driven by a wish to know the truth, to understand what actually is, rather than just what others have always assumed and described as reality.

It is partly this world of the super-natural or 'occult' that fires my fascination with religion. All of the world's great religions have an esoteric dimension, and many of their everyday beliefs and practices attempt to understand and make sense of a world that does not seem to fit with the reality of our five senses. When I trained, qualified, and then began work as a professional Religious Education teacher therefore, I assumed that the courses I taught should also contain an element of this dimension. More often than not, my students, like me, were only too keen to explore this other world of the unexplained. What I discovered however, in the course of my career, was that I always needed to create my own classroom resources. Classroom text-books on world religions seemed to avoid reference to such mystery-material, or treated such content as 'quirky' or

exceptional. My own experience of other religions and cultures however, suggested that 'superstition' or 'occult' was very much a part of most people's experience and assumptions. It was only our rational, sceptical, Western mindset that preferred to dismiss the super-natural as belonging to a past, naïve era. Thus, the rejection by parents of school text-books that make reference to Hallowe'en and the supernatural chimed all of the wrong notes for me.

Meantime, there were two other significant factors that had become part of my educational thinking landscape at that time. One of them was the issue of boys' development in schools. Whereas in the past boys had always out-performed girls in certain GCSE and A level examinations, this was changing very quickly. Boys were also more likely to be disaffected with school than girls. Although most of what was written on the topic in the mid-1990s wasn't directly about religious education teaching, I was very aware that some of the religious education being taught in school might have little to it that would draw the interest of young adolescent boys. By their standards, the religious education curriculum was possibly experienced as tame and un-stimulating. By comparison, the "Horrible History" book series was just beginning to become known on the High Street bookshelves and in school libraries. These books, it seemed to me, revelled in the same kind of unauthorised information, making them particularly attractive to pre-pubescent boys. My initial attempts to express these sentiments to other educationalists and classroom practitioners met with a mixed response. There were those who agreed with my prognosis, and others who felt that I was on the wrong track. Although this particular study does not go down the route of trying to discern what does or does not attract the interest of boys or girls in religious education, I hope that it will pose a question concerning the overall content of the subject in schools: *Are we offering*

*a religious education curriculum which is so disinfected and tame that children (particularly boys) are unmoved by it?* From a child's perspective, does religious education feel irrelevant and out of kilter with the real world? Or, even worse, is our religious education curriculum so unwilling to offend that it has become untrue, dealing only with the 'nice' elements of religion?

The second factor that I had become aware of in my observation of the world of children over the next few years (from the mid 1990s), was the remarkable growth in television programmes containing an element of the paranormal. One of the particularly successful children's series was *Casper the Friendly Ghost*, and then, for a slightly older group, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. Parallel to this was a growth in documentary style programmes, exploring stories of UFOs, alien abductions, and other such strange occurrences. Interestingly, in the late-mid nineties, when a friend of mine invited his Further Education college students to select from a given list the topics that they would most like to study in an informal seminar group, *The Occult* was by far the most popular, well ahead of the second most popular option, *Sex*<sup>1</sup>.

When first I began to map out the territory for an academic exploration of these fascinating issues, it quickly became apparent that I would need to refine my focus to a manageable area of study that could be contained within the confines and limitations of an MPhil or PhD. My wider interest is in the shape and content of the Religious Education curriculum as taught in English community schools. This, of course, is determined by the often different requirements laid out in the Agreed Syllabus for each separate Local Education Authority (LEA). In practice, there is a generally agreed core

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<sup>1</sup> Hull, Tim, 1996, unpublished survey of student interests for tutorial input at Havering College of Further & Higher Education, Essex.

of material which has come to be accepted as the unofficial 'canon' of contemporary religious education content, shaped in large part by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) model Agreed Syllabuses (1994). This core of material was garnered from content filtered down through working groups made up of representatives of the six major world faiths, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and Sikhism. Being, on the whole, mainstream representatives of the various faith groups in the UK, it is perhaps unsurprising that little of the material which emerged from these working groups deals with the kinds of issues raised above.

A review of these documents, and all of the other guidance materials produced for RE teachers over the past decade, comparing their contents with what children themselves claim to find most interesting about religions and spirituality, would provide valuable data for analysis. The various studies by the Centre for the Study of Implicit Religion at the Alistair Hardy Institute, would suggest that the overlap between these two might prove to be very uncomfortably disjointed. Even though this present study does not specifically attempt to further that particular exploration, I hope that it serves to highlight the need for such questions to be faced and honest answers provided.

Another area of exploration which is beyond the scope of this study, but which is clearly pertinent to the topic, is the question of how adults and children interpret and give meaning to the world of mystery and the paranormal. What psychological and theological explanations do people give for those super-natural experiences or phenomena that they and other people experience? The psychologist Carl Jung presents evil as the shadow side of each individual person, but projected outside of ourselves and onto those whom we prefer to demonise. This is a different construct from the traditional

Judeo-Christian image of Satan as a living, external, evil entity who tempts and challenges us to act against the life-giving forces of God. Exploring the Jungian interpretation further, and particularly within the context of children growing up in the modern world, Bruno Bettelheim (1988) advocates that there is power in the symbolism of fairy tales for helping young children to come to terms with their inner self. To remove the symbolism of evil from these stories (often personified as a witch or other being with supernatural powers) would deprive the child of a necessary ingredient, and so limit the story's power for nurturing psychological health. Clearly, how one interprets and gives meaning to this whole world of the paranormal will determine, or at least significantly influence, what one's attitude and comfort-level is towards such topics as Hallowe'en and the inclusion of super-natural phenomena within the school curriculum.

I decided to narrow my study quite specifically to the topic of Hallowe'en because it seemed to me that this was a very obvious starting point for schools (esp. primary schools) to address the subject of mystery, and, in particular, the dark side of mystery- the frightening-mysterious. The festival is popular among children, it has enormous scope for creative and artistic activity, and it provides a wonderful entr   for consideration of many historical, citizenship and religious education themes: how and why the festival developed, the morality of trick-or-treating, the existence or otherwise of an after-life, the meaning or explanation of paranormal experiences, exploration of our fears and how we deal with them, etc.

The following, then, is a considered study of the educational significance of Hallowe'en. In it I present an overview of the history and practices associated with the festival, showing something of the richness and complexity that the festival provides for school

curriculum activity. I offer a review of the contemporary English situation in respect of the celebration and study of Hallowe'en, and the results of a survey of the attitudes and practices of teachers in the South East of England. The study highlights numerous areas for further research, and poses a number of pertinent questions for those involved in primary and secondary school curriculum development.



# **HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:**

## **Chapter 2**

### **The historical roots and practices of Hallowe'en**

#### **Traditional Hallowe'en customs and practices**

In previous generations, as is the case with most historical festivals, local Hallowe'en folk-customs varied from village to village and from region to region. Sometimes the evening was known by different names, such as "mischief night" (when tricks were played on the unsuspecting) or "punkie night" (when home-made mangel-wurzel or pumpkin lanterns were paraded around the streets). Sometimes the same customs as happened during Hallowe'en in one village were carried out in another village on a totally different date. For instance, in Cheshire the "hodening-horse" (a man dressed up as a horse) came out at Hallowe'en, whereas in Doncaster and Dorset hodeners were seen at Christmastime (Hole, 1976).

Numerous accounts of different practices relating to Hallowe'en have been chronicled by diarists and local historians over the centuries. Many of these have been brought together in the last fifty years as part of folk-lore or ethnographic studies of the British and Celtic peoples (eg. Opie, 1977; Hole, 1976; Hutton, 1996). Christine Hole, in British Folk Customs, (1976) groups a vast range of activities and stories under different headings such as: 'Hallowe'en fires' (variety and types of), 'Hallowe'en games' (mainly divination

games and various forms of apple-bobbing), 'mischievous pranks' (door-knocking, removal of gates, etc.), 'guising' (dressing up in disguises), 'punkies' (lanterns made from hollowed out pumpkins, with candles inside), and 'souling' (going house to house requesting soul cakes, money or firewood).

The festival has tended to be a more significant occasion in some parts of the British Isles than others. One writer expresses it as follows:

*"When darkness closes in on the vigil of All Saints' Day, Britain has the appearance of a land inhabited by two nations....The difference is between children to whom Hallowe'en 'means nothing...', and those to whom it is 'one of the most enjoyable days in the year'(quotes from children)...The frontier between these two peoples appears, in the second half of the twentieth century, to run from somewhere around the mouth of the Humber south-west to Knighton, and then southwards along the Welsh border, counting Monmouthshire in with Wales, and then- although this line is less certain -south again through Dorset". (Opie & Opie, 1959)*

The fact that these North, West and South-West areas have traditionally had stronger links with Ireland than the areas where Hallowe'en has been less prominent, lends support to the traditionally assumed links between Hallowe'en and Samhain (sometimes Samain, or Samuin, but always pronounced "sarwen").

### **The Celtic festival of Samhain**

Samhain, on 1<sup>st</sup> November, was the major Celtic Irish new year festival, and marked the end of the harvest and the beginning of their winter season. One Irish writer describes it as follows:

*"Samhain, 1 November, was the first day of winter and the end of the farmer's year. All his crops, all his livestock had to be secure for the hard season to come. Corn of all sorts, hay, potatoes, turnips, apples must now be harvested and stored with ricks well made and well thatched and tied. Dry cattle and sheep were moved from distant moorland and mountain pastures and brought to the fields near the farmstead. Milking cows were brought into the byre for the winter and hand-feeding with stored fodder began....Turf and wood for the winter fires must have been gathered, and lucky was the household which had in store a pile of bog-*

*deal, the sweet-smelling, clean-burning roots or stems of ancient pine trees, found in cutting turf.” (Kevin Danaher, 1972, quoted in Santino, 1983, p4)*

For the ancient Irish, this was a time of tribal assemblies, wars and journeys, as well as games, entertainments and feasting. Many of the early Irish folk-tales and sagas have the ‘*feis* of Samhain’ as their setting, (Hutton, 1996). The period was considered to be a time of chaos and uncertainty, when the boundary between the world of earth and the spirit-worlds was unstable. Humans could be attacked or approached by deities, or good or evil spirits.

As a result, a number of practices developed, including the lighting of fires to ward off evil, magical devices to appease the gods or obtain advice from them, and the setting out of food and gifts for wandering spirits. The precise religious observances of the occasion remain unknown, although it is almost certain that these did exist. For instance, it has been claimed (“*by a thoroughly unreliable seventeenth century Irish antiquary Jeffrey Keating*”, Hutton, 1996) that on this night, every householder extinguished his own domestic fire and then rekindled it from a central sacred fire that had been lit as part of an ancient Druid ceremony on the hill of Tlachtga. Hutton (1996, p361) questions the accuracy of such claims, but accepts that some kind of religious observance was likely, the details of which are no longer available.

### **The historical roots of Hallowe’en and All Saints**

The modern-day festival of Hallowe’en takes its name from All Hallows, usually known as All Saints Day, which falls each year on November 1st. Hallowe’en is the evening (eve) of All Hallows, and so takes place on the evening of 31<sup>st</sup> October.

Although there are many clear overlaps and comparisons between Hallowe'en and Samhain, it would be unwise to make the assumption that Hallowe'en was simply a modern-day equivalent of Samhain.

### **Christian or pagan festival?**

Most published materials on the topic, and all of the school text books on the subject which I have seen, state quite categorically that Hallowe'en derives from the festival of Samhain, and was developed as a Christianised form of the earlier Celtic festival.

Samhain is often then described as one of four main Celtic quarterly festivals, the others being *Imbolc* (pronounced *immolc*) on 1<sup>st</sup> February, *Beltine* (pronounced *beyaltinah*) on 1<sup>st</sup> May, and *Bron Trogain* (pronounced *bron trogen*) on 1<sup>st</sup> August. Samhain is the major one of these four festivals, and it marks the beginning of the Celtic year.

Ronald Hutton, probably Britain's leading contemporary authority on the history of Hallowe'en, challenges the above assumption about a Celtic year divided into quarters. Rather, he proposes that, "*the notion of a distinctive 'Celtic' ritual year, with four festivals at the quarter days and an opening at Samhain, is a scholastic construction of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which should now be considerably revised or even abandoned altogether*" (p411, 1996).

During the eighteenth century Hutton argues, several movements developed in an attempt to revive and reconstruct the ancient religions of Britain. In 1792, the Welshman, Edward Williams (1747- 1826) organised the first assembly of the Druidic 'Order of Bards' at Primrose Hill, London. In 1781 the Londoner, Henry Hurle established the separate, 'Ancient Order of Druids', well known even today for its claim to the right to practise

Druidic rituals at Stonehenge. During the same period many folk-lore historians (eg. Charles Hardwick, Sir James Frazer, Sir John Rhys) collected Hallowe'en stories, and generally assumed connections between these and the Celtic celebration of Samhain.

A more recent fascination with Celtic spirituality developed during the 1960s. This led to further growth in pan-Celtic activities of various kinds, and a flood of literature on Celtic themes. Several academic volumes from the period refer to the Celtic annual cycle of quarterly fire festivals including Samhain, but with varying degrees of confidence. For instance, Anne Ross, in *Pagan Celtic Britain*, 1967, refers to the concept, but briefly and cautiously, whereas Nora Chadwick, *The Celtic Realms*, 1967, confidently asserts that there were four annual festivals, with Samhain as the new year festival.

Hutton's thesis is that a pagan autumn festival, linked with the pastoral economy of the time, was practiced all over the British Isles, and not only among Celtic peoples. This festival marked the end of harvesting, and the approach of the winter season. It was a time for warding off evil and propitiating supernatural forces.

### **The Church's festival for the dead**

According to Hutton, the most significant factor in the development of Hallowe'en was not any Celtic past, but the evolving religious ideology and practice of the Christian Church in late medieval and early Tudor England, and in particular, the shaping of Hallowe'en into what primarily became a festival for the dead.

During this period -from the mid-fifteenth century –the parish church replaced the manor as the basic unit of local community life. Whereas the rich and socially powerful had

previously financed public occasions of celebration, this role was now taken on by the Church, as it developed increasingly elaborate ritual structures and celebrations. The shift reflected the evolving religious ideology of the time. This was a faith based on communion, intercessions, purgatory and penance. Salvation was effected through ceremony, and penance offered through holy works of beautification of the church and service to the parish and its institutions. Seasonal festivities provided appropriate opportunity for major fund-raising for the local parish church.

It was within this context that the christian Festival of the Dead (Hallowtide, Hollontide, or Allentide) was developed –at the time of year when nature itself moved into a period of death and decay.

### **All Saints and All Souls**

It is not known for sure when a specific All Saints Day was first celebrated. A christian festival in memory of those who were martyred under pagan emperors is mentioned in the writings of St. Ephraen (d. 373AD), being held on 13<sup>th</sup> May. Pope Boniface IV formally endorsed this May festival date in 609AD, although it continued to be celebrated in some areas on different days. In 835AD Emperor Louis the Pious, at the prompting of Pope Gregory IV, instituted what we now know as All Saints day, and on the transferred date of 1<sup>st</sup> November.

All Souls day –a commemoration of all the faithful departed- may not have officially begun until the late tenth century. Odilo, the Abbott of Cluny, ordered a mass for all Christian dead in 988AD. Although Odilo's mass was in February, this was gradually,

over the next few centuries, moved to November, where it better fitted with nature's season of death and decay.

By the end of the Middle Ages, Hallowtide had taken on a major status as an autumn festival, fully endorsed by the Church, and an occasion for special entertainments, candlelit processions and long peals of church bells for the dead.

### **Protestant attempts to be rid of Hallowe'en**

Protestant attempts to rid the Church and society of the Festival and its associated practices in the sixteenth century should come as no surprise. Both the concept of purgatory and the notion of saints as intercessors were considered 'Romish', and attempts were made to abolish them from Church and everyday practice. Hutton (1996) points out that bell ringing and other rituals for the dead were probably the hardest practices for the Elizabethan reformers to stamp out. In the end, as a compromise they allowed the religious rituals associated with death to be transposed to 'folk-ritual', on the assumption that in time, as people lost interest in superstition and magic, these practices would die out of their own accord.

Having been thwarted in their attempts to comfort the dead in church, many people – particularly those of a more Catholic persuasion- continued with their own prayers and ritual activities for the dead outside of the framework of the Church.

Interestingly, although the Feast of All Saints was dropped from the 1559 liturgy under Elizabeth I's reformation, it was later restored as a commemoration of the dead in the 1928 Book of Common Prayer. However, by this time, Armistice Day (November 11<sup>th</sup>)

had been established as a national festival of the dead in a form which was acceptable to Protestants. Then, after World War II, Remembrance Sunday was instituted on the nearest Sunday to Armistice Day, and this too was incorporated by the church into a season of remembrance of the dead.

Taken together as a season of remembrance, suggests Hutton, these modern activities *“reflect something of the intensity of feeling which once informed the prayers and the peals of bells upon All Saints night”* (1996, p.378)

Hutton argues that it was the (mainly Catholic) Irish immigration to USA in the nineteenth century that helped to shape their celebration of Hallowe'en so that by the 1950's it had become a major national festival. Likewise in England, the influx of Irish during Queen Victoria's reign and the growing influence of American culture on the UK, both led to a parallel evolution of Hallowe'en practices in those parts of England where Irish influence was strong or where there was historically a strong tradition of festivity (ie. North, NW Midlands, the West-country, and much of Scotland).

Interestingly, Hutton points out that it was the strongly protestant evangelical denominations which led the back-lash against Hallowe'en in the mid-to-late 1980's, arguing with *“a specifically Christian rhetoric”* (1996, p.384).

### **Pagan Celtic festival or Christian festival of the dead?**

If Hutton's thesis is right, then in summary we might conclude that, although the festival of Hallowe'en may have its origins and roots in the celtic festival of Samhain, the precise parallels with this festival are uncertain. Secondly, the most significant influence on the



development of Hallowe'en in the UK has not been a pagan celtic past, but the evolving ideology and practice of the christian church over five hundred years, and particularly, the conflict between catholic and protestant expressions of the faith.

Seen from this perspective, the rejection of Hallowe'en by some present-day christians on the grounds that it is a pagan festival, may need re-assessment. Rather, it may be that the festival expresses an ongoing historical conflict between catholic and protestant theology and culture.

# HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:

## Chapter 3

### Contemporary expressions of Hallowe'en

#### Single festival or autumn season of events?

Recent research by Beck (1983 & 1985) and Davis & Edwards (1998) on children in the Sheffield area confirms the assumptions of earlier writers (eg. Opie & Opie, 1959, and Marwick, 1975) that in the UK, Hallowe'en and Guy Fawkes are now perceived by children as a single, more or less coherent season of events rather than as two separate and distinct festivals. The activities and celebrations that are practised during this period contain a unique, *"trafficking between the modern and the archaic to produce new and hybrid forms of ritual behaviour and belief"* (p10. Davis & Edwards, 1998). For instance, children sing bonfire night songs while 'trick or treating', and describe the purpose of their bonfires as to "burn the spirits" or to "burn the devil" (Beck, 1985). It is very unlikely, as this study shows, that children will receive any further help from their school curriculum in seeking to make sense of the festival.

Beck identifies five themes that give an overall consistency of practice and unity of rhythm to the season:

1. A night-time festival in which all significant activities (eg. scaring, trickery, bonfires, fireworks, door to door visits) -except guying- take place after sundown.

2. The night is punctuated by fires (candles in lanterns, bonfires in fields, fireworks in the sky).
3. Children fashion disguises (turnips are fashioned into lanterns, Guy Fawkes figures are made, and personal disguises are created in preparation for house visits).
4. There is a general pattern of movement (house to house visits, hedge-hopping between mischievous pranks, etc.).
5. It is typically a time for tricks or pranks. Most of these occur at the 'threshold' of houses (at a porch or doorway, through letter boxes or door-knockers, or through windows), and most are 'aborted visitations' which parody traditional goodwill visits.

#### **Growth as a commercial opportunity**

In more recent years it has also come to be seen much more as a commercial opportunity, with shop displays of ready-made costumes for partying or for trick-or-treating, specially-made sweets for passing on to trick-or-treaters, or other merchandise on the general theme of ghosts, witches and 'spooky' phenomena.

A series of informal telephone conversations with Hallowe'en merchandise suppliers in 1999 indicated that, for some suppliers, this was one of the fastest growing seasonal sales, with sales-increases of ten percent per annum for the past few years (Personal telephone conversations with four main suppliers in June, 1999).

### **Interpretations and understanding of the festival**

Although it continues to grow in popularity as a British children's calendar event (Davis & Edwards, 1998), the festival of Hallowe'en is little understood by children (Beck, 1985). Similarly, I would suggest, it is hardly understood by most British adults. Unlike the majority of our annual festivals, Hallowe'en does not have a clear story line. Most of our annual celebrations are based on a specific religious or historical event: for instance, Christmas, the birth of Christ; Remembrance Sunday, recalling those who gave their lives in past wars; Holocaust Day, recalling the six million Jews and others who have been subjected to historical acts of genocide. Hallowe'en, however, is identified by its relation to the Christian feast-day of All Saints, which, of itself, has little significance for most people in contemporary Britain, and by its link to Samhain, an ancient Celtic, agricultural festival.

Media coverage of the festival is often unhelpful for providing accurate educational information. Rather, it has tended to be concerned with stories of vandalism or community fears (Ellis, 1994), providing little that is of genuine factual or educational value.

