Holocaust memory and its mediation by teachers: a study of England and France (1987 – 2018)



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Abstract

Holocaust education has expanded in its purpose and status between 1987 and 2018, reflecting increasing practices and rituals of remembrance in Holocaust memory. Whilst changes in policy, museums, memorials, cultural productions and school textbooks have all been examined by Holocaust scholars, the practice of Holocaust education in classrooms has avoided scrutiny in memory studies and history of education despite becoming a primary place of memory transmission. This thesis considers the role of the secondary school history teacher, as a consumer, producer and mediator of Holocaust memories. It argues teachers do not simply present the 'official' textbook narrative of history to school pupils, but construct a historical memory based on their beliefs about the purpose of history education, the needs of society and the needs of their pupils. Their lessons and pedagogies are informed and challenged by the cultural memory of the Holocaust, memories of their own family histories of the Second World War, and also current affairs and politics. Accordingly, their mnemonic nexus articulates the dynamics of collective memory.

Using oral semi-structured 'life history' interviews with history teachers, this thesis explores the mnemonic influences on individual teachers' understanding of the Holocaust in four localities across England and France. Combined with a review of professional teaching magazines and journals, and local newspapers, this thesis charts the trajectory of Holocaust education across Aix-en-Provence, Leeds/Bradford, Lincolnshire and Marseille. By doing so, it looks for moments when family memory enriched or subverted dominant narratives of the Holocaust, as well as the relationship between Holocaust education and other 'difficult histories' of genocide and empire. As teachers engage emotionally with the Holocaust, this thesis argues that teachers also aimed to produce emotion in classrooms as a tool to shape 'future citizens' and to develop local, national and European identities.

Long Abstract

This thesis tracks the expansion of Holocaust education as its purpose and status developed between 1987 and 2018, reflecting increasing practices and rituals of remembrance in Holocaust memory. It explores history teachers' moral and statutory duties to teach the Holocaust following its inclusion in the national curriculum in England and France. Holocaust memory developed a civic and moral importance in both countries, providing cross-curricular teaching opportunities and, as is explored in this thesis, led history and histoire-géographie teachers to expand their Holocaust lessons to include civic objectives. In doing so, teachers re-envisaged the purpose of history education. It was hoped that engagement with the Holocaust in educational settings and at memorial sites would serve as a defence of liberal democratic values, and empower pupils to confront racism, antisemitism and other forms of prejudice. In its most ambitious claim, Holocaust education was hoped to prevent another genocide. The promise to offer solutions to these social ills, combined with increased awareness of sensitivities surrounding Holocaust memory, led to increasingly prescriptive guidance on how to teach the Holocaust from the late 2000s and led teachers to greater reliance on emotion in their lessons.

Whilst changes in policy, museums, memorials, cultural productions and school textbooks have all been examined by Holocaust scholars, the practice of Holocaust education in classrooms has avoided scrutiny in the field of memory studies despite becoming a primary place of memory transmission. This thesis considers the role of the secondary school history teacher, as a consumer, producer and mediator of Holocaust memories. It argues that teachers do not simply present the 'official' textbook narrative of history to school pupils, but construct a historical memory based on their beliefs about the purpose of history education,

the needs of society and the needs of their pupils. Their lessons and pedagogies are informed and challenged by the cultural memory of the Holocaust, their own family histories of the Second World War, as well as current affairs and politics. Accordingly, their mnemonic nexus articulates the dynamics of collective memory.

Whilst this thesis builds on the work of Lucy Russell and Andy Pearce who have both chronicled the rise of Holocaust education in the United Kingdom, no such research project has evaluated the policy debates, memory associations, museums and cultural media that have shaped Holocaust education in France from a historical perspective. That is despite each of those subjects regularly occupying the pages of teaching journals, newspapers and *hebdomadaires*. This thesis uses these debates, and their counterparts in English media, to explore what is 'at stake' when teaching about the Holocaust. Teachers, rather than educational policy and institutions, are at the centre of this thesis, which aims to explore how teachers have engaged with Holocaust memories and pedagogies, finding that teachers occasionally resisted Holocaust memorialisation and occasionally subverted dominant narratives of the Second World War and the Holocaust in their classrooms. If teachers have asked their students to learn from the Holocaust, rather than learn about the Holocaust, this thesis aims to measure how these lessons have changed over time, between localities, and across national borders. Using oral semi-structured 'life history' interviews with teachers, this thesis explores the mnemonic influences on individual teachers' understanding of the Holocaust in four localities: Aix-en-Provence and Marseille in France, and Leeds/Bradford and Lincolnshire in England. It attempts to bridge teachers' professional and private lives and consider how teachers' identity influences their educational philosophy and pedagogical choices. Alongside policy and pedagogy, this thesis asks how the teacher's home, family, community and identity influences their teaching of the Holocaust and its memory.

History teachers are unique in their practice and observance of memory, for they have opted for a profession which advances a collective understanding of the past through historical narratives in national curricula, school textbooks and in preparation for national school examinations. As textbook, or 'official' narratives of the Holocaust and the Second World War can conflict with intergenerational memories passed down within families, chapter one explores how teachers negotiated personal and public memories in the classroom. Whilst some teachers used their own teaching and the school curriculum to facilitate their own sense of belonging in the national community and in a shared history, other teachers were able to subtly disrupt exclusive constructs of national identity through the example of their own families' past. Whether they were able to bring their own family's history in the classroom depended on shared and open histories, rather than silences, trauma and repression, as well as their own convictions about a teacher's public and professional role.

Following the English and French state's adoption of Holocaust education as part of its civic duty, chapter two explores how teachers have responded to their mandate to transmit memory of the Holocaust to younger generations. Holocaust consciousness rose in response to the rise of racism, antisemitism and neo-fascism from the late 1970s that threatened both the United Kingdom and France. As this occurred in tandem with the emergence of a Holocaust memory culture, the Holocaust's enduring relevance was argued to be its lessons for the contemporary anti-racism movement in England, where anti-fascism became a popular, fashionable movement. Its implementation was regional and often depended on the teacher's evaluation of their pupils' needs. In the rural borough of Lincolnshire, teachers approached anti-racist education with less urgency and did not typically use the example of the Holocaust in the 1980s and 1990s. Even in the multi-religious city of Bradford, not all teachers recognised Holocaust education as relevant to the racial and religious divides in their city. In France, teachers considered Jacques Chirac's 1995 acknowledgement of French culpability in the

Shoah to be a turning point in how they approached the history in their lessons. From that point onwards, teaching about the Holocaust became a fundamental in the process of creating citizens from non-citizens.

In the mid 2000s, many teachers in England and France, convinced by the need to form 'good' and 'active' citizens, responded by approaching histories of violence and suffering from a civic, rather than historical, perspective. In France, teachers believed that the formation of citizenship was closely linked to the transmission of memory. It indicated teachers' beliefs about the importance of shared history in the formation of identity. Identity became a product that teachers could influence, if not govern. It was up to the teacher whether they used the history of the Holocaust to direct their pupils towards an exclusive conception of Frenchness, a French identity rooted within a wider European consciousness, or a more pragmatic vision of Frenchness that allowed for diversity and equal dialogue between different religious communities. In all cases, their choice reflected their own sense of belonging within French society compared to that of their students. In England, teachers' interviews revealed confusion and scepticism about attempts to connect the Holocaust to 'British values'. Without a long history of contractual citizenship, teachers were unconvinced that such a concept existed or what it was for. Teaching the Holocaust was generally believed to promote tolerance but was often done so in a universalised and non-specific manner focusing on man's inhumanity to man. The Holocaust's universalisation allowed teachers to confront the abstract concepts of prejudice, identity, belonging and exclusion in England from a distance.

Chapters three and four examine whether Holocaust memory sits in competition with other histories, considering the finite time in the history curriculum, or using Rothberg's theory of multidirectionality, whether teachers use the memory of the Holocaust to articulate and

understand other conflicts and injustices. Chapter three considers how teachers define the Holocaust, as either a Second World War history, or as a history of genocide. In France, some teachers used the Holocaust was sometimes used to highlight histories of the French Resistance and build upon binary categorisations of 'good' and 'bad' Frenchmen and women during the Second World War. In England, the Holocaust could be taught in a manner that celebrated British military victory against Germany in 1945, with a number of teachers highlighting the contribution of the British army to the liberation of the concentration camps. In England, it was also common for teachers to consider the Holocaust separately from the Second World War, as a 'standalone' history of genocide. This provided the opportunity to teach the Holocaust comparatively, as a foundational episode within a longer history of genocide. This practice illuminated the limits of Rothberg's theory of multidirectionality in English history education. Whilst their lessons on the Holocaust provided the vocabulary and opportunity to learn about other genocides, these lessons were taught cursorily and without the structure of a comparative framework. Teachers would commonly refer to more recent genocides to demonstrate their awareness and care for non-European and non-'white' victims of genocide, but with the objective of reinforcing the relevance of the Holocaust. In contrast, other genocides were taught separately from the Shoah in France. Many teachers were somewhat ambivalent to teaching about the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda, avoidant or ignorant of claims of French complicity in the violence. Teachers rarely extended the devoir de mémoire to acknowledge France's responsibility in the Shoah to crimes against humanity committed outside of France.

Chapter four considers the relationship between the enduring legacies of the Holocaust and colonialism in England and France. It first of all considers how teachers related the history of the Holocaust with the history of the British and French Empire, looking at examples where teachers failed to draw connections and similarities between the two histories and their

memories. In England, it considers silence around histories of empire in juxtaposition with teachers' aims and motivations to teach about the Holocaust. In France, it looks at missed opportunities in teachers' lessons to explore the history of the Shoah in a colonial context, as teachers overlooked the actions and crimes of the Vichy regime in North Africa and the efforts of French men and women who resisted the Shoah as well as later atrocities in Algeria.

Increased migration from former colonies from the 1970s altered England and France from countries where the Jewish population was the only significant non-Christian minority into multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies. Whilst the memory of the Holocaust heightened sensitivities towards the persistence of antisemitism, Islamophobia targeted at Muslim migrants and their descendants increased over the 1980s and 1990s and rose significantly after 9/11. Anti-racist struggles were sometimes divided between anti-fascists challenging racism in memory of the Shoah and anti-colonialists opposing racism in memory of colonialism, creating disagreement over the creation of the state of Israel. This chapter explores how teachers navigated the legacies of the Holocaust and empire, particularly in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods where teachers had to respond to contemporary antisemitism, racism and Islamophobia.

As the rituals of Holocaust remembrance in education centred around visits to museums and memorials, chapter five looks at their role in education, and how teachers interacted with these sites as both visitors and educators. Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum played a central role in Holocaust memory, representing the apex of modern Holocaust 'encounters'. Teachers believed that their students could access the history of the Holocaust if they interacted with its memory through an 'embodied' experience. Their pupils orientated

themselves in history through place and sense, using the materiality of the sites to imagine life inside of a concentration camp.

In France, teachers heightened the sensory experience. At Camp des Milles, pupils were encouraged to feel the cold, smell the damp, dust and rust, and walk through the tunnels and corridors in the dark. Visits to Auschwitz were purposely organised in January or February, when the camp would be covered in a thick sheet of snow, to emphasise suffering at the camp. By physically disturbing the pupil, the teacher believed that they could imagine difference places and time periods. Both victims and perpetrators were humanised through readings, poetry, stories and photographs. Whilst in France, history was broadened by the senses, in England it was done so through emotion. The Imperial War Museum followed an emotive pedagogy using photographs and artefacts to look at individual stories and identities. At Beth Shalom, the same affective experience was achieved through live testimony and ritual acts of remembrance. In each case, the pupil became the witness.

Chapter six argues that teachers used film and individual's stories to formulate a prosthetic memory of the Holocaust, at times replacing 'authentic' history and 'organic' experiences with those mediated by the moving image. It examines the different genres of Holocaust novels and films that were adopted by different nationalities, generations and genders of teachers, and the impact of 'storytelling' on how they taught history and narrative when teaching the Holocaust. This chapter argues that the reach of some cultural media, such as *Schindler's List* and *The Diary of Anne Frank*, were so widespread in England that they became signposts in cultural memory of the Holocaust, creating an expectation that teachers should share these narratives rather than the history of the Holocaust itself. Whilst cinematic representations were largely rejected in France, a small group of teachers made exceptions for films that allowed France to reconcile its shame as an occupied and collaborating nation. In

contrast, the temporal and emotional distance of the Holocaust in England provided greater flexibility to rely on fictional cultural source such as *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*.

As the production of emotion was a central component of lessons about the Holocaust in both England and France, chapter seven explore the role emotion played in teachers' motivations to teach the history and as a lesson objective. As adolescents needed to be moulded into future democratic citizens, Holocaust education provided an opportunity for young people to express their maturity and civility and be treated as young adults rather than children. The demands of Holocaust memory thus differed in their intensity and objectives in England and France, responding to the acknowledged failures and triumphs of the nation. In England, the pressure to care and to empathise or sympathise with the victim or the 'Other' was ubiquitous in teachers' lessons. The pupil's objective, however, was to feel and self-reflect, but not to act.

French memory, at least since 1995, called upon the young to acknowledge its perpetrators and the fragility of Republican values. By producing emotion, it was hoped that youth would recognise this past, believe it, and use its memory to create a compassionate defence against antisemitism and fascism. Authentic and embodied emotional experiences and formal, political remembrance ceremonies where young people could perform their care for the subject and their allegiance to the values of the Republic became key foci of Holocaust education. These provided an opportunity for the nation to atone its past through young people's acts of remembrance, with the promise that the nations' present and future was different from its past. In the ethnically diverse districts of Marseille, some teachers found the production of emotion to be more urgent and poignant as it represented their successful inclusion of disaffected issus d'immigration into shared 'French' memory and values. Unlike

in England where history teachers grappled with the ethics of care, in France there existed a duty of care that could be publicly performed and later enacted at the bureau de vote.

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Though only I will be examined on this thesis, its production is not the only the work of an individual but the cumulative effort of a community. There are many people without whom this thesis would not exist. I am forever indebted to the teachers and educators who invited me into their homes, schools and neighbourhoods and trusted me with their memories of teaching, family and history. I am particularly grateful to Bernard, the first teacher I interviewed in France, who, after a mammoth four-hour interview, provided me with much needed assurance that I could interview in French and my project was viable.

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List of Abbreviations

APHG	Association des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie
BNP	British National Party
CfHE	Centre for Holocaust Education
CNRD	Concours National de la Résistance et de la Déportation
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HET	Holocaust Educational Trust
IWM	Imperial War Museum
INRP	Institut national de recherche pédagogique
LEA	Local Education Authority
NUT	National Union of Teachers
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
RAF	Royal Air Force
VSO	Voluntary Service Abroad
ZEP	Zone d'éducation prioritaire

Introduction

This thesis considers how secondary school history teachers in England and France have remembered, understood and taught the Holocaust as its purpose and status developed between 1987 and 2018. Using oral history, it explores teachers' moral and statutory duties to teach the Holocaust following its inclusion in the national history curriculum in England and France. Whilst the purposes of Holocaust education have always extended beyond knowledge transfer, this thesis will argue that Holocaust education became integral to the formation of national citizenship in England and France over the course of the 1990s and 2000s. From the late-2000s, engagement with Holocaust education was believed to be indicative of national values: a development driven by teachers in France and pushed by the government in England. If teachers have asked their students to learn *from* the Holocaust, rather than learn *about* the Holocaust, this thesis aims to measure how these lessons have changed over time, between localities and across national borders. These moral lessons, relating to contemporary issues as diverse as genocide, racism, bullying and multiculturalism, will illuminate how teachers have defined the Holocaust and how they relate its history to other histories of genocide and colonialism. Moreover, this thesis will ask how teachers negotiated personal, collective and historical memory of the Holocaust, accumulated from: institutionalised sites of memory; cultural productions such as cinema, memoirs, television and novels; political movements; their own family history and heritage.

Why the teacher?

Education has been declared the solution to all social ills: from poverty, to racism, to inequality, to terrorism.[1] Schools are believed to shape and train young minds before they acquire the independence of adulthood. Whilst textbooks, curricula and educational policy have often been the subject of debate and demands, the role and agency of the teacher has often been forgotten, despite being tasked with forming and unifying future adults. The great variety between classrooms and teaching practices is often lost, with little understanding of how teachers have perceived, performed, or even subverted these duties and pressures. Though Benedict Anderson identified education as a key apparatus to build the national community, his research does not examine its mechanics or symbolism relating to the nation present within the school.[2] Recent scholars have therefore attempted to correct the absence of education in Anderson's work and the tendency to consider schools as 'derivative of tensions and social compacts that have been worked out in other arenas.'[3] In 2020, an international research group attempted to create a methodology to study the dynamics of memory in educational settings. The study argues that schools 'actively [engage] with memories and memory work in pedagogical practices, in textbooks, in curricula and informal educational spaces,' and that, 'even in the absence of such active, self-aware uptake of memory work by

[1] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Les Déterminants de la réussite scolaire en zone d'éducation prioritaire*, (Paris, 1997) ; Department for Education and Skills, *Every Child Matters*, (London, 2003); G. Short 'Anti-racist Education, Multiculturalism and the New Racism', *Educational Review*, 48/1 (1996), pp. 65-77; F. Dhume-Sonzogni, *Racisme, antisémitisme et "communautarisme"?: L'école à l'épreuve des faits* (Paris, 2007) ; A. Dyson and C. Raffo, 'Education and disadvantage: the role of community-oriented schools', *Oxford Review of Education*, 33/3 (2007), pp. 297-314; S. Carcillo, E. Huillery, Y. L'Horty, 'Prévenir la pauvreté par l'emploi, l'éducation et la mobilité', *Notes du conseil d'analyse économique*, 40/4 (2017), pp. 1-12; P. Thomas, 'Youth, terrorism and education: Britain's Prevent programme', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 35/2 (2016), pp. 171-187.
[2] B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism* (London, 1983), p. 116.
[3] N. Sobe, 'Textbooks, schools, memory, and the technologies of national imaginaries', in M. Bellino and J. Williams (eds), (*Re)constructing memory: Education, Identity and Conflict* (Rotterdam, 2014), p. 313.

educators, education is still a site where memories are constructed, communicated and struggled over.'[4] The school has increasingly been recognised as a site where identities and narratives are reckoned, contested and produced, and as places where both the teacher and the pupil have considerable agency.[5] Whilst the study of education as a site of memory invites a study of the pupil's experiences and engagement with memory, the teacher is the locus of state, cultural, historical and personal cross-currents of memory. As Elisabeth Worden's study of schools in Moldova found, teachers talk and tell stories about the nation, subvert the school textbooks, and their own micro-economies, stresses in life and social memory affect how they teach difficult histories.[6] Teachers do not simply present the 'official' textbook narrative of history, but construct a historical memory based on their beliefs about the purpose of history education, the needs of society and the needs of their pupils. Accordingly, their mnemonic nexus articulates the dynamics of collective memory.

Despite a small number of attempts to flesh out the lives, pasts and history of the teacher, the teacher remained a subsidiary or opaque feature in the field of the history of education until the 1980s. As teaching professionalised, unionised and feminised over the twentieth century, the profession was carefully considered, but not the teachers themselves.[7] Research on

[4] J. Paulson et al. 'Education as site of memory: developing a research agenda', *International Studies in Sociology of Education,* (2020)
[5] M. Bellino, 'So that we do not fall again: History education and citizenship in "postwar" Guatemala', *Comparative Education Review*, 60/1 (2016), pp. 58–79; M. Yemini, 'Global/local nexus: Between global citizenship and nationalism in a super-diverse London school', *International Studies in the Sociology of Education*, 27/2-3 (2018), pp. 271–287; I. Silova, N. Piattoeva and Z. Millei, (eds), *Childhood and schooling in (post) socialist societies: memories of everyday life* (New York, 2018).
[6] E. Worden, *National identity and educational reform: contested classrooms*, (New York, 2014), pp. 3; 80-1.
[7] See J. Ozga and M. Lawn, *Teachers, Professionalism and Class: a study of organized*

classrooms has often focused on material subjects of study such as textbooks and the school curricula.[8] Though teachers have left imprints in educational archives, in pupils' school workbooks, in school reports, or in teaching regulations, locating the individual teacher and their life before and beyond the classroom can be a burdensome task. Only in the 1980s did researchers such as Ivor Goodson and Stephan Ball begin to consider the teacher as an individual, with a past, agency, and crucially a career.[9] They argue that teachers have been ignored as 'shadowy figures' who responded mechanically and uncritically to the social issues and changes that presented in their classrooms.[10] The newly popular 'Life History' approach to oral history, sociology, cultural studies and anthropology attempted to provide a platform for the voices of the unheard majority in the 1980s.[11] The current field is enriched by a number of teachers-turned-researchers such as Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardiner whose oral history of student teachers (1907-1950) threw new light on how the individual

teachers (London, 1981); A. Tropp, *The School Teachers: the growth of the teaching profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the present day* (London, 1959); H.C. Dent, *Century of Growth in English Education, 1870–1970*, (London, 1970); H.C. Dent, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales 1800–1975*, (London, 1977). C. Cardon-Quint and R. d'Enfert, 'Militantisme et identité professionnelle enseignante : les associations de spécialistes en perspective', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 142, (2014), pp. 11-52; L. Frajerman, 'Entre collaboration et contrepouvoir : les syndicats enseignants et l'État (1945-1968)', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 140/141 (2014), pp. 73-91.

[8] Examples in Holocaust education include S. Foster and E. Karayianni, 'Portrayals of the Holocaust in English history textbooks, 1991–2016: continuities, challenges and concerns', *Holocaust Studies*, 23/3 (2017), pp. 314-344; B. Blumenkranz, 'How Holocaust History is (not) Taught: Shortcomings of French Textbooks, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 9/3 (1975), p. 8; G. Bensoussan, 'L'enseignement de la Shoah dans l'Éducation nationale française (1945-1990)', *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah*, 2/10 (2010), pp. 129-150.

[9] S. Ball and I. Goodson, *Teachers' Lives and Careers,* (London, 1985).

[10] Ball and Goodson, *Teachers' Lives and Careers*, p. 6.

[11] For example S. Middleton, 'Schooling and radicalization: Life histories of New Zealand feminist teachers', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 8/2 (1987), pp. 169-189; R. Butt, D. Raymond and L. Yamagishi, 'Autobiographical praxis: studying the formation of teachers' knowledge', *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 7/14 (1988), pp. 403-19; M. Nelson, 'From the one-room schoolhouse to the graded school: Teaching in Vermont, 1910-1950', *Frontiers*, 7/1 (1983), pp. 14-20; N. Hoffman, *Women's true profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (New York, 1981); P. Sikes, L. Measor and P. Woods, *Teachers' Careers* (Barcombe, 1985).

teachers understood their own profession and craft, and how they responded to political, pedagogical and personal aspirations for secondary education.[12]

The secondary school teacher has been neglected in French scholarship, despite an increased focus on curricula, diversity and secularism at the *collège* [middle school] and *lycée* [high school] since the 1970s. As such, oral histories of teachers in French historiography of education are relatively rare. Whilst Jacques and Mona Ozouf's works still stand as the most significant teacher ethnographies, they did not use oral history, but surveyed teachers about their life history, their family background, their careers, unionism and questions of their politics and philosophy.[13] Nevertheless, they created a 'bottom-up' history of the Jules Ferry laws which established free and compulsory primary education: a subject that comprised the majority of history of education in France.[14] As such, the *instituteur* [primary school teacher] has been the principal subject of historical research rather that the secondary school teacher.[15] Reflecting a general suspicion of oral history among French historians, more recent oral history projects have followed French sociologist Dominique Schnapper's methodology of creating 'oral archives', established by in 1980.[16] Schnapper's approach attempts to reposition oral sources alongside written sources in order to remove the antagonistic relationship between the witness and historian and separate the process of history writing

[12] P. Gardiner and P. Cunningham, *Becoming Teachers: Texts and testimonies 1907-1950* (London, 2004). See also D. Cannadine, J. Keating and N. Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England* (London, 2011); M. Woolley, *Teaching History in a Neoliberal Age: Policy, Agency and Teacher Voice* (Abingdon, 2020), pp. 2-3.
[13] J. Ozouf, *Nous les maîtres d'école, autobiographies d'instituteurs de la Belle Époque* (Paris, 1967); J. Ozouf and M. Ozouf, *La République des instituteurs* (Paris, 1992), p. 290.
[14] See J. Baubérot, *Vers un nouveau pacte laïque?* (Paris, 1990); J. Baubérot, *La laïcité, quel héritage? De 1789 à nos jours* (Geneva, 1990); G. Bouchet, *Laïcité et enseignement* (Paris, 1996); Y.C. Zarka (ed), *Faut-il réviser la loi de 1905?* (Paris, 2005).
[15] See R. Thabault. *Dans son livre : Mon village, ses routes, son école. 1848-1914, l'ascension d'un peuple* (Paris, 1944); J. Vial, *Les Instituteurs. Douze siècles d'histoire* (Paris, 1980); A. Proust, *La formation des maîtres de 1940 à 2010* (Rennes, 2014); For examples of oral histories see I. Berger and R. Benjamin, *L'univers des instituteurs* (Paris, 1954); I. Berger, *Les instituteurs, d'une génération à l'autre* (Paris, 1979).
[16] D. Schnapper, *Histoire orale ou archives orales?* (Paris, 1980).

with interviewing. By doing so, it has created a system that facilitates top-down oral histories of institutions rather than of 'ordinary' people, including in the field of education. For example, Marie-Thérèse Frank created an archive of 280 interviews with 'decision makers' in French education, accessible to historians, but devoid of the teacher's voice.[17] As high priests and priestesses of the Republic, confined by the regulations and principles of *laïcité* [secularism], the teacher's private life, history and background are supposed to remain invisible from their public image and professional interface. A comparative history of the teacher in England and France provides greater insights into the invisible teacher, re-evaluating their reverence to the authority of the state, their support of Republican ideals and the conflicts between their personal and professional identities.

Histories of actual practice in classrooms have also been somewhat neglected in British historiography. Peter Mandler, Laura Carter and Chris Jeppesen's ongoing project 'Secondary Education and Social Change in the United Kingdom since 1945' has attempted to redress this shortcoming, alongside research by Laura Tisdall on post-war secondary modern schools and Hester Barron on interwar education in London.[18] As David Cannadine, Jenny Keating and Nicola Sheldon note, there is a gulf between policy and practice in histories of education.[19] Their contribution integrated governmental documents, discourses on pedagogy and oral history interviews to document history teaching in England. However, their long history, spanning across the twentieth century, could only consider the teacher's

[17] M-T. Frank, 'Pour une histoire orale de l'éducation en France depuis 1945', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 53 (1992), pp. 13-40.
[18] H. Barron, 'Parents, teachers and children's well-being in London, 1918-1939' in H. Barron and C. Siebrecht (eds), *Parenting and the state in Britain and Europe, c. 1870-1950: raising the nation* (London, 2017), pp. 137-159; L. Tisdall, 'Inside the 'blackboard jungle': male teachers and male pupils at English secondary modern schools in fact and fiction, 1950 to 1959', *Cultural and Social History*, 12/4 (2015), pp. 489-507;
[19] Cannadine, Keating and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History*, pp. 8-9.

voice in response to policy changes rather than their lives beyond the classroom.[20] Their approach bore similarities to Mary Catherine Wooley who used oral history to probe teachers for the precise details of their pedagogy, resources and historical thinking since the introduction of the National Curriculum.[21] Like Wooley, I too found that 'teachers proved more familiar with the detail of school and classroom experiences than with the minutiae of policy or curriculum documentation', coming to the same conclusion that histories of education that consider policy development may present a different picture than the accounts offered by teachers.[22] Whilst the history of education has certainly moved on from its focus on policy to consider the 'lived curriculum', I have adopted a Life History interview model in order to bridge teachers' professional and private lives and consider how teachers' identity influences their educational philosophy and pedagogical choices. In doing so, I consider the teacher's home, family and community in relation to the teaching of the Holocaust and its memory.

Spheres of memory

According to Maurice Halbwachs, individual memory cannot be separated from the social frameworks it was remembered within.[23] His theory of collective memory reasoned that, 'it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognise and localise their memories.'[24] Collective memory is situational in its nature, and develops in relation to the culture, language and history of that society. It shifts between communities and generations, responding to culture and politics, to produce shared memories

[20] Cannadine, Keating and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History*, p. 219.
[21] M. Woolley, 'Experiencing the history National Curriculum 1991–2011: voices of veteran teachers', *History of Education*, 48/2 (2019), pp. 212-32.
[22] Woolley, 'Experiencing the history National Curriculum', p. 216.
[23] M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992), p. 53.
[24] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 53.

that overlap, conform and contradict each other as they move between global, national and local spheres.[25] All individuals, teachers included, remember across and within these spheres, building interdependent memories of the past.

Halbwachs distinguished different types of memory: autobiographical memory – memory of events that we have experienced ourselves; historical memory – memory that can be stored and shared via historical records; history – events in the past which no longer carry significance in the present; and collective memory – the 'active' past which defines the bounds and nature of our group identities. The concept was revitalised from the 1980s, in part through the scholarship of Jan Assmann, who divided it into 'communicative memory', referring to the oral transmission of the recent past, and 'cultural memory' constructed through the institutionalisation of particular histories in museums, monuments and archives, which is reflected in formal education systems, through school textbooks and curricula.[26] This 'top-down' memory ensures that members of a given society feel unified through communal connections to a shared past that he believed could outlive memories of the recent past. His definition, however, does not provide space for less-formal representations of the past such as cinema, novels, testimony and documentaries which commonly present individuals' stories as fables and emblems representing a wider past.[27] In the case of Holocaust education, teachers often utilise these less-formal cultural constructions of the past as sources to understand history and human behaviour. History teachers mediate between these different spheres of memory, choosing between different representations of the Holocaust to construct a historical memory to transmit to their students. Wulf Kansteiner

[25] M. Sturken, 'Memory, consumerism and media: Reflections on the emergence of the field', *Memory Studies,* 1/1 (2008), pp. 73-8.
[26] See J. Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies* (New York, 2008), pp. 109-118.
[27] A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 9-11, 203-5.

argues that the academic field of memory studies should focus on memory's consumption rather than the artefacts of memory, distinguishing between 'memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artifacts according to their own interests.'[28] By considering teachers as both 'memory consumers' and 'memory makers', it is possible to study the dynamism between these two forms of memory engagement and better understand the cultural and sociological traditions that frame our interactions with the past. As teachers construct a historical narrative from textbook, state-sponsored, cultural and personal memories of the Holocaust, this thesis explores how these memories change between teacher, locality and over time.

Holocaust memory in England and France

Whilst it is argued that historical consciousness of the Holocaust has existed since the early 1950s, it transformed into national memories in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of popular cultural productions. The commercial success of the American mini-series *Holocaust* (1979) and Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1994), compared to the critical success of Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985), provoked interest and opened new spaces for a global discourse on the Holocaust. Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider were the first scholars to systematically consider the formation of global Holocaust memory. They argue that the 'container of the nation-state' has slowly been cracked by the de-territorialisation of politics and culture, creating 'cosmopolitan' memory cultures.[29] Using Ulrich Beck's theory of 'internal globalisation', in which local people develop global concerns, Levy and Sznaider traced collective memories which transcended national borders.[30] Their theory is supported by the

[28] W. Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,' *History and Theory*, 41/2 (2002), pp. 180, 197.
[29] D. Levy and N. Sznaider, *Holocaust And Memory In The Global Age* (Philadelphia, 2005), p. 2.
[30] U. Beck, 'The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19/1(2002), pp. 17-19.

wealth of cinema, documentaries, memoirs and novels that are shared across languages and nations. It also explains the strength of Holocaust memory in England, despite the country's limited experience of the genocide. Astrid Erll's analysis of transnational mnemonic networks - such as world religions, global diasporas, the European Left, sport, music and consumer culture, suggests that we should perceive of memory as travelling in a 'global age'. She argues that 'memories do not hold still – on the contrary, they seem to be constituted first of all through movement', and in fact, require movement to survive.[31]

The hybridity of memory invites the continued study of national and local memory which integrates where and how these memories have travelled. In that vein, Michael Rothberg's *Multidirectional memory* follows the postcolonial roots of French Holocaust memory, and suggests that the 'memory boom' that began in the 1970s had as much to do with decolonisation struggles and politics as it did with the legacy of the Holocaust.[32] Though no equivalent studies contextualise Holocaust memory in the context of decolonisation from the British Empire – though one could definitely be written – the Holocaust has been framed by some scholars as a 'screen memory' for British imperialism, shielding the public's attention from British colonial crimes by focusing exclusively on the Nazis.[33] Regardless of the merits of this thesis, the impetus on 'Never Again' in Holocaust memory makes its national memory inseparable from genocides, atrocities and human rights struggles across the world. We should instead consider its movement between global, national, local and personal layers of memory.

[31] A. Erll, 'Travelling Memory', *parallax*, 17/4 (2011), pp. 8, 11.
[32] M. Rothberg, *Multidirectional memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation* (Stanford, 2009), pp. 17-18.
[33] D. Stone, *History, Memory and Mass Atrocity: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide* (London, 2006), p. 175.

Though it is often commented that Holocaust memory emerged in England in the late 1970s and 1980s, David Cesarani contends that 'there was in fact a persistent drum-beat about the fate of the Jews' since the 1950s.[34] Scholars have critiqued the 'myth of silence': the belief that there was a lack of interest or conversation about the Holocaust until the cultural productions of the 1970s and 1980s, documenting efforts to publicly record the history of the Holocaust in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.[35] In his survey of British consciousness of the Holocaust between 1945 to 2001, Andy Pearce more accurately states that Holocaust representation increased and diversified, rather than manifested, in the 1970s and 1980s, but, as a result, by the end of this period Holocaust consciousness was also confused and conflicted.[36] Organisations such as the Anti-Nazi League used the memory of Nazi Germany to address racism against the Black and Asian communities in Britain, and as such popularised an inclusive form of Holocaust remembrance.