As well as lacking understanding, most children are likely to find that the adults who play a significant part in their lives will experience considerable discomfort, both with the philosophy and with the practices of the festival. This discomfort with Hallowe'en is likely to affect both the attitudes and feelings that children have about the festival, and the degree of freedom which they experience in attempting to pursue their celebration of it. We will consider this issue in more detail later in the chapter.

### **Children's participation in Hallowe'en activities**

In a survey of children's Hallowe'en activities in Sheffield, Ervin Beck (1983) discovered that 90% of the children surveyed participated in either a Hallowe'en or Bonfire Night activity, and that non-participation was greatest among fifteen and sixteen year olds. Beck identifies the 'mischief night' activities as the more sinister side of Hallowe'en, and the 'caking' activities as the brighter side of the festivity.

'Caking' was the traditional activity seen in various parts of the UK, where people travelled from house to house with turnip lanterns, singing a caking song. They received either cakes or money, supposedly in return for their prayers for the dead. It was this custom which the North American colonists transformed into 'trick or treat', and later, re-imported back to Britain in its new form (Beck, 1983). It is interesting to note that, in more recent times, probably more concern has been expressed about trick-or-treating than any other aspect of Hallowe'en.

Catherine Ainsworth (1973) describing the American celebration of Hallowe'en says, *"As it stands today, it (Hallowe'en) appears to be the most spontaneous, the most child directed and influenced of all our holiday customs, the least self-conscious, and the most truly folk developed"* (Quoted from p.26 Beck, 1985).

### **The move away from whole-community celebrations**

Over recent decades, as society has become more urbanised and cut off from its agricultural roots, so our expectations of community have changed. In previous generations the church's Holy days constituted the annual holiday periods for the community. Hallowe'en fell at the time when the late northern English harvest had

finally been gathered and stored, and livestock were culled to preserve valuable foodstuffs and provide stored meat to last through the cold, lean winter months. As they prepared to face the forthcoming winter, it was a good time to celebrate, take stock, and ready themselves for the hard times ahead.

Today, the great christian festivals do not represent periods of holiday refreshment for us in quite the same way, except perhaps in respect of Christmas. Neither are we so inextricably tied to the ongoing cycle of the natural seasons. We travel abroad for sun-soaked breaks in the middle of winter, and select holiday dates according to other criteria than the traditional festival seasons. We also holiday as families rather than as local communities. Holiday represents an escape from the local context rather than a fuller participation in it.

In spite of this, festivals generally are flourishing among the British (p.427, Hutton, 1996). But instead of our festivals being based mainly on the seasons, they often celebrate our personal and corporate humanity- our private relationships and our individual life-cycles. As well as birthdays, and wedding anniversaries we now have special occasions to celebrate or remember mothers (Mothers Day), fathers (Fathers Day), and even lovers (Valentine's Day). There are occasions to recall international, national or local events or traumas (9/11 has become our most recent addition). There are special seasons of obligation and responsibility, and times for fun and irresponsibility. Nevertheless, we are still affected by the natural rhythms of the annual cycles of the year.

*“...the rhythms of the British year are timeless, and impose certain perpetual patterns upon calendar customs: a yearning for light, greenery, warmth and joy in midwinter, a propensity to celebrate the spring with symbols of rebirth, an impulse to*

*make merry in the sunlight and open air during the summer, and a tendency for thoughts to turn towards death and the uncanny at the onset of winter". (p.408, Hutton, 1996)*

### **Present-day discomfort with Hallowe'en**

However, there are particular strains on our contemporary society with regard to the traditional practices associated with Hallowe'en (Beck, 1985, Davis & Edwards, 1998).

These may be summarised as:

1. Our culture does not approve of door-to-door soliciting for personal charity, and therefore feels considerable discomfort with trick-or-treating- even from children. Such visits are generally approved only for community (charitable) causes, and evidence of official authorisation is normally required.
2. Many of the values which Hallowe'en apparently espouses (such as the threatening of adults with revenge if they don't comply with demands for treats), are at odds with normal societal values
3. Concern for the welfare of children has led to tighter restrictions being placed on them in terms of their free movement within our towns and cities. The idea of children wandering the streets by themselves, and in the dark, might be considered by many parents as an abdication of their parental responsibility.
4. The demise of our belief in the supernatural has eroded any compulsion to seek rituals for protection, blessing or purification, or guidance for the year ahead. Many of the traditional Hallowe'en games and activities (divination games for example), do not resonate well with the secular assumptions of our contemporary western world outlook.
5. We do not feel comfortable with death, and Hallowe'en is based on the recognition of death, and the world of the afterlife.

I consider that there is another, less obvious, reason why some present-day British adults feel uncomfortable with Hallowe'en. This theory is, to my knowledge, unsubstantiated by any research, but might be an interesting area for further enquiry: Ronald Hutton (1996), as we saw in the last chapter of this study, identifies Hallowe'en as a particularly Roman Catholic festival. Perhaps part of the reason for the strong reaction against Hallowe'en is that its emphasis on death, superstition and saints has a distinctively catholic ethos, and this does not sit well for a nation which, in spite of recent secularisation, still retains a residual preference for the emphases of a past protestant culture and theology.

#### **'Safe' Hallowe'en developments in America and Britain**

Although Hallowe'en is traditionally a spontaneous and child-directed festival (Catherine Ainsworth, 1973, above), in recent years it has increasingly become adult-controlled and institutionalised (Ellis, 1994). In his article, Safe Spooks: New Halloween Traditions in Response to Sadism Legends, Bill Ellis outlines how in America, ever since the 1920s, attempts have been made by adults to 'sanitize' Hallowe'en. Already by the 1920s, concerns were being expressed about the 'problem' of pranks carried out by teenagers, arguing that these had become too anarchic. As a response, attempts were made to channel energies into organised parties or charitable activities, such as food collections or neighbourhood clean-ups.

With the growth of trick-or-treating from about this same time, efforts were then made to limit the 'tricks' by stressing the 'treats'. In 1969, even American police were offering children free sweets, with the motto, "*Don't trick, we'll treat*" (Ellis, 1994, p38).

Implicit in such activity was the attempt to establish a new reciprocal arrangement: adults



give treats, and in return, children refrain from their tricks. Whereas traditionally children would have ‘earned’ their treats by ‘souling’ (singing songs or performing plays), now they could expect gifts for no other reason than custom and practice. The commercial opportunity to provide purpose-made gift-packs would not be long in following, especially in view of the apparent dangers posed by unknown, sadistic adults.

### **Myths of danger and sadism**

The various ‘urban legends’ (Best, 1985) about poisonings and kidnappings of children at Hallowe’en appear to have begun in America from the mid-1960s. From this period, press and public mythology perpetuated a view that children were in grave danger during Hallowe’en. Responsible parents were panicked into the conclusion that they must protect their offspring from cruel sadists who were keen to take advantage of vulnerable children at this time of year.

Ellis (1994) chronicles such legends as beginning with stories of booby-trapped treats (razor-blades-in-apples, and poisoned or drugged sweets or fruits) during the 1960s. Stories of children being abducted by satanic cults then began to develop from the mid-1970’s. Ellis carefully details several examples of supposed cases of each of the above phenomena, including the following:

*“On 2 November 1970, Kevin Toston, five, returned from his uncle’s home in a Detroit neighbourhood and soon fell into a coma. He died four days later of a heroin overdose, and analysis of some of his Halloween candy showed that it had been sprinkled with heroin. The case was widely reported as a real-life example of Halloween sadism... What was not so widely circulated was the fact, established by police, that Toston had been poisoned by a drug stash that he found in his uncle’s house, and that the family themselves had sprinkled the heroin on the candy as a smoke screen.” (Ellis, 1994, p27)*

Although such stories are obviously very attractive to the media, substantiated accounts are exceptionally rare (Best, 1985), and a careful study of the evidence has shown that these are very often presented in ways that deliberately distort the actual evidence (Ellis, 1994).

This same pattern of American developments is mirrored, almost exactly, in the United Kingdom (Beck, 1985, Davis & Edwards, 1998). Regardless of the evidence, the myths continue to this day, both in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

#### **Adult reactions to the myths and legends**

By the late 1980s and 1990s, over-exhaustive “safety-lists” were becoming commonplace in America, along with shopping-mall “safe” trick-or-treat evenings, organised costume competitions, and even hospital candy X-raying as a final last port of call for those who still insisted on door-to-door trick-or-treating. Many hospital staff rose to the occasion by dressing themselves up as witches. They also dressed up their X-ray room and equipment with traditional Hallowe’en symbols or other suitable decorations.

#### **Caring for, or controlling, children?**

Externally, all of this has the appearance of a caring society, keen to protect its young. However, in America, suggests Ellis, we might question whether all of the above are not ultimately, “*pre-emptive narrative acts of aggression against the younger generation*”. “Put bluntly”, he concludes, “*the new customs don’t keep children ‘safe’; they save adults from the fears children provoke*” (1994, p39).

### **The cultural and symbolic meaning of Hallowe'en**

Various attempts have been made to explore the deeper meaning and significance of the Hallowe'en experience for contemporary British society. One very helpful analysis comes from Ervin Beck, presented in the Folklore magazine article, Trickster on the Threshold: An Interpretation of Children's Autumn Traditions, 1985.

Beck suggests that the *threshold* activities of this festival provide children with an opportunity to explore the archetypal threshold between adulthood and childhood. In this sense, Hallowe'en represents a rite of passage into adulthood. Beck identifies the following aspects of Hallowe'en as elements of this rite of passage:

- children take control of the outdoors, and confront adults at the threshold between indoors and outdoors;
- children practice negotiating with adults (for money or sweets) as equals;
- children disguise themselves as super-adults (witches, ghosts) to intimidate adults, who would normally intimidate them. (Eliade (1951) calls this a 'prophylactic exchange', in which the guiser acquires the power of the one imitated, and so eludes the clutches of those who would normally be more powerful).
- children threaten adults with the same methods that adults would normally use towards them (ie. reward or punishment);
- a created adult 'alter-ego' (the 'guy') is used to induce money from adults;
- children must negotiate with their peers and with adults in sharing and spending the proceeds of their 'work';
- children are initiated into adult fears, by being an agent of fear to others, and by being a victim of fear as they face the dark and dangerous or confront the power of adults;

- finally, at the end of the day, children relinquish their assumed role, allow the 'guy' to vicariously receive punishment on their behalf for the period of misrule, and then, once again place themselves under the rule and control of adults.

If in the course of the experience the rite of passage has successfully done its transforming work (as elucidated by A. van Gennep in his seminal work, The Rites of Passage, 1909), then the child returns from the adventure a changed person.

### **Offering a deeper symbolic challenge to society**

Davis & Edwards (1998) argue that there is an even deeper, latent transforming energy at work in the festival of Hallowe'en. Expanding on the notions of festival developed by Mikhail Bakhtin (1968), they propose that there is another, more '*uncontainable spirit*' at work in the festival which is over and beyond any functionalist attempts to explain it such as those outlined above. Davis & Edwards suggest that there are "*symbolic energies and intuitive continuities (which) the festival releases into the imaginations of the young and into the lived experience of the community*"(p.17). The festival allows the individual to enter into a second-world experience, with opportunities to experiment with social alternatives. This even makes possible the revision of seemingly inescapable generational destinies. Thus, for instance, the festival does not just offer children an experience of the illusion of power, but rather, reminds the whole community that power itself is an illusion that can easily be shattered.

Looked at from these perspectives, it is unsurprising that some commentators have concluded that adult interventions and controls of Hallowe'en are 'killing' the festival

(Dégh and Vázsonyi, 1983) inoculating it from its power to challenge the imagination and the community.

### **Purpose of this study**

As the above brief introduction shows, the festival of Hallowe'en is a complex and fascinating aspect of contemporary British society. It can be considered from many angles, and it has multiple layers of significance. The particular purpose of this present study however, is not to explain or to defend the festival, but rather, to explore an open-ended question: *Exactly what does take place in British primary schools in respect of Hallowe'en?*

# HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:

## Chapter 4

### Hallowe'en in English primary schools

#### Historical inclusion of Hallowe'en in schools

*"I can clearly recall that the cycle in primary schools was, 'harvest', 'witches' and then 'Christmas'...and having to weave my way under witches suspended from strings spread across the classroom." (Bath & Wells Diocese, 1996)*

So writes Mike Brownbill, a Church of England Diocesan Schools Adviser, reflecting on the beginning of his teaching career in Lancashire in the late 1960s.

However, twenty-five years later, in an article in the British Journal of Religious Education (BJRE 1991: Vol. 14 #1, p9-14), Dr Roger Homan draws attention to the fact that many primary schools in London and the South East have become quite uneasy about making any reference to Hallowe'en, witches or ghosts in their curriculum.

What had happened in this short space of time to bring about such a radical shift in teachers' attitudes?

### **Questions about Hallowe'en in schools**

An informal survey of primary school text books which I carried out in the late 1990s suggested that publishers had continued to produce books making reference to Hallowe'en until the 1980s. A typical example is, Hallowe'en, All Souls and All Saints, part of the *Living Festival Series* by RMEP, 1983.

By March 1986 however, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) Inspectorate felt compelled to send a letter to headteachers of all its schools to, *"register our... concerns so that you may bear them in mind when deciding on your own policies"*. This letter was sent in response to, *"a small but continuous stream of letters from parents who are concerned that the children's interest in the occult is being stimulated by aspects of their education"*. The letter refers to reading schemes that include ghosts, teaching about witches, computer games which involve a strong 'fear' element, direct teaching about the occult, and the celebration of Hallowe'en.

Just prior to this letter, and over the next four to five years, a number of booklets and leaflets were published by evangelical christian para-church organisations, which claimed that occultism and Hallowe'en were dangerous to children. One of these, Danger, Children at Play, (publisher unknown), is referred to in the ILEA letter, and is said by the authors to have sold out its first print run of 50,000 copies in just 4 weeks. Other examples include, Danger, Open Mind, (Scripture Union, 1986) and Doorways to Danger, (video and fact-sheet) (Evangelical Alliance, 1987). The explicit message of these publications was: a) occult activity is dangerous; b) Hallowe'en nurtures an interest in more dangerous occult activities among children; c) participation in Hallowe'en lends

respectability to, and thus condones, interest in, or practice of, occult activity; d)

Hallowe'en trivialises the world of supernatural and occult forces.

During this same period, a lobby of public protest was generated (mainly by Christian evangelical groups) against the practices and celebration of Hallowe'en. For instance, a leaflet published by the Association of Christian Teachers entitled Hallowe'en (1988), encouraged parents to, "*Be prepared to put the case against Hallowe'en in letters to the press*", and to, "*Present arguments like those above with as much clarity and courtesy as possible*". Even as late as May, 1997, the Christian Action Research & Education (CARE for Education) had published the CFE Guidance Paper #6, Sorry! No Trick or Treat pack, which gave information on how to run a local campaign of action to stop 'trick or treating' in the area. The leaflet contained a checklist of what to do, and an Order Form for obtaining packs of Sorry! No Trick or Treat posters.

### **Wider concerns about occult in society**

Parallel to these activities, wide media coverage was being given to alleged cases of ritual child abuse. Cases were being presented by social workers in Rochdale, Manchester, and the Orkney Islands, while at the same time a campaign against black magic and occultism was being fought in parliament by Geoffrey Dickens, conservative MP for Littleborough & Saddleworth.

The overall impact of these combined activities was felt by school publishers and children's television and radio producers. In the late 1980s and early 1990s many children's publishers refused to print stories that contained witches (Strickland & Waterhouse, 1990). Theresa Tomlinson changed the title of one of her books from,



Summer Witches to, The Secret Place, in response to the demands of the Children's Book Club which promoted her books (ibid, 1990). The serialisation of Helen Cresswell's book, Moondial, on BBC radio provoked such antagonistic letters from listeners that the Head of Children's Programmes decided to not let her see them! (ibid, 1990).

### **Ghosts and magic make a comeback**

It is interesting to note however, that a total turnabout occurred in terms of children's literature and television in the late 1990s and early 2000s. By the year 2000, books such as the *Goosebumps* series and *Harry Potter*<sup>1</sup> headed the children's literature sales chart lists. The *Goosebumps* series author, R.L. Stine attracted the highest number of loans from British public libraries in 1999-2000, with over 1 million loans of the 140 titles under his name (Public Lending Right figures for June '99 to July '00). Likewise, on television, programmes such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *X Files* began to attract record audiences of both children and teenagers. Today, even among adults, the tide of interest in UFOs, astrology, and various paranormal phenomena is evidenced from even the briefest glance at the TV Times listings or from a quick survey of the relevant section in any popular bookshop.

### **Growth in Hallowe'en merchandise and celebration**

Likewise, children's interest and participation in the celebration of Hallowe'en has been on the increase since the mid 1990s (Davis & Edwards, 1996).

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<sup>1</sup> A. Joanne Rowling, author of the *Harry Potter* series, became Britain's highest earning author in 1999, with an income of £8.3m for the year. Her books, published by Bloomsbury, include, *HP and the Philosopher's Stone*, *HP and the Goblet of Fire*, *HP and the Chamber of Secrets*, *HP and the Prisoner of Azkaban*. In the series, Harry Potter is a trainee wizard.

An informal telephone conversation with the sales manager of a leading Hallowe'en products supplier in 1999 confirmed that sales of Hallowe'en merchandise was steadily increasing at a rate of approx. 10% per annum.<sup>2</sup>

### **Everywhere except in schools**

In spite of the above, throughout this period the world of education has continued to assiduously avoid the topic of Hallowe'en. The Times Educational Supplement, Britain's leading education newssheet, for its Hallowe'en week edition in both 1998 and 1999 included nothing more than a front page photograph with a caption that related to the topic of Hallowe'en. By 2001 this had increased to a page 2 single column article on the Pagan Federation's concern that Hallowe'en was not being celebrated by schools, and some brief information in the Resources section about Hallowe'en events on offer at UK National Trust sites. The 2002 edition made no reference to Hallowe'en at all, but did have a 4-page section on Dracula in the Teacher magazine.

Religious Education publications also seem to have avoided the topic of Hallowe'en. For example, John Sutcliffe's (ed.), A Dictionary of Religious Education (1984), makes no reference to Hallowe'en at all. RE Today magazine did not refer to the subject until its summer 1997 edition, under the general theme of *Good & Evil*. In this, just two pages are specifically devoted to Hallowe'en in an article by Rev. Stephen Conner, one of the working group who produced the Diocese of Bath & Wells', All Hallowstide pack(1996).

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<sup>2</sup> Conversation held by the author in July 1999 with Mr. Kerr from ESCO's wholesale supplier to Cut Price Card Co, Ltd. Another supplier, the Forward Group, claimed that sales had increased 400-500% in the 8-9 years up to 1999. Topical Toys, main suppliers of Hallowe'en goods for Clinton Cards, Dillons and several superstores, including Safeway and Somerfield, also claimed a "steady increase" in sales over previous years.

During the 1990s, several Church of England dioceses produced Hallowe'en-related guidance materials for teachers, usually with an emphasis on the Christian festival of All Saints and/or All Souls. The Association of Christian Teachers also published booklets containing ideas for Hallowe'en-alternative school based activities in 1988 and 1994.

### **Hallowe'en in Agreed Syllabuses for RE**

To my knowledge, no survey of LEA Agreed Syllabuses for RE has been carried out to determine their approach towards the festival of Hallowe'en. My own experience of many of them is that they make little or no reference to the topic. The London Borough of Newham's Agreed Syllabus (November, 1997) does however provide guidance on the study of the occult under a general heading of *Inappropriate Learning*:

*"The occult is not an appropriate area for study by children, since it opens up dangerous negative forces and ideas (which it is recognised may have an attractiveness & fascination at the same time)..."*

*"However...when children raise questions about the occult, teachers of RE may feel it right to answer factually and provide further information which enables the children to understand and be informed about the dangers of occult practice. However, teachers of other subjects should resist pressure from children to explore topics without suitable guidance and training". (1997, p.11)*

The only published academic article on the topic of Hallowe'en in British schools is that of Dr Roger Homan, referred to above (British Journal of RE, 1991 Vol. 14 #1). In this, Dr Roger Homan explores the reasons for the abandonment of Hallowe'en as a topic for study in schools, and then makes the case for its reinstatement in the curriculum. Homan argues that it may fruitfully be studied from several perspectives:

*"in historical perspective, we may look at the evolution of the festival from its pre-Christian origins; in social perspective we may take account of contemporary deviations; the practice of 'trick or treat' raises moral issues which extend into less ritualized behaviours; and the positions on Hallowe'en expressed in ...various publications...may themselves be the basis of an enquiry in the doctrinal dimension." (1991, p14).*

Homan's plea for the ongoing inclusion of Hallowe'en in the school curriculum has patently been unheard in the world of education, or else has been politely disregarded.

### **Overlooked or intentionally ignored?**

It seems paradoxical to me, at a time when interest in the paranormal is so obviously of fascination to children and society at large, that education practitioners and theorists have made such little effort to consider these issues from an educational perspective as part of their ongoing professional dialogue. At the very least one might have expected some rumination on whether or not it was appropriate to tackle such matters with young children in the school context.

If the concern is that the subject matter is difficult or contentious for teachers, then the same could be said of sex and drugs education, yet there is little challenge in the world of education about the appropriateness of including these within the curriculum. Rather, every effort is made to ensure that professionals with appropriate expertise are available to help the classroom practitioner.