Holocaust memory certainly changed in the 1980s, increasing in importance outside of Jewish communities. Although the advance of Holocaust memory can certainly be attributed to its success on screen, changing attitudes about its significance are better explained by the advance of human rights politics in the 1970s. Samuel Moyn demonstrates that human rights only acquired global moral currency in the 1970s, following the failures of anti-capitalist and anti-colonialist utopias in the 1950s and 1960s.[37] Not only did this bring the history of the Holocaust to the foreground as the foundational past, alongside the Second Word War, from which the Universal Declaration for Human Rights emerged in 1948, but established a new

[34] D. Cesarani, 'From Bullock to Kershaw: Some Peculiarities of British Historical Writing about the Nazi Persecution and Mass Murder of the Jews', in D. Bankier (ed), *Holocaust Historiography in Context: Emergence, Challenges, Polemics and Achievements* (Jerusalem, 2008), p. 354.
[35] D. Cesarani and E. Sundquist (eds), *After the Holocaust : Challenging the Myth of Silence*, (Abingdon, 2012), pp. 24-6.
[36] A. Pearce, *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain* (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 28-31.
[37] S. Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, 2010).

moral politics of in which victimhood held significant capital.[38] The human rights agenda was coupled with a desire to confront and reconcile the violent past of the twentieth century, an agenda that gained prominence after the end of the Cold War. This narrative replaced the focus on heroes and perpetrators with the abstract concepts of good and evil: conveniently allowing Western European nations such as France to depoliticise their history by remembering the suffering caused by State actors whilst forget the identities of the perpetrators of said crimes.[39] This cosmopolitan engagement with the history created concern among historians such as Tony Kushner that cultural productions reflected a non-critical and ambivalent engagement with the Holocaust that was unwilling to engage with the specificities of Jewish suffering.[40] This critique of Holocaust memory, directed at its artefacts and popular representations, failed to ask 'ordinary people' how and why they valued the memory of the Holocaust, or analyse whether their engagement had changed since 1945. Pearce argues that the event's memory was sacralised in Britain in 2000 when a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust opened at the Imperial War Museum (IWM), and the establishment of Holocaust Memorial Day in 2001.[41] The memory's movement from the fringes of politics to the centre solidified formal and informal engagement with the Holocaust in England that Kushner has maintained is non-critical, even if he no longer be describes it as ambivalent.[42] With limited direct experience of the Holocaust, Holocaust memory in England was defined by its absence and presence. Writing in 2013, Kushner asked, 'is the bond between Britain and the Holocaust threadbare, illusory, insignificant and contrived? Alternatively, is it intricate, subtle

[38] Moyn, *The Last Utopia,* pp. 65. 220.
[39] Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory', p. 189.
[40] T. Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1994) p. 227.
[41] Pearce, *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain*, pp. 127-9, 134.
[42] T. Kushner, 'The Holocaust in the British imagination: the official mind and beyond, 1945 to the present', *Holocaust Studies*, 23/3 (2017), pp. 364-384.

and, in its unique way, powerful and important?'[43] Patriotic memory of the Second World War was challenged by the advance of Holocaust memory, as the Holocaust became the foundation for all moral equivalencies. It had the potential to rewrite the British national identity as a 'bystander', rather than the victor or saviour of the war as historical research discovered apathy towards the plight of the Jews and antisemitism in British wartime society.[44] This thesis will therefore examine how education aided the transition of the Holocaust from a Jewish or European 'problem' to the centre of national memory from the perspective of the teacher.

John Fox's 1987 survey of the status of Holocaust education in Britain reveals that it was being taught in some schools in the 1980s across subjects in social science and the humanities.[45] The inclusion of the Holocaust in the National Curriculum in 1991, however, represents the first 'official' adoption of Holocaust memory in England. Since its introduction, interest in the subject has certainly risen, not least because by 2018 every adult under the age of forty should have learnt the history in school. Lucy Russell argues that the government's interest in Holocaust education was the result of lobbying by the Holocaust Educational Trust, born out of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on War Crimes in 1987, who desired greater education on the Holocaust in a time of heightened interest in Nazi war crimes.[46] David Cannadine, Jenny Keating and Nicola Sheldon's research identified the limited status of history as a school subject, even in post-war England. History was largely considered the domain of the selective grammar school in the 1960s, and whilst innovations

[43] T. Kushner, 'Loose Connections? Britain and the 'Final Solution', in C. Sharples and O. Jensen (eds), *Britain and the Holocaust: Remembering and Representing War and Genocide* (London, 2013), p. 51.
[44] See L. London, *Whitehall and the Jews 1933– 1948: British Immigration Policy and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, 2000); J. Craig-Norton, *The Kindertransport: Contesting Memory* (Bloomington, 2019).
[45] J. Fox, *Teaching the Holocaust: The report of a survey in the United Kingdom (1987)* (London, 1989).
[46] L. Russell, *Teaching the Holocaust in School History* (London, 2006), pp. 71, 97-102.

in pedagogy and curricula expanded the subject's appeal in secondary modern and comprehensive schools in the 1970s and 1980s, history had to compete with new subjects such as sociology and business studies.[47] Thus, when the National Curriculum for history was introduced in 1991 mandating Holocaust education, it was the first time that history became a compulsory subject up to the age of fourteen, widening pupil participation, particularly in lower-middle class and working class communities, and in rural areas without the presence of a Jewish community such as Lincolnshire. Pearce suggests, however, that the introduction of the history of the Holocaust to the National Curriculum without supplementary teacher training led teachers to rely on the film *Schindler's List,* and provided space for the Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) to develop as a pedagogical authority in the 1990s and 2000s.[48]

In the 2000s, under New Labour, Holocaust education became 'cross-curricular', with options to teach the genocide across the humanities as an event in history that imparted lessons on citizenship for a multicultural society. This allowed a greater space for history teachers to relate the Holocaust to more recent and current events, such as genocides in Rwanda (1994), Bosnia (1995) and Darfur (2003). Discussion leading up to the 2002 Education Act allowed for debate on the inclusion of all historical events, with the exception of the Holocaust, reportedly at the insistence of former secretary of state for education David Blunkett. By 2013, draft curriculum revisions under the coalition government referred to the 'unique evil' of the Holocaust, to be included as part of mandatory history education on the Second World War, though the phrase was dropped in the final publication one year later.[49] Though it was recommended that the Holocaust be taught in the final year of Key Stage Three (at the age thirteen to fourteen), many schools started to teach the subject a year earlier

[47] Cannadine, Keating and Sheldon. *The Right Kind of History*, pp. 151, 155, 176, 214.
[48] Pearce, *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain*, p. 195.
[49] Department of Education, *The National Curriculum in England: Framework Document for Consultation* (London, 2013), p. 171.

in order to spend longer on the examined Key Stage Four course, following Coalition Education Secretary Michael Gove's reforms to make examinations 'harder'. In addition, the 2010 Academies Act enabled state schools to convert into academies where they were free to set their own curriculum. By 2018, seventy-two percent of secondary schools were academies, free from the obligation to teach about the Holocaust, though the majority of schools continued to do so.[50]

This thesis aims to explore how teachers grappled with the tensions between remembrance and knowledge, evaluating their beliefs about the purpose of history. Divisions among teachers about the need for Holocaust memory or Holocaust knowledge were widened in 2008 by the establishment of the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education (CfHE). Their 2009 report revealed gaps in teachers' knowledge about the Holocaust, due in part to their reliance on popular rather than academic discourse.[51] Their subsequent report in 2016 found that pupils held a number of misconceptions about the Holocaust and similarly relied on a cultural representations of the Holocaust.[52] In the same year, however, Prime Minister David Cameron reinforced a mnemonic approach to the Holocaust when he announced a national Holocaust memorial to, 'stand beside Parliament as a permanent statement of our values as a nation.'[53] The planned location of the memorial and education centre, adjacent to the Houses of Parliament, shared Victoria Gardens with the Buxton Memorial celebrating the abolition of slavery, the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst honouring women's suffrage, and the Burghers of

[50] S. Foster et al., *What do students know and understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English secondary schools* (London, 2016), p. 214; National Audit Office, Annual Report and Accounts 2018-19 www.nao.org.uk/report/nao-annual-report-andaccounts-2018-19-2 (28 July 2020).
[51] A. Pettigrew et al., *Teaching about the Holocaust in English secondary schools: an empirical study of national trends, perspectives and practice* (London, 2009), pp. 45-6.
[52] Foster et al., *What do students know and understand about the Holocaust?* p. 77.
[53] [Hansard], *Parliamentary Debates*, col. 216, (27 January 2016), https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmhansrd/cm150121/debtext/150121-0001.htm#15012165000005 (12 February 2020).

Calais marking an act of civic sacrifice, framing the Holocaust as part of a British tradition of fighting for freedom and equality. Between 2015 and 2020, the British Government and the HET reintegrated the liberation of Bergen-Belsen by the British Army into national Holocaust commemorations, a history had surprisingly absent in English Holocaust education since the 2000s.[54]

Compared to England, the arrest and deportations of Jews in France has rendered Holocaust remembrance a national obligation and form of atonement in France since 1995. On 16 and 17 July 1942, French police rounded up 13,152 Jews, of which 8,160 were interned in the Vel d'Hiv stadium, before their deportation to transit camps across France, and to Auschwitz.[55] A series of smaller internment camps were established across Occupied and Vichy France to imprison Jews, Gypsies, prostitutes, homosexuals, communists and resistance fighters. In 1953, a memorial-tomb for Holocaust victims, known as the Memorial of the Unknown Jewish Martyr, was built in Paris, which became the centre-point for an annual day of remembrance for deportees from 1962. Unlike in Britain, politicians occasionally spoke at the commemorative event, accompanied by former members of the French Resistance and Jewish survivors. According to Rebecca Clifford, however, the commemorations 'reproduced and reinforced a memorial hierarchy that reserved pride of place for deported resisters.'[56] The Holocaust remained a marginal element in memory of French deportations. It was not until 1992 that a French President, then François Mitterrand, spoke at the event, though he was

[54] 'Commemorative medal marks 70 years since the end of the Holocaust', UK Government (14 January 2015) https://www.gov.uk/government/news/commemorative-medal-marks-70-years-since-the-end-of-the-holocaust (29 December 2020); Holocaust Educational Trust, 'Bergen-Belsen - 75th Anniversary of Liberation' https://www.het.org.uk/belsen-75th-anniversary (29 December 2020).
[55] S. Klarsfeld, *French Children of the Holocaust: A Memorial* (New York, 1996), pp. 418-9.
[56] R. Clifford, *Commemorating the Holocaust: The dilemmas of Remembrance in France and Italy* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 51-2.

criticised for not recognising the role of France in the deportation, indicating that it was the crime of Vichy, not of the Republic.

Holocaust education was most influenced by the arrest and trial of Klaus Barbie, nicknamed the 'Butcher of Lyon', for the execution of hostages and Jews, and the deportation of several hundred people, including forty Jewish children. In 1983, he was arrested in Bolivia, and was put on trial in Lyon in 1987. For the first time in French history, the trial was filmed and broadcast daily for two hours, over 37 days. In memory of the children he deported, the Children of Izieu Memorial opened in 1994 and became a popular school excursion. According to Christian Delage, the museum was designed so that, 'the image of the handcuffed [Barbie] and sentenced executioner tends to remain more vivid than the painful memory of the fate of the Izieu children.'[57] Barbie's indictment condemned the national past and, by concentrating on the guilt of one man, started a process of atonement.

As in England, key cultural productions also influenced French consciousness about the Holocaust. Of note was Lanzmann's nine-and-a-half hour masterpiece *Shoah*, which popularised the Hebrew word for 'catastrophe' in France to signify the genocide of European Jewry.[58] Released in 1985, it was televised concurrently alongside Barbie's trial and, according to Joan Wolf, reached an audience of five million, sparking broad debates on anti-racism and the horrors of the Second World War.[59] Wolf's study of Holocaust memory in France over this period traces its development from a 'primarily Jewish concern' to a 'source of diffuse identification' in the 1980s and 1990s, and a 'symbol of victimisation on a broad scale' by the millennium.[60] In fact, Clifford found that the Jewish community were doubtful

[57] C. Delage, 'The Klaus Barbie Trial: Traces and Temporalities', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 48/3 (2011), p. 327.
[58] *Shoah*, C. Lanzmann (dir.), (Film, 1985).
[59] J. Wolf, *Harnessing the Holocaust: The Politics of Memory in France* (Stanford, 2004), p. 119.
[60] Wolf, *Harnessing the Holocaust*, pp. 2-3.

and hesitant about the introduction of a national day of commemoration in 1993, in contradiction to the widespread belief perpetuated by key public academics such as Pierre Nora that the Jewish community were 'relentless' in their demands for official recognition and remembrance for the genocide.[61]

According to mythology about France during the Second World War, the nation was constructed out of heroes and victims. Memory of the Holocaust blended this dichotomy, revising the sympathies of resistance fighters towards the Jewish plight, and widening victimhood to include French and foreign Jews.[62] It created tension and controversy by enlarging French villainy from collaboration to crimes against humanity, highlighted during Barbie's trial as well as the trials of French war criminals Paul Touvier in 1994 and Maurice Papon in 1997. Clifford identifies Jacques Chirac's recognition for the French administration's responsibility for the Holocaust during the Vichy regime in a speech in 1995 as a key turning point in French memory of the Holocaust: a theme that recurs throughout this thesis. In her study of the 1990s, Clifford argues that his speech 'became a platform from which to explore what this history meant to French (as defined by the state and its representatives), and as a locus for the articulation of a *devoir de mémoire* [duty of memory].'[63] This thesis explores how this moment has continued to define French commemoration of the Holocaust among teachers who are employed in the capacity of representatives of the state, some of whom only entered the profession years after Chirac's speech.

[61] Clifford, *Commemorating the Holocaust*, p. 2.
[62] Wolf, *Harnessing the Holocaust*, p. 158; R. Poznanski, 'Rescue of the Jews and the Resistance in France: From History to Historiography', *French Politics, Culture and Society*, 30/2 (2012), pp. 8-32.
[63] Clifford, *Commemorating the Holocaust*, p. 182.

This commemorative culture led the way for greater efforts on the part of the state to institutionalise memory of the Shoah in France. According to Peter Carrier, the state was most concerned with the transmission of memory, and therefore commemoration aimed to promote the Republic.[64] The *Mémorial de la Shoah* therefore opened in Paris in partnership with the Ministry of Education in 2005, and provided pedagogical resources and training for teachers across the country. Yet, education about the Holocaust predates these initiatives. Nazi concentration camps were first introduced onto France's national curriculum in 1961, but as part of a broader study of the Second World War and the Resistance, making it possible to teach the topic without mentioning genocide. In the 1980s and 1990s, textbook authors slowly incorporated a more complex history of the period.[65] The 1988 curriculum for the *première* (age sixteen to seventeen) and the *troisieme* (age fourteen to fifteen) included 'système concentrationnaire et génocide' [concentration camps and genocide] for the very first time.[66] Provision expanded from 1995, when pupils in the *terminale* (final year) studied 'l'univers concentrationnaire et l'extermination des Juifs et des Tsiganes' [concentration camps and the extermination of the Jews and the Gypsies]. From 2002, the *première* curriculum covered the Shoah as part of the theme, 'Le monde, l'Europe, la France du milieu du xixe siècle à 1945'.[67] In 2008, Nicolas Sarkozy introduced education about the Holocaust in primary schools, making the Holocaust a compulsory element of the national history curriculum at all levels. At the same time, the Ministry of Education released a bulletin stating,

[64] P. Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989* (New York, 2005), p. 65.
[65] Bensoussan, 'L'enseignement de la Shoah dans l'Éducation nationale française, pp. 142-6; A. Blaustein-Niddam, 'La Shoah dans l'enseignement de l'histoire en France depuis 1990', *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 193/2 (2010), pp. 151-168.
[66] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Bulletin officiel n°22*, (9 June 1988).
[67] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Bulletin officiel n°12*, (29 June 1995); *Bulletin officiel n°7*, (3 October 2002).

> Teaching of the Shoah has a civic purpose and responds to a moral duty. It is not only a question of transmitting memory and knowledge: we must give all students information on culture and stimulate debate, enabling them to refuse all forms of racism and discrimination.[68]

Just as in England, the Ministry of Education connected education about the Holocaust to the responsibilities of citizenship and civic morality. Starting in 1987, at the height of the Barbie Affair in France and following the establishment of the HET in England, this thesis explores how teachers have responded to their moral, civic and statutory mandates to transmit memory of the Holocaust to younger generations.

Teaching cultures and styles

Excitement in post-war England about progressive pedagogies driven by the emerging field of child psychology led to the growth of 'child-centred learning' in secondary modern and comprehensive schools.[69] Their intention was to centre learning on the individual child's nature and development into a functioning member of society.[70] In 1969, the Schools Council described history as a subject which would help young people 'to organise their relationships within an increasingly complex society'.[71] Starting in the 1970s, the Schools Council History Project allowed teachers the option of syllabi that included local and contemporary history, responded to the pupil's social environment and increasingly encouraged history teaching that supported anti-racist, liberal values. Resistance to the 'New History' approach manifested in teachers' ambivalence to pedagogical reform, and among who argued that the

[68] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Bulletin officiel n°29*, (17 July 2008).
[69] W.J. Reese, 'The origins of progressive education', *History of Education Quarterly*, 41/1 (2001), pp. 1-24.
[70] L. Tisdall, *A Progressive Education? How childhood changed in mid-twentieth-century English and Welsh schools*, (Manchester, 2019), pp. 3-5.
[71] Schools Council, *Humanities for the young school leaver - An Approach through History* (London, 1969), p. 16.

purpose of history education should be to understand and interpret the past, rather than the development of 'meaningless' child-centred skills such as empathy and critical thinking.[72]

Centralised education in France prioritised teachers' subject knowledge over pedagogy with the ambition of creating French unity through consistency. Up until 1990, secondary teachers were trained at university, obtaining a *licence* [Bachelor's degree], and then preparing for either the general (CAPES) or higher-level (*agrégation*) competitive examination. As teachers were recruited on the basis of their subject knowledge, and only received light vocational preparation, teachers were hesitant to adopt new pedagogies. The majority of teachers were resistant to the pedagogical reforms introduced in 1968, creating a political divide between the '*pédagogues'* and the '*républicains'*.[73] Inspired by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron's 1964 publication *Les Héritiers : Les étudiants et la culture*, pedagogues argued that reform could improve social mobility, whilst *républicains* feared the decline of subject knowledge and the growth of communitarianism. In July 1989, the *loi d'orientation sur l'éducation* introduced 'child-centred' education, in response to educational developments in England and the USA. The law created *Instituts universitaires de formation des maîtres* [university institutes for teacher education], which provided secondary teachers with professional and pedagogical preparation, and knowledge about the education system.[74] Resistance to the reforms reignited the debate between *républicains* and *pédagogues*, meaning that teachers who were trained before 1990 tended to teach traditionally through

[72] See Tisdall, *A Progressive Education*, pp. 215-244; J. Slater, *The Politics of History Teaching: A Humanity Dehumanized?* (London, 1989); R. Phillips, *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State: Study in Educational Politics* (London, 1998).
[73] A. Robert, 'Autour de mai 1968, la pédagogie en question. Le colloque d'Amiens', *Les Sciences de l'éducation*, 41/3 (2008), pp. 27-45.
[74] D. Bancel, *Créer une nouvelle dynamique de la formation des maîtres, Rapport au Ministre de l'éducation nationale* (Paris, 1989).

'cours magistral' ['chalk and talk'], whilst younger teachers were somewhat more open to group work and skills-based learning.

Within these pedagogical approaches, teachers varied in their style. Some presented themselves as experts, whilst others became authorities in the classroom, carefully controlling the flow of knowledge. Some preferred to facilitate learning, preparing collaborative and independent tasks. Certain teachers preferred to delegate control and responsibility to their pupils, but this approach was sometimes restricted when teaching the Holocaust because of its sensitive nature. These styles interacted with pedagogical discourse about the Holocaust: in England in the 2000s, educators debated whether knowledge-based learning had been diluted in Holocaust education in favour of moral lessons.[75] In the same period in France, teachers and educational researchers grappled with how to teach *questions socialements vives* [polemical social issues], which included the history of the Shoah as teachers identified tensions arising from postcolonial questions, antisemitism and the Israel-Palestinian conflict.[76] Whilst teachers did not always follow these debates closely, many were aware that Holocaust teaching was subject to scrutiny and judgement.

This thesis has attempted to include the voices of teachers who were active and absent in these discourses, including those who rarely attended professional development outside of their own school. This silent majority provide an important reflection of both teaching practice and Holocaust memory across each locality. Nevertheless, it is worth reflecting on

[75] For pedagogical debate see P. Salmons, 'Teaching or Preaching? The Holocaust and intercultural education in the UK', *Intercultural Education,* 14/2 (2003), pp. 139-149; For historicization see D. Stone, 'From Stockholm to Stockton: The Holocaust and/as Heritage in Britain', in C. Sharples and O. Jensen (eds), *Britain and the Holocaust: Remembering and Representing War and Genocide* (London, 2013), pp. 212-229; A. Pearce, 'The Holocaust in the National Curriculum after 25 years', *Holocaust Studies*, 23/3 (2017), pp. 231-262.

[76] A. Legardez, 'Enseigner des questions socialement' in A. Legardez and L. Simonneaux, *L'école à l'épreuve de l'actualité: Enseigner des questions vives* (Paris, 2006), p. 25; P. Drahi, *Enseigner la Shoah et les questions socialement vives* (Paris, 2017), pp. 12-13.

what it means to be ‘academically active’ in each country. In England, this would include teachers who have published in *Teaching History*, the professional journal targeted at secondary school history teachers, or were members of the professional body Historical Association and attended their regional and national conferences. More recently, they may be active on #edutwitter. A small number of participating teachers engaged in professional development, training their colleagues in how to teach themes in history. Beyond policy and curricula, their interests and disagreements are predominantly pedagogical, centring on skills and experimental teaching practice. Whilst teaching journals published in France by Reseau-Canopé (known as the Centre national de documentation pédagogique between 1932 and 2011) included some pedagogical content, the majority of their publications focused on the transmission of French values and citizenship. Only the multidisciplinary journal *Textes et documents pour la classe* (TDC) provided teachers support in preparing their lessons. Many teachers in France were therefore more comfortable discussing the sociology of education rather than pedagogy. This difference was reinforced by the entry-requirements to the profession. In France, teachers were able to choose their school of preference through a points-based system. The *agrégation* ranked highest but was typically open only to holders of a master's degree or above. As such, many teachers conducted postgraduate research in history and were ‘academically engaged’. These teachers therefore often conducted historical research themselves, or otherwise contributed professionally to the field by studying the works of ‘great’ thinkers and writers.

Sources and Methodology

With contrasting histories of the Holocaust and the Second World War, England and France serve as valuable national case studies to compare the politics of Holocaust memory and the

importance attached to memory transmission.[77] As both countries grapple with the legacy of their respective empires, this project is able to consider how Holocaust education interacts with the memory of empire. It explores the opportunities and tensions created from using the history of the Holocaust to address contemporary racism, Islamophobia and antisemitism. Memories of 'difficult histories' also differ between localities, as different communal groups prioritise different historical memories dependant on local identities and the history's local legacy. Both teachers and pupils are influenced by memorials, monuments, street and school names, signalling which cultures, communities and achievements celebrated locally. I have therefore constructed this oral history project around four localities to each serve as case studies on Holocaust memory and pedagogy: Aix-en-Provence and Marseille in France, and Lincolnshire and Leeds/Bradford in England. Differences in each location's history, class composition, school system and demography help to unravel the complexities, conflicts and nuances in national mnemonic culture.

Marseille's identity was oft described as Mediterranean, a term that also carried racial connotations as a euphemism to refer to multi-ethnic immigrants residing in the poorer neighbourhoods of the city.[78] The city bounced between celebrations of its 'melting-pot' multiculturalism, characterised by poet Jean-Claude Izzo's description of 'a place where anyone, of any colour, could get off a boat, or a train, suitcase in hand, nothing in their pocket, and melt into the stream of other men', and characterisations of division, racism, crime and inequality.[79] Whilst Marseille's identity was built on the diversity of a Mediterranean port city, immigration to Aix started in the 1950s, which, according to the

[77] This thesis considers England rather than Britain as the Scottish and Northern Irish education system has historically been separate from the English and Welsh system. Wales was joined with England until 1997, but schooling and examinations were organised locally.
[78] C. Bullen, 'Marseille, ville méditerranéenne?', *Rives méditerranéennes*, 42 (2012), p. 157.
[79] J-C. Izzo, *Total Khéops*, (Paris, 1995), p. 235; M. Peraldi and M. Samson, *Gouverner Marseille. Enquête sur les mondes politiques marseillais* (Paris, 2005), pp. 9-10.

Musée d'Immigration, took the city by surprise.[80] Unlike Marseille, Aix was a largely bourgeois city, nicknamed the twenty-first *arrondissement* of Paris, and was 'largely asleep' when the migratory flows to the industrial and commercial Marseille spread to neighbouring Aix. In the early 1970s, Marseille became a prominent centre of Arab activism.[81] A decade later in 1983, the Marche des Beurs [March of the Arabs], considered to be the first national anti-racist movement in France, set off from Marseille and reached a mass demonstration in Paris 64 days later.

The cities' differences were reflected in the education system with twenty-one 'underperforming' *collèges* in Marseille targeted within *zones d'éducation prioritaires* (ZEPs) in 1990 (out of a total of ninety-three public schools), and zero in Aix-en-Provence (out of a total of sixteen public schools).[82] By 2018, only one *collège* in Aix-en-Provence was registered within the *réseaux d'éducation prioritaire* compared to thirty in Marseille, of which twenty-three were considered to be in need of significant support.[83] A number of terrorist attacks occurred in France over the 2010s, including a number of antisemitic attacks. Marseille train station was targeted in 2017, only a few months before I started interviewing, and an air of tension persisted in public spaces as I travelled between interviews. Therefore, whilst Marseille was often described as 'vibrant' and 'dangerous', Aix-en-Provence was regarded as its bourgeois neighbour, filled with leafy boulevards of boutique shops, and

[80] Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration, 'Les Algériens à Aix-en-Provence', http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/musee/collections/les-algeriens-a-aix-en-provence (4 January 2017).
[81] D. Gordon, *Immigrants and Intellectuals May '68 and the Rise of Anti-Racism in France* (Pontypool, 2012), pp. 130-2.
[82] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Ecole et établissements scolaires ayant relevé d'un dispositif d'éducation prioritaire entre les années scolaires 1982-1983 et 2014-2015* (Paris, 2017).
[83] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 'Les réseaux d'éducation prioritaire (REP) dans l'académie d'Aix-Marseille' https://www.education.gouv.fr/les-reseaux-d-education-prioritaire-rep-dans-l-academie-d-aix-marseille-5894 (13 March 2020). A number of state-approved private schools also operated in each city: 86 in Marseille and 15 in Aix-en-Provence, providing the option for religious (usually Catholic) education, usually at the cost of €300 to €1500 per annum.

prided itself on its cultivation of Impressionist art, Baroque architecture and Provençal heritage.

Both Aix-en-Provence and Marseille are haunted by their proximity to the Camp des Milles which lies in the southern suburbs of Aix. Until Serge Klarsfeld's publication of *Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France* in 1978, the camp's dark history was forgotten in official histories of France during the Second World War.[84] German and Austrians, many of whom were Jews seeking refuge, were first interned in the camp as enemy aliens. Upon the establishment of the Vichy regime in June 1940, the camp became a transit camp for 'undesirables', with women and children interned in three hotels in central Marseille.[85] In June 1942, the remaining 2000 camp inmates were transferred to Auschwitz via Drancy and Rivesaltes. In 2012, Camp des Milles reopened as a memorial and education centre and has engaged in significant outreach programmes across the regions. Every teacher that I interviewed in both Aix and Marseille had visited the site, many had revisited with school groups, and some returned annually.

The city of Marseille shared some parallels with the neighbouring cities of Leeds and Bradford in Yorkshire. Bradford experienced significant migration in the 1960s from the Mirpur region of Pakistan who moved to Bradford to work in the cotton mill industry. As in Marseille, communities who had migrated from former colonies were considered to threaten 'English' nationhood. Starting in the 1980s, the National Front marched through Bradford to protest the existence of non-white communities, and similar white nationalist marches were organised by the British National Party (BNP) in the 1980s and 1990s. The levels of racism strengthened Muslim identity among the city's Pakistani community, and the city slowly

[84] S. Klarsfeld, *Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France* (Paris, 1978).
[85] D. Ryan, *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana, 1996), pp. 93-4.

divided into Asian and white neighbourhoods. This division was bolstered by the Salman Rushdie affair when his book *The Satanic Verses* was burnt in Bradford in 1989. Race riots in 2001 and the growth in Islamophobia since the 2005 terrorist attacks in London further entrenched division between communities.[86] Racism similarly affected the city of Leeds, not least by neo-fascist football hooliganism that emerged in the 1980s around Leeds United FC, and just like in Bradford, Leeds was similarly struck by race riots in 2001. From, the 1950s, migrants arrived to the city from South Asia, the Caribbean, Africa and Eastern Europe creating a diverse metropole in the centre of Yorkshire.[87] Like most of England, Leeds and Bradford also lacked any direct history of the Holocaust. However, north Leeds was the home to a vibrant Jewish community including several Holocaust survivors.[88] Recent improvements to Bradford schools at the time of interviewing meant that pupils in Bradford performed better than their counterparts in Leeds by 2018 compared to when school league tables were first collated in 2001.[89]

In stark contrast to Leeds and Bradford, Lincolnshire was made up of wheat and barley fields, and narrow country roads that joined together small market towns. The flat agricultural lands on the eastern coast of England made a perfect location for the Royal Air Force (RAF). Lincolnshire is proudly remembered as a 'bomber county' with a strong, positive memory of the Second World War. In total there were 165 RAF bases across the county, of which seven were still operating in 2018. Though Lincolnshire had no direct history of the Holocaust, Lincoln was home to a rich medieval Jewish heritage and a darker antisemitic past. In

[86] J. Bujra and J. Pearce, *Saturday night and Sunday morning: the 2001 Bradford riot and beyond*, (Skipton, 2011); R. Gildea, *Empires of the Mind: The Colonial Past and the Politics of the Present*, (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 139, 164-5, 180, 186.
[87] M. Zulfiqar, *Land of Hope and Glory? Presence of African, Asian and Caribbean Communities in Leeds* (Leeds, 1993).
[88] D. Saunders and P. Lester, *From the Leyands to Leeds 17* (Leeds, 2014).
[89] Department of Education, 'KS4 Final results by LEA' 2001-2018. www.compare-school-performance.service.gov.uk (6 May 2020).

addition to pogroms recorded in 1190, 1220, and 1266, Lincoln was the centre of medieval British 'blood libel', a history which lingered into the twentieth century.[90] Little Hugh's death was chronicled in Geoffrey Chaucer's 'The Prioress's Tale' in *The Canterbury Tales* and he was sainted in the English church. Whilst the anti-Judaism has been forgotten, 'Jew's Court', 'Jew's House' and the home of Jewish money-lender 'Aaron the Jew' are memorialised on Steep Hill, leading up to the Cathedral as part of the city's tourist route; the city has resisted references to antisemitism. As recent as 2016, the Lincolnshire Society for History and Archaeology rejected a funded initiative to open a museum on Jewish history and medieval antisemitism within the building 'Jew's Court'.[91]

Across Lincolnshire, most people never encountered Jewish communities. With a population of less than 100 Jews across the whole county, second- or third-generation memory of the Holocaust was exceptionally rare. However, since 1995 teachers regularly visited the National Holocaust Centre (Beth Shalom) in neighbouring Nottinghamshire. Teachers who had met a survivor built strong emotional connections with their story, remembering the survivor's testimony in detail, and regularly referred to them by their first name. The growth of Polish and Lithuanian communities in the region meant that some pupils held intergenerational memories of the Nazi occupation, although these were rarely acknowledged by teachers who had centred Germany in their narrative of the Holocaust. Other local encounters with the Holocaust were mediated by the church or the military. Lincoln Cathedral hosted the county's principal Holocaust memorial service since 2001, and Second World War exhibitions that included the history of the Holocaust were hosted by RAF bases in the 2010s.[92] Though most schools across England were transformed into comprehensive

[90] C. Roth, *Mediaeval Lincoln Jewry and its Synagogue* (London, 1934), pp. 16-17.
[91] Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, *2016 Annual Report* (Lincoln, 2016).
[92] S. Edwards, 'Cathedral tribute marks Holocaust', *Lincolnshire Echo*, (28 January 2001)

schools after 1965, ending the tripartite divide in schooling, Lincolnshire Local Education Authority (LEA) maintained selective education.

This thesis relies on fifty-four interviews conducted with fifty-nine teachers in England and France and discussions and commentary on Holocaust education in local and national media alongside a study of professional teaching journals and magazines: *Historiens et Géographes*, *L'Histoire*, *Teaching History* and the *Times Educational Supplement*. I have used this commentary in conversation with teachers' interviews in order to understand what is 'at stake' in Holocaust education. In each case study location, I wrote to every secondary school about my project, asking to interview history teachers. I contacted local teaching union and teaching association branches with differing levels of success. For teachers who replied, I organised to meet them in their school, home or a public space. This project was not intended to provide a representative sample of teachers across England and France, or even within my local case studies. Though I have attempted balances between age and generation, individual recollections cannot be representative of teachers' backgrounds, family histories, education and careers.[93] These differences and idiosyncrasies instead form the foundation of this research project. Not every oral history interview has been referred to in this thesis as I have chosen to discuss the same teachers in multiple chapters when possible, so that the reader can grasp the complexity of their Holocaust memories, professional reflections and pedagogical choices across various themes. The teacher interviews that I have not referred to, nevertheless, influenced my thinking and analysis throughout this thesis.

[93] Throughout this thesis, teachers have been provided the option of using a pseudonym. Whilst the details of their background were vital to this project, I took the approach that the study of collective memory did not need to identify each teacher by name. In all cases, only the teacher's first name is used. Accordingly, the names of the schools that they have worked in have remained confidential, to provide teachers with the ability to speak freely, and to protect the identities of any minors who could otherwise be identified throughout this study.

This study asks teachers about 'the past' and *their* past to locate individual memory within the collective. In each interview, they respond to questions about their origins, their parents, their social class, their relationships, their religion and politics, before I ask about their teaching career. These histories are personal, and for the most part private, especially in France where the culture of *laïcité* encourages the teacher to maintain a strict separation between the public and the private sphere.[94] Asking an individual about their religion is forbidden in French schools, so my oral history interviews transcended an uncomfortable barrier of political norms. Whilst many teachers in England and France chose to meet me in their schools, a great number of French teachers opted to meet in public spaces outside of the school, such as cafés and parks, whilst English teachers often invited me into their homes. Some approached the interview with the formality of a teacher 'in role', constructing as Lynn Abrams reflects, 'a version of the self, drawing upon discursive formulations or recognisable public identities available to him or her'.[95] Their vocation occasionally became a barrier as they chose what to share and what remained private. Others perceived the interview as an opportunity to converse socially. One French teacher turned up to the interview in a park with a full picnic, bottle of wine and subsequently phoned his two children to join us.