It seems to me that the annual festival of Hallowe'en, with its emphasis on the world of spirits, magic and auspicious moments, provides a significant opportunity for schools to focus on these issues, helping children to consider and make sense of the material which they encounter daily in their out-of-school lives.

### **Where to begin an educational study of Hallowe'en?**

In pondering the above matters, I decided that a helpful starting point for a study of Hallowe'en would be to find out what schools actually do in respect of Hallowe'en, and, at the same time, to begin to explore the attitude of teachers towards it.

# **HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:**

## **Chapter 5**

### **Development of a questionnaire on teacher attitudes and present practice**

Research on the topic of Hallowe'en is largely ethnographic, and much of it derives from the American context. A very interesting British study by Beck (1996) explores contemporary children's attitudes towards Hallowe'en in Sheffield, but no attempt has yet been made to explore teachers' attitudes to Hallowe'en in the UK, or to consider the subject from a British schools or educational perspective. The only published educational research on the topic is an informal survey of attitudes made by Homan in 1991. Likewise, there is no research that specifically seeks to explore the attitudes of adults in general towards the celebration of Hallowe'en.

The following quantitative survey was carried out during November, 1998, in order to test the general hypothesis that most primary schools intentionally avoid any exploration of the practice and meaning of the festival. At the same time it sought to discover what attitudes primary school teachers hold towards the festival, and what was the basis for, or source of, their attitudes. Some further items were added to the questionnaire to see if there was any connection between their attitudes to Hallowe'en and their feelings generally about some associated phenomena, namely ghosts, spirits and witches.

Three contrasting geographical regions were selected for the survey, partly for their diversity,<sup>1</sup> but also for reasons of familiarity and ease of contact.<sup>2</sup> Equal numbers of randomly selected primary schools were identified in each region and sufficient questionnaires sent to the head teachers of those schools which had agreed to participate.<sup>3</sup> The aim was to obtain completed questionnaires from three hundred teachers, representing forty-five different schools.

### **Establishing my hypotheses.**

There were a number of questions that I had in mind as I put together the questionnaire. Some were basic questions of fact, such as, *Was Hallowe'en being included at all in the school curriculum?* Some were much more complex issues, such as, *If not, why not?*

My own experience of primary schools over the previous ten years (both as a parent and as a diocesan adviser) indicated that the many church schools with which I had contact, and the fewer local authority schools, all, without exception, avoided the topic of Hallowe'en during the period of the festival. I wanted therefore to see if this was common practice throughout the south-east of England (Hypothesis 1), and, if so, if there was any difference between church schools and others in this respect (Hypothesis 2). Since Hallowe'en was also the Eve of All Hallows (All Saints) I was intrigued to see if the festival had greater significance for church schools than for others.

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<sup>1</sup> Redbridge is an outer London borough with a high ethnic/cultural diversity, whilst East Sussex and central Essex are ethnically more monochrome. Also, whilst Redbridge is densely populated, the other authorities are a mix of villages, townships and countryside. Another good reason for the inclusion of East Sussex was the fact that it was in this authority that Roger Homan's informal research on Hallowe'en was carried out in 1989 (see above).

<sup>2</sup> I have worked in all three areas, and have good links with the RE advisers and SACREs in each.

<sup>3</sup> 15 schools from each area were contacted by telephone. Of these, 34 agreed to participate (75%). The 34 potentially participating schools employed over 500 teachers, which was felt to be a sufficient sample for the study.

The question of why schools were avoiding Hallowe'en (assuming that they were) was approached from several angles. Firstly, was the festival ever included in the curriculum, and if so, when? (Hypothesis 3). My expectation was that, prior to the reaction against Hallowe'en during the late 1980s and early 1990s, many teachers had indeed included it in their classroom activities. Secondly, what exactly was the reason given by teachers for not including the festival today? (Hypothesis 5). Was it because they personally did not approve of the festival, or was it rather in order not to upset parents, or because they considered that others (i.e. the school, or local authority, or diocese) did not approve of it? In any schools where Hallowe'en was referred to, I was interested to know if this was done negatively (e.g. by giving warnings about the dangers of Hallowe'en), or indirectly (e.g. by focussing mainly on All Saints), or by a direct focus on the beliefs and practices associated with the festival. Hypothesis 4 was included to test my assumption that teachers were likely to treat the subject negatively, if at all.

There were two other possibilities (Hypothesis 6 and 7) that might affect a teacher's choice not to include Hallowe'en in the curriculum, apart from the above reasons. These were, firstly, the possibility that there were insufficient resources on the topic, and the second, that the topic might raise too many difficult issues for the teacher to deal with, so that it was better left untouched. Although neither of these could be regarded as valid educational reasons for not including any subject in the curriculum, I decided to explore teachers' opinions on them anyway.

As part of the attempt to explore why teachers do not include Hallowe'en in the curriculum, I felt it might also be helpful to uncover some of their attitudes towards the



subject, and to see if there were any personal characteristics or other factors which would pre-determine particular teachers' strength of feeling for or against the festival. For instance, Homan (1991) suggests that the prevalence of witchcraft in an area will affect teachers' attitudes to Hallowe'en. Hypothesis 8 seeks to verify this assertion.

Hypothesis 9 and 10 are concerned with gender and age respectively. I was assuming that teachers who were in post during the period when the main backlash against Hallowe'en had taken place (mid to late 1980s) would take a more anti-Hallowe'en stance than those who had come into post since then, and who had therefore not experienced the strength of feeling which had been expressed at that time. I also wondered if those teachers who had taught the subject for many years before the eighties might actually be more accepting of the festival than others.

If, as I had predicted in hypothesis five, teachers did not include Hallowe'en in the curriculum because of their concern about parental discomfort with the subject, or because of other public agency advice (e.g. LEA or diocese), then it would also be reasonable to assume that those teachers who would have the greatest discomfort with the subject would be the ones who held positions of responsibility for the curriculum of the school. Hypothesis 11 is based on this premise.

Hypothesis 12 is concerned with teachers' qualifications in religion or religious education. It was my assumption that teachers who had studied such topics might have a greater knowledge about, and therefore be more sympathetic towards, the annual festival of Hallowe'en. My assumption was not based on any particular evidence, either empirical or anecdotal, but rather on the general feeling that people who had a greater

understanding of festival and ritual might be more appreciative of the benefits of studying a festival like Hallowe'en.

In my questionnaire, I was also interested to explore whether teachers of different age groups of children might differ in their attitude towards Hallowe'en (Hypothesis 13). I fully expected that teachers of early years and infant children might be more sympathetic towards the subject, since fairy tales and the mystical world of the unknown are often a more significant feature of their story times and general reading material than is the case in the junior school years.

My own experience of contact with teachers over the past fifteen or more years, and the reading and research which I had carried out on the subject of Hallowe'en, all led me to believe that the single most significant factor in influencing people in their attitude against Hallowe'en was likely to be their own religion, or, more precisely, whether or not they were from religious groups which were likely to have been part of the anti-Hallowe'en lobby in the 1980s and 1990s (Hypotheses 14 and 15). Teachers who had been part of that culture would be the ones who were most strongly affected by its message (Hypothesis 19). It also seemed reasonable to assume that those teachers who were the most regular in their church attendance, would be more likely to have read the literature, and therefore been influenced by, the arguments of those who had attacked the festival of Hallowe'en at that time (Hypothesis 16).

However, I was also aware of the variety of beliefs and attitudes that can be found among the adherents of the mainstream christian denominations and even within the confines of one particular local church. Much of the anti-Hallowe'en material that had been

produced assumed a very literal understanding of the world of the unknown. The devil was presented in a very literal way, with warnings given about the dangers of those who celebrated Hallowe'en being taken over by evil spirits in a very physical and literal sense. I postulated therefore that those who were most likely to hold a negative attitude towards Hallowe'en were teachers who held a more literalist interpretation of supernatural and occult phenomena (Hypothesis 17). In an attempt to refine this even further, we might say that those who were wedded to a particular theological position which included this particular perspective, were probably those teachers who were most likely to hold the strongest feelings against the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the school curriculum. On the other hand, teachers who did not see themselves as conforming to any particular religious ideology, but who tried to be more independent in their thinking, were likely to hold more liberal, and therefore more positive, views towards Hallowe'en. In spite of the difficulties which would be posed by trying to define such a theological position (that is, one of a literalist dualism between good and evil forces), I felt that I wanted to test out the hypothesis that the teacher's theological perspective would determine their attitude to Hallowe'en (Hypothesis 18).

Lastly, I was interested to know if there was any correlation between teacher's attitudes towards Hallowe'en and their more general attitudes towards what I have called the *frightening-mysterious* (Hypothesis 20). I have used this term to describe those elements of experience that are both frightening and mysterious. Some unexplained phenomena, for example experiences of telepathy, might be experienced as delightfully fascinating. Other experiences, often incite fear or horror. Under this latter category we might put spooks, ghosts, witches, etc.

The term frightening-mysterious resonates with Otto's *mysterium tremendum*, the feeling evoked by an awareness of the presence of the numinous. Otto describes this feeling as a horror or shuddering, an intoxicated frenzy, a feeling of ecstasy, or a hushed, speechless humility (1923, p. 13-30). For Otto, the feeling of *mysterium tremendum* is characterised by a sense of eeriness or absolute un-approachability, an overpowering sense of the greatness of the thing being encountered, a feeling of energy or urgency, the arousal of the imagination by the sheer other-ness of the encounter, and a feeling of fascination and attraction which wishes to discover more. However, the term that I have used, *frightening-mysterious*, doesn't refer to the feelings, but to the objects of the feelings, what Otto calls the numinous. Furthermore, whereas Otto is describing the *numen*, a supernatural and divine power, the focus of my attention is much broader, and includes aspects of human experience which would not normally be regarded as having a divine origin, but which nevertheless were both frightening and mysterious.

I was keen to explore if teachers were generally unhappy about exploring the unknown with children, and especially the dark side of that unknown, or was it Hallowe'en in particular which was the no-go area? My expectation was that the two were probably connected.

### **Development of the teacher-attitude items**

An initial bank of 29 Likert-scale questionnaire items was developed and piloted with small groups of teachers at local schools where I was involved in staff religious education INSET sessions. These consisted of a range of statements about Hallowe'en and the frightening-mysterious. Some of them expressed positive sentiments about the subject, and some of them were negative statements. The best of these, comprising those items

that elicited the best range of responses from teachers, were then incorporated into a broader questionnaire which also requested information about whole school and individual classroom practice in regard to Hallowe'en. This second version was then piloted with another group of teachers and some further adjustments to the wording and layout made.

The final instrument consisted of six sections. A copy of this is attached as Appendix 1. The first and last sections requested personal and religious details that could be used as sampling variables. Sections two and three requested information about any reference made to Hallowe'en in assembly, classroom or other aspects of school life. Sections four and five contained the items on teacher attitudes & beliefs.

Section four consisted of fourteen Likert-scale items which sought to elicit teachers' personal views about Hallowe'en. Six of the statements represented a hostile attitude towards Hallowe'en (e.g. #21 *The ethos of Hallowe'en goes against the everyday values of most schools*) and six were more positive about it (e.g. #14 *The traditions of Hallowe'en provide great potential for artistic and creative activities in the classroom.*). Within each of these sets of statements, half could be regarded as providing a religious perspective and the other half were more pragmatic in their stance. For instance, #19 *Hallowe'en trivialises very dangerous and unpredictable evil forces*, assumes a religious viewpoint, whereas, #18 *Because some people find Hallowe'en so offensive, it is best to avoid it in schools*, does not. The final two statements in this section were concerned with confidence in helping children with the religious questions raised by Hallowe'en, and with the sufficiency of available teaching resources on the topic.

Section five consisted of twelve Likert-scale items dealing with teachers' beliefs and attitudes to frightening mysterious phenomena, a tick-box list of sources which had most influenced their views on Hallowe'en, and a space for further comment on any of the previous questionnaire items. Half of the Likert-scale items were statements about the effect of frightening mysterious things on children, and half were concerned with teachers' modes of interpretation. For instance, did they understand ghosts, spirits, devils etc. as literal, or metaphorical, or were they sceptical about, or dismissive of, such phenomena? Of the items that were concerned with the effect of the frightening-mysterious on children, half expressed a positive viewpoint and half an antagonistic perspective.

#### **Reliability/validity of the questionnaire.**

Every effort was made, in the course of developing this questionnaire, to comply with established principles of good practice.<sup>4</sup>

However, attitude-survey questionnaire items are notoriously difficult to craft.<sup>5</sup> Attitudes are often irrational. They may emanate from powerful psychological needs or ego defences rather than being the product of our rational thinking processes.<sup>6</sup> This is particularly likely in respect of Hallowe'en and the frightening-mysterious, in view of all that has been said above. In devising questionnaire items therefore, I needed on the one

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<sup>4</sup> Particularly helpful advice came from D.A.deVaus, 1993, Converse and Presser, 1986, and A.N.Oppenheim, 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Oppenheim, 1966, warns researchers not to expect too much from attitude scales (p121). "*Often, a statement that is, strictly speaking, almost meaningless, works very well because pilot work has shown that respondents cloak it, in their own way, with the meaning that our context requires.*" (p115)

<sup>6</sup> Oppenheim, 1966, suggests that attitudes may be rooted at different levels in our personal make-up: "*For ease of understanding, social scientists make a rough distinction among the different levels (of attitudinal significance/superficiality) calling the most significant one beliefs, the next one attitudes, a deeper level, values or basic attitudes, and a still deeper level, personality*"(p109). I am not seeking in this study to determine at what level Hallowe'en might feature in people's experience.

hand to offer appropriate words and statements which would evoke predictable responses from those who held a 'party' line, while at the same time, offering statements which would not prejudice or contaminate the responses of those who had a less pre-determined perspective. Piloting proved helpful in eliminating some of the more obviously unhelpful items, but in retrospect, a more thorough piloting would have helped to fine tune particular items even further. In particular, item #14 (*The traditions of Hallowe'en provide great potential for artistic and creative activities in the classroom.*) proved to be an unhelpful discriminator between respondents.

Having said that, when the raw scores from Sections four and five of the survey were subjected to a Factor Analysis using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a correlation matrix analysis confirmed the internal reliability of those questionnaire items that might be assumed to elicit consistent responses from teachers. Six main Factors were identified by SPSS, and a summary of these is given in Table A below. The table also shows the particular questionnaire items that relate to each Factor. The only questionnaire item in this section that proved to be unhelpful in providing information that was consistent with teachers' other responses was #14, *The traditions of Hallowe'en provide great potential for artistic and creative activities in the classroom.* Even many of the teachers who were hostile towards Hallowe'en could see the potential for creative and artistic work which related to it, and therefore scored the item positively. Subsequently, Q 14 does not feature as contributing to any of the 6 Factor scores.

The combined scores of respondents to the various questionnaire attitude items were then calculated for each Factor. These scores were analysed on SPSS using ANOVA (analysis

of variance) and MANOVA (multivariate analysis of variance). The results are presented and discussed in the next chapter.

No attempt was made to explore the test-retest reliability of the instrument. However, there is no particular reason to believe that respondents would significantly vary their responses to questionnaire items of this sort from one day to the next.

**Table A:**

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Questionnaire Items</b>
<b>1. Literalist beliefs about evil.</b> (Respondents believe in the literal existence of evil entities, and reject alternative explanations of evil.)	#27 Ghosts, spirits and devils only exist in people's imaginations. #28 Ghosts, spirits and devils are powerful psychological realities. #30 The devil is a very real spiritual being. #32 People's experiences of ghosts and spirits usually have simple psychological explanations. #34 Evil spirits can inhabit people who play with occult powers. #38 Ghosts and witches are best understood as representing primitive human fears of the unknown.
<b>2. Hostile towards Hallowe'en.</b> (Respondents are hostile towards Hallowe'en in general, and negative about the value of including Hallowe'en in the school curriculum.)	#13 Children should not be taught about Hallowe'en at school. #15 Hallowe'en is an unhealthy legitimisation of evil. #16 If supervised, H offers appropriate permission for for fun and childish pranks during the otherwise dark, dull winter months. #19 H trivialises very dangerous and unpredictable evil forces. #21 The ethos of H goes against the everyday values of most schools. #24 Celebrating H is likely to encourage unhealthy interest in the occult.
<b>3. Positive about educational potential of Halloween.</b> (Respondents are positive about the educational potential of Hallowe'en, and reject suggestions that it should be kept out of the school curriculum.)	#13 Children should not be taught about H at school. #17 H provides an ideal occasion for acknowledging the presence of evil while at the same time emphasising the power os 'saints' to overcome it. #18 Because some people find H so offensive, it is best to avoid it in schools. #22 H provides an excellent context for teachers to explore the religious symbols of good and evil with children. #23 One positive feature of H is that it forces us to consider some of life's uncomfortable issues, which we might otherwise avoid. #25 The festival of H provides a unique opportunity for teachers to study particular spiritual/moral/social/cultural issues with children.



<p><b>4. Negative about exploring frightening- mysterious with children.</b></p> <p>(Respondents consider it inappropriate to explore the dark side of the self, and consider that reference to witches and ghosts fosters fear in children.)</p>	<p>#29 Stories about witches and ghosts create unnecessary fears in children.</p> <p>#31 Talking about witches and ghosts often increases children's fears of the unknown.</p> <p>#35 It is unwise for an individual to explore the dark side of him/her self.</p>
<p><b>5. Positive about exploring frightening- mysterious with children.</b></p> <p>(Respondents are positive about the educational benefits of exploring frightening and mysterious things with children.)</p>	<p>#33 Children need to explore their fears about frightening and mysterious things.</p> <p>#36 Fairy tales with witches and ghosts help to resolve children's subconscious fears of the unknown.</p> <p>#37 Mature people will acknowledge the mystery of evil as well as the mystery of love.</p>
<p><b>6. Teacher confidence/resources.</b></p> <p>(Respondents lack confidence in exploring the religious questions raised by Hallowe'en, and consider that there are insufficient resources for teachers to do this with children.)</p>	<p>#20 I don't feel very confident to help children with the religious questions which Hallowe'en raises.</p> <p>#-26 Sufficient resources are available for those schools wishing to teach about Hallowe'en.</p>

**Table A: The 6 Factors identified by a correlation matrix analysis of questionnaire attitude items, using SPSS 11.5.**

# HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:

## Chapter 6

### Questionnaire results

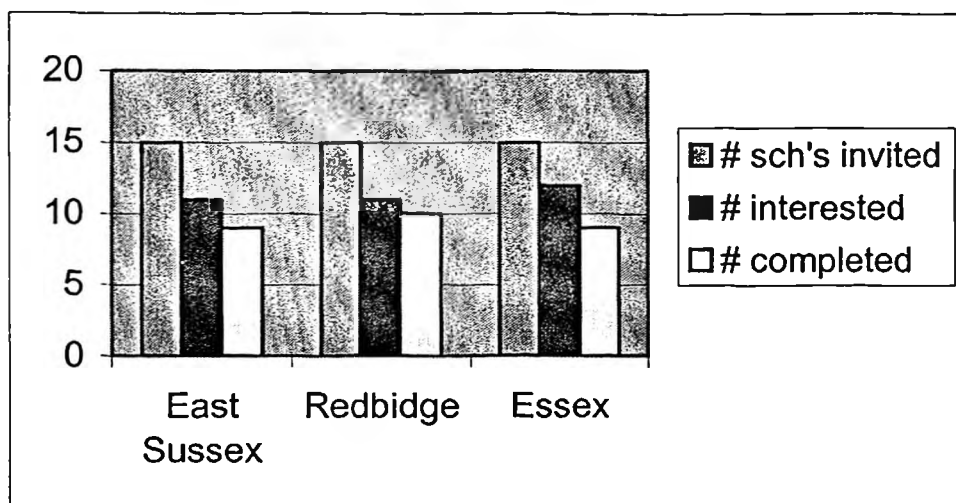
#### Survey response rate:

The survey strategy was to invite three hundred teachers from forty-five schools in three different local authorities to complete an individual questionnaire.

Head teachers of the selected schools were contacted by telephone and invited to participate in the survey. Responses were varied. Many head teachers voluntarily expressed personal views or experiences regarding the subject. One acting HT explained that her infant department once did lovely art/craft on the topic, but that it had ceased after very strong objections from a parent. Others mentioned that some of the staff and parents had very strong views about the inclusion of Hallowe'en in schools. Many head teachers were at great pains to point out that they did not include the subject in their curriculum and wondered therefore whether it was worth their school participating. One explained that this was since receiving guidance from the local education authority to that effect. Several head teachers were reluctant to talk with me about my request, and asked that I send details for them to consider in more detail. One head teacher let me know through his secretary that he wasn't interested and didn't wish to know any more about the survey!



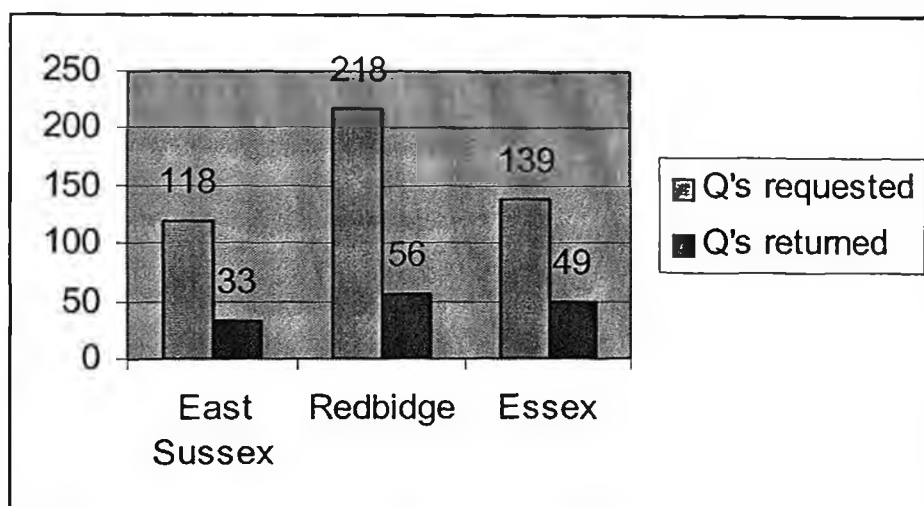
The survey was being carried out at a busy time for schools. The Literacy Hour was being implemented, and several of the selected schools were experiencing, or preparing for, OFSTED inspections. However, the majority of head teachers agreed to receive questionnaires and to pass these on to teachers for completion.



**Fig. 1 showing response rates of schools by local education authority.**

Fig. 1 above shows the response rates of schools by local authority. Of the forty-five schools originally invited to participate in the survey, thirty-four (76%) agreed to do so, and of these, twenty eight (62% of all schools invited) succeeded in returning completed questionnaires.

A total of four hundred and seventy five questionnaires were requested by the thirty-four schools that had agreed to participate in the survey. This was considered sufficient to yield the desired number of responses without contacting further schools. In reality, only one hundred and thirty eight (29%) completed forms were returned. Fig. 2 shows the response rates by local authority.



**Fig. 2 showing questionnaire return rates by local education authority.**

An inevitable self-select process was involved in obtaining the final one hundred and thirty eight completed forms. As a result we may not assume with any degree of confidence that these teachers express views that are compatible with the views of teachers in general. However the size of the sample and the range of schools represented certainly indicates that these responses are worth our careful consideration.

### **Analysis of the results**

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS on each of the six Factors which had been identified, against the variables of gender, age, school type, responsibility post held, key stage taught, religion/denomination & regularity of attendance at a place of worship, as well as against respondent's views on the prevalence of occult activity in the vicinity, and their general religious outlook/perspective. A summary of the results of this analysis are provided as Appendix 3. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) tests were also conducted in order to explore the results of different teacher groups in more detail. The results of these tests are considered in the next chapter.

# **HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:**

## **Chapter 7**

### **Analysis of results against specific hypotheses**

#### **Analysis of the results against specific hypotheses**

The teacher questionnaire was designed to test a number of specific hypotheses. In this chapter, I will consider the responses of teachers according to these hypotheses. In the following chapter, I will consider the results in more general terms, to see what else they might tell us about teachers' attitudes and practices in respect of Hallowe'en.

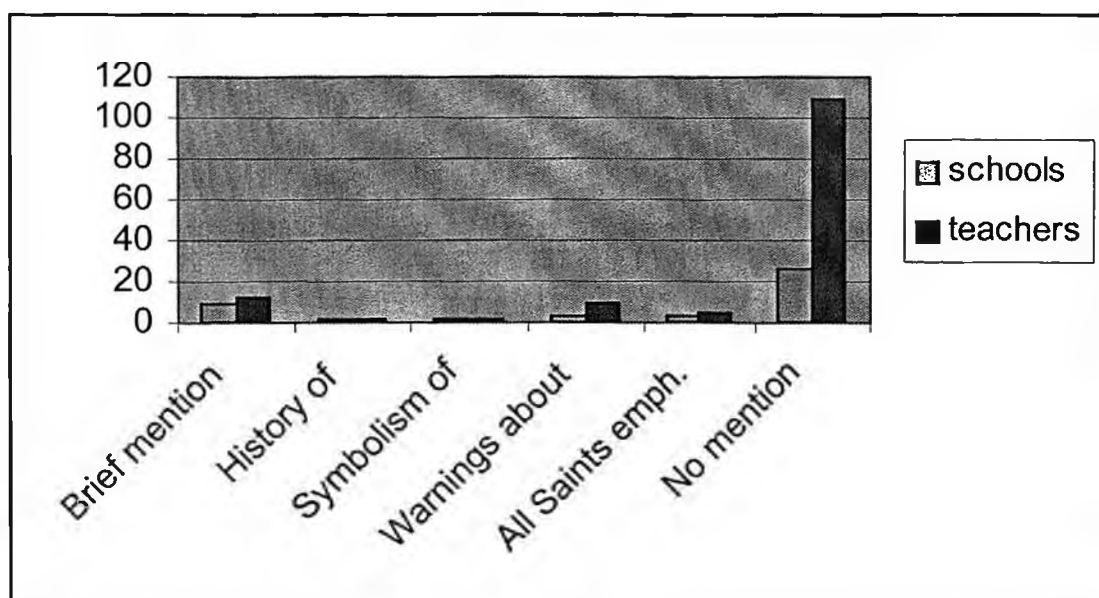
**Hypothesis 1:**        *In 1998, Essex, East Sussex and Redbridge primary schools will avoid making any reference to Hallowe'en in their curriculum.*

This hypothesis was conclusively confirmed by the questionnaire results. Teachers had been asked to state what, if any, reference was made to Hallowe'en in their classrooms, in assemblies, or in other aspects of school life.

#### **Reference to Hallowe'en in assembly**

The majority of teachers (80%, and representing 93% of the schools) claimed that there had been no mention of Hallowe'en at all during the school assemblies at which they had

been present throughout the weeks of October and early November. In only three of the twenty-eight schools (11%) did a majority of teachers say that Hallowe'en had been referred to. Twenty-six teachers (19%) said that Hallowe'en had been included in their school's assemblies just before or after the time of the festival. Of these, thirteen said that this was, *briefly mentioned, but not focused on*, nine said that, *children were warned about the dangers*



**Fig. 3 showing frequency of mention of Hallowe'en in school assemblies**

of Hallowe'en, and four said that it was, *mentioned as part of a broader focus on All Saints*. Only one teacher indicated that, *its history and practices were explored in some detail*, and another, that *the symbolism of Hallowe'en was explored*. Fig. 3 shows this in a visual format.

Inclusion of Hallowe'en in assembly was not more prevalent in any particular category of school, although it was interesting to note that warnings about the dangers of Hallowe'en only occurred in LEA schools, and any focus on All Saints only occurred in church schools.

### **Reference to Hallowe'en in classroom teaching**

By far the majority of teachers (86%) made no reference to Hallowe'en at all in their classrooms during the months of October and November. Of the eighteen teachers who did make some reference to it, fifteen did so *spontaneously as a result of children's questions, comments or artefacts*. Only five teachers (4% of the total sample) actually planned to include work on Hallowe'en in their classroom curriculum work. This was identified as English(2), R.E.(2), or History(1). In one instance it was indicated that the mention of Hallowe'en was, *studied in religious education as preparation for All Saints*.

Of the total eighteen teachers who actually made any reference to Hallowe'en in their classroom during the months of October and November, seventeen identified the amount of time given to it as, *a brief mention in the course of a class or group discussion*. Only one teacher held, *a more extended discussion with pupils*.

### **Other school Hallowe'en activities**

Several respondents stated that their school ran extra curricular activities, but only one teacher said that their school ran a specifically Hallowe'en or Hallowe'en-alternative

activity for the children. Interestingly, the other ten teachers from that same school said that the school didn't run any such activities!

**Hypothesis 2:**        *School status (LEA or Voluntary) does not affect attitude or practice with regard to Hallowe'en.*

Table B (below) compares the **practice** of various categories of school with regard to Hallowe'en. The results suggest that Church of England voluntary controlled school teachers are the most likely to make reference to Hallowe'en in their classwork, and Hallowe'en is more likely to be referred to in Church of England voluntary aided school assemblies than in those of other categories of school. Although the small size of the sample would caution us to regard these results as only tentative, they do nevertheless suggest that church voluntary status does affect the likelihood of Hallowe'en being included within the curriculum.

School Type	# schools	# teachers	Ref. In Classwork	Ref. In Assembly
LEA/GM	20	116	15 (13%)	20 (17%)
CofE-V Aided	3	9	1 (11%)	5 (56%)
CofE-V Contd	4	10	2 (20%)	1 (10%)
Jewish-V Aid.	1	1	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	28	136	18 (13%)	26 (19%)

**Table B, showing reference to Hallowe'en in classwork and assemblies by school type.**

On the other hand, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparison of the responses of teachers to the attitudes and beliefs questionnaire items, does not reveal any statistically significant differences on the basis of the categories of school in which they work. This is

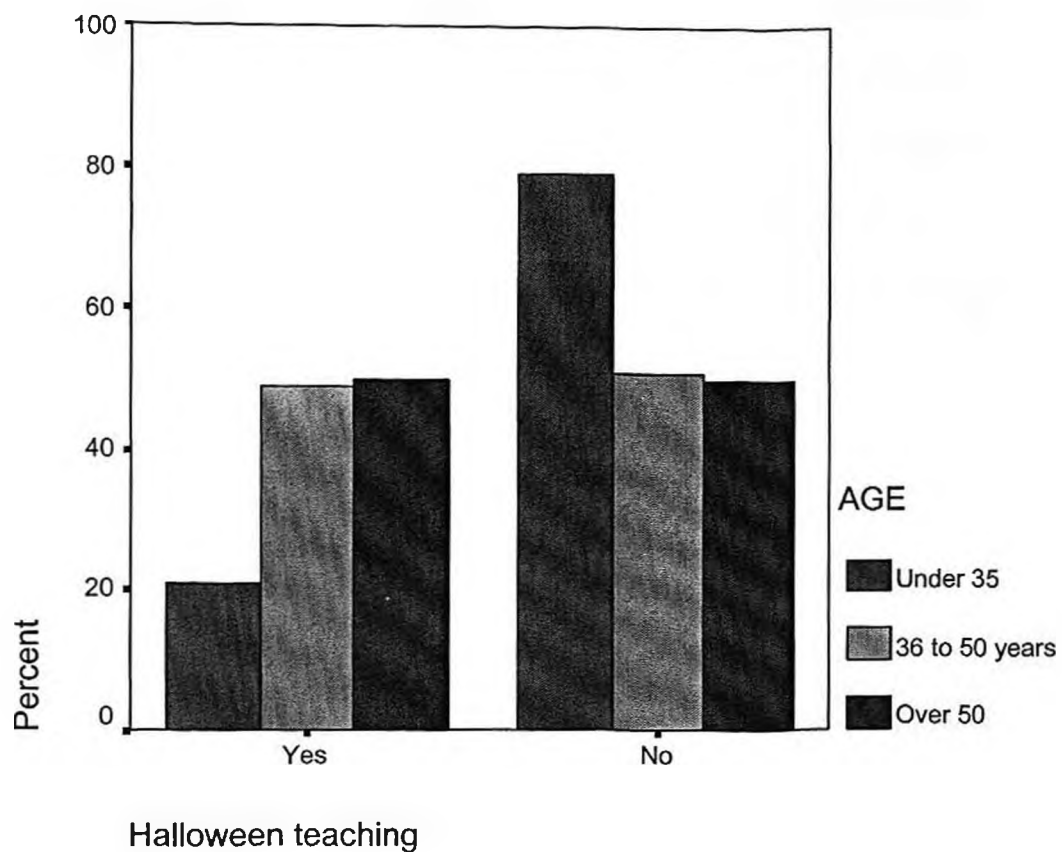


the case for all of the six Factors identified in the study. We may conclude therefore that, in terms of **attitudes** of teachers towards Hallowe'en, school type is not significant.

**Hypothesis 3:**        *Hallowe'en was more likely to have been included in the school curriculum pre-1988, i.e. before the recent expressions of concern about the festival.*

Responses to the question, *Have you ever included Hallowe'en in your planned teaching programme in previous years?* yielded the results shown in Fig. 4 below. The graph shows that although the majority (80%) of teachers aged under 35 years have never included Hallowe'en in their classroom teaching, half of those who are over thirty five years of age have done so. This gives a Pearson Correlation score of  $-0.257$ , indicating that the difference between these age groups in terms of whether or not they have ever taught about Hallowe'en is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed). If we assume that most of those who were over thirty five years of age at the time of completing the questionnaire had been teaching for more than ten years, we may surmise that the reason for this difference is the fact that they were already teaching about Hallowe'en before it became an issue in the late 1980's.

If we look further at the evidence of the questionnaire, we find that among those who had included Hallowe'en in past classroom work, eight (16%) indicated that they had done so in the past five years, fourteen (27%) had done so in the past five to ten years, and twenty nine (57%) had done so ten or more years ago. In other words, where Hallowe'en was included in primary education, this was usually done more than ten years ago.



**Fig. 4** showing responses to the question, *Have you ever included Hallowe'en in your planned teaching programme in previous years?* according to the age profiles of respondents.

The above data strongly supports the notion that Hallowe'en was a more acceptable topic for study in primary schools until about ten years ago. Since then, it has almost completely been eliminated from the curriculum.

**Hypothesis 4:** *Where Hallowe'en is acknowledged in the school curriculum today, this is mainly to warn children of the potential dangers associated with certain Hallowe'en-related practices.*

This hypothesis was not substantiated by the evidence. Of the twelve schools (43%) in which Hallowe'en was mentioned in an assembly, only three (25%) focused on the potential dangers of Hallowe'en. Likewise in classrooms, of the eighteen teachers (13%) who mentioned Hallowe'en in their classroom, most (83%) did so in response to children's comments or questions, and none stated that they had given warnings about potential dangers associated with the festival.

**Hypothesis 5:**        *Teachers avoid including Hallowe'en in the curriculum because a) they believe that parents would complain if it were included, and b) they believe that their LEA/school proscribes teaching about it.*

#### **Assemblies:**

The 80% of questionnaire respondents who claimed that Hallowe'en had not been mentioned in their school assemblies were asked to identify from six options why they had not done so. Table C (below) shows their responses.

<b>Reason given for non-inclusion of Hallowe'en in assemblies</b>	<b>Classwork</b>	<b>Assemblies</b>	<b>Combined total</b>
I don't think Hallowe'en is an appropriate study topic for children	60 (43%)	NA	-
Some of our staff feel it is inappropriate to explore Hallowe'en with children	NA	36 (26%)	96
It didn't fit with our assembly theme/teaching topic for that month/term	45 (33%)	40 (29%)	85
Our school/LEA policy does not allow teaching about Hallowe'en	40 (29%)	45 (33%)	85
Parents would complain if I taught about/included Hallowe'en	14 (10%)	20 (14%)	34
As a mainly Christian festival Hallowe'en is not appropriate for the religious and cultural mix of children in my class	9 (7%)	NA	-
We prefer to focus on All Saints rather than Hallowe'en	NA	6 (4%)	15
None of the above	11(8%)	13 (9%)	24

**Table C showing teachers' reasons for not including Hallowe'en in assemblies and classwork.**

The most popular reason given for not including Hallowe'en in assemblies is that it is against the school or LEA policy (45 teachers, representing 33% of the total sample). The second most popular response, *It didn't fit with our assembly theme for that week/month*, (40 teachers, 29%) is an interesting one because it offers what is, in essence, a deliberate ignoring of a nationally recognised annual event in our society, the celebration of Hallowe'en. An appropriate question to ask such schools might be, *Why wasn't the theme for that week/month something which would fit with such a significant event in the lives of many of the children?* The answer to that question is possibly implicit in the next most popular response of teachers, *Some staff feel it is inappropriate to explore Hallowe'en with children* (36 teachers, representing 26% of the total sample). The remaining two specific options, *We would get complaints from parents if we included Hallowe'en*, and, *We prefer to focus on All Saints rather than Hallowe'en*, scored just twenty (14%) and 6 (4%) respectively. The only noteworthy alternative explanation offered under the last item was the statement that Hallowe'en fell during the half term break (two teachers). This is an interesting argument, because if we were to follow the same logic for other festivals, we would not include Christmas or Easter in the school curriculum either!

### **Classroom teaching:**

Teachers who did not refer to Hallowe'en in their classroom (86% of the total sample) were also asked to identify why they had not done so. Table 2 (above) shows their responses to each of the six options provided in the Questionnaire.

The most popular response by far was, *I don't think Hallowe'en is an appropriate study topic for children* (60 teachers, representing 43% of the total sample). The other significantly popular responses were, *It didn't fit with our planned topic for that*

*month/term* (45 teachers, 33%), and, *Our school/LEA policy doesn't allow teaching about Hallowe'en* (40 teachers, 29%). Additional written comments given with the last option included that Hallowe'en fell during half term (4 teachers), and that it wasn't a Christian festival, but a pagan one (2 teachers).

The results support my hypothesis that teachers are significantly affected by the belief that school or LEA policy proscribes teaching about Hallowe'en. This study did not seek to ascertain if there was in actuality any school or LEA policy in those institutions however, whether in the form of an agreed written statement, or as an informal, mutually understood arrangement between teaching staff.

The hypothesis that teachers are dissuaded from teaching about Hallowe'en because of the potential threat of parental complaints is not particularly upheld by this study. In both instances, less than 15% of respondents identified this as a reason for not including Hallowe'en in assemblies or classroom teaching.

**Hypothesis 6:**        ***Most teachers do not feel confident to deal with the religious questions which might be raised by a study of Hallowe'en in the classroom.***

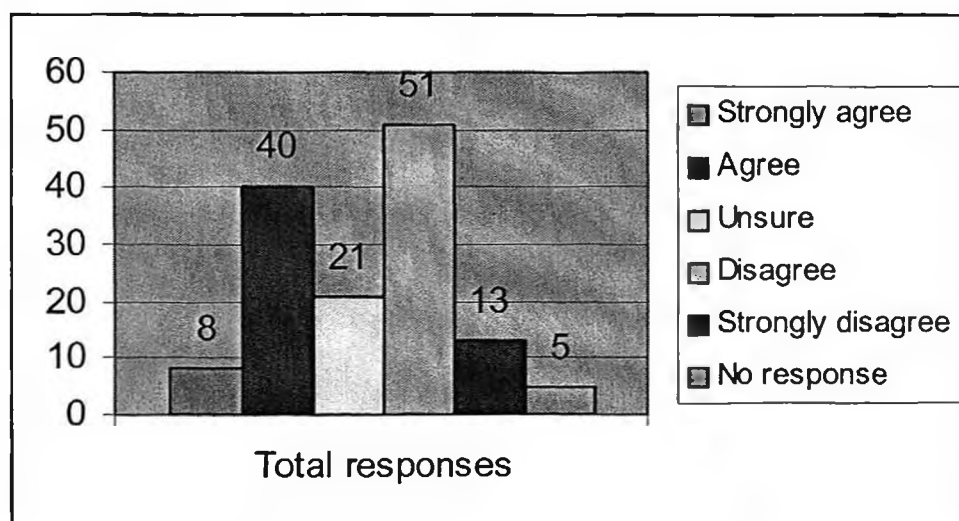
In section four of the survey instrument a Likert type question was included, *I don't feel very confident to help children with the religious questions which Hallowe'en raises.*

Teachers' responses are shown in Fig. 5 below.

Forty-eight teachers (35% of the total sample) admitted to feelings of insecurity in dealing with the religious questions raised by Hallowe'en, compared with sixty four (46%) who claimed to have no such misgivings. Although the raw figures suggest that slightly more teachers would be comfortable in handling the subject of Hallowe'en in the classroom than

those who would not be so comfortable, it is worth considering the nature of the question itself. The statement invites teachers to admit to a weakness in their professional competence, namely the skill of helping children to struggle with the philosophical, or ultimate, questions which are raised by everyday events. Viewed from such a perspective, it is remarkable that more than a third of the respondents are willing to make such an admission, and that eight teachers (6%) are very sure of this inadequacy in their classroom expertise.

The data does not support our hypothesis. However, the results do suggest that a more subtle analysis of this particular issue might well yield more accurate data to support it.

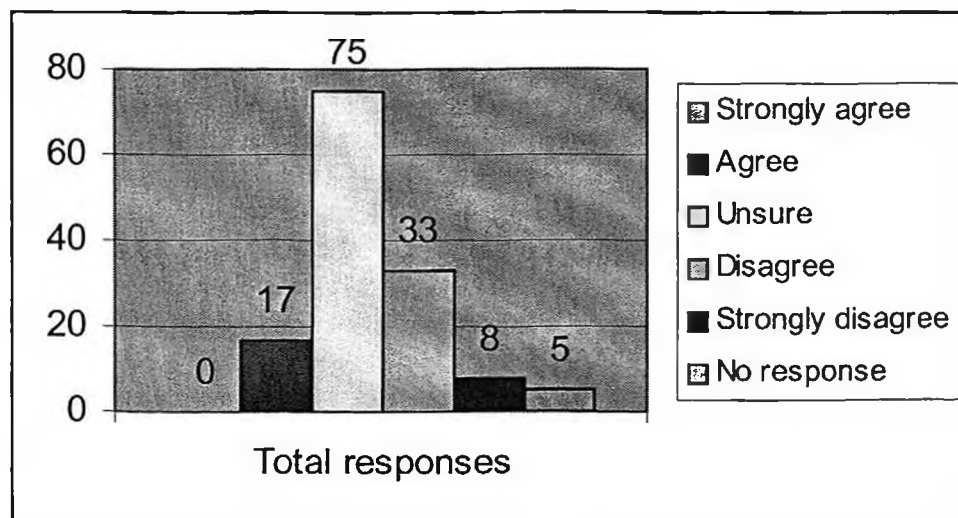


**Fig. 5 showing teachers' responses to the statement, *I don't feel very confident to help children with the religious questions which Hallowe'en raises.***

**Hypothesis 7:** *Most teachers believe that there are not sufficient available resources for those schools wishing to teach about Hallowe'en.*

In section four of the survey instrument a Likert-type statement was included: *Sufficient resources are available for those schools wishing to teach about Hallowe'en*. Fig. 6 summarises the responses of teachers.