Since the 1990s, there has been increased 'awareness and use of the interactive process of interviewer and narrator, interviewer and content' as oral historians have considered intersubjectivity.[96] As Lynn Abrams observed, 'there are two people involved in an

[94] The challenges posed by oral history have been discussed extensively by historians. Of note is A. Portelli, *Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: The Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York, 1991); R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (London, 1998); L. Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Abingdon, 2016).
[95] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 65.
[96] V. Yow, '"Do I like them too much?" Effects of the oral history interview on the interviewer and vice-versa', *Oral History Review*, 24/1 (1997), pp. 55–79; See also V. Yow, 'Interviewing techniques and strategies' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, (London, 2015), pp. 153-178.

interview, which means two worlds, or subjectivities, are colliding.'[97] For example, my association with the University of Oxford influenced their perspective of me; usually positively in France, where teachers would often introduce me to their colleagues and headteacher, and felt pride that their school was the subject of interest to an Oxford researcher. In England, my university affiliation sometimes intimidated teachers, who were anxious about being judged in an educational system that augmented teacher accountability. They were fearful of Oxford snobbery and arrogance. To compensate, I proudly asserted my professional identity as a former teacher, displaying empathy for a challenging and hectic job, and hopefully encouraging honesty for moments when their teaching practice did not follow the orthodoxy or meet the expected pedagogical standards. As a consequence, teachers were less prepared when I started asking personal questions about their own lives. By thinking of me as a fellow teacher, they were keener to share what they had taught that week, month or year, than treat the interview as a historical exercise.

In every interview, my age, race, gender and nationality were at play, interweaving my presence, identity and personality into each oral history. In France, my youth, gender and 'Britishness' often changed the power dynamic, particularly with older teachers. Their perception of my naivety at times facilitated the interview, as teachers generalised about how things are done in France, inadvertently revealing their interpretation of educational policy, their relationship with the state and their beliefs about the purpose of history education. At other moments, it was restrictive as I sensed teachers filtered out the nuances of French culture. My foreignness also meant that teachers were much more alert to the comparative element of my project. On occasion, their candidness rested on the assumption of reciprocity, reminiscent of Doña María's intervention in his oral history interview with Daniel James:

[97] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 21.

'you just want to get things from me, but you don't tell me anything about yourself, about what you think, about your ideas. What do you value?'[98] Though I use the word 'interview' throughout my thesis, they resembled a 'deep exchange' to use Alessandro Portelli's description.[99] A teacher's openness relied on the trust that they built in myself and their judgements about my motivations, capabilities, biases and integrity.

I asked teachers about their family's experiences of the Second World War and other traumas and conflicts, looking at what family narratives and myths had been constructed and shared between generations. Whilst positive memories and injustices were often inherited, trauma and shame were sometimes repressed or rejected.[100] For some, sharing these pasts was easy and they filled the interview with nostalgia and pride about their relatives glorious tales of sacrifice and servitude during the Second World War. For others, stories of suffering defined the family's identity. When it conflicted with dominant narratives, family history sometimes became a silent 'forbidden zone of memory', just as Orlando Figes described in his study of private life in Soviet Russia.[101] Others could synthesise their family history with external narratives of the past. As this thesis aimed to discover how teachers' balanced family histories with dominant narratives that demarcated national identity and belonging, translating these silences and deconstructing hybrid narratives posed a number of ethical and interpretative challenges.[102]

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[98] D. James, ''Listening in the cold' The practice of oral history in an Argentine working-class community', in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (London, 2015), p. 80.
[99] A. Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, 1997), p. 72.
[100] P. Thompson, 'Family Myth, Models, and Denials in the Shaping of Individual Life Paths' in D. Bertaux and P. Thompson (eds), *Between generations: family models, myths, and memories* (Oxford, 1993), p. 15.
[101] O. Figes, 'Private Life in Stalin's Russia: Family Narratives, Memory and Oral History', *History Workshop Journal*, 65 (2008), pp. 117– 37.
[102] A. Freund, 'Toward an Ethics of Silence? Negotiating Off-the-Record Events and Identity in Oral History,' in A. Sheftel and S. Zembryski (eds*), Oral History Off the Record: Toward and Ethnography of Practice* (New York, 2013), p. 223.

My interviews finally asked the teacher to narrate a past that is not their own. This thesis considers teachers' historical memory of the Holocaust: their learnt experience of an event that they did not experience but have understood through its historical representations and cultural productions. This complex entanglement between individual historical memory and collective memory revealed patterns of narrative, but also individualised understandings that reinforced collective memory's fluidity and idiosyncrasies. Oral histories have therefore found that individuals' testimonies are often moulded to fit broader contexts and align with a shared social memory of the same event or popular myths.[103] Just as Portelli argued that the 'the importance of oral testimony may often lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge', so should this be applied to their narratives of others' pasts if we are to determine the substance of collective memory.[104]

Chapter outline

In chapter one, I analyse teachers' family memories of the Second World War and the Holocaust, looking for moments when family memory can enrich or subvert the school curriculum. In chapter two, I look at how teachers use Holocaust memory to form national, and global citizens, asking: do you need to remember the Holocaust to be British or French? how does Holocaust memory relate to national identity? Chapter three considers the interaction between Holocaust memory and other memories on the local level: how teachers connect the Holocaust to the memory of Bomber Command in Lincolnshire and the amalgamation of Holocaust and Resistance memory in Provence. It tests whether these local examples fit Michael Rothberg's definition of multidirectional memory and whether teaching

[103] For example, see P. Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), pp. 65–93; A. Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford, 1994).
[104] Portelli, Death of Luigi Trastulli, p. 51; See also Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory', pp. 179–97.

the Holocaust facilitates memory of other genocides. In chapter four, I look at Holocaust memory in relation to colonial memory, and how teachers' perceptions of antisemitism and Islamophobia influence how they teach the Holocaust in multi-religious and multi-ethnic communities. Chapter five considers the 'connective structure' of cultural memory that binds the individual to collective memory. It analyses when and how teachers engage with authorities such as museums as a source of knowledge, as a pedagogical resource and as a *lieu de mémoire*. Chapter six considers the role of 'storytelling' in Holocaust memory. Looking at softer, non-institutional forms of cultural memory such as novels, films and memoirs, it considers the power and popularity of Holocaust representations. It looks at Holocaust iconography as well as teachers' use of Holocaust 'fictions' and cinema to confront difficult national pasts. Finally, in chapter seven, I consider teachers' emotional engagement with the Holocaust and the production of emotion in the classroom, looking at ideas about childhood and the use of Holocaust education in the creation of 'future citizens'.

A note on terminology

Not all agree with the use of the term 'Holocaust'. Deriving from the Greek term *Holokaustos*, meaning 'burnt sacrificial offering', its common-day parlance has been met with resistance for obfuscating the memory of the victims. The Hebrew word 'Shoah', meaning 'catastrophe', is more popular in France, owing largely to the success of Claude Lanzmann's film of the same name. I have chosen to use the word Holocaust when discussing the historical event in England, and the word Shoah when commenting on France. Whilst this may be confusing, it follows the chosen vocabulary used and spoken by teachers and reflects a crucial difference in meaning. Though the term Holocaust is commonly used to discuss Jewish victims of the genocide, teachers in England tend to define the word more broadly, using the term to encompass the Roma, the Sinti, homosexuals, political victims, the

disabled and Afro-Germans. Teachers in France predominantly used the term Shoah to discuss Jewish victims, as separate to the *génocide des Tsiganes* [genocide of the Gypsies], and to political victims who were subsumed into narratives about the French Resistance. Other victim groups rarely surfaced in interviews with French teachers, reinforcing the need to use the word Shoah in this thesis when discussing France. This corresponds with the Mémorial de la Shoah's narrow definition of the term: 'the word Shoah covers the genocide stricto sensu, that is a period from the beginning of the massacres in the summer of 1941, until the end of the war in Europe in the spring of 1945, when European Jews ceased to be in danger.'[105] When discussing the history of the genocide generally, I have used the term Holocaust as is most commonly used in the Anglosphere.

[105] Mémorial de la Shoah, 'FAQs', http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/en/archives-and-documentation/what-is-the-shoah/frequently-asked-questions.html (16 April 2020).

Chapter 1: Negotiating family memory and 'textbook' narratives of the Holocaust

Teachers' family memory of the Second World War and the Holocaust is no more exceptional than that of any other professional or social group. Nevertheless, history teachers are unique in their practice and observance of memory, for they have opted for a profession which advances a collective understanding of the past through historical narratives in national curricula, school textbooks and in preparation for national school examinations. This chapter explores teachers' family memories of the Second World War and the Holocaust in England and France, and how they influenced the way in which teachers approached these histories in their classrooms. It argues that teachers navigate their own family memories and loyalties with national memories of the Holocaust and imagined conceptions of national identity, sometimes using their lessons to synthesise their family identity and memories with dominant national Holocaust memory and facilitate their own sense of 'belonging'. Memory academics such as Jan Assmann and Marianne Hirsch suggest that memory can pass between generations, which allows individuals to imagine memories of an event that they did not experience themselves.[106] Silences within family memory, often perpetuated by histories of trauma, therefore render a national curriculum useful by providing a national collective memory for the teacher to understand and locate their own family's past.

Inherited memories feel personal and intimate as they are inherited from trusted and loved family members. This awards them an air of authenticity and can serve as identity markers for younger generations of the family. Anne Schützenberger studied the pathologies, rituals,

[106] J. Assmann, 'Collective memory and cultural identity'. *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), pp. 125-133; M. Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', *Poetics Today*, 29/1 (2008), p. 111.

behaviours and rules that are transmitted within families, often unconsciously and silently.[107] She found that debts, injustices, gratitude, guilt and resentment are measured by a system of family accounting in which loyalties and grievances are inherited through generations. Jan Assmann labels these unspoken, 'bodily' and 'affective' transmissions as 'communicative memory', a process to which he gives a lifespan of eighty years, or three to four generations.[108] Whereas memory and identity is transferred through silence, gestures, body language and unarticulated everyday choices, Schützenberger notes that *felt injustice* is often verbalised, whether it relates to ordinary occurrences such as the transfer of wealth through inheritance, or to collective feelings of injustice, and can date back hundreds of years. The articulation of felt injustice explains the cultural mobilisation of the Crusades (1096 – 1291) in some Muslim communities, or of the Armenian genocide (1915) among the Armenian diaspora, passed down from relations who experienced or witnessed events and outspan the 80-year lifespan of Assmann's 'communicative memory'. These family loyalties also shape the individual's consciousness and provide a 'role expectation' regarding their trust, merit, commitment, loyalty and action towards the injustice. As this affects how individuals define 'us', 'them' and develop a historical perspective, it can influence how teachers situate their own identity in their teaching, including their understanding of the Holocaust.

Communicated intergenerational memory

Very few teachers I interviewed had a personal connection to the Holocaust. The majority were born after 1945 and the few teachers who had lived through the Second World War were young children during it. Certainly, none had directly witnessed the Holocaust, though some had family who suffered under Nazi persecution. This differed between localities: in Lincolnshire,

[107] A. Schützenberger, *The ancestor syndrome: transgenerational psychotherapy and the hidden links in the family tree* (London, 1998), pp. 22-30.
[108] Assmann, 'Collective memory and cultural identity', p. 127.

for example no teachers who I interviewed were Jewish. This matched the demographic of the region: in Lincolnshire, the 2001 and 2011 censuses recorded around 400 people of Jewish origin living in the entire county, amounting to 0.06 percent of the population. This was similar in Bradford, where 365 people identified as Jewish in 2001 and 299 in 2011, amounting to 0.1 percent of the city's population. In Leeds, 0.9 percent, or around 6800 individuals identified as Jewish in the 2011 census, reduced from 8265 individuals (1.2 percent) in 2001.[109] In both Aix-en-Provence and Marseille, the Jewish population was greater, though demographic statistics by religion are not recorded by the French state. Nevertheless, Marseille is estimated to have the second largest Jewish community in France after Paris, numbering approximately 70,000 people, or ten percent of the total population. As a result, several teachers I interviewed from Marseille were Jewish or had Jewish ancestry. Some teachers therefore had a familial or communal connection to the Holocaust which shaped their identity and memory of the Nazi period.

Some teachers were able to synthesise the memories of the Second World War inherited from their family with the narratives of history that they taught in school. This was particularly apparent in France where memory of the 'good' resistance and 'bad' collaborators created a binary national identity that families were keen to celebrate if they could claim to be from the right side. Teaching allowed them to reembody the values that framed their familial narrative and use their personal connection to the Holocaust to overcome their pupils' disconnection due to their temporal distance and their racial and religious backgrounds. This was the case with Édouard, a young, enthusiastic teacher who had grown up as the youngest of four brothers in 'la bourgeoisie intellectuelle de Marseille'.[110] His secular Jewish father was a professor of

[109] Office for National Statistics, *2011 Census aggregate data* (London, 2016); Office for National Statistics, *2001 Census aggregate data* (London, 2011).
[110] Interview with Édouard, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 23 May 2018.

mathematics at Aix-Marseille University and his Catholic-born mother worked as a researcher in drug addiction care and recovery. He grew up in what he described as an atheist family in the leafy south of the city, going to school in an affluent and quasi-international public school, studying at the l'Institut d'Études Politiques in Aix-en-Provence, and returning to complete a Masters in Comparative Political Science specialising in the Arab and Muslim world. At this point, struggling for an outlet, he decided to take the *agrégation* to qualify as a teacher. Édouard knew the history of the Shoah through his ancestral past. When asked whether he learnt about the Shoah at school, he commented,

> Je pense que c'était d'abord à l'école. Je pense après, ça ne me concernait pas personnellement puisque les parents de mon père étaient juifs d'Europe de l'Est et mon grand-père a fait les camps de concentration. Il a fait Buchenwald mais en tant que résistant communiste, pas en tant que juif. Voilà donc oui nous en parlons pas mal. Il en parlait beaucoup. J'en avais entendu parler oui à l'école.[111]
>
> [I think it was first at school. I think… it didn't really apply to me since my father's parents were Jews from Eastern Europe and my grandfather lived through the concentration camps. He was at Buchenwald but as a communist resistance fighter, not as a Jew. So yes, we talk about it quite a lot. He talked about it a lot. And yes, I had heard about it at school.]

Édouard could not say more regarding his own education about the Shoah in secondary school. His knowledge was constructed around the conversations he had with his father and grandparents. His grandfather originated from the city of Kishinev in Bessarabia (now Moldova) and was of a member of the Manouchian communist resistance group in France, who were the subject of the famous *Affiche Rouge* (the Red Poster). According to their family legend, his grandfather formed a 'triangle' with Jozsef Boczov and Emeric Glasz who were shot at Mount Valérien, after which his grandfather was deported to Buchenwald. His grandmother was also a communist resister, member of the Main d'Oeuvre Immigrée, an

[111] Interview with Édouard.

immigrant faction of the *Francs-Tireurs et Partisans*, the communist armed resistance organisation, and the sole survivor of a large Jewish family murdered in Bessarabia.



Figure 1.1 L'Affiche Rouge, Paris, 1944.

It is likely that Édouard's school education reinforced the tales he heard at home, as all French school textbooks from the period included several pages of documents relating to the active

resistance, often including an image of the famous *L'Affiche Rouge*, as labelled above.[112] Though school textbooks said nothing about foreigners' contributions to the resistance, the centrality of this movement in the school programme underscored the relevance and significance of his family's contribution to France during the war, but without the intimacy and sentiment of the stories passed down by his grandfather.[113]

Despite knowing the fate of his Jewish family in Bessarabia, Édouard was able to celebrate his grandparents' political connection to the Second World War and to Buchenwald, as these were the stories that survived. His grandparents' communist history was a point of pride and it clearly shaped the family's identity and values; he described his upbringing as, 'c'était vraiment par une culture d'extrême gauche. D'extrême gauche'.[114] [It was really a far-left culture. Of the far-left.] He remembered the Vichy regime not only through the frame of the Shoah, but also for the persecution of communists, and Édouard was keen to attest that his grandfather was sent to Buchenwald for being a communist, not as a Jew. His father had too been deeply engaged in far-left politics and was co-president of the Union Juive Française pour la Paix, a secular, universalist organisation founded in 1994, with a mission to defend the Palestinians' right to a state in the territories occupied by Israel in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza. Immersed in the aggressive politics of antisemitism and antizionism, Édouard's father defended his right to criticise Israel through his family heritage as Jewish resistance fighters in Nazi France.[115] As a result, Édouard's personal family history was rendered political and public. Consequently, Édouard had no hesitations in using the example of his family when teaching about the Shoah and Vichy France. He commented,

[112] See Figure 1.1
[113] For example, J. Bodineau et al. *Histoire Géographie 3e* (Vanves, 2007), p. 39.
[114] Interview with Édouard.
[115] Union Juive française pour la paix, 'Le sionisme m'a quitter', http://www.ujfp.org/spip.php?article6235 (25 October 2018).

> J'en ai parlé oui et je suis, l'an prochain, je jouerai au niveau les troisièmes qui font l'histoire contemporaine. On en reparlera à ce moment-là. Eh oui évidemment je leur en parle toujours de ce que je vis de ce que j'ai vécu des voyages [en Moldavie] que j'ai fait par exemple pour qu'ils comprennent que c'est quelque chose de concret. Je leur demande du sort de ma famille et toute la famille de ma grand-mère en Bessarabie, actuelle Moldavie, sont tous morts. C'est les aider à habituer leur histoire dans des villages et qu'ils ont tous disparu. Ça, j'en parlerai évidemment.[116]
>
> [I've talked about it yes and next year, I get to teach the third years who do contemporary history. We will talk about it again at that time. Of course, I always tell them about what I saw from my travels [to Moldova], for example, so that they understand that it is something concrete. I ask them about the fate of my family and my grandmother's entire family in Bessarabia, now Moldavia, who are all dead. It's helping to familiarize them with their history in the villages and that they all disappeared. I'll talk about that obviously.]

In line with Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory, his retelling of their story seeks to '*reactivate* and *reembody'* more distant social/national and archival/cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression.[117] The stories preserved the memory of the period and Édouard feared that, 'au bout d'un moment ça fait peur quand l'évènement commence à devenir très ancien, à un moment ça se perd.'[118] ['After a while it's scary when the event starts to become very old, at some point it's lost.'] Teaching provided Édouard the space to reactivate his family's history and embody the history of the Shoah via his ancestors. The narrative of the Shoah he presented to his pupils was more transnational than in other schools, connecting what happened in Bessarabia to histories in France. Rather than narrating the Holocaust through an individual's story and testimony, as was common in education and remembrance, Édouard looked at a Jewish village where Jewish society, culture and livelihood all perished.

Teaching in the 2010s, Édouard was sure that his pupils were ambivalent towards the 'Frenchness' of the French Resistance. He said,

[116] Interview with Édouard.
[117] Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', p. 111.
[118] Interview with Édouard.

> C’est clair que le sentiment d'appartenance à la nation française dans mon collège, il est faible. Il y en a, mais il est faible … Donc c'est clair que la résistance française... Ils voient ça plutôt comme si tu étudiais, toi, la Résistance italienne … Tu peux étudier n'importe quelle personne, n'importe quel pays qui a fait n'importe quoi, à n'importe quel moment et je veux dire on fait de l'histoire... on fait de l’histoire mondiale. Voilà pour nous contre le fait que c'est évidemment dans une optique d'histoire française, bah c'est trop l'histoire mondiale.[119]
>
> [It is clear that the feeling of belonging to the French nation at my school is weak. It exists, but it is weak… So, it is clear that the French Resistance... They see it as if you studied, you, the Italian Resistance... You can study anyone, any country that has done anything, at any time, and I mean we do history... we do world history. For us, counter to the fact that it is obviously a French perspective of history, it’s really world history.]

Édouard’s family memories of the French Resistance as a foreign and communist movement deviated from the nationalist Republican narrative of the period and he was one of only a few teachers who critically discussed its ‘Frenchness’. The majority of his pupils’ families had migrated from former French colonies of North Africa and had an uneasy relationship with ‘Frenchness’. Personalising the Shoah and the French Resistance through his own history was one method of making ‘Frenchness’ less abstract and an efficient tool to erase the layers of identity which formed barriers between his pupils and their acquiescence of ‘French’ history. In a school which he estimated had an eighty to ninety percent Muslim population in a predominantly Salafi neighbourhood, Édouard was also able to personalise the history of the Shoah. He perceived that his pupils felt a tension with Judaism, the Jewish community and by extension with the history of the Shoah. By connecting it to his life, Édouard could refute rumours that it was made up or exaggerated, bypassing the politics of Israel and Palestine, whilst still defending its legacy for contemporary French citizens.

Édouard’s own historical memory of France during the Second World War also conflicted with the patriotic visions of French Resistance against the Nazi occupation and under the Vichy

[119] Interview with Édouard.

regime. His grandparents were not French but came to France from Bessarabia. They were Jewish and identified as communists. His grandfather was sent as a political prisoner to Buchenwald under the Vichy regime. His grandparents joined a resistance group made up entirely of immigrants and foreigners, highlighting the absence of 'Frenchness' in significant elements of the 'French Resistance'. Édouard taught pupils who grew up removed from the mythologies of the French past, due to their religion, their status as '*issus d'immigration'* and the predominance of their identity as Algerians, Moroccans, Cameroonians over their French citizenship. This enabled Édouard to develop a counter narrative, which whilst still embracing the values of the school curriculum and his own left-wing principles, also stayed true to his family's experience of the war. His students' ambivalence towards the *French* Resistance resonated with his own family story of resisters, immigrants and outsiders who assembled from across Europe to fight against fascism because of their shared values and politics rather than their shared nationality.

Édouard was not worried about relinquishing the 'guardianship' of his family history to his school pupils, even though it was considered by Hirsch to be 'at stake', as the only living connection to the past.[120] According to Aleida Assmann,

> once verbalised, the individual's memories are fused with the inter-subjective symbolic system of language, and are, strictly speaking, no longer a purely exclusive and unalienable property… they can be exchanged, shared, corroborated, confirmed, corrected, disputed.[121]

Though Assmann referred principally to the individual(s) who experienced the event and remembered it directly, in this case Édouard's grandparents, the same analogy applies to Édouard, whose family history and identity he deposited not in an archive, but in a classroom,

[120] Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', p. 104.
[121] A. Assmann, 'Re-framing memory. Between individual and collective forms', in K. Tilmans, F. van Vree and J. Winter (eds), *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe of constructing the past* (Amsterdam, 2010), p. 36.

to a group of inquisitive, critical and candid fourteen year-olds. The memory was not only a story, or even just a mnemonic connection to the past, but also a source, to be evaluated by his pupils as a piece of evidence to assess the significance of the Second World War period and the complexities of what it meant to call something French.

Public and Private Memory

The majority of teachers in this study maintained a separation between their public and private life. Whilst teachers in both England and France made choices about whether they would share details about their personal circumstances, such as whether they had children, a partner, or siblings, many teachers in France were careful to also separate national narratives of history from personal ones. This conformed to the principles of *laïcité* which enforced a separation of state and religion, sometimes interpreted as separation of the public and the private. Édouard was one of the few French teachers willing to bring the personal into the classroom; he was able to do so as his resistance history was affirmed by the celebrated history of the French Resistance, even if his ancestral stories could add nuances to myths and generalisations about the identities of resistance fighters. Most other teachers were adamant that their private life remained private. The majority of French history teachers continued to teach the public narrative of the school programme even when it challenged examples or events from their own family history which they believed to be true.

Hélène, a teacher in her fifties, had grown up in a Jewish household in Marseille; her parents and grandparents settled in the city after fleeing Algeria with other *pieds-noirs* following the Algerian War in 1962. Hélène was clear from the beginning of the interview that the Shoah was a subject of great importance to herself. The events implicated both her grandparents and parents, and she was grateful they had lived in Algeria rather than France in the 1940s. She remarked,

> Moi je suis concernée entre guillemets puisque, moi, mes parents ont été renvoyés de l'école parce qu'ils étaient juifs et... ils ont subi quand même, heureusement pas trop de persécutions parce qu'ils vivaient en Algérie et pas en France. Mais en commençait déjà quand ils étaient donc là-bas enfants, ils étaient obligés à porter l'étoile jaune etc. Donc dans la famille on a donc bien sûr beaucoup parlé et forcément l'histoire de la Shoah, c'est lié quand même à mes origines.[122]
>
> [It affects me, in quotation marks, since my parents were expelled from school because they were Jewish and... they still suffered, fortunately not so much persecuted as they lived in Algeria and not in France. But it had already began when they were there as children, they forced to wear the Yellow Star etc. So, in the family we of course talked a lot and inevitably about the history of the Holocaust, since it is linked to my origins.]

Algerian Jews were granted French citizenship in 1870, and by 1940 most Jewish Algerians had adopted the French language and culture and invested in the French regime, despite periodic attacks on Jewish businesses and individuals, often by their Muslim neighbours but sanctioned by the French authorities. Their citizenship was revoked following the establishment of the Vichy regime in 1940, affecting some 110,000 Jewish Algerians, 2000 of whom were interned in forced labour concentration camps.[123] After November 1942, when British and American soldiers landed and took control of Algiers and the rest of Algeria, Jews had their former civil rights and liberties restored, including, in 1943, their French citizenships. As a result, the Jewish population of Algeria had a tumultuous relationship with the French authorities, 'Frenchness' and French citizenship.[124] At the dawn of Algerian independence in 1962, ninety-five percent of the country's Jewish population went into exile, mostly to France as *pieds-noirs* or to Israel. Hélène's parents moved to Marseille, and shortly after Hélène was born.

[122] Interview with Hélène, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 27 June 2018.
[123] M. Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa During the Second World War* (Detroit, 1989), pp. 86-88.
[124] S. Choi, 'Complex compatriots: Jews in post-Vichy French Algeria', *North African Studies*, 17/5 (2012), pp. 863-880.

As a teacher, Hélène adhered to the notion of a universal national curriculum implemented consistently across France. She believed that teachers should adopt a professional identity which maintained the values, history, memory and identity of the French nation, regardless of their own relationship with it. She commented, 'j'essaie de toujours rester neutre.'[125] [I try to always remain neutral.] A common history syllabus could unify France through shared historical cognisance and adherence to the same Republican values. This conviction was underpinned by the complex memory battles over the place of different categories of Algerian immigrants in France: Muslim Algerians, Maghrebi Jews, Jewish and non-Jewish *pied-noirs* and Harkis (Algerians who fought for the French state during the Algerian War of Independence) held different social statuses in France and Algeria along with conflicting narratives of Algerian independence and its legacy.[126] Benjamin Stora has argued that these divided memories of Algeria have been caused by 'cloistered remembering' in which each group affirms their own experiences and beliefs by seeking out supportive social and cultural interactions.[127] This posed problems for history teachers, tasked with the formation of French citizens, and who felt threatened by fractured multicultural societies, known in France as c*ommunautarisme*. In 2005, a much-criticised law stipulated that French school curricula should 'recognise in particular the positive role of the French presence overseas, notably in North Africa', referring primarily to *pieds-noirs* and Harkis. It was shadowed by an array of heated criticisms that even argued the curricula change violated the fundamental principles of *laïcité*.[128] Though Hélène was clear about her own political and personal perspectives on contentious histories, to share these and risk igniting a memory war in her own classroom went

[125] Interview with Hélène.
[126] C. Eldridge, *From Empire to Exile: History and Memory Within the Pied-Noir and Harki Communities, 1962-2012* (Manchester, 2017), pp. 239-241, 260-3.
[127] B. Stora, *Imaginaires de guerre: les images dans les guerres d'Algérie et du Vîetnam* (Paris, 2004), p. 190.
[128] 'Colonisation: non à l'enseignement d'une histoire officielle', *Le Monde*, 25 March 2005, p. 15.

directly against the assimilationist model of citizenship that she was responsible for developing in her lessons.

Hélène refused to share her Jewish identity and family history as a *pied-noir* with her pupils. She recognised the effect personal memory could have on her historical perspective and maintained a professional identity whilst teaching as a historian. She remarked,

> Mais j'ai toujours essayé de, bien sûr, de ne pas me laisser influencer par ça dans ma façon d'enseigner. Parce qu'un historien, il doit quand même prendre du recul sur ce qu'il enseigne et... Mais forcément on est quand même, on est quand même touché, évidemment après la guerre d'Algérie aussi qui a aussi été quelque chose dont on a parlé dans la famille puisque mes parents étaient obligés de quitter l'Algérie pour venir en France. Et aussi le discours qu'il y avait à la maison était différent par rapport à ce que moi j'apprenais à l'université. Donc il fallait aussi faire... trouver le bon la bonne distance par rapport à ça.[129]
>
> [But of course, I've always tried to not let myself be influenced by that in my teaching method. Because a historian must take a step back from what they teach … But inevitably we are still, we are still affected, obviously after the war in Algeria, which was also something we talked about in the family because my parents were forced to leave Algeria to come to France. And also, the discussion at home was different from what I was learning at university. So, I had to... find the right distance regarding that.]

Her experience at university, to accept the alternative narrative put forward by her professor whilst maintaining her own perspective, meant that she was comfortable teaching histories of Judaism and Algeria which conflicted with her own intergenerational memories. She held a conflicted understanding of history as a discipline, the purpose of teaching history in school, and the purpose of history for an individual.

Her role as a teacher superseded her personal response to the Shoah and the Algerian War, which still aroused feelings of anger, fear and relief. Her professional relationship to her personal history was perhaps also maintained by her sense of precariousness as a French Jewish woman. Her parents and grandparents had been awarded and then dispossessed of their French

[129] Interview with Hélène.

and Algerian citizenship because of their Judaism, and antisemitic attacks and murders increased in France after the turn of the century, including violent attacks in Marseille in 2016. Teaching in a mixed demographic *collège* in Marseille, she could sympathise with her pupils' perspectives and fears relating to their own 'outsider' identity. Keeping her personal history private could also help protect against potential biases and presumptions regarding her own beliefs and politics.

To protect her neutrality, Hélène said that she avoided using 'mémoire' or testimony when she taught the Shoah, believing that, 'on doit donner quand même un cadre précis des évènements qui expliquent l'histoire de la guerre' [we must provide a precise framework of the events that explain the history of the war]. She tried to teach almost exclusively using historical documents and sources, 'j'essaye de me centrer, peut-être plus qu'avant, sur les documents' [I try to focus, maybe more than before, on the sources]. Besides the school textbook, she included graphic and local images of those affected by the Shoah (such as images of Auschwitz and the Camp des Milles) and excerpts from Primo Levi's *If This a Man*, and Kressmann Taylor's *Inconnu à cette adresse* but refused to show anything she regarded as too emotive or written contemporaneously. Hélène's insistence on neutrality conformed with the principles of secular education; moreover, it spoke to the 'Never Again' objective of Holocaust education by avoiding what she saw as the dangerous identity politics of multiculturalism which she feared segregated and divided communities.[130] The rise of antisemitism in France in the 1990s and 2000s persuaded some French Jewish figures to protect their communities through neo-republicanism. They heralded *laïcité* as the defence of French liberty of conscience and the protection against communitarianism.[131] As a result, Hélène was certain about her role as a

[130] A. Finkielkraut, 'Répliques: Le destin de la République', *France Culture* (14 October 2000).
[131] A. Finkielkraut, *Au nom de l'autre : réflexions sur l'antisémitisme qui vient* (Paris, 2003), p. 10.

state school teacher, where she was bound by duty to be objective, and as a result felt secure about relying on historic documents to navigate the history of the Shoah.

Hélène's guarded approach to that period in history perhaps responded to the identity clashes in Marseille and particularly in her classroom. Postcolonial studies have theorised about the adoption of hybrid identities, when individuals from different cultures 'meet, clash and grapple with each other.'[132] Beside the power dynamic between teacher and pupil, teachers are often faced with an asymmetry in their power with relation to their culture, socio-economical capital, residence or citizenship status, and their race. Thus, pupils and teachers interact with what W. E. B. Du Bois referred to as 'double consciousness', first used to describe African-Americans' positionality in the United States of America. Double consciousness referred to splitting the inner self in an attempt to create a public-facing character that might be accepted into mainstream society, paramount in the French education system where the strict enforcement of *laïcité* imposes strict secular cultural codes, where teachers are perceived as representatives of the state.[133] For both pupils and teacher, the school is thus a place for the performance of one's 'public' character. It is possible that teachers such as Hélène chose to keep silent their private memories, history and identities in order to conform with their role as instructors and so as not to complicate the teacher-pupil relationship and to encourage her pupils to act like her.

Whilst most of the teachers in both France and England adopted a professional identity from the moment that they entered the school or the classroom, which regulated their choice of language, dress code and models of behaviour, in France schools were also subject to strict regulations concerning *laïcité*. French teachers prioritised their public role as representatives of the Republic, a sentiment which was weaker in England where teachers felt less duty or

[132] M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York, 2007), p. 34.
[133] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Oxford, 2007), p. 96.

reverence towards a central, or even national educational authority. Hélène's inherited memories were subsumed by her French identity when she was teaching; to engage with her *communauté* in the public space of a school could risk endangering freedom of mind and judgement.

Community memories and the logic of anti-racism

With the English teachers, Holocaust memories often connected to a British history of the Second World War. Nevertheless, these were emotive familial memories, that had formed the mythologies of what constituted their family history, identities and values. Only a few teachers could directly connect their childhood to the memory of the Holocaust as well as to the British memory of the war. One such example was Peter, who grew up in North Manchester before moving to Lincoln in 1993. He taught history in the same comprehensive school ever since. He was raised in what he described as 'a typical northwest working class family' with 'middle class aspirations perhaps' in the 1970s and 80s. His parents were not overtly political, but he knew his father 'had quite right-wing views' and he suspected that he was 'a staunch Conservative supporter all his life'.[134] Though Peter grew up with 'a good solid religious upbringing' in the Church of England, living in Prestwich, there were several synagogues and Jewish families in his local community. As he reached his teens, he acquired some knowledge of Judaism and became aware than many in his community had suffered under the Nazi regime. He grew up attending his friends' and neighbours' B'nei Mitzvah, and by the time he reached adolescence had developed a consciousness of the Holocaust and antisemitism. The most impactful encounters were with his friend's grandparents who Peter described as 'still stuck in Eastern Europe.' Peter observed,

[134] Interview with Peter, conducted by H. Mann, Lincoln, 23 June 2017.