The majority of teachers (75 teachers, representing 54% of the total sample) have no idea whether or not appropriate school resources are available on the subject of Hallowe'en. Of those who were more willing to venture an opinion, forty-one teachers (30%) considered that there were not sufficient resources, and just seventeen teachers (12%), considered that such resources were available.



**Fig. 6 showing teachers' responses to the statement, *Sufficient resources are available for those Schools wishing to teach about Hallowe'en*.**

These results refute the above hypothesis, and suggest rather, that teachers are ignorant about the availability or otherwise of appropriate Hallowe'en resources for use in primary schools.

**Hypothesis 8:**        *Teachers who consider that their school is situated in a locality which has a strong presence of occult activity are more negative than others about the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the curriculum.*

Homan (1991) suggests that an awareness of occult activity in the locality is likely to affect a schools' attitude to Hallowe'en. In summarising the findings of his own investigation, he cites the prevalence of paganism and witchcraft in Sussex being referred to by headteachers as a significant factor in heightening local sensitivities about Hallowe'en, and subsequently influencing their decision not to allow it to be part of the school curriculum. He refers to regional media attention being focused on the desecration of churches and tombstones, and a local legal case concerning a man's withdrawal from a Satanist group, as examples of the contemporary prominence and significance of the issue at the time of his "opportunistic sample" of school practice.

In order to accurately determine the significance of local occult activity in our study it would have been necessary to carefully select geographical locations in which such activity could be shown to be prominent. Such selection would have seriously compromised the random selection of our total sample. In this survey it was decided to include a question about the perceived prevalence of occult activity in the area in which the school was situated, but without trying to determine the empirical accuracy of each teacher's perspective. Our concern therefore was to determine if there was any correlation between a teacher's assumed view of the area in which their school was located and his or her attitude towards Hallowe'en.

Just fourteen teachers (10% of the research sample) considered that occult activity & witchcraft was prevalent in the location in which their school was situated, compared with thirty seven (27%) who said it was not very prevalent. The majority (83 teachers, and



60% of the total sample) were not sure. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out using SPSS on the relationship between different responses to this question and responses given to the questionnaire items which made up the 6 Factors. Table D (below) shows the results of this analysis.

The table shows that there is a significant link between teacher perceptions about occult activity in the area and their responses to some of the questionnaire items, namely those which make up Factors 1, 2 and 4. In other words, we may conclude that teachers who believe that occult activity is prevalent in their area are more likely to believe in the literal existence of evil entities, to be hostile towards Hallowe'en, and to consider that it is inappropriate to explore the frightening-mysterious with children.

PREVALENCE OF OCCULT		Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)			
		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b> Literal beliefs about evil	Between Groups	2	68.244	<b>3.157</b>	<b>.046</b>
	Within Groups	129	21.614		
	Total	131			
<b>FACTOR2</b> Hostile to Halloween	Between Groups	2	140.322	<b>5.274</b>	<b>.006</b>
	Within Groups	130	26.609		
	Total	132			
<b>FACTOR3</b> Positive about Halloween in school	Between Groups	2	15.415	.719	.489
	Within Groups	130	21.445		
	Total	132			
<b>FACTOR4</b> Negative about exploring fright- ening mysterious	Between Groups	2	17.796	<b>4.066</b>	<b>.019</b>
	Within Groups	131	4.377		
	Total	133			
<b>FACTOR5</b> Positive about exploring fright- ening mysterious	Between Groups	2	.696	.291	.748
	Within Groups	128	2.397		
	Total	130			
<b>FACTOR6</b> Teacher confidence and resources	Between Groups	2	.988	.472	.625
	Within Groups	125	2.094		
	Total	127			
<b>MeanF2_F3</b> Combined Factor 2+3 score	Between Groups	2	1.402	2.873	.060
	Within Groups	130	.488		
	Total	132			

**Table D: showing analysis of variance (ANOVA) scores for each of the six Factors on the basis of teachers responses to the question, *How prevalent is occult activity & witchcraft in the location in which your school is situated?***

The data was explored further using the SPSS multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) facility, to identify variations in scores between those who were unsure about the prevalence of occult activity, and those who answered the question with more confidence. These results showed the following:

1. For Factor 1 (literal beliefs about evil) a significant difference (at the 0.05 level) between those who answer the question confidently one way or the other.
2. For Factor 2 (hostile to Hallowe'en) a significant difference at the 0.01 level between those who are affirmative and those who are unsure, and at a 0.05 level for those who express a clear view one way or the other (ie. occult is prevalent, or it is not).
3. For Factor 4 (negative about exploring frightening-mysterious with children) a significant difference at the 0.01 level between those expressing confident views one way or the other, and at the 0.05 level between those who believe occult activity is prevalent and those who are unsure.
4. For the combined Factor 2 and Factor 3 score (both attitude to Hallowe'en Factors), a significant difference at the 0.05 level between those believing occult activity is prevalent and those who are unsure.

For our purposes, in wishing to consider the link between attitude to Hallowe'en and views about the prevalence of occult activity, the above (#2 and #4) suggest that there is a statistically significant connection. Interestingly however, the significance is statistically strongest between those who are confident that occult activity exists in the area, and those who have no viewpoint on the subject. So, although our results do show quite clearly that statistically there is a link between a teacher's perception that their school is located in an area of strong occult activity and that same teacher's attitude towards Hallowe'en, the difference between them and others is strongest

when compared with those who hold no viewpoint at all on the subject rather than with those who consider that Hallowe'en is not prevalent. In other words, simply holding a viewpoint about the existence of occult activity in the area may be a better predictor of a teacher's attitude to Hallowe'en than their belief that it is prevalent specifically within the area in which their school is situated.

**Hypothesis 9:**        *Gender of the teacher is not a significant variable in determining a teacher's attitude to Hallowe'en.*

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out using SPSS to compare the scores of men and women against each of the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3 (which both consist of attitude to Hallowe'en questionnaire items). Full details of this are shown in Appendix 3. As predicted, the results show no significant differences between men and women in their attitudes towards Hallowe'en, or in their responses to questionnaire items which make up the other 6 Factors.

**Hypothesis 10:**        *Age of the teacher is not a significant variable in determining their attitude to the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the curriculum.*

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out using SPSS to compare the scores of under 35s, 36-50 year olds, and teachers aged over 51 years against each of the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3 (which both consist of attitude to Hallowe'en questionnaire items). The results do identify a statistically significant difference between groups on Factor 2 (hostility to Hallowe'en, and negative about its inclusion in the curriculum) at the 0.05 level (see Appendix 3 for details). In order to identify more

precisely the nature of the differences between groups, a multivariate analysis (MANOVA) was carried out, again using SPSS. The results indicate that mean-score differences are greatest between the youngest and oldest groups of teachers. However, those differences are not statistically significant (see Table E below).

The ambivalence of these results would suggest that this is an element of our study about which we would be unwise to draw hard and fast conclusions. Rather, they indicate an area for further study.

**Multiple Comparisons: Age Categories**

Dependent Variable		(I) AGE	(J) AGE	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
FACTOR2 Hostile towards Hallowe'en	Tukey HSD	Under 35	36 to 50 yrs	2.00	1.004	.117
			Over 50	2.84	1.268	.068
		36 to 50 yrs	Under 35	-2.00	1.004	.117
			Over 50	.84	1.264	.785
		Over 50	Under 35	-2.84	1.268	.068
			36 to 50 yrs	-.84	1.264	.785
	Dunnett T3	Under 35	36 to 50 yrs	2.00	.978	.123
			Over 50	2.84	1.373	.126
		36 to 50 yrs	Under 35	-2.00	.978	.123
			Over 50	.84	1.336	.895
		Over 50	Under 35	-2.84	1.373	.126
			36 to 50 yrs	-.84	1.336	.895
	Games-Howell	Under 35	36 to 50 yrs	2.00	.978	.106
			Over 50	2.84	1.373	.108
		36 to 50 yrs	Under 35	-2.00	.978	.106
			Over 50	.84	1.336	.805
		Over 50	Under 35	-2.84	1.373	.108
			36 to 50 yrs	-.84	1.336	.805

Based on observed means.

**Table E: showing multiple comparisons between age categories of teachers in their responses to Factor 2 questionnaire items.**

**Hypothesis 11:** *Teachers with senior management or RE/Worship responsibility posts will feel more discomfort about the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the curriculum than their teacher-colleagues.*

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out using SPSS to compare the scores of *managers* (head teacher, deputy or senior teacher), *leaders* (teachers with responsibility for RE and/or worship) and *teachers who hold none of these positions of responsibility*, against each of the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3 (which both consist of attitude to Hallowe'en questionnaire items). Full details of the results can be seen in Appendix 3. The results do identify statistically significant differences between groups in their mean scores for Factor 2 (hostile towards Hallowe'en) and F2+3 (giving the combined scores for responses to Factor 2 and Factor 3 questionnaire items, making a combined *attitude to Hallowe'en* score), both at the 0.01 level. However, a multivariate analysis (MANOVA) of the same data indicates that statistically significant differences exist only between *managers* and *those holding no responsibility*, again, at the 0.01 level. In other words, there is no significant difference between the scores of those holding a position of responsibility for RE and/or Collective Worship and the other groups. On the basis of these results we may conclude that holding a position of responsibility for RE and/or Collective Worship does not negatively affect a teacher's attitude towards Hallowe'en, but holding a much wider position of leadership within the school does.

**Hypothesis 12:**        *Teachers who hold a qualification in RE will be more positive about the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the curriculum.*

Teachers responding to the questionnaire were asked to indicate if they held an 'A' level, higher certificate/diploma, bachelor degree, research degree, or 'other' qualification in RE, Religion, or Theology. 35% of the sample (48 teachers) claimed to have some such qualification. However, only four of those who indicated that they had a bachelor degree (12 teachers; 9% of the sample) or higher certificate/diploma (7 teachers; 5% of the

sample) also indicated that they had completed an 'A' level in the subject. Although this is possible, it is unlikely that only 21% of those with an advanced degree or diploma in RE didn't also hold an A level in RE/RS. The figures suggest that many teachers may have misunderstood the question. We have no way of confirming such an assumption, but would be wise to treat any resultant data with caution.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS to compare the scores of teachers holding any qualification in RE (A level or higher) and those without qualifications against each of the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3. Full details of the results can be seen in Appendix 3. The results identify no statistically significant differences between the two groups of teachers. With the above qualification, we may therefore conclude that holding a qualification in RE does not affect a teacher's attitude towards Hallowe'en.

**Hypothesis 13:**        *In the primary school, KS1 and early years teachers feel more positive about the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the curriculum than their KS2 colleagues.*

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS to compare the scores of KS1 and Pre-school teachers with those of KS2 teachers and those who teach across both stages, against each of the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3. The results show no statistical differences between any of the three groups. Details of the results are shown in Appendix 3.

We may conclude then, that our results refute the above hypothesis, and suggest that age-group taught is not a significant variable in determining primary school teacher attitudes towards Hallowe'en.

**Hypothesis 14:**      ***Religious affiliation is a significant variable in determining teachers attitudes to Hallowe'en.***

A survey of the returned questionnaires indicated that 112 Christians had responded, 2 Muslims, 1 Jew, 1 Hindu, 1 Sikh, and 1 Other (not specified). Eighteen teachers identified themselves as not being affiliated to any religion. For purposes of analysis I decided to divide these into three groups: *Christians*, *Other religions*, and *No religion*. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS to compare the scores for each of the three groups against the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3. The results show statistically significant differences between groups at the 0.05 level on Factor 1 (literal beliefs about evil) and Factor 4 (negative about exploring the frightening-mysterious with children). However, no significant differences were apparent for Factor 2 or 3 or the combined F2+3 scores. These results therefore refute our hypothesis that religious affiliation will determine a teacher's attitude to Hallowe'en. On the other hand, the results do indicate differences in beliefs about evil, and in attitudes about the appropriateness of studying "dark" material with children. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test was carried out to explore where the differences lay between adherents of the three religious groups. The results indicate that statistical differences (at the 0.05 level) exist only between groups 1 and 3 (*Christians* and *No religion*). No significant differences exist between members of *other religions* and either of the other groups. These findings will be discussed in further detail when we consider the implications of the various findings of this survey in a later chapter.

**Hypothesis 15:**      *Non-conformist Christian teachers (eg. Baptist, United Reformed Church, Evangelical Free churches) are more negative about Hallowe'en than Christian teachers from conformist traditions (eg. Church of England, Roman Catholic).*

In the questionnaire, teachers who identified themselves as Christians were asked to say which denomination they were affiliated to. The options were: C.of E., Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, URC, and "other". 68% of participating Christians identified themselves as C.of E. or Roman Catholic, and 20% as Baptist, Methodist or URC. A further 10% of the Christians identified themselves as "other", and specified this as: *"brought up Methodist"; "Evangelical bible believing"; "CofE originally, now Evangelical"; "Christian- by upbringing"; Free church (x3); Evangelical Brethren; Pentecostal; Church of Scotland.*

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS to compare the scores for members of each of the different denominations against the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3 (See Appendix 3 for details). The results indicate statistically significant differences (all at the 0.01 level) on all Factors except Factor 5 (positive about the educational benefits of exploring the frightening-mysterious with children) and Factor 6 (teacher confidence and availability of resources).

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test was also carried out to explore where the differences lay between groups. The results indicate that, although there are often significant differences between C of E and Roman Catholic respondents and Baptists and 'Others', the scores of Methodists and URCs don't follow any similar pattern. It was therefore decided that respondents would be subdivided into three groups: *Conformist*



(Anglicans & Roman Catholics), *Non-conformist A* (Baptist & Others) and *Non-conformist B* (Methodists & URCs).

ANOVA and MANOVA tests were again carried out using these three denominational categories. Tables F and G below show the results of these tests.

Once again, the findings show very high level statistically significant differences between the group scores on all of the Factors except 5 and 6 (Table F). Interestingly, when the differences are compared between groups, we see that both other groups have significantly different scores from the *Non-conformist A* group (Baptists and ‘others’), but only the *Conformists* (Anglicans & Roman Catholics) vary significantly from the *Non-conformist A*’s. In other words, *Non-conformist B*’s (Methodists & URCs) are much more likely to hold similar beliefs and attitudes to those of the Anglicans and Roman Catholics than are the Baptists & ‘others’.

In conclusion, then, we may confidently say that some non-conformist Christian teachers will hold significantly more negative views about Hallowe’en than their conformist colleagues, but that this is not true for all non-conformists. In this respect, our hypothesis is only partially correct.

## DENOMINATIONAL SUBGROUPS

## ANOVA

		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b> Literal beliefs about evil	Between Groups	2	363.385	21.498	.000
<b>FACTOR2</b> Hostile towards Halloween	Between Groups	2	324.257	14.344	.000
<b>FACTOR3</b> Positive about educational potential of Hall'n	Between Groups	2	130.366	6.664	.002
<b>FACTOR4</b> Against exploring frightening myst with children	Between Groups	2	34.408	8.693	.000
<b>FACTOR5</b> Pro exploring frightening myst with children	Between Groups	2	2.315	.922	.401
<b>FACTOR6</b> Teacher confidence & resources	Between Groups	2	.828	.387	.680
<b>MeanF2_F3</b> Combined attit'de to HalloweenF2 +F3	Between Groups	2	5.774	14.607	.000

**Table F: showing analysis of variance (ANOVA) scores against each of the Factors for the denominational sub-groups, *Conformist* (CE & RC), *Non-conformist A* (Baptist and 'other') and *Non-conformist B* (Methodist & URC).**

## DENOMINATIONAL SUB-GROUPS

## Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable		(I) Denominational Sub-groups	(J) Denominational Sub-groups	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b> Literal beliefs about evil	Tukey HSD	Conformist (CE/RC)	Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	6.25(*)	.953	.000
		Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	Conformist (CE/RC)	-6.25(*)	.953	.000
			Non-conformist B (Meth/URC)	-4.82(*)	1.538	.006
<b>FACTOR2</b> Hostile towards Halloween	Tukey HSD	Conformist (CE/RC)	Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	5.50(*)	1.100	.000
		Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	Conformist (CE/RC)	-5.50(*)	1.100	.000
			Non-conformist B (Meth/URC)	-7.14(*)	1.779	.000
<b>FACTOR3</b> Hostile towards Halloween	Tukey HSD	Conformist (CE/RC)	Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	-3.42(*)	1.023	.003
		Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	Conformist (CE/RC)	3.42(*)	1.023	.003
			Non-conformist B (Meth/URC)	4.70(*)	1.655	.015
<b>FACTOR4</b> Against exploring frightening myst with children	Tukey HSD	Conformist (CE/RC)	Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	1.89(*)	.459	.000
		Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	Conformist (CE/RC)	-1.89(*)	.459	.000
			Non-conformist B (Meth/URC)	-1.84(*)	.744	.040

MeanF2_F3	Tukey HSD	Conformist (CE/RC)	Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	.7214(*)	.14544	.000
Combined attitude to Halloween (F2 +F3)		Non-conformist A (Bapt/other)	Conformist (CE/RC)	-.7214(*)	.14544	.000
			Non-conformist B (Meth/URC)	-.9873(*)	.23525	.000

\* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

**Table G: showing statistically significant scores only from a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test against each of the Factors for the denominational sub-groups: *Conformist* (CE & RC), *Non-conformist A* (Baptist and ‘other’) and *Non-conformist B* (Methodist & URC).**

**Hypothesis 16:**      *Regular church-going Christians are more negative about Hallowe’en than infrequent attendees.*

Teachers completing the questionnaire were asked to state whether they attended a church or other place of worship, and if so, whether this was weekly, monthly, occasionally, infrequently, or, never. Those who had identified themselves as Christian were selected out from the total sample. These were then divided into three groups: those who attended a place of worship weekly or monthly were regarded as attending *regularly*. Those who stated that they attended infrequently or never were classed as *infrequent/never*. The occasional attendance group were classified as *occasional*.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS to compare scores on the basis of regularity of attendance against the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3 (See Appendix 3 for details). The results indicate statistically significant differences (all at greater than the 0.01 level) on Factors 1 (literal belief in evil), 2 (hostile to Hallowe’en), 6 (teacher confidence and availability of resources), and F2+3 (the combined *attitude to Hallowe’en* score from Factors 2 and 3).

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test was also carried out to explore where the differences lay between groups. The results indicate that, for all of the above Factors, highly significant differences (greater than 0.01) exist between regular church attenders and the two other groups, whereas there are no significant differences between the occasional and the infrequent/never attendees. See Table H below for details.

The results confirm our hypothesis that regular church-going Christians are more negative in their response to Hallowe'en than are occasional or infrequent church attenders.

The results also suggest that those who attend church regularly feel more confident to help children with the religious questions raised by Hallowe'en, and they are more likely to believe in the literal existence of evil entities. The implication of the former statement is unfortunate. It suggests that the teachers who feel most confident to consider the religious issues raised by Hallowe'en are the very same teachers who are most hostile towards Hallowe'en and its inclusion in the school curriculum. We will consider this further in the next chapter.

Attendance Frequency		Multiple Comparisons				
Dependent Variable		(I) Attendance frequency	(J) Attendance frequency	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
FACTOR1 Literal beliefs about evil	Tukey HSD	Regular	Occasional	-4.89(*)	1.032	.000
			Infrequent/never	-4.35(*)	1.002	.000
		Occasional	Regular	4.89(*)	1.032	.000
			Infrequent/never	.54	1.111	.880
		Infrequent/never	Regular	4.35(*)	1.002	.000
			Occasional	-.54	1.111	.880
FACTOR2 Hostile towards Halloween	Tukey HSD	Regular	Occasional	-4.80(*)	1.087	.000
			Infrequent/never	-6.07(*)	1.067	.000
		Occasional	Regular	4.80(*)	1.087	.000
			Infrequent/never	-1.27	1.172	.527
		Infrequent/never	Regular	6.07(*)	1.067	.000
			Occasional	1.27	1.172	.527
FACTOR6 Teacher confidence & resources	Tukey HSD	Regular	Occasional	1.17(*)	.328	.002
			Infrequent/never	1.08(*)	.325	.003
		Occasional	Regular	-1.17(*)	.328	.002
			Infrequent/never	-.08	.355	.970
		Infrequent/never	Regular	-1.08(*)	.325	.003
			Occasional	.08	.355	.970
Mean F2_F3 Combined attitude to Halloween (F2 +F3)	Tukey HSD	Regular	Occasional	-.5526(*)	.15308	.001
			Infrequent/never	-.6010(*)	.15018	.000
		Occasional	Regular	.5526(*)	.15308	.001
			Infrequent/never	-.0484	.16504	.954
		Infrequent/never	Regular	.6010(*)	.15018	.000
			Occasional	.0484	.16504	.954

\* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

**Table H: showing multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test results against each of the Factors for church attendance where there are statistically significant scores.**

**Hypothesis 17:**      *Teachers holding a literalist interpretation of supernatural and occult phenomena are more negative towards Hallowe'en than those who interpret such things from other perspectives.*

Six items were included in section five of the teacher questionnaire which sought to identify teachers' interpretative styles with regard to frightening-mysterious phenomena such as ghosts, witches, spirits, devils, etc. There were two items each for three interpretation styles: sceptical/dismissive (*Ghosts, spirits and devils only exist in people's imaginations*, and, *People's experiences of ghosts and spirits usually have simple*

*psychological explanations*); literalist (*The devil is a very real spiritual being, and, Evil spirits can inhabit people who play with occult powers*); and metaphorical (*Ghosts, spirits and devils are powerful psychological realities, and, Ghosts and witches are best understood as representing primitive human fears of the unknown*).