> I had friends whose parents, no grandparents, because I remember seeing a grandparent with a tattoo, you know the number, and listening to stories and things and that was quite interesting... it was just one of those things.[135]

As a result, Peter was sensitised to the Jewish experience of the war as something which affected multiple families in North Manchester. At an early age, he was conscious of experiences, traumas and injustices that occurred outside England. These stories developed his interest in history as well as politics, and as a result Peter was active in politics from the age of fifteen or sixteen, joining the Labour Party and campaigning against racial injustices in contemporary Manchester.

Nevertheless, the stories he heard from his friends' relatives were fragmented and lacking in detail or exactitudes which increased their sense of gravity and horror. He was a regular guest at the house of one Jewish friend, whose grandfather had survived the concentration camps before moving to Manchester after the war. Speaking about his friend's grandfather, Peter commented,

> It was almost like you knew not to push it. You knew not to ask too much. He set the agenda… just bad things happened, it was that kind of conversation: "bad things happened, bad man, bad people", and it was it was almost like he didn't want to talk about it for fear of bringing back memories but also, I think probably protecting the other generations maybe... it was bad things and bad times. Yeah no, no there was never any kind of in depth, "I was in this place and I went for and I lived in this place and was taken", it was none... none of that. It was just "bad times".[136]

Despite lacking detail of the crimes, dates or names of sites of transit or a narrative of his suffering, the consequences of genocidal fascism were apparent to Peter, and perhaps augmented by the grandfather's visible suffering and trauma. The broken and limited description of the grandfather's life under the Nazi regime emphasised the horror by rendering it unspeakable, with a living legacy of trauma that lasted through the grandfather's life. Peter

[135] Interview with Peter.
[136] Interview with Peter.

responded by joining the Anti-Nazi League, through which he could make sense of the grandfather's story. It provided Peter a vehicle to react to his new memory of the Holocaust by confronting the language and arguments made by contemporary racists towards the Asian and black community. His activism helped him to situate and comprehend the silent memories in the Jewish community and provide the narrative his friend's grandfather was unable to. For example, speaking about his attitude at the time, Peter said,

> We gotta fight to stop what happened to this family from happening in this country again… It might be about black people or Asian people or whatever but is the same. It's the same the same voices, essentially 40 or 50 years later.[137]

Like Édouard, Holocaust memory channelled Peter's political interest and activism, and later his desire to study twentieth century history at university and to become a teacher. His memory of the Holocaust directly inspired his anti-racism, a connection explicitly drawn in the imagery and language of the Anti-Nazi League.

The impact on his teaching was evident from his first days as a teacher. When the Year Nine curriculum for History was first introduced in 1993 to schools across England and Wales, Peter was given the unusual task for a newly qualified teacher of choosing the school textbook for the department and was responsible for delivering and designing the scheme of work for the Holocaust. He explained,

> So actually, making sure that it was, rather than just two or three lessons pinned on to the end of the Second World War, it was actually an independent unit focusing on the historical context and obviously that it wasn't just in Nazi Germany, that the Jews have been treated like this. Perhaps looking at the reasons why... Hitler's Rise to Power and the sort of low-level stuff in terms of Nuremberg laws and all that kind of stuff, and then obviously culminating in the Final Solution and, and, and the aftermath as well. Of course, we did some stuff on the aftermath.[138]

[137] Interview with Peter.
[138] Interview with Peter.

Peter chose the textbook *Peace and War*.[139] It guided the pupil through the chronology of the Holocaust, as Peter described, using primary and secondary sources pupils had to examine for their evidentiary value and reliability. Occasionally the textbook would connect to the present, asking for example, 'can you think of any recent examples when one race has been encouraged to hate people of another race?'[140] Though the scheme of work was influenced by the Schools History Project and from his knowledge of Nazi Germany learnt at university, his insistence that the Holocaust 'wasn't just in Nazi Germany' and that the unit cover the 'aftermath' of the Holocaust, was influenced by his friend's grandfather's story. As a non-German victim of the Holocaust whose trauma continued into his old age, the grandfather's story complicated school narratives of the genocide as something which occurred uniquely in Germany and ended abruptly in 1945. His choice of textbook and unusual decision, for the time, to write a separate unit on the Holocaust, reflected his conviction developed in his adolescence in North Manchester, that the Holocaust was relevant in contemporary society and politics.

Harmonising family and national Holocaust memories

On only rare occasions were teachers subject to memories which conflicted with the narrative they taught in the classroom. For example, Frederic knew he had Polish great uncles who were imprisoned in Auschwitz during the Holocaust as Catholic rather than Jewish Poles, a history that was submerged under narratives of Jewish victimhood in French Shoah education. He taught in Aix-en-Provence but was born in Besançon in the north east of France, where he went to school, university and acquired his first teaching post, moving to Aix during a period where there were numerous vacant teaching posts in the Bouche-de-Rhône *département*. His mother was born to two Catholic Poles who had fled from Poland to France during the Second World

[139] Schools History Project, *Peace and War*, (London, 1993).
[140] *Peace and War*, pp. 186-193.

War. His grandparents therefore spoke little French and he grew up listening to both Polish and French in the household. When he was eight years old, his parents took him back to Poland to learn about his heritage, culture and history. There he first encountered the history of the Holocaust and that of his Polish family. His visit included a trip to Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum.

> Mon grand-père donc maternel, il était d'origine polonaise. Il est né, il était né avant, pendant la guerre de quatorze – dix-huit. Il était né dans une zone en fait qui était déjà allemande mais qui était devenue ensuite polonaise. Donc mon grand-père après quand il est arrivé en France il avait une envie, c'est de retourner en Pologne pour retrouver un peu des traces de sa famille que, quand ils sont arrivés en France ils avaient perdu des traces de ses oncles et de sa famille. Donc, on est allé aussi visiter la région d'Auschwitz.[141]
>
> [My maternal grandfather, he was of Polish origin. He was born, he was born before, during the First World War. He was born in an area that was actually already German but then became Polish. So, my grandfather after he arrived in France, had a desire to return to Poland to find some traces of his family as when they arrived in France, they had lost track of his uncles and of his family. So, we also went to visit the region of Auschwitz.]

Frederic's grandfather's family had to flee German aggression during the war. His family lived on the German-Polish border, and starting in 1939, many Poles living in land annexed by the Germans were expelled eastward, or, if they resisted, sent to concentration camps. Some of Frederic's great uncles were interned and died in Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp for their opposition to the German occupation - one uncle reportedly arrested for being a teacher as part of the German AB-Aktion in Poland. Frederic's earliest knowledge of Auschwitz was therefore of a camp which interned Polish political prisoners and other opponents of the Nazi occupation.

[141] Interview with Frederic, conducted by H. Mann, Aix-en-Provence, 31 May 2018.

Through his visit to Poland and conversations with his family, Frederic learnt a family narrative of Polish history which interacted with the history of the Shoah.

> Déjà enfants, on nous racontait ce qui s'était passé et on est allé voir aussi le ghetto de Varsovie, là les murs de la ville. Voilà donc moi, déjà enfant, mais c'est plus par l'intermédiaire de l'histoire un peu la famille. … Et donc après chaque fois qu'on évoquait à peu l'histoire de la Pologne, c'est un petit peu l'histoire aussi de la Shoah, ce qui s'est passé en Pologne etc. Mais après, pour vraiment connaître un peu plus tiré du point de vue historique, c'est plus en tant que élève que j'ai appris un peu les régions touchées par la Shoah, les camps, comment organiser des camps d'extermination etc. C'est plus après en tant qu'élève qu'on nous donne des détails, des documents, des films etc.[142]
>
> [Already as children, we were told what had happened and we went to also see the ghetto of Warsaw, the ghetto walls. So, for me, already as a child, but it was more through the intermediary of family history… And so, each time the history of Poland was talked about, there was also a little bit of the history of the Holocaust. What happened in Poland etc. But afterwards, to really know a bit more from a historical point of view, it was as a pupil that I learnt a bit about the regions affected by the Holocaust, the camps, how to organise extermination camps and so on. It is more as students that we are given details, documents, films etc.]

Frederic knew details of his uncles' or wider family's experience, and a narrative of their family's suffering mediated by his grandparents. However, Frederic was too young to hear the distressing events and details of his uncles' history from which his parents and grandparents protected him. On his visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau at the age of eight, Frederic and his brother were made to wait outside at the gate.

Frederic uncovered the history of Nazi persecution, ghettoization and murder in concentration camps in school, through the school programme on Shoah education. As a result, Frederic merged the two narratives together: that of the memory of his Catholic Polish family and the history of the genocide of European Jewry that occurred predominantly in the Nazi concentration camps in Poland. His school education was able to provide some of the details of lived experience in concentration camps, much of which he applied to his Polish family.

[142] Interview with Frederic.

Shoah is used exclusively in France to refer to the Nazi genocide of European Jewry, not to other victims of the Holocaust. The genocide of the Roma gypsy population, for example, is termed separately, as *le génocide des Tsiganes*. Yet Frederic used the term *Shoah* and the history of his non-Jewish family interchangeably. When asked, he recognised the intersection of the history of Polish and Eastern European Jewry with the fate of his uncles; whilst interned for different reasons, they ultimately died in the same place. The memory of Jewish victims was stronger in France than memory of other victim groups who died in Auschwitz as Jews were the largest racial group deported in Vichy and Occupied France. He saw no conflict in using the history of the Shoah to understand his own family's fate beneath Nazi occupation and ideology. By affixing his memory of his Polish family to the more dominant and politically powerful memory of the destruction of European Jewry, he could validate the suffering and death of his great uncles.

Frederic was one of the only teachers in France who enumerated the number of Jewish victims alongside other minorities persecuted and murdered by the Nazi regime. He referenced 'seven million' victims rather than the oft cited 'six million' figure that habitually refers to Jewish victims. His lessons focused on the processes of genocide: the mechanics of a death camp, which helped explain his own family's fate in Auschwitz-Birkenau, as it was clear this represented the exceptionality of Nazi evil during the war to Frederic. He said that when he taught the Shoah, he wanted his pupils to understand the extent and violence of occupation in France and elsewhere in Europe.

> Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont fait, comment ils ont occupé, comment ils ont terrorisé, comment ils ont mis leur programme en route sur l'extermination des juifs... Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire quand on parle d'un génocide? Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire sept millions de... ? Après, avoir posé la question est-ce que vous vous rendez compte à quel point ça

> arrivait, à des proportions, des dimensions aussi grandes, cinq, six, sept, huit millions de morts etc. etc.?[143]
>
> [What did they do, how did they occupy territories, how did they tyrannise, how did they implement their plan to exterminate the Jews... What does it mean when we talk about genocide? What does it mean to say seven million…? After, having asked the question, do you realise how far it went, the proportions, to the extent of five, six, seven, eight million dead etc. etc.?]

Frederic did not specifically teach the Polish experience of Nazi occupation, which drifted too far from the school programme. As a French citizen himself, he appreciated the centrality of the French experience of the Shoah in the curriculum. However, he extended his history beyond the fate of the Jews to the atrocities committed to Poles and other Eastern Europeans, intending to shock his pupils who were used to hearing only the figure '6 million'. Since the end of the Cold War an increasing amount of scholarship has considered Polish antisemitism and local collaboration during the genocide.[144] In addition, scholarship on the Nazi occupation of Eastern Europe since the 2000s increasingly described Nazi motivations and actions as colonial, in which genocidal actions have been considered as part of a wider policy of resettlement and imperialism.[145] This complex history of victimhood was absent in teaching narratives, which concentrated almost exclusively on Jewish victims of genocide, with the exception for French political internees and limited discourses about French Roma and Sinti. By merging the Shoah with the treatment of Polish citizens under Nazi German occupation, he was able to non-explicitly reactivate the memory of his family in his teaching. It rendered their memory as significant by incorporating it into the wider history of the Shoah, and through teaching the

[143] Interview with Frederic.
[144] S. Krakowski and I. Gutman, *Unequal Victims: Poles and Jews During World War Two* (Washington D.C., 1988); J. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne* (Princeton, 2001); A. Polonsky, *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy Over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland* (Princeton, 2004).
[145] D. Furber, 'Near as Far in the Colonies: The Nazi Occupation of Poland', *The International History Review*, 26/3 (2004), pp. 541-579; J. Zimmerer. 'Holocauste et colonialisme. Contribution à une arché0logie de la pensée génocidaire', *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah*, 189/2 (2008), pp. 213-246, first published in German in 2003.

suffering endured during the Shoah he could reembody the memory of his ancestors which he could not locate elsewhere in French archives, museums, memorials and school textbooks.

Silences within families

Silent or forgotten narratives of the Second World War or the Holocaust limited teachers' knowledge and capability to talk about their own family histories. Regarding the Second World War, several teachers found their parents or grandparents to be reluctant to talk about their wartime trauma. For example, John was a teacher in Bradford, the city he had lived in all his life. His father worked in the mills and his mother worked for the local Co-operative society. His parents lived through and remembered the Second World War, but his father supressed all conversation of the war in the household. John remarked,

> My father fought in the Second World War, so he, I think he was quite affected by that so, you know. I remember that when I was a child a lot of the history that, in terms of films and you know, and documentaries were about war and he just turned those off immediately, didn't want to be reminded of any of that. So, the the twentieth century was a bit of a no-go area in our house … And he never talked about. He never wanted to talk about it.[146]

British media representations of the Second World War focused on the Home Front and, compared with depictions of the First World War, there was an absence of post-war dramas that dealt with soldiers' suffering. Without celebrated public narratives to replicate, soldiers returning from Europe and elsewhere were less able to share their stories or trauma. For instance, Lucy Noakes's analysis of British cultural memory of the Second World War found an emphasis on the bravery of soldiers and the stoicism of British civilians which prohibited civilians' expressions of fear.[147] Similarly, Penny Summerfield's study of 'postmemory' of the

[146] Interview with John, conducted by H. Mann, Bradford, 12 October 2018.
[147] L. Noakes, ''War on the web': The BBC 'People's War' Website and Memories of Fear in Wartime in twenty-first century Britain', in L. Noakes and J. Pattinson (eds), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War* (London, 2014), pp. 47-66.

Second World War in Britain has found that experiences divergent from a heroic narrative of male military experience might result in silences, as might traumatic experiences, though these could prove impactful even if unspoken presences.[148] Unlike his peers who were inundated with references and representations of the Second World War on television, and sometimes with conversations with their parents and grandparents, John was isolated from some of these communicated memories of the war. By extension, this included any references to Nazi Germany and the genocide of Europe's Jewish communities.

John's interest in history still connected to the experiences and identity of his family and community. As his father worked in the cotton mills and his mother worked for the co-operative, John described his family as 'as Bradford as you get,' and as 'typical working class.'[149] 'Bradfordian' was John's primordial identity and he became an avid historian as a teenager, fascinated by social and economic history which he could research in the local public library. He remarked, 'it helped me to understand the city that I lived in,' and it explained both his parents' occupations and their ancestors' migration to Bradford.[150] Despite the temporal relevance of the Second World War, including his father's service, the war did not contribute to John's understanding of his city or his family. John had avoided the Second World War in his own education and in his own teaching practice during the 1980s. In this first decade of his career, John taught ten to twelve year-olds history in a Middle School in Bradford, and with the freedom to create his own school curriculum, he chose topics he believed were crucial to informing the children of Bradford about their heritage and community, notably through the study of social and economic history.

[148] P. Summerfield, 'The Generation of Memory: Gender and the Popular Memory of the Second World War in Britain' in L. Noakes and J. Pattinson (eds), *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War* (London, 2014), pp. 25-46.
[149] Interview with John.
[150] Interview with John.

> So what I did [in the 1980s], I tried to have a balance between what I thought was relevant to them based on where they lived, so they would understand where they lived, but also the other aspects of history that I thought were important for them to understand.[151]

In the 1980s, John believed that helping his pupils understand their families, or their classmates' families, was the main purpose of school history, and whilst understanding other periods of British history, such as the Normans, could add to his pupils understanding of Britain. The Holocaust or the history of genocide was not pertinent. Consequently, it was not until John was forced to teach modern European histories after the introduction of the National Curriculum that he taught the history of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

After avoiding the period in his own studies, out of a sense of duty or respect for the trauma his father could not verbalise, he was initially dependent on the narrative provided by school textbooks. It provided a guide source to ascertain the expected chronology, narrative and amount of violence and death to present in his lessons. John, opted to use the same Schools History Project textbook, *Peace and War,* as Peter. It followed his favoured skills-based approach to history and provided a trusted guide to teaching the Second World War and the Holocaust. His narrative closely matched that in the textbook and attempted to answer the question 'how did the Holocaust happen?'[152] By the time John retired in 2016, he was convinced of the significance of the value of teaching about the Holocaust, as the role of history expanded from explaining Bradford to fostering a sense of common humanity and values. His syllabus rarely deviated from the school textbook, unlike his other Schemes of Work, likely owing to his family's post-war silence and late awareness of the history of the Holocaust.

[151] Interview with John.
[152] The Schools History Project, *Peace and War*.

Conclusion

Collective memory, as discussed by Halbwachs, has emphasised the part of small groups such as families and communities in articulating collective memory.[153] Memories of personal experience are interwoven into the collective reminiscences of these smaller groups, which shape the identity, values and perspective of those individuals belonging to the group. In intergenerational transmissions of memory, family history shapes the teacher's perspective and identity. Some, like Édouard, used these memories in their lesson to add complexity to the school curriculum, whilst the suppression of memories prohibited teachers like John from doing so. Hélène, on the other hand, chose not to use her family history. Hélène's primary motivation was to maintain a separation between the public and the private and her professional and personal identity in order to be a responsible French citizen. To think or act in political life, or in public space, which included education and especially state public schools, a French citizen must relinquish their private and religious identities, rooted in their personal history and community.[154]

These teachers' experiences correlate with Marianne Hirsch's definition of postmemory, who expanded upon the work of Jan Assmann. In her study of the second-generation, the children of Holocaust survivors, Hirsch has concluded that both language and nonverbal and precognitive communications occur most clearly within a familial space. The descendants of those who have experienced trauma inherit a 'horrific, unknown and unknowable past.'[155] Teachers such as Peter expand the theory of familial memory transfer beyond the family. Peter's childhood, developing friendships and bonds with other families and their siblings,

[153] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 54.
[154] E. Chabal, *A Divided Republic: Nation, State and Citizenship in Contemporary France* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 26-29.
[155] M. Hirsch, *The generation of postmemory : writing and visual culture after the Holocaust* (New York, 2012), p. 34.

suggests this process is not limited to one's own family, but the community of families amongst which one comes of age. The intergenerational transfer of memory may be pronounced between grandparents, parents and children, but is often transferred likewise to others, or re-transferred from child or grandchild to their peers and friends or groups, as in the case of Peter with the Anti-Nazi League. At times these external individuals or bodies in fact serve as the catalyst for memory transfer, by asking questions and creating a communal space to discuss history, personal experiences, and civic action. As a result, Peter's memory of the Holocaust was 'bodily' and 'affective', informed by his friend's grandfather's prisoner number tattoo on his arm and his inability to discuss his own experience through words, because of language and his trauma, but present in his body language and repetition of the one phrase, 'bad times'.

Where teachers were unaware of their family history, they were able to imagine their ancestors' experiences, an activity that was enabled by their own lesson preparation and teaching and through cultural representations of their family history in film and fiction which reinforced the collective memory of the period. Their envisioned family histories could then fulfil the British imagination of wartime sacrifice and victory, or of suffering and/or resistance in the case of French memory. In some cases, teachers performed the rituals of postmemory as described by Hirsch, when, as individuals, they strove 'to reactivate and reembody more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression'.[156] By teaching history, some teachers were able to preserve their family history, whilst others were able to understand theirs through the practice of history. Where teachers were unaware of their family's past, as was the case with John, the National Curriculum could 'assist' by building a collective identity when trauma prohibited this happening in the family unit. Frederic was able to use the French school programme to

[156] Hirsch, *The generation of postmemory*, p. 33.

merge his family history into national collective memory of the Nazi past. This careful negotiation highlighted the significance of history teaching in shaping teachers' perception of identity. Their confidence in the status of their family identity determined whether they were willing to publicise their history and use that to complicate a national narrative, or whether national memory could be broadened to encompass their family's past.

Chapter 2: A duty to teach the Holocaust: values, identity, civics and citizenship

The concept of citizenship has guided national systems of education since the late nineteenth century, at which point free and compulsory education was introduced across England and France. Educating the English working class started as a 'moral' rather than civic endeavour, and though discussions in England about the importance of instilling national character, civility and citizenship in schools arose in the interwar period, formal citizenship education was only introduced in the 1990s.[157] In contrast, the French teacher conferred to the pupil their rights as French citizens, their duties to the Republic, and ideally fostered Republican patriotism which could be called upon to defend the French Republic's constitution and values.[158] After 1995, Holocaust remembrance became one such duty. In both countries, civic education responded to social anxieties that were hoped to be remedied through education. New and imagined futures for the nation could be forged by moulding young people into responsible, intelligent and democratically active citizens. This chapter argues that Holocaust education played a civic role in society, imagined to offer universal truths about humanity whilst also providing signals and signposts about national identity and values. Starting in the 1980s, before curricula and moral duties to teach the Holocaust were established, this chapter reveals teachers' purpose, but also their confusion about their role to create citizenly behaviour and values through the Holocaust.

[157] I. Grosvenor and M. Lawn, '"This is who we are and this is what we do": teacher identity and teacher work in mid-twentieth century english educational discourse', *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 9/3 (2001), p. 361; J. Lawson and H. Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (London, 1973), pp. 280-90 ;

[158] P. Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen. Histoire du suffrage* universel (Paris, 1992), p. 101; Y. Déloye, *Ecole et Citoyenneté. L'individualisme républicain de Jules Ferry à Vichy : Controverses*, (Paris, 1994); J-J. Rousseau, 'A Discourse on Political Economy (1755)', in *The Social Contract and Discourses* (London, 2008), p. 148-9.

Civic history education: teaching the Holocaust before it became mandatory

In England, citizenship education moved between the humanities and the social sciences across the twentieth century, with limited governmental prescriptions until the 1990s.[159] It reoriented from training 'character', or what Nathan Roberts describes as the 'hallmark of the moral and manly individual' at the turn of the twentieth century, to the transformation of children into 'future citizens', worthy of investment, around the Second World War.[160] Though not explicit, citizens were imagined as white, and national culture and politics as more advanced, or civilised, than the rest of the world.[161] According to André Bianconi, civic education in France lost its fervent optimism in democracy and peace following the Second World War, reorienting to protect against threats to liberal progress.[162] In both countries, definitions of citizenship were complicated by the legacies of colonialism, in which races, religions and nationalities were unequally bestowed with citizenship, rights and duties. As migration from former colonies increased in the 1970s, questions of identity, citizenship and belonging surfaced, creating social tensions which were entrusted to the teacher to remedy.

While reform in France relied on top-down institutional change, without a centralised curriculum until 1991 in England, history teachers, LEAs and teaching organisations created

[159] D. Heater, 'Tensions in the Citizenship Ideal', in E. Baglin Jones and N. Jones (eds), *Education for Citizenship* (London, 1992), pp. 25-27; Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 280; S. Wright, 'Moral Education and the English Elementary School', in L. Brockliss and N. Sheldon (eds), *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c. 1870 – 1930* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 33-34; I. Grosvenor and M. Lawn, 'Days out of school: secondary education, citizenship and public space in 1950s England', *History of Education*, 33/4 (2004), pp. 377–389; M. Lawn, *Modern Times? Work, Professionalism and Citizenship in Teaching* (London, 1996), pp. 42-54.
[160] N. Roberts, 'Character in the mind: citizenship, education and psychology in Britain, 1880-1914', *History of Education*, 33/2 (2004), pp. 177-8; L. King, 'Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Conceptions of Children in Britain, 1930s-1950s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27/3 (2016), pp. 389–411.
[161] S. Hall, *Familiar Stranger: a life between two islands* (London, 2017), pp. 203-225; W. Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, "Race" and National Identity, 1945-64* (London, 1998), pp. 1–3; King, 'Future Citizens', p. 411.
[162] A. Bianconi, 'Les manuels de morale et d'instruction civique', *Revue des Sciences politiques*, 9 (1983), pp. 35-52.

their own curricula reforms and initiatives to respond to local identities and definitions of 'Britishness'. Starting sporadically from the 1960s, some history teachers in multiracial schools favoured a civil rights approach to history, incorporating black history and histories of oppression and injustice into their lessons in order to reflect the racial and ethnic demographic of their classrooms and neighbourhoods. These approaches were promoted by the Schools History Project, which applied a skills-based approach to history education. The Project, established in 1972, attempted to reconsider 'what is history?' and centre 'the needs of the adolescent' in history curricula. Crucially, they advocated centring curricula around pupils' 'need to understand the world in which they live' and their 'need to find their personal identity by widening their experience through the study of people of a different time and place.'[163] Though these concerns simmered amongst teachers (at least since the 1926 and 1931 Hadow Reports which first emphasised the importance of an individualised education), the Schools History Project was able to revolutionise history teaching in various schools across the country. History education found new civic purpose by developing critical thinking skills through the assessment and evaluation of sources and evidence.[164] Left-leaning LEAs, such as the Inner London Educational Authority (ILEA), tried to use school history to heal social divisions by persuading pupils of the virtues and values of a multicultural society, including through lessons on Auschwitz.[165] While much of this effort was lambasted as 'political indoctrination' by Margaret Thatcher's government, the subject's new civic appeal proved popular with teachers and educators, and citizenship became a central aspect of the National Curriculum for History in the early 1990s.[166]

[163] Schools History Project, *A New Look at History* (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 8.
[164] Tisdall, *A Progressive Education*, p. 33.
[165] D. Edgington, 'The role of history in multi-cultural education', *Teaching History*, 32, (1982), pp. 3-7.
[166] J. Arthur et al., *Citizenship through Secondary History*, (London, 2001), pp. 31-32.

Reform came later in France, where teachers were limited by a centralised curriculum and the political dogma of French unity. Whilst local initiatives were able to respond to changes in a community's demography in England, revisions in France had to respond to the larger question of what it meant to be French. In 1984, historians formed an influential alliance with the Association des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie (APHG) to debate how national history and citizenship should be taught.[167] Should history teachers aim to make the past known to students, or was the purpose of history to forge critical thinking skills and a historical consciousness which allow the pupil to understand the present? In short, 'should we save history or the pupils?'[168] Historian Jacques Le Goff concluded the conference by arguing that 'il faut remplacer une (ou des) Histoire(s) de France par une Histoire de la France', suggesting that history should consider France as an economic and political unit, as opposed to a place of origin, to better reflect the nation's diversity and histories of immigration.[169] The *collège* programme for teaching *histoire-géographie* (from the age of eleven to fifteen) was consequently altered in 1985. Breaking with the tradition of separate *instruction civique*, which focused on morality and the study of governmental institutions and processes, *éducation civique* was henceforth combined with the subjects of history and geography to equip students with the critical thinking skills and value-set to understand the contemporary world.

These debates were sometimes visible in Holocaust education. For example, Bernard taught in an ecole privé in the outskirts of Aix-en-Provence and described himself as the 'vrai instituteur de la République'. His lessons followed the *cours magistral* ['chalk and talk']

[167] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Colloque national sur l'histoire et son enseignement : 19-20-21 janvier 1984, Montpellier* (Paris, 1984).
[168] S. Citron, *Enseigner l'Histoire aujourd'hui. La mémoire perdue et retrouvée* (Paris, 1984), p. 86.
[169] J. le Goff, 'Conclusion du colloque', *Colloque national sur l'histoire et son enseignement* (Paris, 1984), pp. 95-96.

tradition of teaching, captivating his pupils by telling stories full of intrigue and wonder. Referring to his early lessons on the Shoah, Bernard commented, 'quand j'ai commencé à l'enseigner j'allais peut-être, en fonction de mes lectures et de ma sensibilité personnelle, un peu plus loin dans l'enseignement qui nous était demandé.'[170] [When I started teaching it, I perhaps went, in accordance with my reading and personal sensibility, a little further in my teaching than what was asked of us.] He was heavily influenced by the historiographical discoveries of the late 1980s, which fed directly into his conception of French identity, duty and citizenship. His lessons took a dramatic shift after coming across Serge Klarsfeld's research. He showed me an image of an identity card that had transformed his lessons.

> J'ai découvert ce document en lisant un article publié au début des années 90 dans un magazine (hebdomadaire sans doute) à l'occasion de la découverte du << fichier juif >> du régime de Vichy par Serge Klarsfeld…cette carte d'identité d'une petite fille, victime de cette barbarie, m'avait profondément ému.[171]
>
> [I discovered this document by reading an article published in the early 90s in a magazine (probably a weekly), at the moment that Serge Klarsfeld discovered the Vichy regime's "Jewish file".... this identity card of a little girl, victim of this barbarism, deeply moved me.]

[170] Interview with Bernard, conducted by H. Mann, Aix-en-Provence, 19 March 2018.
[171] Interview with Bernard.

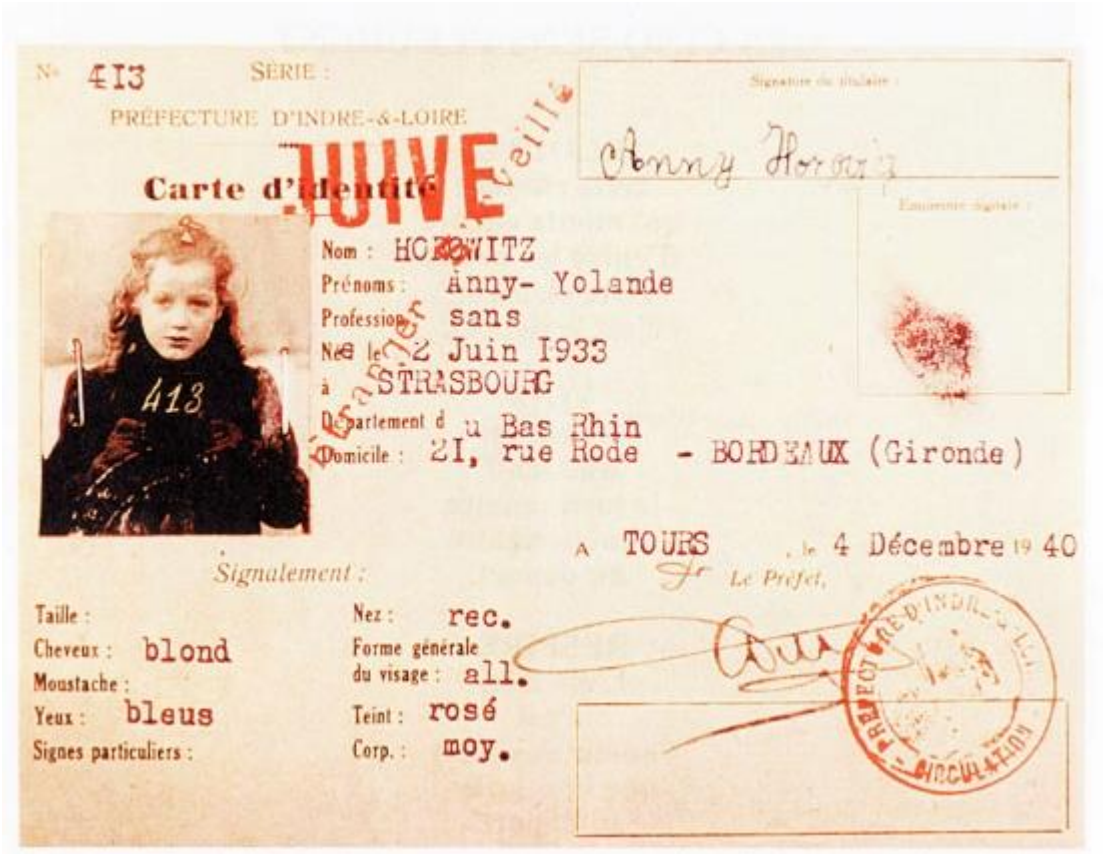


Figure 2.1 Identity Card of Anny-Yolande Horowitz, 1940.

Viewing this image was arresting; a 'lightbulb moment' for Bernard. It was Anny-Yolande Horowitz's identity card, a French Jewish girl born in Strasbourg on 2 June 1933. In 1940, the words '*Juive'* and '*Étranger surveillé'* were stamped on the card, illustrating that she was under police surveillance as a Jew. Between June 1940 and August 1944, the French citizenship of 15,000 people, mostly Jews, was revoked.[172] Bernard found Anny-Yolande's denaturalisation as a French and Alsatian citizen painful and pertinent. Her loss of nationality revealed the rupture of the Vichy regime with French Republican values and represented the betrayal of the Vichy government in surrendering French citizenship and values - derived from the French Revolution - to Nazi fascism. Bernard decided, after

[172] S. Zuccotti, *The Holocaust, the French, and the Jews* (Lincoln, 1999), p. 176.

having discovered this document, to devote a whole lesson each school year for every history class studying the Shoah to the detailed study of this identity card, which he did until he retired in 2018. Whilst images of the 'yellow star' or the word 'Jude' stamped on identity cards served as symbols that demonstrated persecution in English lessons, they were rarely studied in detail as sources that could construct historical narratives. For Bernard, the image highlighted the fragility of citizenship and French Republican values and he needed to transmit his fear, regret and shame to his pupils. Protecting the category of French citizenship was also therefore a patriotic duty of French Republicans.

The image of Anny-Yolande became a symbol of the Vichy regime's cruelty. Bernard was proud to mention that the image now adorned the entrance to Klarsfeld's exhibition at the Camp des Milles. The popular use of the image, however, hid a more difficult history of French citizenship and xenophobia. Jacques Semelin's research on Jewish survival in France between 1940-44 reveals stark differences between survival rates for French and non-French Jews: foreign Jews were four times more likely to be murdered than French Jews.[173] Whilst Semelin argues that language proficiency and the existence of social networks account for some of this disparity, he also illuminates the role of xenophobia in 1940s France and the impact of persecution on those without French nationality. Those most at threat were foreign Jews, often refugees from pogroms in Poland and Russia, whose stories were marginalised in French Shoah education despite bearing the starkest reflection of contemporary injustices facing 'citizen outsiders' in contemporary France.[174] Bernard found Anny-Yolande's image striking because her description as a girl with 'blonde hair', a 'straight nose', an 'elongated face shape', 'blue eyes' and a 'rosy complexion', recalled the image of an Aryan child according to the Nazi nomenclature. It highlighted the absurdity of Nazi racial ideology. He

[173] J. Semelin, *The Survival of the Jews in France, 1940-44* (Oxford, 2017), p. 363.
[174] J. Beaman, *Citizen Outsider: Children of North African Immigrants in France* (Oakland, 2017).

found the image salient because she looked ‘French’ and that made her arrest and deportation all the more incredible. His lessons were about discrimination, not prejudice and xenophobia. Bernard’s concerns were not anti-racist, but strengthening the concept of French citizenship.