These styles or modes of interpreting occult phenomena were not identified on the basis of previously established scientific research, or according to a particular theoretical framework. Rather, they were an attempt to offer a range of interpretive options.

Our Factor Analysis (see above) had identified as Factor 1, the responses of teachers to these six questions, with positive scores for the two literalist items and *Ghosts, spirits and devils are powerful psychological realities*, and negative scores for the two sceptical/dismissive items and, *Ghosts and witches are best understood as representing primitive human fears of the unknown*. Factor 1 scores might therefore be considered as a good measure of a teacher's leanings towards a literalist interpretation of supernatural and occult phenomena. A comparison of this with the same teacher's score on Factors 2 (hostility to Hallowe'en) and 2+3 (combined *attitude to Hallowe'en* score) should show if there was any correlation between their interpretive style and their attitude toward Hallowe'en.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS to explore what correlations might exist between the responses of teachers to these two Factors. The results are shown in Table I below.

These results strongly support our hypothesis that teachers holding a literalist interpretation of the supernatural are more negative in their attitudes towards Hallowe'en than those who interpret such phenomena from other perspectives.

## LITERALIST BELIEFS &amp; ATTITUDE TO HALLOWEENANOVA

FACTOR1 Literalist beliefs about evil		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR2	Between Groups	22	69.920	3.493	.000
MeanF2_F3	Between Groups	22	.960	2.288	.003

**Table I: showing correlations between Factor 1 (*literalist beliefs about evil*) and Factor 2 (*hostile to Halloween*) and F2+3 (*combined attitude to Halloween*) scores.**

**Hypothesis 18:**      *Theological perspective is a significant variable for determining teachers' attitudes to Hallowe'en.*

The final item of the questionnaire asked teachers to tick those options which best described their *general religious outlook*. Fourteen options were given, with the opportunity to add their own words or phrases if those offered did not seem sufficient. The fourteen options offered were not selected on the basis of any academic theory or systematic framework. However, they were intended to offer a broad range of recognisable theological perspectives by which both Christians and others could categorise themselves. Most teachers (96%) ticked at least one of the options given, and many (33%) ticked more than one option.

The most popular responses were: *traditional* (40), *freethinker* (31), and *liberal* (29). Many of the respondents had ticked several combinations of the options, *evangelical*, *charismatic* and *fundamentalist*, so I decided to group together all of these responses as a single group of 28 respondents. Likewise, several teachers had ticked the combination of *agnostic* and *sceptic*, so I again combined these two responses to make a single category (of 21 respondents). Because of the low numbers of teachers who ticked the other

categories (*catholic*- 8; *orthodox*- 2; *radical/social*- 6; *atheist*- 4, these were not included in the detailed analysis.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out using SPSS to compare scores for the five different groups named above against the 6 Factors and the combined scores of Factors 2 and 3. Table J below shows the scores which were significantly significant at the 0.05 level or above. Appendix 3 gives the full details for each of the five groups.

The results show that teachers who describe themselves as *evangelical/charismatic /fundamentalist* are most different from others in their responses to questionnaire items.

Their responses vary significantly from others in respect of Factor 1 (they hold more literalist beliefs about evil), Factor 2 (they are more hostile towards Hallowe'en), Factor 4 (they are more negative about exploring the frightening-mysterious with children), Factor 6 (they score more highly on teacher confidence & sufficiency of resources), and F2+3 (their combined attitude to Hallowe'en score is more negative). Those who describe themselves as *Freethinkers* have the second greatest variation in questionnaire responses.

Their responses are significantly different in respect of Factor 1 (they are less likely to hold literalist beliefs about evil), Factor 2 (less likely to be hostile towards Hallowe'en), Factor 5 (more positive about exploring the frightening-mysterious with children), and F2+3 (more positive in their combined attitude to Hallowe'en score). Those describing themselves as *traditionalist* vary only in respect of their responses to Factor 3

questionnaire items (they are more positive about the educational potential of Hallowe'en), and those describing themselves as *sceptic and/or agnostic* have differences in their responses to Factor 1 items (they are significantly less likely to hold literalist beliefs about evil), and Factor 2 (they are significantly less likely to be hostile towards Hallowe'en). Interestingly, those who classify themselves as *liberal* have no statistical differences from others.



Religious Perspective		Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)			
EVANGELICAL/CHARISMATIC/ FUNDAMENTALIST		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	1	1278.738	103.100	.000
FACTOR2	Between Groups	1	1081.720	52.967	.000
FACTOR4	Between Groups	1	88.527	22.745	.000
FACTOR6	Between Groups	1	14.531	7.410	.007
MeanF2_F3	Between Groups	1	11.094	25.903	.000
TRADITIONALIST		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR3	Between Groups	1	84.831	4.040	.046
FREETHINKER		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	1	106.132	5.002	.027
FACTOR2	Between Groups	1	238.971	8.946	.003
FACTOR5	Between Groups	1	9.496	4.158	.043
MeanF2_F3	Between Groups	1	3.252	6.679	.011
LIBERAL		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
					N/A
SCEPTIC/AGNOSTIC		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	1	95.514	4.484	.036
FACTOR2	Between Groups	1	157.793	5.776	.018

**Table J: showing all statistically significant scores above the 0.05 level from the analysis of variance (ANOVA) test results for religious perspective against each of the given Factors. (Each line shows the variance between the scores of those who ticked this word/s to describe themselves and those who did not.)**

In respect of our original hypothesis then, the evidence would suggest that theological perspective, at least insofar as it is presented in this study, is to some extent a significant variable in determining teacher attitudes towards Hallowe'en. In particular, those who are evangelical, charismatic and/or fundamentalist are likely to hold negative attitudes towards Hallowe'en, and those who call themselves *freethinkers*, *sceptical* or *agnostic* are likely to hold more positive attitudes towards the festival. Those describing themselves as *traditionalists* in this study were also more likely to see the educational potential of Hallowe'en.

**Hypothesis 19:**        *Teachers holding the most negative views about Hallowe'en are those who have been influenced by religious teachings specifically on the subject.*

Questionnaire respondents were asked to identify from a list of ten options those outside influences which had most shaped their own attitudes and beliefs towards Hallowe'en.

There was also space for teachers to add additional sources of outside influence if the list was felt to be inadequate. Twenty-four teachers (17%) gave additional comments. These included: *my faith/upbringing; the Bible (x5); American television (x2); anti-social behaviour witnessed; dislike for knocking on doors at night; own childhood experiences (x4); nothing! (x2); diocesan guidance when working in a church school.* Some respondents wrote at length in response to the question, usually to describe their own experience of the festival as a child.

Table K below shows the average *Attitude to Hallowe'en* scores of teachers on the basis of what they claim have been the major influences on their attitudes and beliefs about Hallowe'en. Each of the individual influences have been grouped together under the headings of religious influences, media influences, people influences, and, other influences. Informal discussions and general reading are the most commonly identified influences on teachers (51% and 46% of the total sample, respectively). However, for the 11-12% of our sample who read them, evangelical leaflets/magazines and religious books on the subject are clearly the most powerful influences on teachers' attitudes and beliefs about the festival. Teachers who identified these two influences as having helped to shape their attitudes and beliefs are also the ones who hold the most negative attitudes towards Hallowe'en.

These findings would support our hypothesis that teachers who have been influenced by religious materials which are specifically on the topic of Hallowe'en are likely to hold particularly negative views about Hallowe'en.

#### MAJOR EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

<b>Factor 2 Hostile towards Halloween</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Religious influences	713.704	30.724	.000
Media influences	8.287	.288	.592
People influences	10.842	.378	.540
Other influences	1.448	.050	.823
<b>F2+3 Combined att. to Halloween score</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Religious influences	5.101	10.656	.001
Media influences	.101	.195	.659
People influences	.530	1.031	.312
Other influences	.258	.500	.481

**Table K: showing analysis of variance (ANOVA) scores according to sources of external influence on teachers for Factor 2 (*hostile towards Hallowe'en*) and F2+3 (*combined attitude to Hallowe'en score*).**

**Hypothesis 20:**        *Teachers who express an anti-Hallowe'en stance are also more hostile towards general exploration of the 'frightening-mysterious' with children.*

For the purposes of this study I have coined the term *frightening-mysterious*, intending it to be seen as no more than a short-hand expression for those aspects of life which are to do with the mysterious (i.e. the non-material world of unseen forces), but which also elicit fear or foreboding (as opposed to mere surprise or fascination). In this study I wished to

test the hypothesis that teachers who were uncomfortable with teaching about Hallowe'en were likely also to be uncomfortable about teaching anything which had connections with the frightening-mysterious.

Six of the items which were included in Section 5 of the questionnaire sought to illicit responses from teachers to this dimension. Three of the items offered a negative reaction (*Stories about witches and ghosts create unnecessary fears in children; Talking about witches & ghosts often increases children's fear of the unknown; It is unwise for an individual to explore the dark side of him/her self*). The other three offered a positive perspective (*Children need to explore their fears about frightening and mysterious things; Fairy tales with witches and ghosts help to resolve children's subconscious fears of the unknown; Mature people will acknowledge the mystery of evil as well as the mystery of love*).

Factor analysis (see above) had previously identified all of the above negative items as components of Factor 4 and the positive ones as Factor 5. A study of the correlations between teacher's scores for Factor 2 (*hostile to Hallowe'en*) and F2+3 (*combined attitude to Hallowe'en score*) with their scores for Factors 4 and 5 should therefore tell us whether our hypothesis is correct.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was carried out to compare the scores of low and high-scoring Factor 2 (*hostile towards Hallowe'en*) and F2+3 (*combined attitude to Hallowe'en*) teachers with their Factor 4 (*anti frightening-mysterious*) and Factor 5 (*pro frightening-mysterious*) scores. Table L below provides a summary of the results.

ANTI-HALLOWEEN cf. ANTI-FRIGHTENING-MYSTERIOUS		ANOVA			
FACTOR2 Hostile to Halloween		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR4	Between Groups	21	9.001	2.421	.002
FACTOR5	Between Groups	21	2.554	1.112	.347
F2+3 Combined Att to Halloween score		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR4	Between Groups	46	7.548	2.528	.000
FACTOR5	Between Groups	44	2.627	1.197	.235

**Table L: showing results of analysis of variance (ANOVA) test comparing scores of high or low-scoring Factor 2 (*hostile towards Hallowe'en*) and F2+3 (*combined attitude to Hallowe'en*) teachers with their Factor 4 (*anti frightening-mysterious*) and Factor 5 (*pro frightening-mysterious*) scores.**

The results show that there is a strong statistical correlation between the two scores for both Factor 2 and F2+3 in respect of Factor 4 (*negative about exploring frightening-mysterious with children*), but not in respect of Factor 5 (*positive about exploring the frightening-mysterious with children*). In other words, these results do confirm our hypothesis that teachers who are hostile about teaching Hallowe'en are also likely to be hostile about teaching the frightening-mysterious.

In the next chapter we will consider the implications of these various results.

# **HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:**

## **Chapter 8**

### **Discussion of results**

#### **Summary of findings:**

In chapter 3 of this study I outlined twenty hypotheses concerning Hallowe'en. They related to the inclusion or non-inclusion of Hallowe'en in English primary schools, and the factors that were likely to influence a teacher's attitude to the festival. A questionnaire was devised to test each of these hypotheses. From the responses of 138 teachers in 28 schools, the following may be surmised:

1. Primary schools avoid reference to Hallowe'en- in assemblies, in the classroom and in general school life.
2. School type (voluntary or community) may be significant for the inclusion of Hallowe'en in school life, but does not affect the attitude of teachers to it.
3. Teachers who have taught about Hallowe'en are likely to have done so before the mid-1980's.
4. Teachers don't include Hallowe'en in the curriculum because: a) they consider it an inappropriate study topic; b) they consider it to be against school and/or LEA policy; c) it is not part of their agreed curriculum; d) they believe that parents would complain if it was included.

5. Teachers who hold a view about the prevalence of occult activity in the area around their school are more hostile towards its inclusion in the curriculum.
6. Teachers with leadership responsibility in a school are more negative about the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the curriculum than other teachers.
7. By itself, religious affiliation is not a useful predictor of a teacher's attitude towards Hallowe'en.
8. Christian teachers hold more literalist beliefs about evil than those of no faith, and they are more reluctant to explore 'dark', *frightening-mysterious* material with children.
9. In particular, Baptists and Christians from other evangelical denominations are more hostile towards Hallowe'en than Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists or members of the United Reformed Church.
10. Christian teachers who attend church regularly are more hostile towards Hallowe'en than those who attend less frequently.
11. Teachers holding literalist beliefs about evil are more hostile towards Hallowe'en than those who interpret evil in other ways.
12. Teachers who consider themselves evangelical, charismatic and/or fundamentalist are particularly hostile towards Hallowe'en.
13. Teachers who consider themselves freethinkers, sceptical or agnostic are less hostile towards Hallowe'en than other teachers.
14. The external influences which are most likely to have made teachers hostile towards Hallowe'en are those of a religious nature, including religious books, evangelical leaflets/magazines, and sermons on the subject.
15. Teachers who are hostile towards Hallowe'en are also hostile to the inclusion of any exploration of the *frightening-mysterious* with children.

16. A teacher's attitude towards Hallowe'en is not correlated to their gender, the age group they teach, or the academic qualifications they hold in RE.

The above results are based on a limited sample, and represent schools from just three local authorities in the south-east of England. However, they are not out of keeping with expectations. We may therefore consider them as helpful statistical evidence to confirm anecdotal assumptions.

#### **Avoidance of Hallowe'en in English primary schools:**

It does seem remarkable that, at the time of a national annual festival, only 11% of schools make reference to Hallowe'en in their assemblies, and only 14% of teachers refer to it in their classroom teaching, with the majority of these (83%) only doing so in response to children's questions. Only 5 teachers out of 138 intentionally included reference to the subject in their curriculum work.

#### **Reasons given for this avoidance:**

It is also enlightening to consider the reasons given for this avoidance. Almost half of the teachers feel it is an inappropriate topic of study for children, and a third of teachers believe that it is counter to school or LEA policy to teach it. Although some LEA's have issued guidance concerning Hallowe'en, this is usually to encourage sensitivity, and to bring awareness of the powerful emotions that the festival can evoke rather than to proscribe it. I have yet to see any LEA guidance that bans the teaching of Hallowe'en. For that matter, I have yet to see any individual school policy documentation in respect of Hallowe'en at all! That is not to suggest that such policies do not exist. For this particular study I did not ask participating schools to provide me with any existing school



documentation on the subject, but it is interesting that none offered any, or even made reference to such at the time when I spoke with headteachers to arrange for the study to be carried out.

Another third of teachers gave as the reason for not including Hallowe'en in assemblies or classwork that it did not fit with the theme or topic for that week or term. A very reasonable question to ask would be, *Why not?* It would be unthinkable not to make reference to Christmas at the appropriate time, and, in most schools, to Diwali and Eid etc. Nowadays it is common practice for schools to follow termly assembly plans, identifying the key occasions and festivals throughout the term. Hallowe'en falls within a cluster of annual British events which all revolve around the theme of darkness and death, including Remembrance Sunday, Remembrance Day, and Guy Fawkes, and it would seem appropriate that these should be considered in some way as part of the curriculum for our children.

### **Other proposed reasons for avoiding Hallowe'en**

A study of the literature produced by various Christian lobby groups who published materials in the late-1980s on this theme, indicates that the main arguments they give for avoiding the celebration or study of Hallowe'en are:

- Various Bible passages explicitly warn against occult involvement
- Spiritual powers are very real and very powerful, and can be unwittingly unleashed by people who dabble in occult activity
- As a result, occult activity may lead to mental, physical and spiritual harm
- Even apparently harmless, fun activities, can seductively ignite deeper involvement in the occult

- Portraying evil in a light-hearted way distorts reality and confuses children

### **The assertion that it will ignite interest in the occult**

Although this common thread of arguments permeates most of the material published at that time, there is considerable variety in the sophistication and complexity of their presentation styles. We must not assume that they are all from the lunatic-fringe.

One of the arguments which is core to almost all of the various publications against the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the school curriculum however, is the assertion that it could spark off in children an unhealthy interest in the more macabre and unsavoury expressions of occult activity in our society. If true, it is clearly adequate reason for teachers to restrain themselves from too quick a determination to explore the fascinating world of Hallowe'en with children. However, the proposition would be an interesting thesis for scientific enquiry. Would a classroom study of everyday Hallowe'en activities actually evoke a growing interest in more malevolent practices? Or is the opposite more likely to be the case? Put the other way, if the subject was avoided in school, as at present, would this provoke even greater interest in the subject? My personal view is that such an investigation would conclude that open exploration of these issues provides the most healthy outcome for school-children of all ages. In this study we can only raise the question. However, it would be a fascinating area for further enquiry.

### **The assertion that it can unsettle sensitive children**

A further argument given in local education authority and diocesan publications for caution in teaching about Hallowe'en, is the assertion that it could be upsetting and unsettling for children who have a particular sensitivity in this area. Precisely what is meant by such sensitivity is never elaborated in the publications I have seen, but I would

assume that it refers to children who feel particularly uncomfortable dealing with the topic of personal fears within a classroom context- for whatever reasons. If this is the case, then clearly, the same argument could be used with regard to the inclusion of several other topics within the classroom: anger, pain, death, alcoholism, terminal diseases, drug abuse, sexual abuse, etc. There is no doubt that all of these topics could be particularly difficult for children who are faced with scenarios from their own experience in which any of these concerns has been a cause of pain. The generally accepted response to such experiences within the primary school classroom however, is not to avoid the issues, leaving the child to address the concerns on their own, but rather, for the teacher to sensitively offer opportunities for the wounded child to work through the pain, finding new ways to live with the hurtful and damaging traumas of the past. With very young children, this is often best done obliquely through stories. Later, opportunities for more explicit discussion of the concerns may be more appropriate. Sensitive teachers develop an innate ability to know their particular children, and to do what is right for the moment. In respect of a classroom study of Hallowe'en, it would be interesting to know what kind of children, if any, might experience particular difficulties in facing the issues raised by the festival. It would be interesting to compare whether it was most advantageous for children to face any fears that the festival evoked in them by a study of the topic, or whether they fared better left alone to work through their concerns by themselves or with their families. Once again, such considerations are beyond the scope of this study, although my tentative assumption until evidence is provided to the contrary, is that in this respect, Hallowe'en should be treated in the same way as all other such sensitive topics.

### **Ambivalence as a reason for avoidance:**

After consideration of the issue for some time, I have come to the conclusion that teachers and education administrators simply don't know how to respond to the festival. Many adults feel considerable ambivalence about Hallowe'en anyway: they don't feel comfortable with its themes of darkness and spirits, and they don't like the practice of trick-or-treating. However, they also recognise that there is something which is emotionally appropriate about the festival, recognising as it does the coming of winter, and the dark threat of cold months ahead till the coming of spring. The situation is complicated by the fact that there are some in our society who agitate strongly about the dangers inherent in Hallowe'en-associated practices.

Perhaps the easiest way forward for busy classroom teachers has been to simply go with the flow, to take the line of least resistance, and to ignore the festival completely.

Likewise, for headteachers and senior managers who otherwise risk complaints from parents or critical inspectors, again, perhaps the safest route is simply to treat the festival as if it didn't exist. It would require a more in-depth, qualitative study with teachers to determine whether or not my thesis is correct, but I consider this to be the most convincing explanation for the avoidance of Hallowe'en in schools during the few weeks prior to autumn half-term.

### **What is best for children?**

One question which still troubles me as I have considered the above however is, *Is this approach the most appropriate and helpful one for children?* Avoidance no doubt solves a very difficult issue for teachers, but is it in the best interests of the children?

### **Parallels with sex and drugs education:**

If we were to draw a parallel with other areas where adults have similar concerns for children, we might consider how schools deal with the issues surrounding sex and drugs education. In both cases, the prevailing wisdom is that these topics are best faced head-on with school-children, rather than left for parents to deal with as they think fit in the context of their own homes. Why is Hallowe'en not treated similarly?

### **The need for resources:**

I would suggest that most schools, if presented with the proposition that they were expected to deal with the complex issues raised by Hallowe'en, including the religious and moral questions which it raises in our present social context, would react in the same way that society has to drugs and sex education. In other words, they would consider that these were areas too sensitive and difficult for ordinary classroom teachers, and experts from outside (in the same way that the school nurse and community policeman give input on sex and drugs) would be sought. In addition, I think that teachers might appropriately demand additional training and support for the task, including INSET, planning materials, and classroom/pupil resources.