In England, Holocaust education had little to do with the concept and definition of a citizen in the 1980s. Before the introduction of mandatory Holocaust education via the National Curriculum, civic history education responded to the needs and anxieties of the local community. Teachers only rarely used the example of the Holocaust to impart civic lessons. This slowly changed in the 1980s, influenced by renewed popularity of anti-fascist politics driven by the rise of the white supremacist, antisemitic and anti-migrant rhetoric of the National Front in the 1970s.[175] The Anti-Nazi League was established in 1977 to fight against British fascism and racism, rendering racism as ‘unrespectable’ in polite society even if only a minority of teachers became committed anti-racist activists in this period. Though most of the Anti-Nazi League’s activism targeted racism against Black and Asian minorities, it was coupled with Holocaust imagery and terminology, connecting the memory of the Holocaust with anti-racist politics. It succeeded by smearing the far-right with the toxic ‘Nazi’ label and in doing so drew popular attention to the plight of the Jews during the Second World War. Teaching about the Holocaust conformed to the values of the youthful and newly fashionable anti-fascist politics, galvanised by the Anti-Nazi League through partnership with Rock Against Racism, organising carnivals and concerts across the country.

[175] N. Copsey, *Anti-Fascism in Britain* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 111-150.

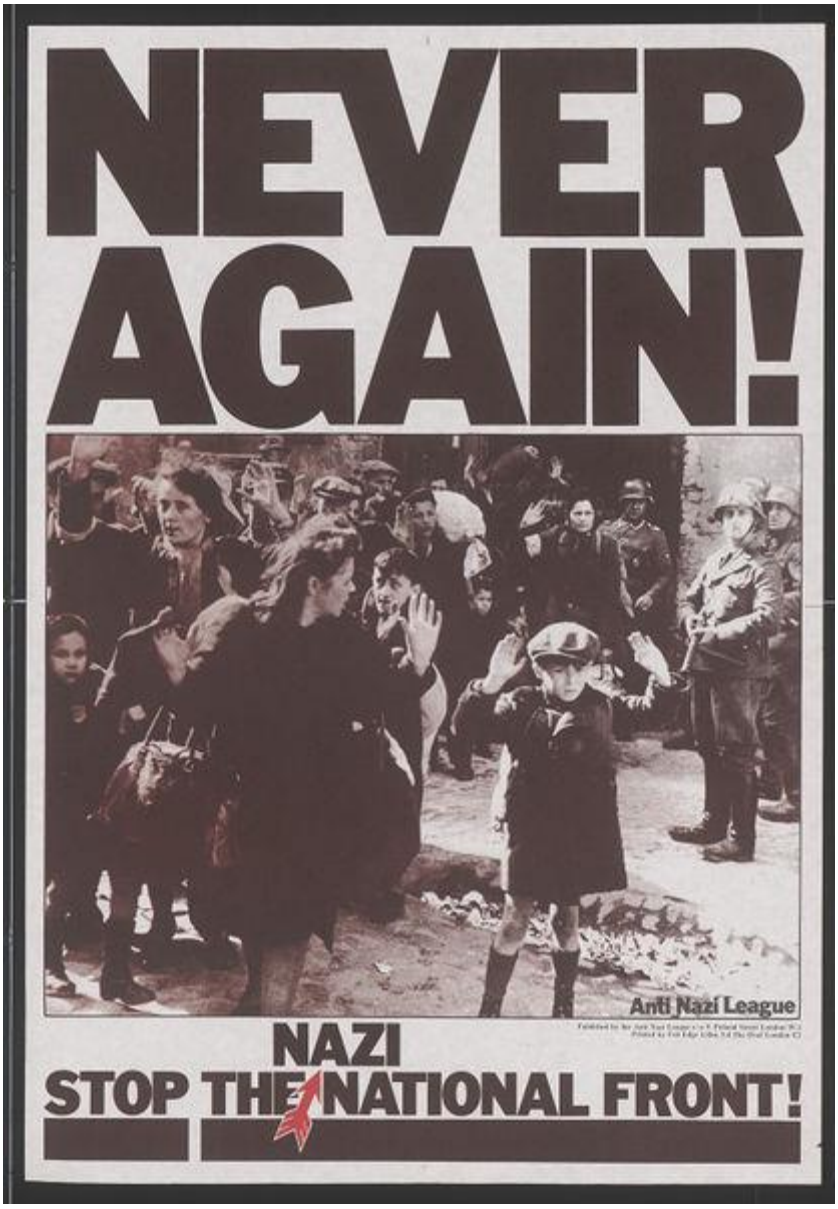


Figure 2.2 'Never Again! Stop the Nazi National Front!', c. 1978.

These teaching efforts were localised, often organised at the impetus of the LEA. The 1944 Act, which devolved the organisation and structure of education to local authorities, gave significant control to each LEA, providing opportunities for diversity and enthusiasm and for local projects and school improvement.[176] In London, for example, starting in the 1960s, the Learning Materials Branch of the ILEA provided lesson materials and opportunities for

[176] M. Barber, *The Making of the 1944 Education Act* (London, 1994), pp. 116-7.

professional development, becoming a model for other LEAs and a pedagogical authority in its own right.[177] Their publications increasingly focused on race and racism, promoting diversity and inclusive forms of teaching and challenging racist attitudes. The ILEA were the first non-Jewish organisation to produce Holocaust educational material and were early pioneers in the field.[178] In partnership with the Auschwitz exhibition, organised by Jim Thomson, the Bishop of Stepney, the ILEA's audio-visual production unit created in 1985 a 39-minute video including footage of the exhibition and historical footage alongside images shared by the Auschwitz state museum. The accompanying teaching pack, *Auschwitz: Yesterday's Racism,* connected the history of the Holocaust to the anti-racism movement as well as police violence and anti-trade union legislation in Britain.[179] The Auschwitz exhibition and teaching pack successfully captured the attention of teachers and young people in and around London, but the teaching pack provoked controversy in right-wing circles, who argued that connecting the Holocaust to contemporary politics could constitute political indoctrination.[180] In 1986, ILEA was forced to recall it, with Baroness Cox and Lord Harris objecting to the teachers' notes' focus on human rights.[181]

The newfound interest in Holocaust education led to the National Yad Vashem Charitable Trust's 1987 survey of the status of Holocaust education in the United Kingdom. Its purpose was to find evidence to support the Trust's desire to designate the Holocaust to history lessons rather than the fields of General Studies, Multi-ethnic Education and Religious

[177] T. Brighouse, 'The ILEA Balance: Credit or Debit?' in M. Barber (ed), *Education in the Capital* (London, 1992), pp. 50-63.
[178] Auschwitz Education Group, *Auschwitz: Yesterday's Racism* (London, 1983). Rabbi Tony Bayfield published a school textbook, *Churban: The murder of the Jews of Europe* with the Michael Goulston Educational Foundation in 1981.
[179] Russell, *Teaching the Holocaust in School History*, pp. 65-6.
[180] [Hansard], *House of Lords Debates*, 477 (24 June 1986, ILEA teaching pack).
[181] 'ILEA forced to recall Auschwitz pack', *Times Educational Supplement*, (4 July 1986).

Education.[182] The results of the survey however started a debate on whether the Holocaust should be taught as any other historical event or whether it should have a special civic and moral position in the curriculum that could frame an understanding about British identity, multiculturalism, citizenship and values. The report identified mixed appetite for increased education about the Holocaust. Showing some reservations about the survey's agenda, one teacher made the point, 'the Holocaust is a major part of human history – it is not the totality of human history.'[183] Other teachers believed the presentation of the subject in textbooks to be 'superficial', 'ahistorical', 'too sensational' and 'over dramatic'. A small number of teachers highlighted the moral and civic importance of teaching the subject. One commented that, 'the subject has more than sufficient moral significance to be given greater coverage… No one should be allowed to forget.'[184] Another commented, 'a rising tide of racism in the United Kingdom makes it vital to be aware of the historical context of such excesses.'[185] There was a clear difference in teachers' will to address the topic in depth, as well as a tension between how the topic should be addressed, if taught at all.

Interest in the history's civic importance varied between locality. Whilst the Yad Vashem survey indicated the Holocaust was being taught in a variety of subjects, it provided no mapping of where the history was taught, either by region or across urban/rural or socio-economic divides. Whilst the Auschwitz exhibition was primarily visited by schools in London, school pupils came from as far afield as Devon, Southampton, and Nottingham, though notably from neither Lincolnshire nor Leeds/Bradford. Again, the ILEA teaching pack was incredibly popular in London, with 172 out of its 185 schools purchasing the pack. Another eighty-three copies were ordered by schools outside of London but with no record of

[182] Fox, *Teaching the Holocaust*, p. 13.
[183] Fox, *Teaching the Holocaust*, p. 13.
[184] Fox, *Teaching the Holocaust*, p. 23
[185] Fox, *Teaching the Holocaust*, p. 23.

where.[186] Interviews with participating teachers in Leeds/Bradford and Lincolnshire revealed a lack of interest in Holocaust education before it entered the National Curriculum. In many cases, they favoured teaching history with a civic lens, not least because teachers believed that this could maintain interest in a discipline that struggled to retain pupils in lower-middle class and working class neighbourhoods.[187] Civic learning, however, often related to issues that were perceived to have local relevance.

In Bradford, teachers had to respond to heightened discourse about race, identity, citizenship and belonging, yet their responses did not include lessons on the Holocaust. In the 1980s, neo-fascists, mobilised by groups such as the BNP and the National Front, would protest in Bradford against the existence of non-white communities, assembling local teenagers to take part.[188] In 1984, Ray Honeyford, a local headteacher, wrote an article for the right-leaning *Salisbury Review* criticising multiculturalism. Honeyford argued that there were a 'growing number of Asians whose aim is to preserve as intact as possible the values and attitudes of the Indian subcontinent within a framework of British social and political privilege.'[189] His school, Drummond Middle School, had a large proportion of Muslim children and he protested against cultural and religious demands for halal meat to be served in the school canteen, separate swimming lessons for boys and girls and the withdrawal of sex education. He critiqued the 'subjugation' of English Literature and Shakespeare for works by postcolonial poets such as Linton Kwesi Johnson, a position described as 'cultural chauvinism' by Bradford mayor Mohammed Ajeeb.[190] Though Honeyford was forced to

[186] C. McDonald, 'Memory Protagonists and the Construction of Holocaust Remembrance in London, 1948–2001' (PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2019).
[187] Interview with John; M. Price, 'History in Danger' *History*, 53 (1968), pp. 342-347.
[188] 'Far right on march for young minds', *Times Educational Supplement*, (20 June 1986).
[189] R. Honeyford, 'Education and race – an alternative view', *The Salisbury Review*, (1984), pp. 30-32.
[190] M. Halstead, *Education, Justice and Cultural Diversity* (London, 1988), p. 169.

resign from his post following a campaign calling for 'Honeyford Out!', he became a celebrated figure among right-wing activists for defending 'Britishness' and freedom of speech. Bradford was split between supporters who sympathised with Honeyford and those who sympathised with Mayor Ajeeb.[191]

Teachers were central to this debate. John, who worked as a history teacher in Drummond Middle School, was on friendly terms with Honeyford before he released the article, and on rare occasions they shared their commutes to work together. According to John's account, the publication of the article was explosive, turning ordinary teaching staff, including himself, against the school's management.[192] Most teachers supported Honeyford and John was unable to protest within his place of work.[193] However, he would picket the school every morning before commencing a day of teaching throughout September 1985. Teaching in the backdrop of a race relations protest, John believed that teaching the social and economic history of Bradford to be most pertinent to his pupils' understanding of their city and society, which included the migration of Pakistanis to Bradford textile mills in the 1970s. John's school groups were made up of white working class and first and second-generation immigrants from Bangladesh, India and particularly Pakistan; social and economic history explained why they all were living in the city of Bradford. His scheme of work attempted to explain why immigrants from the Indian subcontinent frequently migrated to Bradford, which he believed developed understanding between the ethnic groups in his classroom. Whilst John perceived his later lessons on the history of the Holocaust as anti-racist, he described anti-racism as a 'by-product' of teaching local history in Bradford, rather than his principal objective. It was not one that he believed was encouraged by the government, Bradford LEA or his school,

[191] D. Murphy, *Tales from Two Cities* (London, 1987), pp. 106, 109, 117-20.
[192] Interview with John, conducted by H. Mann, Bradford, 5 July 2019.
[193] 'Staff defend head at centre of race dispute', *The Times*, (25 September 1985).

remarking, 'there were certainly nothing out there that seemed to promote that particular thing at that time.'[194] His lessons perhaps already contained enough 'non-British' histories to upset his headteacher Honeyford.

John was therefore incredibly frustrated with the National Curriculum in the early 1990s, commenting, 'that was all lost when the National Curriculum came in at first. They stifled that, that local element of history'.[195] This approach was influenced by progressive 'child-centred' pedagogies that emerged in the 1940s and considered the social and emotional development of the child alongside their mental and physical progression.[196] Implemented as a pedagogical strategy in the secondary modern school, child-centred learning allowed for a plurality of narratives and perspectives in education by centring education on the child's world and tailoring it around their stages of development.[197] It was thought that children (and non-academic adolescents) only needed to understand what was immediately relevant to them, so in the industrial north, teachers such as John in Bradford created their own local history courses using local sites and artefacts to approach the past from a social and economic perspective. As such, John did not teach the Holocaust, but neither did he teach other histories of race or racism that did not directly affect his students. Coupled with his passion for local history and his left-leaning political views, John advocated for multiculturalism in the education system and for history that started learning from his pupils' localised understanding of the world. The introduction of mandatory Holocaust education in the National Curriculum changed the purpose of history education, with the aim for pupils to not only understand who they were, but to form the values of the citizen they would become.

[194] Interview with John.
[195] Interview with John.
[196] Tisdall, *A Progressive Education*, p. 26-27.
[197] J. Howlett, *Progressive Education: a critical introduction* (London, 2013), p. 272.

In the rural county of Lincolnshire, both memory of the Holocaust and anti-racism initiatives were few and far between in the 1980s. Very few of the Lincolnshire teachers I interviewed taught the Holocaust before the 1990s. Though many started their careers after the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1991, teachers working in Lincolnshire in the 1980s did not perceive the Holocaust as relevant to their rural school pupils. For example, Steve grew up and taught for his entire career in Lincolnshire, starting in 1986. He now worked as a head of department in a Lincolnshire grammar school. Like John, he only started teaching the Holocaust when it was introduced into the National Curriculum in 1991, first teaching the topic in 1993. He commented,

> Well, thirty years ago when we started, we never taught it. We didn't do it on the curriculum anywhere. I think we started teaching it probably about twenty years ago. For the first ten years it wasn't kind of mentioned…. We kind of missed it out, it might have been mentioned in lessons, but it wasn't a specific unit of work. So like something that you would know about but, I mean there is a load of history at the moment which you know about but don't teach... it was just like, another subject.[198]

Why did teachers like Steve not teach the Holocaust when they first started teaching, whilst teachers in London, or other urban areas, may have? The lack of resources and support to teach the Holocaust and other histories of racism, compared with other Local Education Authorities such as ILEA, certainly limited the opportunities to teach histories that could advance an anti-racist agenda. The absence of any Jewish presence in the county of Lincolnshire most likely limited the perceived relevance or urgency of teaching the historical event. His school was located in the south of the county in proximity to Peterborough, where there was a very small Jewish population with little visible presence in the community. The legacies of the Holocaust were therefore invisible in the area, without a survivor community and their descendants living in or around the town. The antisemitism of the 1980s was

[198] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve, conducted by H. Mann, Bourne, 17 September 2017.

characterised by the conspiracy arguments of Holocaust deniers: arguments that were offensive to the Jewish community but otherwise consigned to historians and scholars to debate and prevail. Antisemitism did not disturb sleepy agricultural towns in rural Lincolnshire. But equally, without any racial diversity in the region in the 1980s, the anti-racist approach to Holocaust education felt less urgent in Lincolnshire.

John and Steve's reasons for not teaching about the Holocaust in Bradford and Lincolnshire arguably shared some similarities with Bernard's approach to Shoah education in his école privé in Aix-en-Provence. The city was home to a small Jewish population as well as a growing population of 'issus d'immigration' of North African origin. His school, however, was predominantly white, Catholic and middle class, with a very small intake of pupils of other religions and heritages. As far as Bernard was concerned, there were no issues of racism or antisemitism in his school and so his lessons on Anny-Yolande did not confront questions of difference and 'Othering'. His lessons did not challenge racism, xenophobia or even antisemitism as they purposely focused on a young girl who looked 'French' and her persecution as a French citizen. In each classroom, their lessons were shaped by the needs, challenges and opportunities of the students and environment in front of them, and in Bernard and Steve's case, anti-racism was a task for elsewhere.

A duty to teach the Holocaust

In the 1990s, new 'duties' to teach about the Holocaust emerged in England and France, shaping the future of Holocaust education in both countries for the next two decades. The nature of this 'duty' manifested very differently in both countries. In England, the introduction of the Holocaust onto the National Curriculum created a statutory duty to teach the historical event alongside a list of other study units. The topic itself was laden with a range of moral and ethical questions, but amidst the overhaul of the compulsory education

sector, there was little debate or discussion about the teacher's moral duty to address the Holocaust. In France, by comparison, the moral duty to teach the Holocaust preceded its placement in the curriculum. A *devoir de mémoire* [duty of memory] arose in the early 1990s as France attempted to reckon with its past. This duty, to transmit the memory of the Shoah, fell predominantly onto the shoulders of history teachers.

The 1988 Education Act introduced a National Curriculum in all state schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland for the first time, prescribing what children should be taught intending to standardise the provision of education. The Key Stage Three curriculum for history, introduced in 1991, provided a list of historical topics and events that had to be taught between years seven and nine (age eleven to fourteen).[199] According to Robert Guyver, who served on the History Working Group when deciding which histories to include in the curriculum, concerns were voiced that 'the study of the Nazi period and the world war associated with it had become obsessive and decontextualized', and should be scrapped from Key Stage Three altogether.[200] However, their position was saved at the behest of the British Legion and British Jewish groups.[201]

The inclusion of the Holocaust in the National Curriculum appeared to provoke little reaction in 1991, or in 1993 when the topic was first taught as part of the curriculum. For example, Robert Phillips' extensive research on the implementation and responses to the National Curriculum in the early 1990s did not draw out either concerns or contentment at the new obligation to teach a history of genocide.[202] Courses on Nazi Germany and the Second World

[199] R. Guyver, 'The History Working Group and Beyond: A Case Study in the UK's History Quarrels', in T. Taylor and R. Guyver (eds), *History Wars and the Classroom* (Charlotte, 2012), pp. 159–186.
[200] Guyver, 'The History Working Group and Beyond', p. 165.
[201] Russell, *Teaching the Holocaust in School History*, pp. 93-94.
[202] Phillips, *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State*, (London, 1998), p. 112.

War were commonly taught at both O-Level and A-Level in the 1970s and 1980s, so it was perhaps not provocative to extend these programmes to include the Holocaust. Concerns instead were raised about the amount of historical content teachers were expected to cover, with the Key Stage Three curriculum described as 'excessive', 'overloaded' and 'overly prescriptive'.[203] Interviews with teachers conducted by Mary Woolley drew similar conclusions, finding that teachers disliked the imposition of a busy curriculum that took away teacher autonomy. One teacher, Alison, commented, 'you have to race to get through things. If you're lucky you can give them a sense of chronology before you miss out a couple of hundred years and whizz on to the [next thing].'[204] Teachers felt more anger about what they lost from the curriculum than the subjects and topics that they gained, but again, no teachers in Woolley's study specifically mentioned the Holocaust.

These themes surfaced in my interviews, but after answering questions on their Holocaust teaching and pedagogy, most teachers expressed surprise that the topic had not been taught in the 1980s. Steve, for example, suggested that his opinion on the Holocaust's importance had reversed. When asked for his reaction when the topic entered the curriculum he responded, 'I think actually it was something that, to me, it was maybe a little bit shocking that it hadn't been in there. That you could do without it.'[205] His retrospective justification reflected the significant growth of Holocaust memory and the development of an 'ethics of care' in Lincolnshire that heretofore had not existed. When asked how they did teach it in those early years, some teachers referred to school textbooks whilst many others brought up *Schindler's List*, a film released in the United Kingdom in 1994, a year later than the curriculum was introduced.[206] Their early lessons had generally been forgotten. In Steve's words, 'it was just

[203] Phillips, *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State*, p. 112.
[204] Woolley, 'Experiencing the history National Curriculum 1991–2011', p. 218.
[205] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.
[206] *Schindler's List*, S. Spielberg (dir.), (Film, 1994).

like, another subject'.[207] The 1995 Dearing Review of the curriculum, recognising history teachers' concerns, slimmed down the amount of prescribed content but maintained its chronological order.[208] Teachers were awarded greater freedom in New Labour's 1999 reforms, allowing teachers to decide an event's or person's significance.[209] Teachers' moral duty to transmit the memory of the Holocaust came later, following the introduction of Holocaust Remembrance Day in 2001 and the decision to reform history curricula again in 2007. At this point, history was reorganised thematically with the exception of 'the nature and impact of the two world wars and the Holocaust, and the role of European and international institutions in resolving conflicts', providing Holocaust education with a unique status.[210]

History education in France slowly included the Shoah alongside lessons on the Second World War, the French Resistance and the Vichy regime. Though the Vichy regime was responsible for the internment, deportation and murder of French citizens for both political and racial motivations, this narrative of 'bad' Frenchmen and women was generally marginalised in favour of narratives of 'good' Frenchmen and women involved in the Resistance. The inclusion of these periods of history in school lessons often preceded their official incorporation into the school programme, as a result of their growing cultural memory which slowly connected deportations of French Resisters to those of French Jewry and Gypsies to concentration camps.[211] During the 1960s and 1970s, textbook explanations were usually short and focused on Nazi (rather than Vichy) culpability. Teaching was

[207] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.
[208] Department for Education, *History in the National Curriculum* (London, 1995).
[209] Department for Education and Employment, 'History', *The National Curriculum for England: Handbook for secondary teachers in England*, (London, 1999), pp. 95-96.
[210] Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, *History Programme of Study: Key Stage 3* (London, 2007), p. 116.
[211] Bensoussan, 'L'enseignement de la Shoah dans l'Éducation nationale française, pp. 129-150.

haphazard and relied on a teacher's personal conviction . It was not until the 1980s that school education meaningfully acknowledged the subject. For example, in 1961, the Minister of Education, Lucien Paye, established the *Concours National de la Résistance et de la Déportation* (CNRD) as an essay writing competition to emphasise the heroism and values of French Resistance fighters as role models for French adolescents. However, it was not until 1985 that the annual themes made reference to genocide. Whilst 1971 revisions to the school history programme for the *troisième* noted that an elementary knowledge of the Second World was essential for the formation of young people, it was only in 1982 that the school programme explicitly considered the extermination of Europe's Jewish populations.[212] Rather than a statutory curriculum change announced by the *Bulletin Official*, the Ministry of Education permitted textbook authors to increase the amount of text describing the Nazi persecution of the Jews, and Vichy France's deportation of French citizens on racial as well as political grounds.

These changes resulted from the emergence of an anti-racism movement that questioned exclusive definitions of Frenchness alongside newfound historical interest in France's role during the Shoah. Historical and cultural representations of the Holocaust widened conversation about responsibility and provided victims with a platform to testify, a process that started outside of France. American historian Robert Paxton's history of the Vichy regime was translated into French in 1973. Breaking from popular French historical accounts of Vichy and the Second World War, which painted all but a few French citizens as resistance fighters, Paxton argued that the Vichy leaders *sought* to collaborate with the Nazi government and occupying Germans as part of its own political agenda, and without pressure from Germany.[213] Vichy, and by extension its crimes, were not "Nazi" or "German" crimes

[212] Bensoussan, 'L'enseignement de la Shoah', p. 131.
[213] R. Paxton, *La France de Vichy* (Paris, 1973).

but carried out freely and willingly by a French state. Paxton's monograph revolutionised French historiography and inspired historians such as Jean-Pierre Azéma to publish on collaboration, whose father, Jean-Henri, was a collaborationist journalist and his mother translated Paxton.[214] Their works were published at the same time as a wave of French Holocaust denial espoused by academics such as Robert Faurisson who published two articles in *Le Monde* in 1978 questioning the existence of gas chambers in Auschwitz.[215]

Whilst this historical reckoning was ongoing, the exclusion of Jews from ideas of Frenchness was made apparent when in 1980 Prime Minister Raymond Barre awkwardly intervened following the murder of four people outside of a synagogue in Paris, commenting, 'his heinous attack was aimed at Israelites going to synagogue and hit innocent Frenchmen crossing Copernic Street.'[216] The furore caused by both the antisemitic murder and Barre's comments added to national introspection about France's civic relationship to French Jews, who were famously emancipated in 1791 and made equal citizens under the law since 1831, and in Algeria from 1870, bar their denaturalisation under Vichy. Guilt over French Jews' plight was furthered by the dramatic interventions of Nazi hunters Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, both involved in the 1983 capture and arrest of Klaus Barbie - nicknamed the Butcher of Lyon – whose trial was covered in scrupulous detail by the French press in 1987. Serge Klarsfeld's documentation of Jewish deportees and child victims shone dazzling lights on France's moral culpability.[217]

[214] See J-P. Azéma, *La Collaboration: 1940-1944* (Paris, 1979); *De Munich à la Libération : 1938-1944* (Paris, 1979).
[215] H. Rousso, 'The Political and Cultural Roots of Negationism in France' *South Central Review*, 23/2 (2006), p. 75.
[216] R. Barre, 'Cet attentat odieux qui a frappé des français innocents' (Television, 1980) https://www.ina.fr/video/I09082508 (4 September 2019)
[217] S. Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de France* (Paris, 1978); *Les Enfants d'Izieu : Une tragédie juive* (Paris, 1984).

Jacques Chirac's public acknowledgement in 1995 of the treatment and deportation of Jews during the Second World War, lifted the taboo on publicly discussing the crimes of the Vichy regime in France, instituting a *devoir de mémoire* [duty of memory] when teaching the Shoah.[218] The educational application of the *devoir de mémoire* had already been established by 1992 after François Mitterrand's refusal to recognise the role of the French state in the Shoah created public outrage.[219] By the 1990s, the term *souvenir* had been replaced by *mémoire* in the political sphere, implicating the policies and activities of the present in the past.[220] The *devoir de mémoire* was expected to denounce injustice, to educate young generations and as a means of fighting the Front National. Memory became a national heritage that should be preserved, enhanced and safeguarded by the state and teachers were pivotal to its application. Older participating teachers frequently referred to Chirac's apology as of fundamental importance to their teaching. According to Clifford,

> Chirac's acknowledgement of state responsibility dramatically transformed the commemoration itself, making the concept of a 'duty to remember' central to commemorative discourse, institutionalising state 'remembrance' of persecution.[221]

Chirac's speech created new avenues in education to address the history of the Shoah in a French context. From 1997, French anti-discrimination education, taught through *l'éducation civique*, formally made reference to the historic persecution of France and Germany's Jews as a historic event from which to learn.[222] Though the curriculum made no explicit mention of the Shoah until 2000, textbook authors in the late 1990s made reference to the genocide

[218] A. Lambert, 'Enseigner la Shoah dans une démarche d'éducation civique', *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 193/2 (2010), p. 776.
[219] S. Ledoux, *Le devoir de mémoire : Une formule et son histoire* (Paris, 2016), p. 105.
[220] Ledoux, *Le devoir de mémoire*, p. 80.
[221] Clifford, *Commemorating the Holocaust*, p. 182.
[222] Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Bulletin officiel n°5*, (30 January 1997).

during this period and occasionally drew attention to the role of the French state in deporting Jews.[223]

The moment was transformative for many teachers born prior to the 1970s, who had grown up surrounded by the silence of French crimes and unspoken guilt, witnessed the Barbie Affair as adults and were increasingly willing to acknowledge the crimes of their parents' and grandparents' generation. Benoit Falaize, Professor of Education, suggests, 'inevitably, [teachers'] will to talk about this painful period of national and European history was multiplied for those of whom an educational taboo existed'.[224] After discovering the history of Jewish persecution in France, teachers were implicated in this past as mediators of its *mémoire*. To teach this dark period of history became a powerful redemptive act, making each teacher an active agent in national reconciliation. Chirac's speech came up repeatedly in interviews with this group of teachers. For example, Marseillaise teacher Daniel commented,

> La responsabilité est très lourde. Cette obligation. C'est très important. Cette culpabilisation. Des responsabilités. Il a fallu du temps pour dire la vérité sur La Rafle du Vel d'Hiv. Il y a un discours de Jacques Chirac qui a été fondamentale.[225]
>
> [The responsibility is very great. This obligation. It's very important. This culpability. Our responsibility. It took time to tell the truth about the Vel d'Hiv roundup. There was a speech by Jacques Chirac that was fundamental.]

For the government, remembering the Shoah and acknowledging France's complicity in the genocide became a necessary *démarche civique* in the formation of new generations of French citizens. Teachers could imagine that they were healing the wound left by the Vichy regime by redressing the past and preserving the 'true' values of the Republic.

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[223] J. Marseille and J. Scheibling (eds), *Histoire-géographie 3e*, Éditions Nathans, (Paris, 1999), p. 106 ; M. Casta and F. Doublet (eds), *Histoire-géographie 3e*, Éditions Magnard, (Paris, 1999), p. 89.
[224] B. Falaize, 'L'enseignement des sujets controversés dans l'école française : les nouveaux fondements de l'histoire scolaire en France?', *Tempo e Argumento*, 6/11 (2014), pp. 193-223.
[225] Interview with Daniel, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 19 July 2018.

Though Chirac's speech was largely heralded as a revolutionary moment in French Shoah memory, confronting French culpability was resisted in many classrooms during the late 1990s. Flore taught in a school in Marseille that had a mixture of white pupils and first-, second- and third-generation immigrants, predominantly from North and West Africa. Flore was concerned that discussions around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and accusations of Muslim antisemitism in the media were shining a disproportionate light on teachers' ability to teach the Holocaust in diverse settings such as Marseille. She had encountered pupils with antisemitic attitudes or ill-informed prejudices during her lessons on the Holocaust, but this discussion prompted Flore to consider Shoah education in the early days of her career.

> Je ne sais pas si c'était plus facile l'enseignement de la Shoah avant parce que la France a quand même mis du temps à reconnaître la responsabilité de Vichy et même quand le président Chirac avait reconnu, après 1995, la responsabilité de la France dans la déportation des juifs français et étrangers. Beaucoup de gens font un pas dans... mais dans la société, nos élèves, des gens, mecs, c'était choquant que la France ne s'était pas.... Donc, je pense qu'il y avait plus un malaise à reconnaître pour certains la responsabilité des Français de l'époque. Ou c'était plus un antisémitisme à venir de milieux plutôt chrétiens. Alors qu'aujourd'hui, non, on n'est pas gêné mais... aujourd'hui reconnu plus officiellement.[226]
>
> [I do not know if it was easier to teach the Holocaust before because France still took time to recognise the responsibility of Vichy and even when President Chirac acknowledged, after 1995, France's responsibility for the deportation of French and foreign Jews. A lot of people took a step... but in society, our pupils, people, guys, it was shocking that France had not... So, I think it was more discomforting for some people to recognise the culpability of the French at the time. Especially as this antisemitism originated in somewhat Christian milieus. While today, no, we are not embarrassed but... today it's more officially recognised.]

Flore's observation illuminated the resistance towards Chirac's acknowledgement of French guilt that she herself witnessed in society and in her classroom in the 1990s. It framed the *devoir de mémoire* as a process rather than a moment, that French people from 'Christian backgrounds' accepted over time. In 2018, she no longer anticipated resistance from those in

[226] Interview with Flore, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 27 June 2018.

her class who came from 'Christian' backgrounds, as she assumed that 'Christian' French antisemitism had now subsided as the public had remembered and officially recognised the Shoah. Remembrance served as a symbol of one's values. It thus became Flore's duty to immerse her students in the memory of the Shoah, to transmit values to a new generation. She remarked, 'on amène les troisièmes à visiter le Camp des Milles. Cela constitue une responsabilité française du prof'.[227] [We take the third years to visit the Camp des Milles. It's one of the duties of a teacher in France.]

Alexandre started teaching around 2010. He grew up and taught in a France in which Holocaust memory and the 'duty of memory' were very much integrated into society and latterly into education. He had worked in a diverse school in the north of Marseille before taking a position in a more affluent *collège* in the centre of Aix-en-Provence. Like most teachers, the civic role of history was central to Alexandre's lessons. However, unlike his colleagues, he prioritised the civic role of history education over teaching knowledge and the skills learnt by *doing* history. In this manner, his approach was closer to teachers in England who valued the moral and contemporary lessons to be learnt *from* history. Alexandre explained,

> Je suis pas là pour former des historiens... C'est clair que je n'ai pas insisté sur les méthodes et les outils de l'historien ni insister sur les sources etc. en tant que tel... Mais je forme plutôt des citoyens éclairés, des citoyens qui vont se poser des questions, qui vont se questionner, qui vont essayer d'être le plus ouvert possible sur les différentes informations... Les valeurs de la République aussi. Ça c'est important, ce côté des citoyens, à respecter les valeurs de la République et devenir adultes responsables…. Mais à treize ans, [l'enseignent d'histoire] est pour préparer de bien des citoyens de voter.[228]
>
> [I'm not here to train historians... It's evident that I did not insist on the methods and tools of the historian nor insist on sources etc. as such... But, rather, I form enlightened citizens, citizens who will ask questions, who will question themselves, who will try to be as open as possible about different information... The values of the

[227] Interview with Flore.
[228] Interview with Alexandre, conducted by H. Mann, Aix-en-Provence, 23 May 2018

> Republic too. It's important, this side of citizenship, to respect the values of the Republic and to become responsible adults... But at age thirteen, [the purpose of teaching history] is to prepare citizens to vote.]

The memory of the Holocaust was a significant component of Alexandre's civic education.