### **Overcoming teacher resistance or insecurity:**

In our study, more than a third (35%) of teachers admitted to feelings of insecurity in dealing with the religious issues surrounding Hallowe'en. The study also showed that those teachers who attend church regularly (and, who therefore might be assumed to have more confidence in dealing with the religious issues surrounding Hallowe'en) are those who are most hostile towards the festival, and therefore possibly unwilling to teach about it.

The point I wish to make is simply that, if any teaching about Hallowe'en within the curriculum is required which demands more than just a superficial reference to the festival (such as making masks, counting pumpkin seeds, making lanterns) there is likely to be an issue of classroom resources and teacher confidence/competence to address. I wish to argue that this is a task which needs to be done, and to be done with some urgency.

**The wider issue of exploring the *frightening-mysterious* with children:**

The study has identified a further issue of educational concern which is closely related to the issue of Hallowe'en within the school curriculum. Questionnaire responses indicate that there is a strong correlation between a teacher's attitude to Hallowe'en and his/her attitude generally towards exploration of the 'dark' side of everyday experience, what I have termed the *frightening-mysterious*. Furthermore, the study shows a significant link between teacher beliefs about the nature of evil, and their willingness to explore frightening-mysterious phenomena with children. Those teachers who perceive evil entities to exist in a literalistic sense are also quite unwilling to consider this in an educational way with young children. In other words, there is a reluctance to explore anything related to the *frightening-mysterious*, Hallowe'en included.

**A bigger issue than just Hallowe'en:**

If this is so, the matter would appear to be much more than simply a question of whether or not Hallowe'en should be studied in school. It is rather a matter of world-view, and different perceptions of actual and imminent threat. Teachers holding a literalistic interpretation of evil appear to have strongly held views on the subject, but, for whatever reasons, do not feel that it would be appropriate for them to discuss these matters with

children in the school context. It is these same teachers who are most hostile towards the inclusion of Hallowe'en in the curriculum. For such teachers, it must also presumably be unsettling that books and films such as the Harry Potter series attract such wide appeal. Clearly, this quantitative study can only highlight these issues as an area for further exploration. A more qualitative survey of teachers' attitudes and perceptions would be required before any definitive statements could be made on the subject.

### **What is most helpful for children?**

Just as is the case with drugs and sex education, there are likely to be some teachers who have greater aversion to tackling particularly sensitive subjects with children than others. This should not divert us from returning to the question raised above however: *What is most helpful for children?*

### **The purpose of education & schooling:**

The answer we give to this question will no doubt depend on how we perceive the purpose and function of schooling. If it is essentially to introduce children to the contemporary world of adulthood, then it is unlikely that Hallowe'en will be given much space, because, as we have seen in previous chapters, Hallowe'en is essentially a childhood festival. If, on the other hand, school is seen as a place to help children make sense their world, then it must be given appropriate recognition.

### **Consequences of ignoring Hallowe'en:**

My purpose in presenting this study is not first and foremost to propose that Hallowe'en be reinstated in the school curriculum, but rather to raise the question, *Are we doing what is best for children by leaving it out?* Part of any consideration in response to this

question must be the matter of consequences. What are the consequences of not including a study of Hallowe'en in the school curriculum?

Once again, this study does not attempt a full and definitive response to this question. However, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the implicit message to children of any such avoidance is that Hallowe'en is a taboo subject for discussion with adults. If we accept this assumption, then any avoidance of Hallowe'en in schools is likely to lend more power to the festival, increasing its attractiveness and highlighting its numinous quality for children who are drawn by *taboo*.

**Providing support for sensitive children:**

Already during Hallowe'en, the darkness of the evening and the threshold nature of activities (door to door visits etc) evokes a sense of fear. Different children obviously respond to such experiences in varying ways. Some children, because of their particular sensitivities or past personal experiences, may be more adversely affected by such frightening contexts than others. Not being able to discuss and explore these feelings with adults might actually increase the vulnerability of precisely those children who are considered most at risk in such contexts. This state of affairs would work against every other effort on the part of schools to care for the special and particular individual needs of children. Including Hallowe'en in the curriculum in this way might ensure that children were offered help and support with precisely those emotional and social concerns that were of most significance to them at a particular time in the year.



### **Too sensitive a topic for schools?**

On the other hand, the above argument highlights very clearly the potentially sensitive nature of the religious, psychological and social issues surrounding Hallowe'en. On the one hand, teachers risk opening up children's psychological fears and traumas, perhaps beyond the teacher's own experience or comfort levels, and on the other, is the risk of opening up a range of truth-claims and world-views within the classroom, which again, the teacher might feel is beyond their capacity to adequately assess and comfortably consider. Is it fair or appropriate to expect non-RE specialist primary teachers to deal with these complex and sensitive topics within a classroom context? When even adults seem to find it hard to debate together their differing viewpoints on issues such as death and evil, is it appropriate to encourage the potentially upsetting expression of differences of opinion on these issues within the classroom?

### **Considering religious and truth claims:**

It is perhaps this latter point which is core to the difficulties that teachers might have in consideration of the religious questions raised by Hallowe'en, namely that the religious debate ultimately comes down to one of truth-claims. Although the case made against Hallowe'en has also centred around the perceived social and moral dangers, one of the most frightening threats has been that children could be drawn into occult involvement where they might actually be inhabited by evil powers. The world-view that this understanding represents is significantly different from that where evil is interpreted as being the projection of our own ego-defences, an externalisation of the evil that is actually a part of our own inner self. The basis of the first position is that this is the reality of our situation: such evil beings or powers actually exist and they are very

dangerous. Any discussion with those holding alternative interpretations thus ultimately comes down to one of debate over what is actually true.

Andrew Wright (Wright, 2000), has argued that most contemporary RE teaching reflects a post-modern mindset in which alternative and competing philosophies and truth-claims are offered side by side without serious attempt being made to consider the issue of truth. If primary teachers are uncomfortable with or inexperienced in enabling discussion at this level in the classroom context, then it is unlikely that they will wish to engage with the issue of truth-claims in respect of occult or other supernatural phenomena. In other words, if Andrew Wright's assertion is correct, then it is no wonder that teachers are reluctant to consider with children the religious issues raised by Hallowe'en.

# **HALLOWE'EN IN SCHOOLS:**

## **Chapter 9**

### **Concluding comments and areas for further study**

In the previous chapter I summarised the key findings of a questionnaire survey that was designed to identify the extent to which Hallowe'en is included in the English primary school curriculum. The same questionnaire seeks to elicit the attitudes of primary school teachers towards the festival. Within the limits identified in previous chapters, the results confirm anecdotal advice that the subject is being ignored, and that many teachers are hostile towards it.

The survey was carried out in 1998. Telephone calls to a randomly selected handful of the same teachers in 1999 indicated that the position in each of the selected schools remained unchanged a year later. Having myself now moved to a new location, the indications are that schools in the East Midlands are no different from those in the South East in this respect. Even more interesting would be to discover if the practice was any different in those areas of the country where Hallowe'en was traditionally most strongly embedded into the local history and culture (ie. areas of the North, West and South West).

In the previous chapter, I considered the question, *Is such exclusion of Hallowe'en from the primary school curriculum in the best interests of children?* After consideration of the various arguments, I conclude that the balance of evidence is in favour of appropriate inclusion of the topic in our primary schools.

I believe one of the main arguments for studying Hallowe'en with primary school children is the fact that it is a significant part of their everyday experience. Personal experience is always an ideal place to begin from in classroom teaching and learning. I also believe that children find the subject interesting. However, to my knowledge, no studied attempt has ever been made to compare the contents proposed in guidance materials produced for teachers of religious education with what children themselves claim to find most interesting about religions and spirituality. Studies by the Religious Experience Research Centre, Oxford (formerly the Alistair Hardy Institute), would suggest that there is a significant disparity between the two. Even though this present study does not specifically attempt to further that particular exploration, I hope that it serves to highlight the need for the question to be faced and honest answers provided.

### **Superficial and serious exploration of the festival**

The subject-matter of Hallowe'en can be included in the curriculum at two different levels however. I would suggest that, if children's education is to be taken seriously, both of these levels of study are important. Hallowe'en can be included at an incidental, or superficial, level whereby its practices and themes might easily be substituted for any other objects of study. Activities might include designing and making pumpkin lanterns, writing poems about apple-bobbing, etc.

The topic might also be included at a far more significant and sophisticated level. Examples of this include activities where pupils begin to consider the fear of the unknown, the moral implications of Hallowe'en practices, the psychological impact of trick and treating on different social groups, and issues surrounding death and the supernatural. The latter kind of study is not without its difficulties, in view of the variety of strong opinions that are held on the subject, and because of the sensitivity that is required in handling matters of truth about religious issues within the school context.

In view of the above, it would seem to me that if teachers are to be encouraged to explore the topic seriously with children, they should be provided with appropriate resources for doing so. I believe that there are a number of ways in which teachers could be helped in this respect, and further research would help to determine the most appropriate ways forward.

### **Providing support and training for teachers**

Firstly, there is a need to win over hearts and minds. This research has shown that there are presently a significant number of teachers who are hostile towards the inclusion of this topic in the classroom, and for whom a convincing case therefore needs to be made as to why present practice is inappropriate. The task could be made much easier by providing excellent worked examples of how the subject could be appropriately dealt with at each Key Stage. Sadly, at present, there is very little which is of help to teachers if they wish to explore the topic in their classroom.

Secondly, teachers need additional training and the opportunity to reflect together on

the subject. This study has shown that there are significant numbers of teachers who presently do not feel sufficiently confident to tackle these deeper-level themes with children. Almost half of the teachers in this survey admitted to feelings of insecurity or of uncertainty about their confidence in handling the religious questions raised by the practices and issues surrounding Hallowe'en. Such concerns must be taken seriously. There is a need to identify precisely what support teachers would most benefit from in preparing them to teach about Hallowe'en, and there is a need for advisers and trainers who themselves feel adequately prepared to tackle such potentially volatile issues.

One particular insight that would be helpful to teachers would be a greater knowledge of the facts concerning participation of children in Hallowe'en activities, and the general attitudes of children towards the festival. As well as providing an interesting classroom activity that teachers could carry out for themselves, from my own point of view as a researcher, it would be enlightening to know more about the actual practice and viewpoints of the children who attended the various schools represented in my survey. Comparing such information with the practice & perspectives of the teachers in the same schools might provide powerful evidence for the case being made in this study.

One focus for such further work could be to explore whether all or certain aspects of this topic were of particular interest to girls or boys. A survey of Swedish teenagers in their final year of compulsory schooling in 1993, suggests that there might be significant differences between older boys and girls in this respect. When asked to write on, *What is most important to you in your life?* girls wrote about thoughts of

love, solidarity with the weak and outcasts, religion, and security in relationships with others. Boys on the other hand wrote about uncertainty in matters of faith and objectivity, atheism, and an interest in the supernatural (Ericksson, 2000). Is the same true for British primary school pupils? And if so, are we doing boys a particular disservice by not including Hallowe'en in the curriculum?

### **The wisdom of a whole-school approach**

Because the topic of Hallowe'en continues to evoke such strong reactions from many parents and teachers, it is important for schools wishing to include the subject in their curriculum to formalise a school policy on the approach that they intend to take and the content that they plan to cover. In some instances, the range of views between various interested parties may prove hard to accommodate into an agreed whole-school policy. Where this is the case, it would be helpful for governors to have access to external support, such as the local education authority Religious Education Adviser, where this advice still exists. Alternatively, it would be helpful for local education authorities to provide detailed, supportive material such as that provided by Cambridgeshire Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (SACRE).

### **The case for exploring Hallowe'en**

For me, the education process is about pushing out boundaries. Good schooling presents us with fresh information and novel experiences. We are stretched by seeing new ideas, facing new challenges, recognising the limits of our previous perspectives. We grow when we press outwards, beyond our present comfort levels. In other words, we must take risks. I believe that good religious education makes us vulnerable. It challenges our worldview. It also helps us to affirm what we do

believe, and it refines our understanding of those religious truths that we hold most dear. It also expands our capacity to engage with other people and alternative truth-claims, in a sensitive, compassionate and meaningful way.

Jewish commentaries on the scripture, “*Train up a child when he is young, and when he is old he will not depart from it*” (Proverbs 22v6), identify the first part of this challenge as the task of helping a child to distinguish good from evil (Rabbi Charles Middleburgh, as reported in SACRE News, Issue 5, Summer 2002). Education is inadequate if it only makes us clever. Rather, it must have a moral dimension, which deals honestly with the whole of life, both the good and the bad. An education that avoids evil is both dishonest and unhealthy.

Interestingly, in the questionnaire survey with which this study is concerned, only one of the questionnaire attitude-items proved to be totally unhelpful as a discriminator between those who were hostile towards Hallowe’en and those who were either ambivalent or else positive towards it. That was the item, *The traditions of Hallowe’en provide great potential for artistic and creative activities in the classroom*. At least half of the teachers agreed with this statement- regardless of their personal feelings about the festival. This is strong evidence that the topic lends itself quite naturally to the primary school curriculum. Teachers would be hard pressed to find any comparable topic or focus for covering the range of spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues that are raised by Hallowe’en. If the primary school curriculum is to include an exploration of the spirit-world and evil, the season of Hallowtide, and the topic of Hallowe’en, is surely the ideal time and focus for such study.



## APPENDIX 1

### THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Hallowe'en in the Primary Classroom:  
Teacher Questionnaire

# Hallowe'en in the Primary Classroom Teacher Questionnaire.



London Borough of  
**Redbridge**



Essex County Council  
Learning Services



Confidential.

This questionnaire is being conducted as part of a research enquiry  
into the place of Hallowe'en in schools.

It is being developed in collaboration with the University of Birmingham  
School of Education, through the office of Professor John Hull,  
and with the co-operation of Local Education Authority officers.

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Experience suggests that most people take about 10 minutes  
to complete the questionnaire.

When finished, please return your completed questionnaire  
to your head-teacher/school office.

**PLEASE READ THE LETTER OVERLEAF BEFORE  
COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE.**

Dear Teacher,

As you know, the annual festival of Hallowe'en has just ended.

Each year the celebration of Hallowe'en seems to evoke a wide range of reactions from people, and this often raises some especially difficult issues for those who work with children.

This questionnaire seeks to identify how schools react to Hallowe'en -both in terms of the curriculum and in other aspects of school life- and what views individual teachers hold on the subject. It is part of a broader study into the effects of the 'frightening-mysterious' on children.

It is very important that you give your own beliefs and perspectives.

Please complete the questionnaire on the day that you receive it if possible, so that your responses are fresh and immediate. Please don't discuss the questions with others, as what I really want is your first reaction to the questions.

The results of the questionnaire will be made public in due course, but your own individual responses will obviously remain completely confidential to the researcher at all times. If you feel sensitive about passing your completed paper back to the school office, please feel free to fold and staple it or place it in a sealed envelope.

Thank you very much for your willingness to take part in this particular enquiry. Among all the many pieces of paperwork which teachers have to complete nowadays, I hope it provides an enjoyable interlude!

If you wish to know more about the overall research project, your head-teacher/office can provide you with my contact details.

Again, my sincere thanks,

Mark Plater  
Research co-ordinator.

## **SECTION 1**                      **PERSONAL and SCHOOL DETAILS**

*Please complete the following personal information by ticking the appropriate boxes:*

1. Gender:    ☐ Male            ☐ Female

2. Age:            ☐ 20-35            ☐ 36-50            ☐ 51-65            ☐ 66 -

3..Qualifications in Religious Education/Religion/Theology:

☐ 'A' Level                      ☐ Higher Certificate/Diploma            ☐ Bachelor Degree  
☐ Research Degree    ☐ Other: .....

4. Type of school you presently teach in:

☐ Religious Foundation School                      ☐ LEA or GM *(Except GM Religious Foundation schools)*

**If a Religious Foundation school, is it:**

☐ Church of England                      ☐ Roman Catholic                      ☐ Other

**If Church of England, is it:**

☐ Voluntary Aided                      ☐ Voluntary Controlled  
*(Or GM formerly VA)*                      *(Or GM formerly VC)*

5. Responsibility post held: *(Please indicate if you hold any of the following responsibilities)*

☐ HT/DH/SMT                      ☐ RE Co-ordinator                      ☐ Worship Co-ordinator  
☐ None of the above

6. Age group/s you presently teach:

☐ Pre-school                      ☐ KS1                      ☐ KS2

7. How prevalent is occult activity & witchcraft in the location in which your school is situated?

☐ Very prevalent                      ☐ Quite prevalent                      ☐ Not sure                      ☐ Not very prevalent

## **SECTION 2**

## **ASSEMBLIES & OTHER SCHOOL ACTIVITIES**

*Please complete the following by ticking the most appropriate boxes:*

### **Assemblies**

8. Over the *past month*, was any reference made to Hallowe'en in your school's assemblies/acts of worship?      Yes ☐      No ☐

*(If No, go on to question 8b.)*

- 8a. *If yes*, which of the following best describes how Hallowe'en was included in your school assemblies/acts of worship?

*(You may tick more than one response)*

- ☐ briefly mentioned, but not specifically focused on
- ☐ its history and practices were explored in some detail
- ☐ children were warned about the dangers of Hallowe'en
- ☐ the symbolism of Hallowe'en was explored
- ☐ Hallowe'en mentioned as part of a broader focus on All Saints
- ☐ none of the above

- 8b. *If no*, which of the following best describes why Hallowe'en was not included in your assemblies/acts of worship?

*(You may tick more than one response)*

- ☐ some of our staff feel it is inappropriate to explore Hallowe'en with children
- ☐ it didn't fit with our assembly theme for that week/month
- ☐ we would get complaints from parents if we included Hallowe'en
- ☐ it's against our school /LEA policy to include Hallowe'en in assemblies
- ☐ we prefer to focus on All Saints rather than Hallowe'en
- ☐ none of the above

### **Other Activities**

9. Did your school hold any other Hallowe'en or Hallowe'en "alternative" activities?      Yes ☐      No ☐

10. Please identify any of the following which were included in your school programme.

*(You may tick as many boxes as necessary. Some activities may come under several headings)*

- ☐ PTA or "Friends" activity
- ☐ after school party or disco
- ☐ special lunch
- ☐ sale of goods (could include food, sweets, toys, etc.)
- ☐ special or visiting entertainment (eg. Drama group, video, etc.)
- ☐ activity/event with a "spooky" emphasis
- ☐ activity/event with a Hallowe'en "alternative" emphasis
- ☐ activity/event with a specifically Christian emphasis (eg. All Saints)
- ☐ *other* *(Please give details)*

**SECTION 3****CLASSROOM TEACHING**

11. Did you make any reference to Hallowe'en in your classroom teaching/learning over the *past month*? Yes ☐ No ☐

*(If No, go on to question 11d.)*

- 11a. *If yes*, which of the following best describes how it came to be included in your teaching/learning programme?

- ☐ planned as part of a more general season-related topic focus
- ☐ studied in RE as preparation for All Saints
- ☐ specific skills-development activities with a Hallowe'en flavour
- ☐ as a specific study of the annual Hallowe'en festival/celebration
- ☐ spontaneously as a result of children's questions, comments or artefacts
- ☐ none of the above

- 11b. *If yes*, which of the following best describes how much time was given to the topic of Hallowe'en?

- ☐ a brief mention in the course of a class or group discussion
- ☐ a more extended discussion with pupils
- ☐ a major topic focus for the whole class
- ☐ a focus for a particular individual or group of children
- ☐ none of the above

- 11c. *If included as a planned activity*, within which subject area/s was the work done?

*(You may tick more than one subject area if necessary.)*

- |                                  |                                  |                                  |                                 |                               |                              |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Maths.  | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Science | <input type="checkbox"/> Art    | <input type="checkbox"/> R.E. | <input type="checkbox"/> CDT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> History | <input type="checkbox"/> Music   | <input type="checkbox"/> PE      | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: |                               |                              |

*(Please specify)*

- 11d. *If no*, which of the following best describes why Hallowe'en was not included in your classroom teaching/learning programme:

*(You may tick more than one item)*

- ☐ I don't think Hallowe'en is an appropriate study topic for children
- ☐ it didn't fit with our planned topic for that month/term
- ☐ parents would complain if I taught about Hallowe'en
- ☐ our school/LEA policy does not allow teaching about Hallowe'en
- ☐ as a mainly Christian festival, Hallowe'en is not appropriate for the religious and cultural mix of children in my class
- ☐ none of the above

12. Have you *ever* included Hallowe'en in your planned teaching programme in previous years? Yes ☐ No ☐

- 12a. *If yes*, when?