> C'est très important d'enseigner la mémoire de la Shoah, dans le sens où on reste quand même aujourd'hui malheureusement. Le nombreux des actes antisémitiques... Des vidéos sur YouTube qui tournent avec des idées conspirationnistes, des salaires etc… Et la Shoah participe vraiment dans cette démarche.[229]
>
> [It is very important to teach the memory of the Shoah, in the sense of where we still are today unfortunately. The many antisemitic acts... Videos on YouTube which turn out conspiratorial ideas, their salaries etc... And the Shoah really participates in this process.]

Alexandre held strong convictions that it was important to teach the *memory* of the Shoah, as opposed to a historical approach. The phrase *enseigner de la mémoire de la Shoah* meant different things to different teachers. For teachers older than Alexandre, who had taught during the 1990s, it meant instilling a *duty to remember*, in which the pupil needed to follow the example of Chirac and acknowledge this dark moment in the French national story. Alexandre, however, came of age in a France where this history had already been acknowledged and accepted. Increased Shoah education and memory culture had shifted the parameters of the 'respectability' of antisemitism, leading Marine Le Pen to suspend and later expel controversial elements of the Front National in 2015, including her father Jean-Marie.[230] Though Holocaust revisionism still existed in the 2000s and 2010s, it was rare in French settings, and immediately rejected as erroneous, antisemitic and illegal. Instances of denial were regarded as the insane ravings of an isolated individual, or more commonly, became associated with the politics of extremist groups in the Middle East. Faurisson and Garaudy were both involved with the 2006 *International Conference to Review the Global*

[229] Interview with Alexandre.
[230] 'Jean-Marie Le Pen, exclu du Front national, fera "bien évidemment" un recours en justice', *l'express*, (20 August 2015) https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/fn/jean-marie-le-pen-exclu-du-front-national_1708366.html (9 January 2020).

Vision of the Holocaust, an event that was hosted in Tehran. Denial became to be perceived as foreign and crucially un-French: a belief system one had to reject in order to be identified with the values of the French Republic.

Therefore, Alexandre did not speak of his or his pupils' *devoir de mémoire.* There was no need for 'duty', as the memory of the Shoah was widely accepted as important. Alexandre was still convinced of Holocaust memory's civic importance, but its role was not to absolve France of its past crimes, rather to address his anxieties about contemporary society, of which he had little control. Beyond violent attacks, social media was considered to be the territory of the young, where they could be exposed to conspiracy and radicalised without the teacher's knowledge. Emotive memory lessons were one of a small number of defence mechanisms teachers were able to employ to persuade their pupils to follow the Republican tradition and defend their pupils from the perceived threats emanating from the online sphere.

Relating the Holocaust to citizenship education

Citizenship curricula were overhauled once again in the late 1990s in both England and France due to the election of New Labour in Britain and in response to the rise of the far-right and media reports that linked urban violence in the mid 1990s to the presence of racial and ethnic minorities in France.[231] Concerned with perceived moral failings in French society, citizenship education was divided into two components in 1996: civic education was entrusted to history-geography teachers; citizenship education became the collective responsibility of all teachers.[232] Unlike the 1985 reforms, civic education no longer transmitted knowledge of governmental institutions and processes, but was expected to

[231] M. Wieviorka, *La violence en France*, (Paris, 1999).
[232] Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de la Recherche et de la Technologie, *Histoire, géographie, education civique: Programmes et accompagnement* (Paris, 1998).

consider ‘the human being and the citizen’, to help pupils act responsibility and understand the diversity and development of the contemporary world.[233] The ‘New Labour’ government, which came to power in May 1997, similarly proposed a curriculum for citizenship education in 1998, constructed on a communitarian vision of 'civic morality'. The Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, chaired by Bernard Crick, suggested three strands for a citizenship curriculum: social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy.[234] According to Prime Minister Tony Blair, citizens had moral duties to each other and their communities and these needed to be taught and promoted within the school.[235]

In both countries, these efforts struggled to find a concept of nationhood that adequately addressed issues of inclusion and belonging. The concept of *citoyenneté* allowed ‘*republicain’* teachers in France to prolong an exclusive conception of French Republicanism that promoted essentialist definitions of *laïcité* based on the myth of a colour-blind, non-discriminatory society. This tension was most clearly demonstrated in schools by thirty years of debate on the headscarf ban, starting in 1989 when three Muslim girls were suspended from school for refusing to remove their headscarf.[236] The school programme explicitly linked French nationality with French citizenship, though many school pupils did not possess the former, devaluing their identity and heritage and denying them the ability to fully participate in the citizenship which they were being taught. Many participating teachers in France connected their lessons on the Shoah to their pupils’ right to vote when they turned

[233] Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale, *Histoire, géographie, education civique*, p. 38.
[234] Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, *Advisory Group on the Teaching of Citizenship and Democracy in schools* (London, 1998), pp. 7-8, 11.
[235] For example, see T. Blair, ‘New Politics for the New Century’, *The Independent* (21 September 1998), https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/new-politics-for-the-new-century-1199625.html (31 July 2018).
[236] A-S. Lamine, ‘Les foulards et la République, *Revue des sciences sociales*, 35 (2006), pp. 154-165 ; V. Amiraux, ‘L’« affaire du foulard » en France : Retour sur une affaire qui n’en est pas encore une’, *Sociologie et sociétés*, 41/2 (2009), pp. 273–298.

eighteen. However, the right to vote in national elections was not accessible for a number of their pupils born into immigrant families.

Malik was born in Marseille in 1968 and taught there from 1999 onwards. His relationship with education and schooling was unique among teachers and influenced his beliefs about history and citizenship education. He started his interview by stating, 'mon enfance, moi, je suis un produit de l'échec scolaire.' [237] [As for my childhood, I am a product of educational failure.] According to Mailk, he was expelled from school because of his parents' race, religion and status as Algerian immigrants. As a result, he did not possess the necessary skills to succeed in education, or to reintegrate into the state school system, and instead had to enrol in a Catholic private school. His love of knowledge and learning led him to study history at Aix-Marseille University. As an *issu d'immigration*, growing up in the *banlieues* of Marseille, Malik had gained an appreciation for the power of education. His Algerian parents were both illiterate. They had moved to Marseille after the Algerian War of Independence. His father chose to fight for the French army, so as a Harki, he had a complicated relationship with his Algerian and French identities, encountering feelings of rejection from both nations.

The Algerian War was difficult for his parents and was a taboo subject at home. Despite the silence, he recognised the legacy of the war in his own life. He said, 'ils ont dû un petit peu prendre des décisions importantes qui ont eu un effet sur notre histoire - mon histoire à moi... c'est des actes politiques en fait.'[238] [They had to make a few important decisions that had an impact on our history, my history... they were political acts actually.] The silence prompted Mailk's interest in his family's past. He commented, 'ça a été mon besoin d'aller faire des études d'histoire. Même si je ne suis pas allé travailler sur l'Algérie, mais j'ai pris d'autres

[237] Interview with Malik, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 19 June 2018.
[238] Interview with Malik.

questions qui m'ont ramené vers l'Algérie par mes études.'[239] [I needed to study history. Although I did not study Algeria, I studied other questions that brought me back to Algeria.] History was not merely the study of the past, but something alive, provoking and productive in Malik's life.

Perhaps driven by his family's rejection from society and their struggle to be recognised as citizens and as 'nationals', the concept of citizenship was incredibly important to Malik's teaching. He tried to instil in his pupils 'une envie de vivre ensemble':

> Vivre ensemble ! Ces éléments-là, j'essaie dans le cadre de mon enseignement de pouvoir leur transmettre... ce n'est en tout cas pas toujours simple parce que le programme, c'est beaucoup sur « il faut voter ». « Il faut aller voter quand vous aurez dix-huit ans. » « Vous voterez ! » Mais, c'est plus que ça, c'est vraiment pour la démocratie, l'acte de citoyenneté.[240]
>
> [Live together! I try to transmit these notions within the framework of my teaching, to... in any case it's not always simple because the curriculum is focused on "it is necessary to vote." "You have to vote when you turn eighteen." "You will vote!" But, it's more than that, it's really for democracy, the act of citizenship.]

His conception of citizenship centred on an ideal of an inclusive, pluralist France, in which a 'good' citizen was one who lived peacefully and cooperatively with his or her neighbour, regardless of their identity. Unlike history teachers who focused their civic efforts on the act of voting (for non-extremist candidates), his broader definition of democracy involved the development of a tolerant citizenry.

His personal experience of the state school system rendered Malik suspicious of teachers who defined themselves as French Republicans and held rigid and exclusive interpretations of

[239] Interview with Malik.
[240] Interview with Malik.

laïcité.[241] Though he was Muslim, he therefore chose to teach in a Catholic school. He remarked,

> Je constate qu'il y a beaucoup d'élèves des familles qui considèrent que leur religion est honteuse. Doit être cachée … J'habite dans une banlieue popularisée, d'une religion qui promeut les attentats… ça donne des phénomènes psychologiques, des comportements, des attitudes soit de repli, soit de rejet, soit de... Citoyenneté, c'est coopérer, c'est se comprendre, c'est donner une place à la diversité. Voilà, Je pense que dans l'enseignement catholique soit un peu plus en avance.[242]
>
> [I notice that there are many students from families who consider their religion as shameful. It must be hidden... I live in a poor district, I'm of a religion that promotes [terrorist] attacks… this gives rise to psychological experiences, behaviours, attitudes of withdrawal or rejection, or of... Citizenship, however, means cooperating, understanding each other, giving space for diversity. So, I think Catholic education is a little more advanced.]

Despite his misgivings about *laïcité*, Malik kept his family history and his identity as an Algerian and as a Muslim from his pupils, even when they directly asked him questions about it. He taught the Algerian War as part of the curriculum but found that the history of decolonisation created 'opposition' in his classroom, sometimes between him and his pupils. He believed many students were apathetic or resistant to learning more, particularly if what they learnt in classroom conflicted with what they heard from family members. Malik thought that inclusive citizenship was best taught through the study of history and, whilst this period of history offered an abundance of civic and moral lessons, there was not yet space for dialogue beyond historical interpretation. In comparison, Malik believed the memory battles over the history of the Shoah had subsided. In Malik's school, he found no issues of antisemitism. The Shoah could therefore serve as a conduit to wider lessons about the fragility and importance of citizenship:

[241] For discussions problematising *laïcité* in France see D. Leschi, *Misère (s) de l'islam de France* (Paris, 2017); P. Portier, *L'État et les religions en France : une sociologie historique de la laïcité* (Rennes, 2016).
[242] Interview with Malik.

> Je montre au moment où la citoyenneté disparaît, avec Vichy, de notre régime... en quatre ans, notre système change, les libertés disparaissent et se mettent en place des modes de répression, les gens doivent se cacher etc. Et je trouve que c'est l'un des moments clés dans l'apprentissage pour comprendre un peu que la citoyenneté c'est fragile... Je pense que c'est la période [la Shoah] qui permet le mieux dans les programmes scolaires d'aborder cette question-là et la période coloniale, que c'est intéressant pour comprendre que la citoyenneté ne peut exister-là, juste à côté.[243]
>
> [I demonstrate the moment when citizenship disappears, with Vichy, from our regime. … in four years, our system changed, freedoms disappeared and were replaced by modes of repression, people had to hide etc. And I find that this is one of the key moments in education to understand that citizenship is fragile… I think this [the Holocaust] is the best time in school curricula to address this issue, and the colonial period is interesting in order to understand that citizenship may not exist, right next door.]

He called Vichy 'notre régime', expressing an ownership of France's culpability that was absent in many of the most devoted teachers' lessons. Whilst he believed it to be a dark period in France's history, he did not frame it as a 'blip' in an otherwise progressive line of Republics. France's rejection of its Algerian citizens provided Malik with evidence of citizenship's fragility elsewhere. The history of the Shoah provided a powerful testament to the dangers of state power if people succumb to prejudice, and thus the Holocaust was the best place in the curriculum that Malik could transmit his values and concerns for France in his vocation as a history teacher. The inclusion of Holocaust education within the *troisième* school programme reflected the growing necessity for social cohesion as France accepted its growing diversity and the need for different communities to live peacefully together. Malik's approach to Holocaust education gently attempted to establish citizenship as contractual between the individual and the state as well as between citizens.

At the centre of debate in English history teaching was the question 'what is citizenship?' and 'what does it mean to be a British citizen?' The exclusivity of citizenship education had been questioned as early as 1992. Gus John, an anti-racism campaigner who moved to Britain from

[243] Interview with Malik.

Grenada in 1964, questioned the purpose of citizenship education when racism and discrimination prevented black students succeeding in education and society. For John, education for citizenship was insulting and contradictory when the everyday experience of British citizenship excluded people of colour who had their fundamental rights and civic entitlements trampled upon.[244] In history education, Cambridgeshire history advisor Andrew Wrenn also resisted the inclusion of 'citizens' in citizenship education, suggesting that individuals still regarded themselves as British subjects rather than citizens.[245] His query, posed on the eve of a new cross-curricular citizenship curriculum in 1999, echoed the anxieties of history teachers in the face of curricular change. According to Wrenn, the concept of the citizen felt French, something that they taught during their courses on the French Revolution, and 'not a very British idea at all'.[246] History teachers Ian Davies, Geoff Hatch, Gary Martin and Tony Thorpe's theorisation of 'good citizenship education' in history lessons found that they too needed to find a definition of citizenship before they could teach the subject.[247]

In England, the association between the history of the Holocaust and the values and attitudes of good citizenship developed in tandem with the rise of citizenship as a subject.[248] It became the preferred approach to teach about the dangers of racism and promote the values of multiculturalism. Susan Hector's survey of Holocaust education in 'South-Central' England in the late 1990s noted that teachers were particularly influenced by the announcement of a new citizenship curriculum and the recent recommendations of the 1999 Macpherson Report

[244] G. John, *Education for citizenship* (London, 1992).
[245] A. Wrenn, 'Build it in, don't bolt it on: history's opportunity to support critical citizenship' *Teaching History*, 96 (1999), pp. 6-7.
[246] Wrenn, 'Build it in, don't bolt it on', p. 7.
[247] I. Davies, G. Hatch, G. Martin and T. Thorpe, 'What is good citizenship education in history classrooms?' *Teaching History*, 106 (2002), pp. 37-43.
[248] N. Burtonwood, 'Holocaust Memorial Day in schools - context, process and content: a review of research into Holocaust education', *Educational Research*, 44/1 (2002), p. 71.

following the police investigation of the racially motivated murder of teenager Stephen Lawrence.[249] In his foreword to the Consultation Paper for Holocaust Memorial Day, the Home Secretary Jack Straw attached the proposal for Holocaust remembrance to a government vision of a multicultural society whilst Tony Blair argued that the day supports the government's commitment that all citizens should participate 'freely and fully' in the 'life of the nation'.[250] Secretary of State for Education David Blunkett extended the provision of the National Curriculum to include lessons on the Holocaust as part of multicultural and anti-racist citizenship education.[251] Likewise, the third version of the National Curriculum, published in 1999, made explicit that the Holocaust should be taught within the discipline of history, but signalled that teaching the Holocaust should develop students' appreciation for diversity and effect both attitudinal and behavioural change.[252] The placement of the historical event within a citizenship framework was quickly accepted by teachers and the media alike. In 2000, British journalist John Crace opened his article, 'The new citizens', by painting a picture for the reader of the citizenship curriculum; in Crace's example, a lesson on the Holocaust.[253]

Whilst the anti-racist appeal of Holocaust education developed few roots in Lincolnshire in the 1980s, many teachers proudly taught the Holocaust with an anti-prejudice agenda by the mid 2000s. This was the case for Paula, a teacher who grew up and taught in Lincolnshire. When asked if she had witnessed incidents of racism by pupils in her school, Paula replied,

[249] S. Hector, *Teaching the Holocaust in Secondary Schools in South-Central England* (Oxford, 1999).
[250] Home Office, *Government Proposal for a Holocaust Remembrance Day* (London, 1999), pp. 125-6.
[251] D. Blunkett, 'Foreword', in Department for Education and Skills, *Remembering genocides: Lessons for the future*, (London, 2000).
[252] Department for Education and Employment, 'History', *The National Curriculum for England*, (London, 1999).
[253] J. Crace, 'The new citizens', *The Guardian* (15 February 2000).

> We have the ones, "you need to go back to where you come from", and that sort of thing, so it's more like that than any sort of… So I suppose that's where [teaching the Holocaust] crosses over with your citizenship lessons, with acceptance, and tolerance and global society. All that sort of thing.[254]

Paula was not alone in teaching tolerance and acceptance through the Holocaust. Her school was situated in the white, semi-rural working class town of Spalding that suffered from both income and educational deprivation relative to the district, county and country.[255] Known as 'the Heart of the Fens', Spalding had been famous as a centre of the bulb industry in England, particularly famous for its tulips and close connections with the Netherlands. Starting in 1959, the town took pride in the annual tulip festival which recorded up to 100,000 tourists at its peak, but closed in 2013 as the industry diminished.[256] From 2004, the town experienced increased European immigration, following the ascension of Poland and Lithuania to the European Union, sparking a wave of xenophobia. Whilst the National Front capitalised in urban areas in the 1970s following concerns about South Asian migration to industrialised cities, the BNP attracted support from within white British working class communities in northern and eastern England. When the membership list was leaked to Wikileaks in 2008, its membership was concentrated in rural counties including Lincolnshire.[257] In 2016, Lincolnshire voters were among the most Eurosceptic, with seventy-four percent of Paula's ward voting for Brexit.[258] Racism and xenophobia had grown in Spalding during Paula's career and thus she sought opportunities such as teaching the Holocaust to address it.

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[254] Interview with Paula, conducted by H. Mann, Spalding, 5th July 2017.
[255] South Holland District Council, *Spalding St Paul's Ward Infopack*, (Spalding, 2015).
[256] Lincolnshire Research Observatory, 'The 2015 Lincolnshire Index of Multiple Deprivation' http://www.researchlincs.org.uk/UI/Documents/IMD-2015-Lincolnshire-Overall.pdf (28 June 2019).
[257] 'British National Party membership and contacts list, 2007-2008', *Wikileaks*, https://wikileaks.org/wiki/British_National_Party_membership_and_contacts_list,_2007-2008 (22 January 2020).
[258] 'Lincolnshire records UK's highest Brexit vote', *BBC News*, (24 June 2016), https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36616740 (22 January 2020)

Paula had a particular interest in Holocaust education. She had undertaken a Masters module with the CfHE which looked at the Holocaust in the curriculum. Paula described the focus of the course as studying 'how [the Holocaust] was taught in school, and how it is taught in other schools, and what age is the right age to teach the Holocaust, and what resources are the best to use.'[259] On completion, she decided to apply to the Beacon Schools programme, completing workshops and study trips to Poland and Germany and developing a scheme of work in collaboration with the CfHE. Paula elaborated on her motivations,

> We can do Beacon school stuff… and then we can really sort of embed Holocaust education and give them a better understanding, and we would be better informed, so the kids therefore are going to be better informed. And it was important to me living in this area, because we are very multicultural now. And when I say multicultural I mean Eastern European. So we have a lot of people particularly from Poland and Lithuania, and I thought it was important because we are talking about tolerance of other people, not necessarily tolerance of other people's behaviour.[260]

Paula connected the Holocaust to the anti-racist components of citizenship education. Genocide served as a pathway to signal opposition to all forms of xenophobia and prejudice, including against Eastern European migrants. Pupils in Lincolnshire, living in a predominantly white and rural county, had a poor understanding of different kinds of racism and identities. Teachers from across the county related several ignorant uses of offensive terminology directed towards the new Eastern European communities; 'we have had people from Poland being referred to as 'Pakis' for example... they probably don't even know what it means.'[261] With limited postcolonial migration to the region, teachers like Paula did not perceive a pressing race relations issue in the area related to skin colour. Islamophobia and anti-black racism were subsumed into universal lessons about tolerance derived from the memory of the Holocaust. As another local teacher, Sheila, commented, 'well the Holocaust

[259] Interview with Paula.
[260] Interview with Paula.
[261] Interview with Peter.

is so important here, as we haven't got any black kids, so we need to teach them about racism.'[262]

From citizenship to values: teachers' perspectives and priorities

Teachers' understanding and relationship with national values differed greatly in England and France. Whilst Republican values were bound into French public and civic culture, education towards 'British values' only arose in the late 2000s as a response the perceived failures of multiculturalism. Whist the underlying universalistic and humanistic ethics persisted, perhaps taking on more of an anti-racism message, the British government attempted to reframe this approach with revived patriotism .Whereas every public building in France was adorned with the words '*liberté, égalité, fraternité'*, participating teachers found the concept of 'British values' difficult to define. In contrast to their English counterparts, French school teachers were well versed in the political and social function of Republican values.

The language and framing of moral and civic education in England was particularly influenced by the 2005 London terrorist attacks, or '7/7', in which 'home-grown' British citizens detonated bombs in their own country of birth, residence, and nationality. Once the bombers were identified as British Muslims, there was a distinct change in how the media reported the attack, raising concerns on both the left and right of the political spectrum about the alienation of young Muslim men, the radicalisation of Muslim youth, immigration controls and the failure to integrate or acculturate immigrant communities.[263] The attack was condemned as the failure of modern multiculturalism, casting non-white, Muslim citizens as cultural, religious and ideological foreigners in their own country. The Labour Chancellor

[262] Interview with Tony and Sheila, conducted by H. Mann, Retford, 12 May 2016.
[263] M. Phillips, *Londonistan: How Britain Is Creating a Terror State Within* (New York, 2006); F. Devji, *The Terroist in search of Humanity* (London, 2008).

Gordon Brown, speaking six months after the attack, called for a revival of British history, identity and patriotism in the school curriculum, articulated through the paradigm of British values.[264] Though Brown's reforms were criticised by the Ajegbo review into Diversity and Citizenship and never fully implemented, they laid the foundations for David Cameron and Michael Gove to reform citizenship education into a values-based patriotism.[265]

With the formation of Cameron's coalition government in 2010, and under the direction of Gove as Minister for Education, the citizenship drive was scrapped during his overhaul of the school system and curriculum. Though the Gove reforms were heavily criticised by teachers for returning history education to British-centric, traditional and exams-focused courses, reminiscent of a 1980s grammar school, Holocaust education was one of the few pillars of the history curriculum that withstood reform.[266] Educating about the Holocaust had new political worth in the patriotic development of British values. This nationalist turn defined British values as democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, tolerance and respect.[267] Schools inspected by Ofsted were expected to provide evidence of their adherence and promotion of these values through their commitment to pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development.[268] The policy was often neutralised by teachers, including those interviewed for this project, fearing that the fixation on 'Britishness' could generate suspicion towards minorities and reinforce ethno-nationalism.[269]

[264] G. Brown, 'The Future of Britishness' [speech], *Fabian Society*, (14 January 2006).
[265] K. Ajegbo, *Curriculum Review: Diversity and Citizenship* (London, 2007).
[266] Cannadine, Keating and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History*, p. 233.
[267] D. Cameron, 'British values' (15 June 2014), https://www.gov.uk/government/news/british-values-article-by-david-cameron (14 January 2020)
[268] Department for Education, *Promoting fundamental British values through SMSC* (London, 2014)
[269] C. Vincent, 'Cohesion, citizenship and coherence: schools' responses to the British values policy', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 40/1 (2019), pp. 17-32.

Remembering and educating about the Holocaust became associated with British values, characterised most clearly when Cameron announced the installation of a Holocaust memorial and learning centre 'as a permanent statement of our British values'.[270] This association was continued into Theresa May's administration when, in 2018, the Holocaust Memorial was announced as 'a permanent reminder of the responsibilities of citizens in a democracy to be vigilant and responsive whenever our values are threatened.'[271] Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government James Brokenshire added to the Mission Statement, commenting, 'by placing the greatest example of where democratic institutions elsewhere failed to protect its citizens next to our own Parliament, we are making a strong commitment to stand up whenever our shared values are threatened.'[272] Avril Alba argues that Holocaust remembrance and museum sites create 'negative epiphanies', which allow the visitor to acknowledge and appreciate the present day system of governance, as demonstrated by Brokenshire's comparison between the British Parliament and 'democratic institutions elsewhere'.[273] The placement of a memorial next to Parliament symbolically marked the synthesis of British memory of the Holocaust and British post-war identity, as the moral victors against Nazi fascism, from which contemporary nationhood and values derived.

The symbiosis of British values and Holocaust education was less certain within schools and classrooms. Overall teachers were hesitant and sceptical about the concept of British values,

[270] Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 'PM: Holocaust Memorial Will Stand Beside Parliament as Permanent Statement of our British Values', (27 January 2016) https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-holocaust-memorial-will-stand-beside-parliament-as-permanent-statement-of-our-british-values (10 October 2019).
[271] UK Holocaust Memorial Foundation, 'Mission Statement', (4 December 2018), https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-holocaust-memorial-to-reaffirm-britains-commitment-to-stand-up-against-antisemitism-prejudice-and-hatred (14 January 2020).
[272] UK Holocaust Memorial Foundation, 'Britain's Commitment to Stand Up Against Antisemitism, Prejudice and Hatred', (4 December 2018) https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-holocaust-memorial-to-reaffirm-britains-commitment-to-stand-up-against-antisemitism-prejudice-and-hatred (10 October 2019).
[273] A. Alba, *The Holocaust Memorial Museum: Sacred Secular Space* (London, 2015).

something they found to be opaque and confusing. For example, Emma taught in Lincolnshire, following her decision to leave the RAF after having children. Emma suggested that,

> I think if you are talking about British values in that kind of liberal accepting sense, let's compare us to America and say well in the 1960s 1970s, we've still got lots of racial tensions going on. Nowadays, yes we have racial tensions in this country, but I do feel that Britain is kind of built, has tried to build this reputation as being this liberal accepting country where people are accepted, we don't have these issues that you might see in other nations… And the fact that it would have a Holocaust Education Centre in Britain. I don't know if that is some way to say, "well this didn't happen in Britain because it wouldn't have happened in Britain because we are not like that?" Possibly?[274]

Emma wondered whether the choice to teach about the Holocaust and connect the process of education to British values was done so to celebrate Britain's self-identity as a tolerant nation. Yet, as Emma continued, she became sceptical of her own argument.

> But then in the way that we teach it, is almost, well it was able to happen in Germany, so it has the potential to be able to happen anywhere and that's something that... You know and the fact that ordinary people are involved in this and act possibly how they wouldn't normally act... And does that mean it could never happen here? You know we talk about British values, I don't know.[275]

Emma unpicked the conflict between Holocaust memory and Holocaust education in England. British memory of the Holocaust favoured simple narratives which cherished the words of Holocaust survivors and victims and marked Nazis and Nazism as a foreign evil that the British nation defeated in 1945. School lessons could replicate a narrative that ultimately suggested that the Holocaust could not have happened in Britain, but teachers like Emma valued the civic lessons of the event because it exemplified similarities between the history of the Nazi period and events and injustices in the modern day. She found the history to be important precisely because it shone a light on governments' and humankind's capacity to

[274] Interview with Emma, conducted by H. Mann, Grantham, 4 May 2018.
[275] Interview with Emma.

discriminate. Emma was left unconvinced by the implementation and reality of British values. Despite efforts by Cameron's government, teachers' understanding of British values, and their role in promoting them, remained vague and confused.

Emma's response contrasted greatly with that of French history teacher Daniel. Daniel's family, career and school all epitomised his conviction to forming global and European citizenship and identities alongside French values. He was born in Toulon, a port city and significant naval base on France's Mediterranean coast:

> Mon père était militaire. Il a fait la guerre. Il a débarqué en Provence avec les Américains. Il a fait le débarquement en Provence et il a été blessé en Alsace. Et puis ma maman. Je sais pas. Elle est de la région de Toulouse. Bon. Après je suis marié. Ma femme est polonaise. J'ai deux enfants. Un garçon qui a trente ans qui habite au Chilé... Et donc j'ai un deuxième fils qui est pilote d'avion. Oui voilà, les pilotes d'avion qui voyagent beaucoup. Donc à la fois je suis bien enraciné ici en même temps on est un peu mondial.[276]
>
> [My father was a soldier. He went to war. He landed in Provence with the Americans. He landed in Provence and he was wounded in Alsace. And then my mum... I dunno. She is from the Toulouse area. My wife is Polish. I have two children: a 30-year-old son who lives in Chile... And so, I have a second son who is an airplane pilot. Yes, the airplane pilots who travel a lot. So, whilst my roots are here and at the same time, we are a bit global.]

His father never spoke to Daniel directly about his experiences during the war, but regularly engaged him in conversations about the racism and antisemitism he believed he was fighting against when he joined the war effort. His father's war experience and his children's global mobility rendered Daniel sympathetic to a global concept of citizenship. He explained his conviction further:

> J'étais très attaché à l'idée européenne. Mais pour moi je suis très attaché à l'idée d'être un citoyen du monde. Les valeurs mondiales… Les droits des hommes, des valeurs universelles… Je ne suis très attaché à l'identité nationale. Voyez. Je ne suis pas, c'est vrai, je suis plus porté vers les valeurs universelles. C'est une idée de la France

[276] Interview with Daniel.

> d'ailleurs dans le sens où je suis attaché aux Lumières. Voilà. Pour moi, c'est une idée française. Il faut rappeler l'esprit des Lumières.[277]
>
> [I was very attached to the European project. But for me, I am very attached to the idea of being a citizen of the world. Global values... Human rights, universal values... I am not very attached to my national identity. See. I'm not, it's true, I'm more focused on universal values. It's a French idea anyway, in the sense that I am attached to the Enlightenment. That's it. For me, it's a French idea. We must remember the spirit of the Enlightenment.]

Daniel could not separate his global identity from his French one, conceding that the universal values he adhered to were in fact French ones, and he was clearly proud of their French lineage dating back to the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Just as 'British' values were imagined to emanate from a proud political heritage of British liberalism and 'rule of law', Daniel sensed the historic revolutionary fervour and principles imbued in French values. He was proud of this history and political tradition. His confusion between his national and global sense of citizenship was common in France. The *sixième* school programme for example, introduced in 1999, was based on a number of texts, including the preambles of the Constitutions of the Fourth and Fifth French Republics.[278] These texts referred back to a French tradition of human rights established during the French Revolution and incorporated a number of international principles including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. National and universal values were one and the same: 'France, pays des droits de l'homme' [France, the country of human rights]. To pursue a programme of global, or even European citizenship, still invoked patriotic sentiments of French civilisation, modernity and liberalism.

[277] Interview with Daniel.
[278] Légifrance, 'Preambule de la Constitution du 4 octobre 1958', https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006071194; 'Préambule de la Constitution du 27 octobre 1946' https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/Droit-francais/Constitution/Preambule-de-la-Constitution-du-27-octobre-1946 (6 July 2020).

Daniel expressed his 'French' universalism through school projects and educational activities that promoted global citizenship. He registered his school as a member of the UNESCO Associated Schools Network and regularly participated in meetings with other schools from across the world. These connections across national barriers were particularly profound when Daniel taught about the Shoah. He searched for opportunities to use the history and memory of the Holocaust to develop global solidarity and forge an international community. Even Daniel's aims when teaching the Holocaust were to foster international friendships and connections.

> D'abord premièrement c'est de faire l'histoire. De raconter l'histoire telle que le contexte historique… Je suis allé plusieurs fois à Auschwitz avec des élèves et j'ai un souvenir magnifique à Auschwitz, d'être allé avec… dans un projet européen... Dans ce projet européen, il y avait des Hongrois, des Espagnols, des Italiens, des Polonais, et chaque nationalité a lu un texte… Chaque pays, chaque délégation a lu un texte. Et ça, c'était très très émouvant. D'être entre Européens et d'être à Auschwitz. Très symbolique. Donc c'est un beau souvenir fort.[279]
>
> [Firstly, it's about doing history. To tell the history, as in the historical context... I went to Auschwitz several times with students and I have a wonderful memory from Auschwitz, to have gone as part of a European project… In this European project, there were Hungarians, Spaniards, Italians, Poles, and each nationality read a text... Each country, each delegation read a text. And that was very moving. To be between Europeans and to be in Auschwitz. Very symbolic. So, it's a beautiful, strong memory.]

Though Daniel aspired to transmit a sense of global citizenship and values, and he connected Holocaust education to the same set of universal values, his lessons were grounded within a European sphere of memory. Global citizenship has been described as European in both its origins and outlook, derived from a colonial logic.[280] It was therefore unsurprising that Daniel

[279] Interview with Daniel.

[280] A. Osler and H. Starkey, 'Rights, identities and inclusion: European action programmes as political education', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25/1-2 (1999), pp. 199–215; A. Osler and H. Starkey, 'Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: Theoretical debates and young people's experiences', *Educational Review*, 55/3, (2003), pp. 243–254; J. Mangan, (ed.), *The imperial curriculum: Racial images and education in the British Colonial experience* (London, 2012); B. Sébe, *Heroic imperialists in Africa: The promotion of British and French colonial heroes 1870-1939* (Manchester, 2013).

was unclear whether his vision was European or global, or if these two forms of supranational citizenships differed from each other. He interchanged regularly between the two terms. He spoke in the language of global citizenship but in practice he had developed European consciousness and cohesion. This contrasted starkly to English participants, who traversed local and global solidarities without mentioning Europe or European citizenship, despite being interviewed during a political period dominated by Brexit.[281]

Conclusion

Holocaust consciousness rose in response to the rise of racism, antisemitism and neo-fascism in the 1980s that threatened both the United Kingdom and France. As this occurred in tandem with the emergence of a Holocaust memory culture, the Holocaust's enduring relevance was argued to be its lessons for the contemporary anti-racism movement in England, where anti-fascism became a popular, fashionable movement. Encounters with racism, however, varied depending on the demography of the local area. In the rural boroughs of Lincolnshire, teachers approached anti-racist education with less urgency and did not typically teach the Holocaust in the 1980s. In Bradford in the 1980s, teachers did not perceive the history of the Holocaust to be relevant to the racial and religious tensions present in the city. In France, instead of anti-racism, many teachers instantaneously connected their lessons to the rights and responsibilities of a French citizen. It was only after 1995 that French culpability was addressed widely and openly in schools, after Chirac's acknowledgment of France's active collaboration in the Shoah. It created a moral and civic *devoir de mémoire* for many French history teachers, whilst in the 1990s in England, the Holocaust was just another history subject.

[281] See also D. Rowe et al., *School leaders, community cohesion and the Big Society*, (Reading, 2011), p. 5.