- ☐ in the last 5 years
- ☐ 5-10 years ago
- ☐ 10+ years ago

## **SECTION 4      PERSONAL VIEWS ABOUT HALLOWE'EN**

*Please complete all of the following by placing a tick in the column. which best expresses your viewpoint.*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13. Children should not be taught about Hallowe'en at school.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. The traditions of Hallowe'en provide great potential for artistic and creative activities in the classroom.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Hallowe'en is an unhealthy legitimisation of evil.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. If supervised, Hallowe'en offers appropriate permission for fun and childish pranks during the otherwise dark, dull winter months.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Hallowe'en provides an ideal occasion for acknowledging the presence of evil while at the same time emphasising the power of 'saints' to overcome it.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Because some people find Hallowe'en so offensive, it is best to avoid it in schools.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Hallowe'en trivialises very dangerous and unpredictable evil forces.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. I don't feel very confident to help children with the religious questions which Hallowe'en raises.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. The ethos of Hallowe'en goes against the everyday values of most schools.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Hallowe'en provides an excellent context for teachers to explore the religious symbols of good and evil with children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. One positive feature of Hallowe'en is that it forces us to consider some of life's uncomfortable issues, which we might otherwise avoid.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Celebrating Hallowe'en is likely to encourage unhealthy interest in the occult.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. The festival of Hallowe'en provides a unique opportunity for teachers to study particular spiritual/moral/social/cultural issues with children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. Sufficient resources are available for those schools wishing to teach about Hallowe'en.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## **SECTION 5      GENERAL BELIEFS ABOUT THE FRIGHTENING- MYSTERIOUS.**

*Please complete all of the following by placing a tick in the column which best expresses your viewpoint.*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
27. Ghosts, spirits and devils only exist in people's imaginations.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. Ghosts, spirits and devils are powerful psychological realities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. Stories about witches and ghosts create unnecessary fears in children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30. The devil is a very real spiritual being.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31. Talking about witches and ghosts often increases children's fear of the unknown.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. People's experiences of ghosts and spirits usually have simple psychological explanations.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. Children need to explore their fears about frightening and mysterious things.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. Evil spirits can inhabit people who play with occult powers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. It is unwise for an individual to explore the dark side of him/her self.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Fairy tales with witches and ghosts help to resolve children's subconscious fears of the unknown.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. Mature people will acknowledge the mystery of evil as well as the mystery of love.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Ghosts and witches are best understood as representing primitive human fears of the unknown.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. Which of the following have *most influenced your attitudes and beliefs* about **Hallowe'en?** *(You may tick more than one answer.)*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper articles             | <input type="checkbox"/> Television         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Religious books on the subject | <input type="checkbox"/> Sermons            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friends                        | <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher-colleagues |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Informal discussions           | <input type="checkbox"/> General reading    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Evangelical leaflets/magazines | <input type="checkbox"/> Children's views   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Other: (Please specify)</i> |   |

40. Do you wish to make any other comment or expand on any of your responses to the above questions?



## **SECTION 6                      PERSONAL - RELIGIOUS**

*Please answer each of the following. Tick the answers which are most accurate for you.*

41. **Your religion:**    ☐ Christian            ☐ Muslim            ☐ Hindu            ☐ Jew  
                              ☐ Sikh                    ☐ *Other: (Please specify)*  
                              ☐ None

41a. *If a Christian, which denomination?*

- |                                    |   |   |
|------------------------------------|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> C. of E   | <input type="checkbox"/> Roman Catholic | <input type="checkbox"/> Baptist                                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Methodist | <input type="checkbox"/> URC            | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Other:</i><br><i>(Please specify)</i> |

42. *How often do you attend a church or other place of worship?*

- ☐ Weekly            ☐ Monthly            ☐ Occasionally            ☐ Infrequently  
☐ Never

43. *Which of the following best describes your general religious outlook?*

*(You may wish to tick more than one of the options given.)*

- |   |   |                                       |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> sacramental                    | <input type="checkbox"/> conservative   | <input type="checkbox"/> evangelical  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> liberal                        | <input type="checkbox"/> traditional    | <input type="checkbox"/> free-thinker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> fundamentalist                 | <input type="checkbox"/> orthodox       | <input type="checkbox"/> charismatic  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> catholic                       | <input type="checkbox"/> radical/social | <input type="checkbox"/> agnostic     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> atheist                        | <input type="checkbox"/> sceptic        |                                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Other: (Please specify)</i> |   |                                       |

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At a future date we would like to telephone a small sample of questionnaire respondents as part of the research enquiry.

Would you please give telephone contact numbers, should you be selected for such contact.

Home telephone:.....Best time for contact:.....

Work telephone:.....Best time for contact:.....

**Thank you very much for your participation in this questionnaire.**

## APPENDIX 2

### FACTOR ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE ATTITUDE ITEMS Using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 11.5 for Windows

Items included above 0.5 score.

Q13-26: Personal views about Hallowe'en

Q27-38: General beliefs about the frightening-mysterious

**Rotated Component Matrix(a)**

	<b>Component</b>					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Q13	.043	<b>.582</b>	<b>-.574</b>	.077	-.165	.013
Q14	-.309	-.333	.446	.009	.250	.325
Q15	.353	<b>.823</b>	-.140	.102	-.053	.007
Q16	-.298	<b>-.644</b>	.038	-.075	.181	.162
Q17	-.032	.180	<b>.850</b>	-.037	-.078	-.010
Q18	.054	.382	<b>-.645</b>	.241	-.027	.067
Q19	.465	<b>.736</b>	-.085	.168	-.036	.175
Q20	-.276	-.137	.008	.305	-.228	<b>.683</b>
Q21	.088	<b>.779</b>	-.298	.163	.191	-.098
Q22	-.088	-.152	<b>.854</b>	-.105	.042	-.026
Q23	.001	-.031	<b>.750</b>	-.097	.233	-.007
Q24	.303	<b>.753</b>	-.088	.149	-.108	.160
Q25	.075	-.341	<b>.757</b>	.022	.082	.073
Q26	-.221	-.151	.027	.241	-.105	<b>-.752</b>
Q27	<b>-.856</b>	-.198	-.087	.001	.049	.129
Q28	<b>.710</b>	.213	.100	.130	.021	.146
Q29	.175	.252	-.175	<b>.717</b>	-.198	-.063
Q30	<b>.773</b>	.380	.011	.110	-.080	-.035
Q31	.049	.153	-.138	<b>.768</b>	-.202	.092
Q32	<b>-.752</b>	-.044	.159	-.078	-.083	-.043
Q33	.006	.002	.031	-.278	<b>.804</b>	-.040
Q34	<b>.671</b>	.443	.050	.213	-.060	-.111
Q35	.416	.149	-.182	<b>.550</b>	.029	-.093
Q36	-.284	-.223	.171	-.144	<b>.691</b>	.039
Q37	.121	.038	.323	.450	<b>.516</b>	-.055
Q38	<b>-.727</b>	-.140	.158	-.042	.189	-.005

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.  
a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

### **APPENDIX 3**

#### **COMPARISON OF 6 FACTOR SCORES AGAINST 15 VARIABLES**

##### **Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>GENDER</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b> (Literal beliefs about evil)	Between Groups	28.339	1	28.339	1.280	.260
	Within Groups	2899.436	131	22.133		
	Total	2927.774	132			
<b>FACTOR2</b> (Hostile to Halloween)	Between Groups	1.627	1	1.627	.057	.812
	Within Groups	3775.388	132	28.601		
	Total	3777.015	133			
<b>FACTOR3</b> (Positive about Halloween in school)	Between Groups	2.705	1	2.705	.125	.724
	Within Groups	2845.623	132	21.558		
	Total	2848.328	133			
<b>FACTOR4</b> (Negative about exploring frightening mysterious)	Between Groups	.702	1	.702	.155	.695
	Within Groups	603.269	133	4.536		
	Total	603.970	134			
<b>FACTOR5</b> (Positive about exploring frightening mysterious)	Between Groups	.142	1	.142	.060	.806
	Within Groups	306.123	130	2.355		
	Total	306.265	131			
<b>FACTOR6</b> (Teacher confidence and resources)	Between Groups	.359	1	.359	.171	.680
	Within Groups	266.013	127	2.095		
	Total	266.372	128			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b> (Combined Factor 2+3 score)	Between Groups	.073	1	.073	.143	.706
	Within Groups	67.154	132	.509		
	Total	67.227	133			

##### **Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>AGE</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	4.408	2	2.204	.098	.907
	Within Groups	2923.366	130	22.487		
	Total	2927.774	132			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	177.696	2	88.848	3.234	.043
	Within Groups	3599.319	131	27.476		
	Total	3777.015	133			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	27.147	2	13.574	.630	.534
	Within Groups	2821.181	131	21.536		
	Total	2848.328	133			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	7.774	2	3.887	.861	.425
	Within Groups	596.196	132	4.517		
	Total	603.970	134			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	10.098	2	5.049	2.199	.115
	Within Groups	296.167	129	2.296		
	Total	306.265	131			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	.919	2	.460	.218	.804
	Within Groups	265.453	126	2.107		
	Total	266.372	128			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	2.346	2	1.173	2.368	.098
	Within Groups	64.881	131	.495		
	Total	67.227	133			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>RE QUALIFICATION</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	.989	1	.989	.045	.833
	Within Groups	2926.899	132	22.173		
	Total	2927.888	133			
FACTOR2	Between Groups	42.188	1	42.188	1.496	.223
	Within Groups	3749.546	133	28.192		
	Total	3791.733	134			
FACTOR3	Between Groups	1.288	1	1.288	.060	.807
	Within Groups	2852.149	133	21.445		
	Total	2853.437	134			
FACTOR4	Between Groups	1.291	1	1.291	.283	.596
	Within Groups	611.702	134	4.565		
	Total	612.993	135			
FACTOR5	Between Groups	1.716	1	1.716	.730	.394
	Within Groups	307.803	131	2.350		
	Total	309.519	132			
FACTOR6	Between Groups	.148	1	.148	.071	.790
	Within Groups	267.360	128	2.089		
	Total	267.508	129			
MeanF2+F3	Between Groups	.271	1	.271	.536	.465
	Within Groups	67.121	133	.505		
	Total	67.391	134			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>SCHOOL TYPE</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	82.488	3	27.496	1.256	.292
	Within Groups	2845.400	130	21.888		
	Total	2927.888	133			
FACTOR2	Between Groups	49.657	3	16.552	.579	.630
	Within Groups	3742.077	131	28.565		
	Total	3791.733	134			
FACTOR3	Between Groups	103.592	3	34.531	1.645	.182
	Within Groups	2749.845	131	20.991		
	Total	2853.437	134			
FACTOR4	Between Groups	5.030	3	1.677	.364	.779
	Within Groups	607.963	132	4.606		
	Total	612.993	135			
FACTOR5	Between Groups	1.557	3	.519	.217	.884
	Within Groups	307.962	129	2.387		
	Total	309.519	132			
FACTOR6	Between Groups	2.853	3	.951	.453	.716
	Within Groups	264.655	126	2.100		
	Total	267.508	129			
MeanF2+F3	Between Groups	1.783	3	.594	1.187	.317
	Within Groups	65.608	131	.501		
	Total	67.391	134			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>RESPONSIBILITY POST HELD</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	56.919	2	28.460	1.292	.278
	Within Groups	2709.121	123	22.025		
	Total	2766.040	125			
FACTOR2	Between Groups	295.198	2	147.599	5.668	.004
	Within Groups	3228.850	124	26.039		
	Total	3524.047	126			
FACTOR3	Between Groups	82.914	2	41.457	1.978	.143
	Within Groups	2599.527	124	20.964		
	Total	2682.441	126			
FACTOR4	Between Groups	23.579	2	11.790	2.593	.079
	Within Groups	568.421	125	4.547		
	Total	592.000	127			
FACTOR5	Between Groups	8.918	2	4.459	1.972	.144
	Within Groups	275.882	122	2.261		
	Total	284.800	124			
FACTOR6	Between Groups	8.576	2	4.288	2.096	.127
	Within Groups	245.441	120	2.045		
	Total	254.016	122			
MeanF2+F3	Between Groups	4.699	2	2.349	5.095	.007
	Within Groups	57.185	124	.461		
	Total	61.884	126			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>KEY STAGE TAUGHT: (Pre-school/KS1; KS2; Both KS's)</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	2.194	2	1.097	.047	.954
	Within Groups	2909.413	124	23.463		
	Total	2911.606	126			
FACTOR2	Between Groups	5.589	2	2.794	.094	.910
	Within Groups	3717.716	125	29.742		
	Total	3723.305	127			
FACTOR3	Between Groups	49.988	2	24.994	1.167	.315
	Within Groups	2677.254	125	21.418		
	Total	2727.242	127			
FACTOR4	Between Groups	21.172	2	10.586	2.312	.103
	Within Groups	576.797	126	4.578		
	Total	597.969	128			
FACTOR5	Between Groups	.132	2	.066	.027	.973
	Within Groups	298.193	123	2.424		
	Total	298.325	125			
FACTOR6	Between Groups	6.919	2	3.460	1.622	.202
	Within Groups	255.877	120	2.132		
	Total	262.797	122			
MeanF2+F3	Between Groups	.550	2	.275	.529	.590
	Within Groups	64.902	125	.519		
	Total	65.452	127			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>RELIGION</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	138.939	2	69.470	<b>3.276</b>	<b>.041</b>
	Within Groups	2778.143	131	21.207		
	Total	2917.082	133			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	112.318	2	56.159	2.006	.139
	Within Groups	3696.097	132	28.001		
	Total	3808.415	134			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	22.598	2	11.299	.519	.597
	Within Groups	2875.551	132	21.784		
	Total	2898.148	134			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	28.493	2	14.247	<b>3.242</b>	<b>.042</b>
	Within Groups	584.441	133	4.394		
	Total	612.934	135			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	5.054	2	2.527	1.082	.342
	Within Groups	305.901	131	2.335		
	Total	310.955	133			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	5.723	2	2.862	1.409	.248
	Within Groups	258.000	127	2.031		
	Total	263.723	129			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	1.420	2	.710	1.403	.250
	Within Groups	66.805	132	.506		
	Total	68.225	134			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	817.541	5	163.508	<b>9.903</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	1684.089	102	16.511		
	Total	2501.630	107			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	817.883	5	163.577	<b>7.566</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	2226.869	103	21.620		
	Total	3044.752	108			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	315.915	5	63.183	<b>3.224</b>	<b>.010</b>
	Within Groups	2018.434	103	19.596		
	Total	2334.349	108			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	86.143	5	17.229	<b>4.411</b>	<b>.001</b>
	Within Groups	406.220	104	3.906		
	Total	492.364	109			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	10.198	5	2.040	.806	.548
	Within Groups	258.098	102	2.530		
	Total	268.296	107			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	2.265	5	.453	.206	.959
	Within Groups	215.735	98	2.201		
	Total	218.000	103			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	14.199	5	2.840	<b>7.452</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	39.251	103	.381		
	Total	53.450	108			

**Analysis of variance (ANOVA)**

<b>FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	554.587	2	277.293	<b>14.766</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	1934.291	103	18.780		
	Total	2488.877	105			
FACTOR2	Between Groups	800.786	2	400.393	<b>18.812</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	2213.569	104	21.284		
	Total	3014.355	106			
FACTOR3	Between Groups	52.576	2	26.288	1.210	.302
	Within Groups	2258.975	104	21.721		
	Total	2311.551	106			
FACTOR4	Between Groups	22.459	2	11.229	2.510	.086
	Within Groups	469.726	105	4.474		
	Total	492.185	107			
FACTOR5	Between Groups	.218	2	.109	.043	.958
	Within Groups	260.055	103	2.525		
	Total	260.274	105			
FACTOR6	Between Groups	31.625	2	15.812	<b>8.490</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	184.375	99	1.862		
	Total	216.000	101			
MeanF2+F3	Between Groups	8.735	2	4.367	<b>10.355</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	43.865	104	.422		
	Total	52.599	106			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>PREVALENCE OF OCCULT</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1	Between Groups	136.488	2	68.244	<b>3.157</b>	<b>.046</b>
	Within Groups	2788.148	129	21.614		
	Total	2924.636	131			
FACTOR2	Between Groups	280.644	2	140.322	<b>5.274</b>	<b>.006</b>
	Within Groups	3459.130	130	26.609		
	Total	3739.774	132			
FACTOR3	Between Groups	30.831	2	15.415	.719	.489
	Within Groups	2787.846	130	21.445		
	Total	2818.677	132			
FACTOR4	Between Groups	35.591	2	17.796	<b>4.066</b>	<b>.019</b>
	Within Groups	573.401	131	4.377		
	Total	608.993	133			
FACTOR5	Between Groups	1.393	2	.696	.291	.748
	Within Groups	306.836	128	2.397		
	Total	308.229	130			
FACTOR6	Between Groups	1.976	2	.988	.472	.625
	Within Groups	261.742	125	2.094		
	Total	263.719	127			
MeanF2+F3	Between Groups	2.804	2	1.402	<b>2.873</b>	<b>.060</b>
	Within Groups	63.440	130	.488		
	Total	66.243	132			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>EVANGELICAL/CHARISM- ATIC/FUNDAMENTALIST</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	1278.738	1	1278.738	<b>103.100</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	1649.587	133	12.403		
	Total	2928.326	134			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	1081.720	1	1081.720	<b>52.967</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	2736.626	134	20.423		
	Total	3818.346	135			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	33.866	1	33.866	1.584	.210
	Within Groups	2864.774	134	21.379		
	Total	2898.640	135			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	88.527	1	88.527	<b>22.745</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	525.444	135	3.892		
	Total	613.971	136			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	.942	1	.942	.401	.528
	Within Groups	310.013	132	2.349		
	Total	310.955	133			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	14.531	1	14.531	<b>7.410</b>	<b>.007</b>
	Within Groups	252.980	129	1.961		
	Total	267.511	130			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	11.094	1	11.094	<b>25.903</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Within Groups	57.393	134	.428		
	Total	68.487	135			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>TRADITIONALIST</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	64.484	1	64.484	2.995	.086
	Within Groups	2863.842	133	21.533		
	Total	2928.326	134			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	33.137	1	33.137	1.173	.281
	Within Groups	3785.208	134	28.248		
	Total	3818.346	135			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	84.831	1	84.831		<b>.046</b>
	Within Groups	2813.808	134	20.999		
	Total	2898.640	135			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	4.602	1	4.602	1.019	.314
	Within Groups	609.369	135	4.514		
	Total	613.971	136			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	5.712	1	5.712	2.470	.118
	Within Groups	305.243	132	2.312		
	Total	310.955	133			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	3.473	1	3.473	1.697	.195
	Within Groups	264.038	129	2.047		
	Total	267.511	130			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	1.304	1	1.304	2.600	.109
	Within Groups	67.183	134	.501		
	Total	68.487	135			



**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>FREETHINKER</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	106.132	1	106.132	<b>5.002</b>	<b>.027</b>
	Within Groups	2822.194	133	21.220		
	Total	2928.326	134			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	238.971	1	238.971	<b>8.946</b>	<b>.003</b>
	Within Groups	3579.375	134	26.712		
	Total	3818.346	135			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	37.649	1	37.649	1.763	.186
	Within Groups	2860.990	134	21.351		
	Total	2898.640	135			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	6.404	1	6.404	1.423	.235
	Within Groups	607.566	135	4.500		
	Total	613.971	136			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	9.496	1	9.496	<b>4.158</b>	<b>.043</b>
	Within Groups	301.459	132	2.284		
	Total	310.955	133			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	2.777	1	2.777	1.353	.247
	Within Groups	264.734	129	2.052		
	Total	267.511	130			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	3.252	1	3.252	<b>6.679</b>	<b>.011</b>
	Within Groups	65.236	134	.487		
	Total	68.487	135			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>LIBERAL</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	55.979	1	55.979	2.592	.110
	Within Groups	2872.347	133	21.597		
	Total	2928.326	134			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	64.633	1	64.633	2.307	.131
	Within Groups	3753.712	134	28.013		
	Total	3818.346	135			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	10.239	1	10.239	.475	.492
	Within Groups	2888.401	134	21.555		
	Total	2898.640	135			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	14.342	1	14.342	3.229	.075
	Within Groups	599.628	135	4.442		
	Total	613.971	136			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	.170	1	.170	.072	.788
	Within Groups	310.785	132	2.354		
	Total	310.955	133			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	1.468	1	1.468	.712	.400
	Within Groups	266.044	129	2.062		
	Total	267.511	130			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	1.015	1	1.015	2.015	.158
	Within Groups	67.473	134	.504		
	Total	68.487	135			

**Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

<b>SCEPTIC/AGNOSTIC</b>		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<b>FACTOR1</b>	Between Groups	95.514	1	95.514	<b>4.484</b>	<b>.036</b>
	Within Groups	2832.812	133	21.299		
	Total	2928.326	134			
<b>FACTOR2</b>	Between Groups	157.793	1	157.793	<b>5.776</b>	<b>.018</b>
	Within Groups	3660.552	134	27.318		
	Total	3818.346	135			
<b>FACTOR3</b>	Between Groups	6.410	1	6.410	.297	.587
	Within Groups	2892.229	134	21.584		
	Total	2898.640	135			
<b>FACTOR4</b>	Between Groups	11.668	1	11.668	2.615	.108
	Within Groups	602.303	135	4.462		
	Total	613.971	136			
<b>FACTOR5</b>	Between Groups	.065	1	.065	.028	.868
	Within Groups	310.890	132	2.355		
	Total	310.955	133			
<b>FACTOR6</b>	Between Groups	1.854	1	1.854	.900	.344
	Within Groups	265.658	129	2.059		
	Total	267.511	130			
<b>MeanF2+F3</b>	Between Groups	1.762	1	1.762	3.538	.062
	Within Groups	66.726	134	.498		
	Total	68.487	135			

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