In the mid 2000s, many teachers in England and France, convinced by the need to form 'good' and 'active' citizens, approached histories of violence and suffering from a civic perspective. In France, teachers believed that the formation of citizenship was closely linked to the transmission of memory. It indicated teachers' beliefs about the importance of shared history in the formation of identity. French identity became a product that teachers could influence, if not govern. It was up to the teacher whether they used the history of the Holocaust to direct their pupils towards an exclusive conception of Frenchness, a French identity rooted within a wider European consciousness, or a more pragmatic vision of Frenchness that allowed for diversity and equal dialogue between different religious communities. In all cases, their choice reflected their own sense of belonging within French society compared to that of their students. It shaped how each teacher framed the Holocaust: its purpose changing from defending the French Republican system, promoting European peace and unity, or in the case of Malik, to illustrate that citizenship is not universal, but a weak construct that can easily discriminate. Overall, most French teachers revealed their support for the concept of 'universal values' whilst maintaining a strong patriotism that celebrated these values' heritage in the French Revolution.

Their patriotism was somewhat echoed by the celebration of 'British values' under the Coalition and Conservative governments. Teachers across all localities, however, were confused and sceptical about attempts to connect the Holocaust to 'British values'. Without a long history of contractual citizenship, teachers were unconvinced that such a concept existed or what it was for. Following on from the anti-fascist political tradition of Holocaust memory in the 1980s and the politics of multiculturalism under New Labour, teaching the Holocaust was generally believed to challenge racism but was often done so in a universalised and non-specific manner focusing on man's inhumanity to man. For those teachers across England who had rarely encountered Jewish, black or Asian pupils within their schools, their

understanding of racism and antisemitism were somewhat limited and based on concepts of tolerance and equality under the law rather than their own, or their pupils' lived experiences. The Holocaust's universalisation allowed teachers to discuss the abstract concepts of prejudice, identity, belonging and exclusion in England from the distance of 1930s Germany.

Chapter 3: Defining the Holocaust: hybrid memories of war and genocide

This chapter considers moments when historical narratives intersect in the classroom, what these are, and how they are different in England and France. The Holocaust has either been defined as a history belonging to the Second World War, or more recently as a foundational event in the history of genocide. It explores how the history of the Holocaust responded to dominant narratives of the Second World War. In France, this meant that the Holocaust was sometimes used to highlight histories of the French Resistance whilst in England, the Holocaust could be taught in a manner that celebrated British military victory against Germany in 1945. When we consider memory, Holocaust historian Dan Stone argues that, 'what is important is not just what is 'remembered', but what is omitted, distorted, falsified, or 'forgotten' in the service of the present, and the process by which certain narratives of the past (or the 'past') come to prominence over others.'[282] This chapter explores which narratives come to prominence when Holocaust memory is synthesised with Second World War memory, and whether these two memories compete for moral and political space in school education. Reflecting changes in the historicisation of the Holocaust, this chapter also considers debates about the position of genocide education alongside Holocaust education. By considering how, when and why teachers in England extend their teaching on the Holocaust to consider other genocides, this chapter touches upon debates about the exceptionality of the Holocaust alongside teachers' anxieties about maintaining Holocaust memory's relevance. It argues that teaching the Holocaust has encouraged teachers to look

[282] D. Stone, 'Memory Wars in the 'New Europe', in *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 715-6.

beyond Europe to address recent and contemporary examples of identity-based atrocity, but in a manner that foregrounds the history and memory of the Holocaust.

Stone's assertion that historical memories compete for social and political space presents an image of victims, heroes and descendants of different conflicts battling for recognition, often in pursuit of historical justice. In this model, anxieties are heightened if the dominance of one perspective suppresses another, or when specific events or histories are conveniently forgotten. Thus, according to Stone, memory is a battleground wherein groups can gain or lose political and social power.[283] In recent years however, scholars working within the field of memory studies have disputed the orthodoxy of contested memory and instead proposed the existence of alternative memories that coexist within society. This alternative model suggests that historical memories inform and borrow from one another rather than engage in binary all-or-nothing competitions. Michael Rothberg's concept of multidirectional memory considers the 'productive intercultural dynamic' between memories from different traditions.[284] Multidirectional memory proposes that historical memories should not be framed as competing for finite resources, as histories that fight for official recognition, public space and days of remembrance. Instead, they should be considered in mutuality. Specifically, Rothberg suggests that we examine the 'dynamic transfers that take place between diverse places and times during the act of remembrance' and highlight the transference and interconnectedness between different memory traditions.[285] In this chapter, I test his theory in school education, where, contrary to Rothberg's broad study of society and public discourse, there is a finite space to discuss histories due to the pressures of timetabling, examinations and the mandates of national curricula.

[283] Stone, 'Memory Wars in the 'New Europe', pp. 715-6.
[284] Rothberg, *Multidirectional memory*, p. 3.
[285] Rothberg, *Multidirectional memory*, p. 11.

Local Memory: Intersecting memory of the Holocaust and Bomber Command

Lincolnshire was proudly remembered as a 'bomber county' with a strong, nationalistic, positive memory of the Second World War. In total there were 165 RAF bases across the county, of which seven were still operating in 2018. They played a significant role in the local community, providing considerable employment as well as cultural and youth activities. There were thirty-two detachments of the Army Cadets, including several based within secondary schools.[286] There were also sixteen war or RAF memorial museums and seven aviation museums across the county. Beyond these physical sites of memory, RAF families regularly migrated to the county as a result of the comparatively low cost of living and housing prices, as well as the continuation of the grammar school system, making the county an attractive place to settle. Familial memory entwined with local war commemoration as many teachers and school pupils had siblings, partners, parents or grandparents who served in the military, including several families of war veterans who had served during the Second World War. In addition, several teachers previously enjoyed careers in the RAF themselves, or still did so, as members of the Territorial Army. As a result, some teachers' lessons were littered with military stories, including artefacts, photographs and memorabilia belonging to local people. Lincolnshire's military memory was omnipresent.

The memory of the Holocaust and the RAF were not in competition in Lincolnshire but, from 2000, remembrance ceremonies, rituals and symbolism began to borrow and share from each other to create synthesised commemorations of two formerly discrete aspects of the Second World War. The Holocaust was regarded as a Jewish history and memory, and exhibitions and commemorations did not reach military bases in Lincolnshire until the advent of a

[286] Army Cadet Force, 'Lincolnshire ACF', https://armycadets.com/county/lincolnshire-acf/ (28 February 2019).

national day of remembrance in 2001. For example, in 2003, RAF Coningsby, in the East Lindsey district of Lincolnshire, opened an education centre to complement the Memorial Flight and allow the public to view the aircraft. The education centre included an exhibition entitled 'Turning a Blind Eye' that depicted the history of the Holocaust.[287] During the Second World War, the RAF monitored the existence of concentration camps, taking aerial photographs as they flew over Auschwitz on their way to targets elsewhere. An aerial shot of Auschwitz taken on 23 August 1944 shows thick smoke rising from a mass burial pit, and several photographs were clear enough to see individual prisoners lining up for roll-calls.[288] Though the memorial gently responded to criticisms of the Allied response to genocide, including the RAF's decision not to bomb the gas chambers at Auschwitz, the memorial itself was intended as a 'tribute to the men and women who served in the RAF during the Second World War' and particularly during the Battle of Britain. It justified the decision not to bomb Auschwitz as a distraction from the total war effort to defeat the Nazis, which would bring the ultimate salvation to Europe's remaining Jewish populations.

Questions about the RAF's moral responsibility to the victims of the Holocaust were rarely asked before the late 1990s. Emma, who had a history of active service in the military, grew up engrossed in British history and surrounded by a cultural nostalgia for the British military. As a teenager in Boston, Emma described that she 'felt the history of the Second World War' as she was surrounded by RAF bases.[289] During school, she was a member of the Army Cadets and joined the RAF in 1995 at the age of eighteen, where she met her husband and left after six years to have children. When her children started full-time education, she took a

[287] 'Fighter will edge Memorial Flight off its base', *Lincolnshire Echo* (26 April 2003).
[288] W. Rubenstein, *The Myth of Rescue* (London, 1997); D. Wyman, 'Why Auschwitz wasn't bombed,' in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington, 1998), pp. 569–587.
[289] Interview with Emma.

history degree at the Open University and trained to become a teacher. In both her history education in Boston High School, an all-girls grammar school, and through the cadets, Emma did not once hear of the Holocaust despite learning extensively about the Second World War and the RAF. She frequented memorial services throughout her military career which never once considered the Holocaust. It was not until encountering the topic as part of her teacher training that Emma first set out to study the history and consider its importance. She taught the subject in an all-boys Grammar School in Lincolnshire where she maintained her link with the military by leading the cadet force attached to her school.

In her lessons on the Holocaust, Emma was keen to consider whether the British military should have intervened to end the Holocaust. With reference to her class of pupils, she commented, 'we did question why wasn't more done in Britain to prevent this from happening, you know. How much did we know? … And why wasn't something done?'[290] She focussed on the RAF's decision to photograph but not intervene at Auschwitz. This line of enquiry was uncommon. It was not that teachers were uninterested in Britain's response to the Holocaust, but in their limited lesson time they wanted to concentrate on Germany and Europe where the 'real' history happened. For instance, online lesson resources on the HET's website addressing 'Britain and the Holocaust' were considerably less popular than lessons on other themes.[291] Her lessons were guided by the teacher training that Emma undertook with the CfHE as a trainee teacher. After 2010, day-long sessions on teaching the Holocaust became an increasingly common element of the history Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) at universities across the country. Emma completed a workshop entitled 'Being Human' which considered individual culpability. The influence of the training became

[290] Interview with Emma.
[291] Interview with Martin Winstone, conducted by H. Mann, Oxford, 16 November 2015.

evident as Emma discussed what she felt was important when teaching about the Holocaust. She commented,

> We want to make sure we're humanising these people … Looking at the idea about who was to blame, you know, how much culpability can you place for example on the train driver who's driving the train to take them to the concentration camps. Does he know what is happening? What about the secretary's filling in the details about what's happened to these people? How much can we blame them? And, our responsibility? How much did we know?[292]

Assessing levels of knowledge, blame and responsibility created a framework from which Emma could teach the Holocaust. Her approach therefore addressed the memory of the Second World War through the empathetic pedagogical approach suggested by the CfHE, asking her pupils whether the RAF might have done more to halt the genocide.

Overall, Holocaust memory in Lincolnshire increased nostalgia for the Second World War by reframing the war as a victory for humanity as well as for Britain. As Lincolnshire had no direct historic connection with the Holocaust, some teachers' understanding of the Holocaust was framed explicitly in British war memory. For example, Ken taught history in Lincolnshire as well as serving in the military. Ken was a teacher for more than 20 years, a father of two children, and was a full-time official with the National Union of Teachers (NUT). He was a proud and active member of the Labour Party, both locally and in his childhood neighbourhood in Oldham and he stood as the Labour candidate for the safe Conservative seat of North East Cambridgeshire in 2015 and 2017. In addition to this, he enlisted as an Army Reservist for over 30 years and served in the Iraq War in 2006. In apparent contradiction to his proud British military service during the Iraq War, since 2014 he sat as a NUT Board Member on the anti-imperialist, international socialist campaigns: Cuba Solidarity; Venezuela Solidarity; and Nicaragua Solidarity. They all worked in

[292] Interview with Emma.

conjunction with the 'Stop the War Coalition', which Ken met with fortnightly in the office of the Labour Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn.

Despite his political activism with groups opposed to the Iraq War, Ken maintained pride in his own military service. His active experience in Iraq encouraged his use of military history in the classroom, and Ken was particularly insistent on the need to teach about the Holocaust as well as the 'sacrifice of war'. His lessons on the Holocaust were peppered with personal stories of his friends' and family's experiences. After sharing with me several of these war stories, Ken commented,

> So, you meet people with personal connections, and it makes it more real, you know in the context of the war which was going off, you can't just view the Holocaust as a separate thing, it was in the context of the war and what was going on, dreadful, dreadful things.[293]

His own war experience framed his understanding of all conflicts, including the Holocaust, and it impacted how he approached the topic in the classroom. For example, when asked what messages he wanted to impart when teaching about the Holocaust, he commented,

> Just to understand the context of what happened... for future generations it must never be repeated, it was one of the most dreadful events you know… that took place you know... and the cruelty, a man's cruelty to each other of you like, and looking at other aspects, even in the modern context things are going on, the memorialisation of Iraq, I was talking about at one point, a report came through... [Showing that] there was lots of tortures, there were lots of examples of that, it was almost routine.[294]

His own experiences as a soldier in the Iraq War, and his understanding of the conflict, meant that he channelled Holocaust history to teach about war crimes. By teaching the Holocaust as an event situated in a war, he could draw parallels to his combat in a war that was labelled by the press and the Stop the War Coalition as unjust and unwarranted. His memory of the Iraq

[293] Interview with Ken, conducted by H. Mann, Spalding, 5th July 2017.
[294] Interview with Ken

War informed his emotional understanding of the Holocaust and the Second World War - particularly his appreciation that violence and crimes against humanity escalate during wartime. Just as the Iraq War was justified as a means to overthrow a brutal dictator, Ken saw the Second World War as a fight to save Europe's Jews.

Discussions of ethics and evil during the Holocaust provided a moral barometer for Ken to assess the accusations of war crimes such as torture within a conflict he was proudly involved in. Despite serving in the army, including in Iraq in 2006, Ken only alluded to experiencing or witnessing traumatic events and never referred to his own memories, but rather to those of friends and those learnt from books and documentaries. He framed the history of the Second World War and the Holocaust alongside second-hand accounts of modern experiences of war, as a way to potentially mediate his own thoughts, feelings and memories. The Holocaust became a prism to channel his own understanding of conflict and reflect on the atrocities that occur in war settings. As Rothberg suggested, 'public memory of the Holocaust emerged in relation to post-war events' and therefore Holocaust memory enabled the articulation of other horrors and victimhoods including histories that were seemingly separate from the Holocaust, such as histories of colonialism, racism, and slavery.[295] Ken's memory of the Holocaust and his personal memory of the Iraq War were multidirectional. They each allowed Ken to articulate and contextualise the traumas of the other event due to his acute appreciation of the normalisation of violence and crimes against humanity in war settings. As Ken's pride in the British military partly stemmed from their historic victory against Nazi Germany, this perhaps accounted for his contradictory positions as a proud Iraq veteran and also as a campaigner against neo-imperialism by the United States of America. He saw the British Army as a force for good and their role in Iraq could be presented as a moral intervention

[295] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, pp. 6-7.

against Saddam Hussein's dictatorship, who employed mass murder against sections of his own citizens and was described in the media as fascist. Although Ken's international solidarity campaigns were ideologically against the 2003 British invasion of Iraq, entwining the Holocaust and British war efforts allowed him to maintain his beliefs about the British Army's innate humanitarianism whilst critiquing 'imperialist' American interventions elsewhere.

Ken's admiration for the British Army also stemmed from the succession of family members who had served in the First and Second World Wars. His interest in history was fostered through conversations with his father, grandparents and great uncles who regaled him with tales of bravery and sacrifice. Ken repeated satire and jokes that humanised the wartime experiences of his family and neighbourhood. His childhood was shaped by the shadow of the war. Every year, he went on family holidays to visit his great uncle who was disabled after standing on a landmine during the First World War and had moved to the Welsh coastline after the war for his health upon the advice of the doctor. In another year, he visited Jersey to inspect the German hospital and defences that were still intact during the late 1960s. Even the housing estate he grew up on in Oldham was scarred by his family's experience of war. He spoke of air raids, commenting,

> They hid my dad under a very strong cupboard, they hid him underneath it, and the windows blew out and the bomb was literally just at the back of the field, a playing field, and there's a sign where the bomb dropped, and we used to play around this massive bomb hole, we used to play in it as children. There was frogspawn in it.[296]

Consequently, Ken framed the history of the Holocaust from the perspective of the war, and especially the British military. He narrated the history of the Holocaust almost exclusively through British military eyewitnesses. His Holocaust lessons centred on narratives put forth

[296] Interview with Ken.

by British soldiers about German SS commandants over the victim's or survivor's perspective, constructinga male and unusually militaristic history of the Holocaust. He relied on the history of the liberation by the British Army of Bergen-Belsen, a place which he visited with the Territorial Army whilst on a two-week exercise in Osnabruck during the First Gulf War. For example, when Ken described what he taught during his lessons on the Holocaust, he said,

> There was that Captain Robert Daniel [sic], and it was his personal experience, when he got to Belsen, using his tank and he came over, and … he fought all through the war and seen lots of things but these SS guards were torturing prisoners on the electric wire. And he came out and he just immediately shot these people out of hand.[297]

These accounts highlighted the bravery of British soldiers and framed their military effort as a moral combat in opposition to the evil of the Nazi SS. Ken's account focused on Colonel Robert Daniel's shock, rather than sharing the experiences and identities of those imprisoned within the camp. Colonel Daniel was a British Jewish professional soldier, who climbed out of his Sherman tank, walked into Bergen-Belsen and shot four camp guards in the back, allegedly commenting to his brigadier that, 'it's not much, but it's a token of my disgust and horror.'[298] These tales of soldiers' abhorrence provided Britons with the reassurance that genocide and concentration camps were foreign and antithetical to the British spirit and values, and that Britain, through the liberation of the camps, was not a 'bystander' nation. Connecting the history of the Holocaust with the actions and heroism of British soldiers led teachers like Ken to erroneously suggest that Britain went to war to save the Jews.

Remembrance rituals were borrowed and shared between the two remembrance cultures in Lincolnshire. One year nine class, in a school in close proximity to an RAF base, created a

[297] Interview with Ken.
[298] P. Delaforce, *The Invasion of Hitler's Third Reich* (Brimscombe, 2014), p. 225.

memorial on completion of their studies on the Holocaust. They used a film reel case salvaged by one pupil's grandfather, a British soldier who had liberated Bergen-Belsen in 1945, upon which they drew a Star of David in recognition of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. They also burned flags in the shape of a bonfire to commemorate and enumerate all victims of the Nazis, including Poles, Soviets, homosexuals, Roma and Sinti, communist, disabled and Jehovah Witnesses. They fused the memory of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp and its liberation and documentation by British forces, with the memory of all extermination camps and victim groups (including Allied soldiers and civilians). In addition, the pupils adorned his memorial with red poppies, the commemorative symbol of British war remembrance. The remembrance poppy has been used since 1921 to commemorate military personnel who have died in war. Inspired by the First World War poetry, such as Colonel John McCrae's *In Flanders Fields,* it has since become a fiercely patriotic symbol of British service and sacrifice.[299] The emphasis on commemorating war increased in the 2000s, following 9/11 and the deployment on British troops in Afghanistan in 2011 and Iraq in 2003, making the poppy and two minutes silence on 11 November a sacrosanct ritual.[300] As pupils annually performed the ritual of war remembrance in schools across England, British service was impressed upon pupils as a heroic and sacrificial duty and the poppy as a symbol of mourning. As such, the memorial commemorated all war victims equally through a shared sense of grief and subtly celebrated the British war effort in defeating the German Wehrmacht and ending Nazi rule.

[299] J. Iles, 'In remembrance: The Flanders poppy', *Mortality*, 13/2 (2008), p. 204.
[300] D. Todman, 'The Space Afterwards: 2014 and a Century of British Remembrance', *The Space Between*, 10 (2014), pp. 1-31.

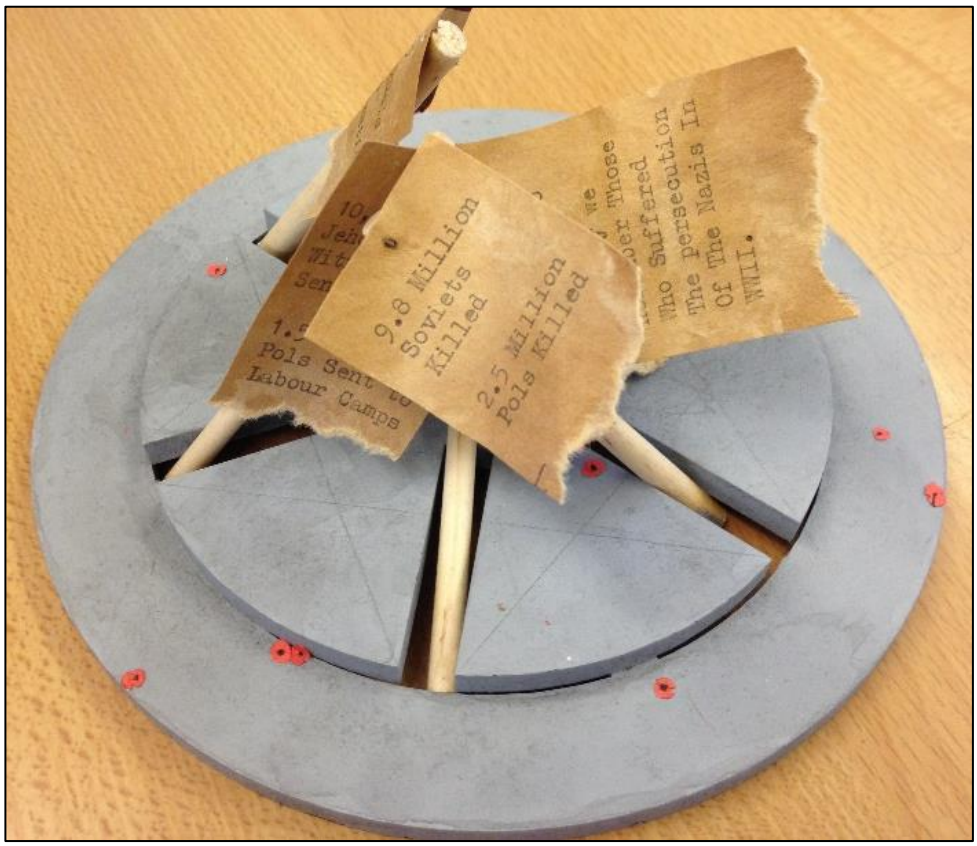


Figure 3.1 Classroom memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, 2016.

The memorial exemplified the easy crossover and entanglement of different memories and symbolisms in school history classrooms. In the context of a museum or within academic circles the memorial would be critiqued for equating persecuted victim groups with military casualties and civilian deaths, but in a classroom, oblivious to the politics of commemoration and victimhood, symbols' meanings change fluidly and move between conflicts, victim groups and histories. The memorial reflected the unconscious amalgamation of different memories and commemorations and the hegemony of the red poppy in Britain which symbolised all forms of remembrance to this class of school children.

Intersections between the Holocaust and the French Resistance

At moments, the history of the French Resistance and the history of the Holocaust overlapped: the motives of those within the Resistance varied, but alongside French nationalists, numerous members of the Resistance were anti-fascists, socialists and communists who were fighting against both the Nazi occupation of France and the far-right politics of the Vichy regime. Though assumptions about the Resistance movement's sympathies to the plight of Jews in France has recently been cast into doubt by historians such as Renée Poznanski and Olivier Wieviorka, members of the French Resistance also aided and facilitated Jewish rescue.[301] Jews played an active and significant role in the French Resistance, carrying out sabotage against German occupying forces and French collaborators.[302] Indeed, one of the most active resistance groups in France was the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans—Main-d'Oeuvre Immigrée (FTP-MOI), a French communist unit composed primarily of Yiddish-speaking, foreign-born Jews, as was the case with Édouard's grandmother.[303] Many Resistance members therefore protested the persecution and deportation of France's Jewish population and some members actively protected and saved Jewish lives. Other members joined the movement to defend free France and French sovereignty without sympathy or solidarity with French Jews. Poznanski, for example, unearthed significant antisemitism within the movement.[304] As described by historian Robert Gildea, the resisters 'were always a minority but emerged from a rainbow of different

[301] R. Poznanski, 'Rescue of the Jews and the Resistance in France', pp. 9-32; O. Wieviorka, 'Responses to the Persecution of the Jews', *The French Resistance* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 207-220.
[302] R. Poznanski, 'The Geopolitics of Jewish Resistance in France', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 15/2 (2001), pp. 245-265.
[303] L. Lazare, *Rescue as resistance: how Jewish organizations fought the Holocaust in France* (New York, 2006).
[304] R. Poznanski, 'Anti-Semitism and the Rescue of Jews in France', in J. Semelin, C. Andrieu and S. Gensburger (eds), *Resisting Genocide: The Multiple Forms of Rescue* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 83-100; R. Poznanski, *Propagandes et persécutions, La Résistance et le "problème juif"*, (Paris, 2008).

milieux. They had different visions and were fighting for different aims.'[305] Politically and socially, resisters came from the extreme communist left to the extreme right and everywhere in between.

Since the Allied victory in 1945, the role of the French Resistance has been celebrated, adopting a predominantly Gaullist narrative that French Resisters (albeit with some help from the Allies) freed France from German occupation. Up until the end of the Cold War, the place of rescue within Resistance was either excluded, or framed as a 'humanitarian rescue', creating a binary between 'saviour' and 'rescued' and ignoring the motives and identities of both the rescued and the rescuer.[306] A small number of historical accounts were written on Jewish resistance after 1968. However, the category of 'resister' was only enlarged to include Jewish members of the French Resistance. They did not include Jewish rescue, or Jewish resistance for their own survival.[307] For example, Henri Michel's early accounts of the French Resistance initially ignored the presence of a large Jewish contingent.[308] He later spoke of their 'exemplary' character, awkwardly writing that Jews 'engaged in warfare as partisans, following the example of others and with their approval.'[309] Since the Barbie Affair, historiography overtly connected the Resistance movement with the Shoah. Historian and former Jewish resistance fighter Lucien Lazare's 1987 book *La résistance juive en France* included Jewish resistance for survival, at first alone, and later with the help of other French men and women.[310] It was a narrative that became increasingly explicit, including in Lazare's 1996 translation *Rescue as resistance: how Jewish organizations fought the Holocaust in*

[305] R. Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, (London, 2015), p. 16.
[306] Poznanski, 'Anti-Semitism and the Rescue of Jews in France', pp. 98-99.
[307] See D. Diamant, *Les Juifs dans la Résistance française 1940-1944 : (avec armes ou sans armes)* (Paris, 1971); A. Latour, *La résistance juive en France (1940-1944)* (Paris, 1970).
[308] H. Michel, *Les Courants de pensée de la Résistance* (Paris, 1962).
[309] H. Michel, 'La résistance juive dans la résistance européenne,' *Le Monde Juif*, 52 (1968), pp. 7-13.
[310] L. Lazare, *La résistance juive en France* (Paris, 1987).

France.[311] After being imagined as male and militarised, historiography of the Resistance was feminised and re-rooted in humanitarian values.

The memory of the Holocaust entwined most closely with memory of the Resistance through the French education system. Memory of the Resistance was central to history education from the end of the war and in 1961, the Minister for Education, Lucien Paye, established the CNRD following initiatives by associations of former resisters. The CNRD was designed to encourage civic reflection among students based on their history education and witness testimony from French Resisters. It maintained a high regard in France with an average total of over forty thousand entrants each year.[312] The annual themes intended to perpetuate the memory of sacrifices made by French people for the restoration of the French Republic, but slowly began to include memory of the Shoah as part of its remit. From 1970 onwards, occasional assignments related to 'life in concentration camps' and 'deportations' in which students' answers *could* choose to address the history of the Shoah as well as stories of resistance fighters deported and imprisoned in concentration camps as political prisoners. However, teaching prompts only started referencing the Shoah from the 2000s onwards, and in 2005 the annual topics began to reflect Jewish memory of the period, referencing the vocabulary of 'genocide'. In 2008 the CNRD partnered with the Shoah Memorial and published its theme as, 'aiding those persecuted and pursued in France during the Second World War: a form of resistance'. It gave examples of persecuted groups including escaped prisoners of war, foreign refugees, Jews, Gypsies and Freemasons who were helped by

[311] L. Lazare, *Rescue as resistance: how Jewish organizations fought the Holocaust in France* (New York, 1996).
[312] Fondation de la résistance, 'Concours de la résistance', https://www.fondationresistance.org/pages/action_pedag/concours_r.htm (12 March 2020).

French men and women. By the 2010s, biennial themes focused on persecution and deportations to Nazi camps.

Despite developments in the historiography and memorialisation, the two histories were generally taught as complementary, but distinct events. For example, Nicolas taught in the impoverished *quartiers nord* in Marseille. He grew up in Bordeaux, where he described his upbringing as very middle class. His father was a photographer, owning a small business making postcards and his mother was unemployed for a long time before training as a primary school teacher. They were non-religious and non-political, his father never once voting in an election, though the whole family had a huge passion for history. It was in this environment that he learnt about the Holocaust. Nicolas commented,

> [La Shoah] a imprégné la société française à un moment donné. On en parlait beaucoup, même en dehors de l'école. C'est vrai que j'ai des souvenirs d'en parler à table en famille. Dans ma famille... elle était pas religieuse, elle n'était pas engagée politiquement. Par contre mes parents avaient une culture historique… Et c'est vrai que ça, ils m'en avait parlé et ça a pu m'arriver de lire des petites choses dans des revues, des magazines, et voir des shows à la télé. Je me souviens qu'au collège ou lycée surtout, c'était quelque chose qui était dans l'air.[313]
>
> [[The Holocaust] permeated French society at some point. We talked a lot about it, even outside of school. It's true that I have memories of being told about it at the family dinner table. In my family... we weren't religious, we weren't politically active. On the other hand, my parents had a historical culture... And it's true that they talked to me about it and it could be that I read small bits in journals, magazines or even shows on TV. I remember at college or high school especially; it was something that was in the air.]

As a result, he grew up watching historical documentaries with his parents. He remembered watching *Le Chagrin et La Pitié*, on the subject French Resistance and collaboration, shown on French television in 1981, which he described as 'un très grand documentaire en France… ça m'a marqué beaucoup' [a very important documentary in France… it made a big

[313] Interview with Nicolas, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 16 May 2018.

impression on me].[314] He later watched Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* on television in 1985 and *De Nuremberg à Nuremberg* in 1989, a two-part documentary that focused on the rise and growth of Nazism, the activities of the Resistance and the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. These three French documentaries each expanded the public's interpretation of culpability by muddying the distinction between perpetrators and bystanders. The films also reflected the assortment of co-existing narratives in France: the moral victory of the Allied Forces against the evil of the Third Reich in *De Nuremberg à Nuremberg*; a morally divided France in *Le Chagrin et La Pitié*; and Lanzmann's rejection of archival footage and embodiment of memory in the present tense as a direct, personal, political engagement.

Nicolas discussed the complexities of memory of the French Resistance with his pupils,

> Nous en France, c'est un mélange des deux parce que les Français ayant participé à la Shoah... on doit enseigner tel quel… C'est un mélange d'héroïsme lorsqu'on a parlé de De Gaulle, de la résistance de De Gaulle, des Français, des Forces françaises libres, de la Résistance intérieure avec la personne de Jean Moulin qui est vraiment mise en avant. Et puis en même temps un mélange d'héroïsme et un mélange de culpabilité lié à la participation de déportation des juifs sur lesquels vraiment j'insiste bien.[315]
>
> [We in France are a mixture of both because the French took part in the Holocaust... we have to teach as is. It's a mix of both… That mixture of heroism when we talk of De Gaulle, the resistance of De Gaulle, the French, the Free French Forces, the Resistance with the character of Jean Moulin, who is really celebrated. And then at the same time it is a mixture of heroism and a mixture of guilt linked to participation in the deportation the Jews which I really emphasise.]

Nicolas taught the Shoah using the film *Nuit et brouillard* and extracts of *Le Chagrin et la Pitié*.[316] The documentaries included images of the Shoah, including photographs of corpses, which Nicolas cautiously shared with his students. As both films implicated the French nation, particularly by exhibiting the horrors of the Holocaust, Nicolas explained that they

[314] Interview with Nicolas.
[315] Interview with Nicolas.
[316] *Nuit et Brouillard,* A. Resnais (dir.), (Film,1956); *Le Chagrin et la Pitié*, M. Ophuls (dir.), (Film, 1969).

also served to highlight the heroism and righteousness of the Resistance. By using the film's narratives, Nicolas framed the French Resistance's motivations as humanist, anti-racist and in resistance to Jewish deportations in France. His lessons were 'positively nationalist', linking French Republican values to De Gaulle and the Resistance. He categorised deportation as anti-Republican; as the 'other' to build French identity against. Though his lessons included the complexities of French actions during the war, it sacrificed a wider European history of the Shoah to concentrate on a French story to explain French values and the legacy of wartime pride and guilt.

The need to position these two narratives within the same memory discourse meant that French Shoah education borrowed from the vocabulary of resistance. Principally, the Camp des Milles memorial designed its education centre into three separate sections: a historical museum, a memorial space and a reflective area. The final component attempted to channel the fused memory of resistance and rescue to fight contemporary intolerances and prejudices. Its campaign, 'Fais le pour toi. Résiste!' [Do it for yourself. Resist!], encouraged young citizens to defend democratic life, channelling the values and protest (though perhaps not the violence) of the French Resistance in memory of the Shoah.



Figure 3.2 #faislepourtoiresiste, Camp des Milles campaign, 2017.

From the mid 2000s, educators placed similar emphasis on French heroes who saved Jews during the war, expanding the definition of the French Resistance to include Jewish rescue.[317] In 2016, the region collaborated on a booklet entitled *Les 'Justes parmi les Nations' de la région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur* which contained stories of rescue from the Second World War to provide 'examples and inspiration for the younger generations.'[318] These rescuers were depicted as having the same virtues as the famed resistance fighters who had been celebrated since 1944. Likewise, memorial sites such as the Camp des Milles and the Shoah Memorial in Paris were adjoined by 'Allées des Justes', inaugurated in 2006 and 2012

[317] S. Gensburger, *Les Justes de France* (Paris, 2010), pp. 16-17.
[318] Mission Interdépartementale Mémoire et Communication Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, *Les 'Justes parmi les Nations' de la région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur* (Marseille, 2016)

respectively, multiplying the number of French 'Justes'.[319] These public spaces resided outside the border of the memorial spaces and did not require the visitor to acquire a ticket or cross through the security screening. The 'Justes', along with the plethora of streets named after resistance fighters, belonged to the public sphere whilst the memory of Jewish victims needed guarding and mediating.

The memory of the Resistance circumscribed memory of the Shoah in French education, by adapting the image of a 'resister' to include the virtues of a 'rescuer' and situating Jewish rescue as a heroic act of resistance.[320] In Nicolas' classroom, the two histories created a hybrid memory of the Second World War that allowed for an arbitrary and simplistic division between French 'heroes' and 'villains'. Memory failed, however, to expand education about the Resistance beyond depictions of Jean Moulin to include images and heroic tales of foreigners and Jews, or to interrogate the motivations and prejudices of the Resistance movement, or to focus on the individual stories and tales of French collaborators and perpetrators. School history programmes traditionally sought to build a patriotic national memory, which teaches the learner to distinguish between 'us and them', and between 'goodies and baddies': a balance that the French sought when teaching the dual histories of resistance and collaboration. Teachers could present the Shoah as a French endeavour and crime, or as the pretext for the Resistance struggle, altering French self-identity. As the Second World War continued to serve as a defining moment of history in national memory, how the history of the Holocaust synthesised into national history was key to deciding who 'we' were and who 'we' are.

[319] Gensburger, *Les Justes de France*, pp.190-191.
[320] Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, pp. 471-474.

The limits of multidirectionality: genocide education

In 1981, historian Michael Berenbaum wrote that, 'the question of the uniqueness and the universality of the Holocaust is being considered with increasing frequency.'[321] Debate about the singularity of the Holocaust circulated in academic circles, in the media and in the public for decades. To compare the Holocaust to other genocides remains controversial, generating fear that comparative approaches could belittle the suffering, size and significance of the Holocaust, or distort history altogether.[322] The question was vital for school education and remembrance as it was thought that the history's uniqueness warranted the requirement to teach and remember it above other genocides or histories of persecution. As Alan Rosenberg elucidated, 'if it is not a historically unique event, if it is simply one more incident in the long history of man's inhumanity to man, there is no special point in trying to understand it, no unique lesson to be learnt.'[323] The Holocaust's uniqueness came into conflict with Holocaust education's promise of 'never again' that invited, if not demanded, its memory be used comparatively to prevent future atrocities from occurring. From the late 1980s, there was increasing study and awareness of other genocides.[324] It included studies attempting to locate the Holocaust within a longer history of genocide.[325] This field exploded in the mid 1990s, as the international community reckoned with its failure to prevent the 1994 genocide of the

[321] M. Berenbaum, 'The Uniqueness and Universality of the Holocaust', *American Journal of Theology and Philosophy*, 2/3 (1981), pp. 85-96.
[322] This is discussed in P. Bartop 'The Holocaust, the Aborigines, and the Bureaucracy of Destruction: An Australian Dimension of Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3/1 (2001), pp. 83-5.
[323] A. Rosenberg, 'Was the Holocaust Unique?: A Peculiar Question?' in I. Wallimann and M. Dobkowski (eds), *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death* (New York, 1987), pp. 145-161.
[324] See F. Chalk and K. Jonassohn (eds), *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 58–229; R. Rummel, *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, 1994), pp. 45–78;
[325] H. Huttenbach, 'Locating the Holocaust on the Genocide Spectrum', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 3/3 (1988), pp. 289–304; S. Katz, *The Holocaust in Historical Context* (Oxford, 1994).

Tutsis in Rwanda and the ethno-nationalist clashes following the breakup of former-Yugoslavia, leading to concentration camps and the Srebrenica massacre in 1995.[326]

The debate affected education, particularly within England. In 1988, an influential conference on Holocaust education was organised at the University of Oxford by Elizabeth Maxwell, a French Protestant and her Jewish husband, the media magnate Robert Maxwell. She argued that the Holocaust should be taught in schools and universities as a 'watershed event' that reveals the 'perversity of man', and a 'specific and unique event' that all Christian [nations] must contend with.[327] The conference was covered by the *Times Education Supplement*, who attempted to define the term genocide, and drew comparisons between the Holocaust and Saddam Hussein's 'policy towards the troublesome Kurds of his country'. The article predicted history teachers could teach about the Holocaust to produce 'future generations of youngsters free of what seems at times nothing less than a blood lust.'[328] Whilst Holocaust remembrance was justified by the event's uniqueness and singularity, Holocaust education warranted comparisons if the history was to be 'useful' to society.

Articles written by teachers in the professional journal *Teaching History* between 1983 and 2010 focused solely on the history of the Holocaust, with the exception of one article in 2005 which made the case for teaching the Rwandan genocide. Only by the 2010s did article themes evolve to address other genocides and argue the merits of comparative genocide studies. The 2013 issue 'Teaching the Holocaust and Other Genocides' included articles on

[326] *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* began in 1994 and the *Zeitschrift für Genozidforschung* and the *Journal of Genocide Research* began in 1999. See also G. Andreopolous (ed), *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical dimensions* (Philadelphia, 1994); N. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred, Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2001).
[327] E. Maxwell, *Why should the Holocaust be remembered and therefore taught?* (Oxford, 1988); The 1988 Remembering for the Future conference is also discussed in J. Roth, 'Introduction: What Does This Book Have To Say?', in J. Roth, E. Maxwell and M. Levy (eds), *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide, Volume 1: History* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. xxxix-xl.
[328] 'Passing on the burden of guilt', *Times Educational Supplement*, (29 July 1988).

'learning the lessons from genocides' and 'can we educate year nine in genocide prevention?' The journal reflected the universalisation of Holocaust memory in education and suggested approaches to teachers that enabled discourse on human rights, citizenship, and other, more recent, genocides.[329] A survey carried out by the CfHE in 2009 found that the objectives of Holocaust education had changed little since Maxwell's conference: the majority of teachers taught the Holocaust 'to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism and stereotyping in any society' and 'to learn the lessons of the Holocaust to ensure that a similar human atrocity never happens again'.[330] However, these teachers were less insistent on the specificity or uniqueness of the genocide, and thought that Holocaust education was a secular concern of all citizens, rather than a redemptive act of Christian nations. In both cases, the purpose of Holocaust education was to prevent genocides, both future and present, but it did not extend to teaching about other genocides.

In France, articles published by the APHG in their journal *Historiens et Géographes*, did not cover any other genocide than that executed by the Nazis. *L'Histoire*, the history magazine popular with history teachers, published a number of articles questioning France's memory of the Shoah in 1990, an interest that only increased in the subsequent decades.[331] In contrast, articles were seldom published about the Armenian genocide and the Tutsi genocide until 2014 when both became regular topics in the magazine.[332] Only in 2018 was the question of comparative genocide education considered, following the publication of the *Rapport de la Mission Génocides* on teaching about genocides and mass atrocities.[333] This did not

[329] 'Teaching the Holocaust and Other Genocides', *Teaching History*, 153 (2013), pp. 30-37, 38-44.
[330] Pettigrew et al. *Teaching about the Holocaust in English secondary schools*, pp. 76-7.
[331] P. Burrin, 'Pétain-Hitler: la choix de collaboration', *L'Histoire*, 129 (1990), pp. 88-95; H. Rousso, 'Qu'est-ce que la "révolution nationale"?' *L'Histoire*, 129 (1990), pp. 96-103; D. Peschanski, 'Les camps français d'internement', *L'Histoire*, 129 (1990), pp. 104-109.
[332] The first articleson each genocide were : Y. Ternon, 'Mise a mort d'un peuple', *L'Histoire*, 187 (1995), pp. 24-32; J-P. Chrétien, 'Rwanda : qui est responsable?', *L'Histoire*, 306 (2006), pp. 18-19.
[333] V. Duclert, *Rapport de la Mission Génocides*, (Paris, 2018).

necessarily indicate a lack of interest in comparative genocide or other genocides. In the *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, edited by the Mémorial de la Shoah, the three most-consulted articles concerned other genocides.[334] In particular, the French-Armenian population petitioned for the Armenian genocide to be acknowledged and remembered, leading to the 2001 legal recognition of the genocide in France, whilst questions loomed over France's role in the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda.[335] Nevertheless, in interviews in Aix-en-Provence and Marseille, nearly all teachers underscored the importance of teaching the Shoah, a duty that they infrequently ascribed to educating about other genocides.

Educational organisations dedicated to teaching the Holocaust took a variety of approaches to comparative genocide education and the exclusivity of the memory of the Holocaust, but despite their multidirectional approach to education, they still reinforced the centrality of the Holocaust. In France, the Mémorial de la Shoah was singularly concerned with memory of the Holocaust: it formed 'a bridge between the men and women who were contemporaries of the Shoah and those who did not experience this period of history'.[336] It hosted temporary exhibitions on the Tutsi genocide in 2014 and on the Armenian genocide in 2016 but these did not interact with the history of the Shoah. By contrast, the Camp des Milles built the

[334] A. Rabinbach and C. Drevon, 'Raphael Lemkin et le concept de génocide', *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 2/189 (2008), pp. 511-54; Y. Ternon, 'Rwanda 1994. Analyse d'un processus génocidaire', *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 1/190 (2009), pp. 15-57; E. Mutwarasibo, 'Organisation et exécution du génocide des Tutsi', *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 1/190 (2009), pp. 67-81. For consultation rankings see 'Revue de l'Histoire de la Shoah' https://www.cairn.info/revue-revue-d-histoire-de-la-shoah.htm?contenu=articles-les-plus-consultes (15 April 2019)

[335] B. Adjemian, 'Le débat inachevé des historiens français sur les « lois mémorielles » et la pénalisation du négationnisme : retour sur une décennie de controverse', *Études arménien contemporain*, 15 (2012), pp. 9-34; 'Lois mémorielles : la loi, le politique et l'Histoire', *La rédaction*, (6 June 2019).

[336] Fundamental Rights Agency, 'Toolkit on the Holocaust and Human Rights Education in the EU', https://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/toolkit-holocaust-education/interaction/france.htm (11 April 2019).

history of other genocides and contemporary prejudices into their history of the Shoah. Its mission was,

> To increase the vigilance and responsibility of each of us in the face of racism, antisemitism and fanaticism of every kind: by keeping alive the memory and history of the Holocaust and the genocide crimes committed against Armenians, Gypsies and Tutsis, as well as the resistance to these crimes; and by drawing on the scientific research that might help us understand the individual and collective processes that engendered such crimes, but also the capacities that allow people to fight back.[337]

The Camp des Milles opened seven years after the Shoah memorial and, far from the country's capital, it did not need to serve as the symbol of France's atonement for its role in the Holocaust. Its purpose was to memorialise those victims who lived within the camp, including those that were deported to Auschwitz. The existence of artworks, sleeping chambers and the factory building itself created an explicit memorial to the internees, and with a narrative of the Shoah in France already agreed upon in Paris, the Camp des Milles could focus on civic education as its fundamental mission. Its ambition was to use history to change young people's future behaviour on guided tours of the museum and through workshops such as 'Moi raciste?!' [Me racist?!] and 'Complice ou Résistant?' [Collaborator or Resister?].[338]

Holocaust educational organisations in the United Kingdom varied in their inclusion of memories of other genocides. The HET only educated about the Holocaust, with the aim of teaching 'young people of every background about the Holocaust and the important lessons to be learnt for today.'[339] Other organisations had a more multidirectional approach to Holocaust memory, educating about other historic and contemporary instances of racism. The

[337] Camp des Milles, 'A link between the past and the present', http://www.campdesmilles.org/site-memorial-objectifs.html (11 April 2019)
[338] Camp des Milles, 'Ateliers Pédagogiques', http://www.campdesmilles.org/education-ateliers-pedagogiques.html (19 March 2020).
[339] HET, 'About Us'. https://www.het.org.uk/about (24 January 2016).

Anne Frank Trust UK used 'Anne's life and inspirational message as an anchor to educate people about the damage caused by all forms of prejudice and discrimination',[340] and the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust shared 'a commitment to remember all victims of Nazi persecution, and victims of all genocide.'[341] The Aegis Trust manifestly employed multidirectional memory at the heart of its mission. Born out of the Beth Shalom National Holocaust Centre set up by the Smith brothers in Nottinghamshire in 1995, the Aegis Trust responded to the recurrent cases of genocide and crimes against humanity through the 1990s. They concluded that remembrance of past atrocities was not sufficient to prevent future genocides and that there are predictable steps that lead to genocide which hold the key to prevention. With this conviction, the Smith brothers engaged in documentation, commemoration and education of other genocides. The National Holocaust Centre used the history of genocide as a model of how society can break down in order to promote an understanding of the roots of discrimination and prejudice and the development of ethical values.[342]

As these organisations, founded in the memory of the Holocaust, adopted the memory of other genocides, they provided more muted memories with a platform to communicate their victimhood in England and France. As argued by Rothberg, 'the emergence of Holocaust memory on a global scale has allowed for the articulation of other histories.'[343] However, as Holocaust memory was foregrounded in education, how serious were educational initiatives about other genocides, and how did teachers respond to other genocides? Just as the Camp

[340] Anne Frank UK Trust, https://annefrank.org.uk/ (11 April 2019).
[341] Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, 'Mission and Strategy', https://www.hmd.org.uk/about-us/mission-and-strategy/ (11 April 2019).
[342] National Holocaust Centre, 'What we do', https://www.holocaust.org.uk/what-we-do (11 April 2019).
[343] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, p. 6.

des Milles and the Aegis Trust appeared to have greater space outside the capital to explore genocides comparatively, was this the case for teachers?

The 'genocide appendage' lesson

Although the Holocaust was the only genocide included within the National Curriculum in England, teachers and schools had the liberty to teach about any and all genocides. Therefore, the question, 'why do we study the Holocaust?' was more pertinent in England than in France. Emma, who taught in Lincolnshire after her career in the RAF, worked in a predominantly white, all-boys grammar school with a mixture of middle and working class pupils. Every year Emma asked her pupils the question, 'why is it then that we study the Holocaust, but we don't necessarily study other events, you know, other genocides and things like that.'[344] Her pupils' responses related to both race and geography. Emma explained,

> [My pupils] said possibly because it's white Europeans... Is there a particular shock factor then because it happened in a white European country but were not so shocked at it happening somewhere else … and then they would get indignant at themselves and say "why should we be more shocked that it happens in a white European country than somewhere else?"[345]

Her pupils perceived a competition within history that favoured white Europeans. This perhaps was corroborated by other parts of the history curriculum which overall was dominated by British and European histories. During the same academic year, her pupils learnt about the First World War, the Second World War and the slave trade, all topics which had the geographic breadth to be taught as world histories but were framed from an Anglo-European perspective. Other genocides were excluded because of their geographical remoteness and perceived unimportance to Britain. This perspective is substantiated by David

[344] Interview with Emma.
[345] Interview with Emma.

Patrick's research on media responses to Rwanda, Bosnia and the Holocaust, which concludes that the violence in Rwanda was framed through colonial language as a 'tribal war' and received much less coverage than Srebrenica, due to the distance of the conflict and the ethnicity of the black victims.[346] As the Holocaust originated in Germany, a country perceived to be 'civilised', teachers believed the Holocaust to be relevant, whilst colonialist stereotypes portrayed killing in Africa as commonplace and as 'tribal'. It was assumed that there were fewer lessons to be learnt for Western states. Even Emma, despite her prior objections, conceded that the occurrence of the genocide in a Western European country was one of the reasons it was taught in England. She remarked,

> In the way that we teach it, is almost, well it was able to happen in Germany, so it has the potential to be able to happen anywhere and that's something that. You know and the fact that ordinary people are involved in this and act possibly how they wouldn't normally act.[347]

Emma's argument overlooked the limited attention given to the white European Muslim victims of the Srebrenica genocide in school curricula, a genocide that occurred in a country considered to be 'modern' and 'civilised' in the 1990s. Emma and her pupils were perhaps also ignorant of the silence that surrounded the Jewish genocide between 1945/6 and the mid 1980s, and the struggle between 1988 and 1991 to include Holocaust education as part of the curriculum.[348] Their conclusion suggested that they viewed race and antisemitism during Holocaust through a contemporary lens: the Ashkenazi Jewish population of 1930s and 1940s Europe were not considered as 'Aryan' and, as a consequence, subjected to a genocidal racial antisemitism. However, teaching in the 2010s, the largely assimilated and Jewish population living in Britain were not perceived to face the same oppression and persecution as black,

[346] D. Patrick, *Reporting Genocide: Media, Mass Violence and Human Rights*, (London, 2018).
[347] Interview with Emma.
[348] Russell, *Teaching the Holocaust in School History*, pp. ix-xv.

Asian and Middle Eastern populations. The centrality of Holocaust education over other histories of victimisation seemed at odds with their perception of contemporary racism, which they related to skin colour rather than religion or theories of race.

As a result of her pupils' observations of racism, Emma was insistent on referencing other genocides in her lessons. In a later lesson in her scheme of work, Emma gave her pupils a research task to independently research another genocide event and to write about it. Beyond addressing her concerns about race, studying other genocides had civic objectives, commenting, 'so yeah, they're aware that this isn't the only case and it's not necessarily resigned to the distant past. It's also happened in the more recent past as well.'[349] Her research task excluded historic genocides, such as the Armenian genocide, the genocide of the Nama and Herero in former South West Africa or against indigenous populations in Australia and North America. Instead, she wanted her class to recognise that genocide could happen again, and for this objective, pre-contemporary history was an ineffective tool. She inadvertently re-centred the Holocaust in her lessons, by situating it as the 'foundational' genocide which happened 'again' in other contexts and countries. Her lessons did not analytically compare different genocides, but Emma allowed her pupils to independently research different genocides online before presenting back to the class. This freedom was rarely, if ever, permitted when teaching the Holocaust: a topic that engendered great caution, particularly with the profusion of Holocaust denial on the internet. The research project most likely reflected Emma's lack of historical knowledge on each genocide, or the inability to teach about multiple genocides in the space of a lesson. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Holocaust education within the National Curriculum, coupled with her perception of unspoken racial bias in the discipline of history, persuaded Emma to provide a space in her

[349] Interview with Emma.

school programme to articulate the histories of genocides that would have otherwise gone unspoken.

It was not uncommon for teachers in England to follow their lessons on the Holocaust with an example of another genocide. For example, John, who grew up and taught in schools in Bradford until retiring in 2016, started teaching about 'other' genocides in the late 2000s.

> I have taught Rwanda, and I have touched upon Bosnia-Serbia, that conflict as well, but more detail on Rwanda. But not to the same extent that I have done the Jewish Holocaust. … That was year 9, I did that as a follow on to doing the Holocaust.[350]

Later in the interview he commented,

> I mean it's a terrible thing to admit but it was a case of get through the stuff that happened in thirties and forties Germany and if there is any time left put in a bit of Rwanda and the Balkans, and that's it. And we, we always ran out of time.[351]

His scheme of lessons was common among history teachers in England who taught the Holocaust in year eight or nine at the end of Key Stage Three. The lessons were an adjunct to his course on twentieth century warfare that otherwise traversed the First World War, the Second World War and culminated with the Holocaust. By placing the lessons at the end of a course on the Holocaust, these lessons reinforced the civic 'never again' objective of Holocaust education and separated the Holocaust as something distinct from the Second World War. As a non-compulsory appendage to an already dense scheme of learning, the lesson time devoted to other genocides was often short and cursory, and easily abandoned in exchange for consolidation lessons, revision or school trips.

Like Emma, John's only example of 'other' genocides was one that occurred after the Holocaust. If teaching the Holocaust was intended to protect the future, teaching about recent

[350] Interview with John.
[351] Interview with John.

genocides reinforced the relevance of the Holocaust by corroborating humanity's propensity for atrocity. He screened emotive and violent cinema to impress this upon his pupils.

> I didn't want to think that it had only happened at that time. I wanted them to think that it's an ongoing problem that we need to be aware of, that everybody needs to be to look out for. So. I showed them Rwanda and again in terms of using multimedia there is the excellent film *Hotel Rwanda*. To show them little clips from that. Which just reinforced the message and they were horrified by that.[352]

John projected the film *Hotel Rwanda* which told the story of hotelier Paul Rusesabagina who save the lives of his family and more than a thousand other refugees during the 1994 Rwandan genocide by providing them with shelter in the Hôtel des Mille Collines.[353] The film was unpopular in Rwanda, as Rusesabagina allegedly saved lives in exchange for money, but the film garnered great acclaim abroad, including two Oscar nominations. John's reliance on film clippings most likely resulted from his lack of historical knowledge. Though English language histories were first published in 1995, the Rwandan genocide was infrequently memorialised in England.[354] The film provided a limited but sufficient historical narrative for John to be able to illustrate the reoccurrence of genocidal violence. It demonstrated David MacDonald's argument that the structure of the Holocaust has largely underpinned how we think of genocide in the West, as John's lessons on the Holocaust provided the explanatory substance to screen clippings of *Hotel Rwanda* without further context.[355] Rebecca Jinks argues that films about genocide fit a cinematic genre in which Holocaust imagery remained the paradigm, by generically representing perpetrators, victims,

[352] Interview with John.
[353] *Hotel Rwanda*, Terry George (dir.), (Film, 2004).
[354] G. Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York, 1995). The most famous account was most likely R. Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (Toronto, 2003).
[355] D. Macdonald, *Identity Politics in the Age of Genocide: The Holocaust and historical representation* (London, 2007), pp. 3-4, 28-29.

and the process and aftermath of genocide across all mediums. By doing so, the Holocaust was instantly recognisable.[356] The perpetrators, like the Nazis, were portrayed as the embodiment of evil, but at the same time faceless and interchangeable without any history or depth, whilst the victims were humanised but depicted as helpless, innocent and passive. John's limited knowledge meant that his lesson on the Tutsi genocide was unable to explore its causes, chronology or legacy, or explore any of the individuals' portrayed in *Hotel Rwanda* choices and behaviour in depth. His use of cinema rather than historical documents, accounts or pedagogical activities suggested that Rwanda was used as an example of genocide rather than the focus of historical enquiry.

Nevertheless, John appreciated the opportunity to study prejudice and racism as part of the history curriculum and to consider more current events. Teaching the Holocaust made teaching about Rwanda possible, even if his lesson on Rwanda was less developed. According to John, this multidirectional approach became commonplace in his teaching.

> As time went on, it became obvious that there were obvious crossovers and things that they could do that we could do. So if we were doing slavery in the African sense, could they at the same time look at more modern examples of slavery? If we were doing the Holocaust in 1930s 1940s German sense, can they look at things like Rwanda and later things? So, there was then some sort of parallel sense to it and then some crossover.[357]

Teachers' anxieties about their lessons' relevance meant that they connected their lessons to contemporary human rights abuses. Teachers sought 'crossovers' and 'parallel' periods of history to broaden their approach to analyse themes and phenomena across history. For John, the purpose of history went beyond understanding the past; he wanted his pupils to understand humanity and connect with the wider world. In that sense, teaching the Holocaust

[356] R. Jinks, *Representing Genocide: The Holocaust as Paradigm?* (London, 2016) pp. 139-184.
[357] Interview with John.

was productive rather than privative.'[358] Rothberg considers memory to be a two-way process. In his research on Holocaust memory, the articulation of Jewish suffering was enabled by other histories of victimisation, in particular because of anti-colonial activism.[359] Memory of the Holocaust and genocide were unbalanced. Genocides were only relevant, knowable and recognisable in education through the paradigm of the Holocaust. Their purpose was to underscore the relevance of Holocaust education, but by using those histories as further examples of genocide, rather than comparative histories to explain the past, effectively assess the present or predict the future, their attempts at multidirectional memory only reinforced the centrality of one event.[360]

In France, the school programme provided opportunities to discuss other genocides. From 1995, the Armenian genocide was explicitly referenced in the *troisième* curriculum, in the context of teaching violence against civilians during war. As in England, teachers would sometimes take this opportunity to discuss more recent genocides. Since 2002 the *baccalauréat général, technologique and professionnel* school programmes for the *première* referred to 'génocides'. The topic also briefly appeared in the primary school CM2 syllabus in 2002 before disappearing again in 2008. As a result, most teachers were able to list genocides that they had taught. This was the case for Laurent, who grew up in Marseille but lived and taught in Aix-en-Provence since finishing his degree in 1994. He explained,

> Donc le génocide des Arméniens, celui des juifs et celui des Tutsis, c'est le 20ème siècle, l'histoire de ce programme de troisième… On a une partie sur les années 80, de la géopolitique des années 90 jusqu'à aujourd'hui... et en particulier aussi le génocide Tutsi. Mais on va très vite.[361]

[358] Rothberg, Multidirectional Memory, p. 6.
[359] Rothberg, Multidirectional Memory, pp. 6-7.
[360] R. Oostdam, D. Van Straaten, and A. Wilschut, 'Making history relevant to students by connecting past, present and future: a framework for research', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 48/4 (2016), p. 480.
[361] Interview with Laurent, conducted by H. Mann, Aix-en-Provence, 6 May 2018.

> [So the genocide of the Armenians, of the Jews and of the Tutsis, it's the twentieth century, the *troisième* curriculum for history. There is a section on the 1980s, on the geopolitics from the 1990s until today... and in particular also the Tutsi genocide. But we go very fast.]

With the exception of the Armenian genocide and the Shoah, teachers had the flexibility to choose which genocide (or genocides) they covered in their lessons. This varied depending on the teacher's interest but was often guided by the editorial choices of textbook publishers. Laurent focused on Rwanda as he knew most about the country's history. His father had lived and worked in Rwanda for four years during the 1950s, and though this was a long time before the start of the genocide, he maintained a special interest in the country. Unlike in England, where 'other genocides' served as a chronologically-awkward appendage to the history of the First and Second World Wars, learning about other genocides in France aimed to explain the impact of decolonisation and geopolitics. Their aim was not to contextualise the Shoah, as 'other genocides' formed a distinct and separate part of the curriculum.

Teachers' *devoir de mémoire* concerning the Shoah did not apply to other genocides, as most other genocides did not involve the French state. For example, the mention of the Armenian genocide in the curriculum reflected the sizeable Armenian population in the country and did not serve to redress historic French crimes. Nor did the *devoir de mémoire* extend to memory of the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda, where the French state was arguably implicated in the massacres. Between 1995 and 2011 the Rwandan genocide could be taught under sections on 'colonisation', 'decolonisation', ''a new world order since the 1970s' and 'France in the world'. It was referenced in school textbooks under these themes. France's role in the genocide received increasing attention until 2008, though it was often described as a humanitarian intervention, and textbooks generally refrained from using the word 'genocide'. For example, the 1995 Hatier textbook said of Rwanda,

> At last, under the mandate of the United Nations, France intervened in Rwanda to prevent the massacre of civilians in the ethnic war that took place in that country in 1994, to prevent an epidemic and to feed refugees.[362]

In 2008, textbooks suddenly obscured France's role in the genocide following a damning report by the Rwandan government on the culpability of the French mission 'Operation Turquoise' in facilitating genocide.[363] The topic was removed completely after changes to the curriculum in 2011.

The role of France in the genocide was a source of controversy and debate both within and beyond France and Rwanda. As early as 1994, journalist Pascal Krop published a damning 'J'accuse' directed at the sitting French President François Mitterrand.[364] His efforts were echoed by François-Xavier Verschave, founder of the French non-governmental organisation *Survie*, who published a series of books and reports on French culpability.[365] According to the first academic history of the genocide by Gérard Prunier, France actively supported the Hutu-led government against the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front during the 1990-1994 conflict and allegedly during the genocide, although Prunier stopped short of accusing the French government of knowingly and actively supporting genocide.[366] In 1998, a French Parliamentary Commission on Rwanda 'did not find any evidence of French participation in the genocide, of collaboration with the militias, or of wilful disengagement from endangered populations.'[367] However, in 2008 a report commissioned by the Rwandan government

[362] S. Bernstein and P. Milza, *Histoire Terminales L/ES/S* (Paris, 1995).
[363] Rwandan Ministry of Justice, *Report of the independent national commission responsible for collection of evidence indicating the role of the French state in the genocide against the Tutsi that was perpetrated in Rwanda in 1994* (Kigali, 2008).
[364] P. Krop, *Le Génocide franco-africain* (Paris, 1994).
[365] F.-X. Verschave, *Complicité de génocide? La politique de la France au Rwanda* (Paris, 1994); Association Survie, *La complicité de la France dans le génocide des Tutsi au Rwanda : 15 ans après* (Paris, 2009).
[366] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-94*, pp. 304-5.
[367] Journal Officiel de la République Française, *Mission d'information sur le Rwanda* (15 December 1998).

concluded that 'French soldiers themselves directly were involved in assassinations of Tutsis and Hutus accused of hiding Tutsis.'[368] Whilst the introduction of the topic in schools intended for young people to understand the impact of decolonisation and the role of the United Nations, as international debate moved towards discussing French culpability and justice for Rwandan Tutsis, textbooks in France fell silent.

Even in Laurent's lesson, where he talked about the Rwandan genocide despite pointing out that, 'sur le génocide des Tutsis on n'est pas obligé de l'aborder'[369] [you do not have to broach the genocide of the Tutsis], he did not discuss the French culpability. In fact, teachers in France did not raise the issue of French military culpability in the genocide, even when asked directly about the genocide. Teachers who addressed the history of Rwanda in their classrooms did so out of a sense of global compassion for the victims of genocide, but not out of any sense of duty. Though discussions about France's culpability increased between 2014 and 2018, teaching the Rwandan genocide remained separate from the Shoah's *devoir de mémoire* among teachers in Aix-en-Provence and Marseille.[370] As the 'duty to remember' was stimulated by President Jacques Chirac's acknowledgement for France's role in deportations, it highlighted the power of the French state in shaping national memory of historic events, and the power of public apologies in history education. Teachers did not position themselves as agents of historical justice. It also identified the limits of the 'duty', which did not extend to French crimes that affected citizens of other nations or citizens outside of metropolitan France. Just as in England, multidirectional memory between genocides was limited. Teaching about Rwanda did not generate conversations among

[368] Rwandan Ministry of Justice, *Report of the independent national commission*, (Kigali, 2008)
[369] Interview with Laurent.
[370] 'Rwanda 1994, le génocide des Tutsi', *L'histoire,* 396 (2014).

participating teachers about the culpability of the French state, and instead defined the genocide as just another example of a humanitarian atrocity.

Conclusion

Multidirectional memory is often framed as unexpected acts of empathy and solidarity, spurred by memory, that have provided platforms, symbolism and vocabulary to articulate memories of suffering and injustice.[371] However, the moral, political and emotional power of Holocaust memory has diffused into dominant national memories and myths, shaping how both England and France remember the Second World War. In the case of Lincolnshire, the Holocaust generated a level of introspection around the label of bystander, and whether the RAF could have done more. By doing so, the RAF and broader local memory of war provided space to remember the Holocaust, and symbols of commemoration were shared between the two historical events. In France, remembering the Shoah at the Camp des Milles was articulated in the language of resistance, in particular when teaching young people who were encouraged to protest and *réagir* [react]. These travelling memories were fluid in local settings, away from the academic and political criticism that surrounded national institutions. In education, where history's purpose was often civic, there was even greater space and reason to borrow from other memory traditions. Teachers' memory of the war and the Holocaust was often a muddy amalgamation of cultural, family, historical, educational and personal memories. When teaching, they embodied a crossover and fusion of rituals, symbols and narratives. Should these interactions be considered multidirectional? They confirmed Rothberg's theory that historical memory was a productive rather than privative endeavour, but unlike Rothberg's thesis, teachers were not concerned about justice but about national

[371] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, p. 19.

identity. Whilst these memories were not in conflict with each other, they still competed for space, importance and prominence in each country's national story.

In both England and France, the definition of the Holocaust enabled the articulation of other histories of genocide. In England, teachers extended their lessons on the Holocaust to incorporate recent genocidal histories elsewhere. Not only did this provide a platform for other genocides to be taught but reinforced the importance and value of teaching the Holocaust by providing context to the execution of genocide and its regular recurrence in history. It highlighted the strength of the word genocide, not only in international law and politics but in education and memory. Teachers did not follow their lessons on the Holocaust with lessons on other human rights atrocities that could be compared to the Jewish experience of the Holocaust, such as slavery, massacre, or repression of civilian populations. They were relevant because they fit the harrowing definition of genocide. English teachers also only used examples of genocide that did not implicate the British state or nation, most notably through the teachers' choice to use recent histories of genocide that emphasised the relevance and urgency of their history lessons. In France, other genocides were taught separately from the Holocaust in the school programme. Memory rituals that governed Holocaust education were not applied to other genocides, notably Rwanda. Whilst participating teachers were not agents of this process, the Tutsi genocide was perhaps a beneficiary of Rothberg's concept of multidirectional memory, when in 2019, the genocide became a compulsory part of the final year school programme. It is to be seen whether teachers now approach this genocide with the same duty of memory that they do the Shoah.

Chapter 4: Teaching the Holocaust and colonialism: competing histories and competing legacies?

In June 2019, seven British Holocaust survivors were awarded BEMs by the Queen. The *Telegraph & Argus*, the local newspaper in Bradford, ran a news story under the headline 'Campaigner issues call as Holocaust survivors to receive British Empire Medals.'[372] The campaigner the article referred to was Karen Pollock, the chair of the HET, who commented in a speech to a group of survivors that,

> Though smaller in number, there are still survivors who continue to share their testimony, they work hard to educate about the Holocaust, who have yet to receive national recognition, and I hope that they too will be rightly recognised while we still can.[373]

The article was neither exceptional nor surprising in its content. Holocaust survivors had been championed as honourable, eminent figures in the United Kingdom for over a decade and between them, this group of survivors had reportedly recounted their life stories to over 80,000 school children. For Holocaust survivors to receive a medal from the Queen was regarded as a fitting tribute to their suffering, sacrifice and commitment to education. The online version of the article received zero comments and no readers' letters were published on the subject.

The use of imperial language and symbolism to honour the survivors of a racist and arguably imperial genocide went unchallenged. For Holocaust survivors to be awarded a British Empire Medal was ironically normal. The medal itself had been recommissioned by Prime

[372] 'Campaigner issues call as Holocaust survivors to receive British Empire Medals', *Telegraph and Argus*, (7 June 2019) https://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/national/17692944.campaigner-issues-call-as-holocaust-survivors-to-receive-british-empire-medals/ (20 June 2019).
[373] 'Campaigner issues call as Holocaust survivors to receive British Empire Medals'.

Minister David Cameron in 2012, by which point the era of Empire primarily survived as part of the British imagination with the exception of a small number of Pacific islands.[374] Though anti-imperialist recipients of medals, or other Order of the British Empire awards, occasionally refused their awards, their presentation was usually accepted without protest or criticism, even in the newspapers of Bradford, a city built upon postcolonial migration and shaped by the social and economic legacies of colonialism.[375] The article thus highlighted the virtue of Holocaust education alongside the silence surrounding the British Empire.

In France, the connections between the Shoah and French colonial crimes were more tangible than in England, as both histories implicated the French state. Looking at dialogues between intellectuals, activists, writers and artists, such as Aimé Cesaire, W.E.B. Du Bois, Hannah Arendt and Charlotte Delbo, in the period 1945 to 1962, Rothberg argues that struggles to raise consciousness of the Nazi genocide worked alongside, in conversation with, and at times in collaboration with the struggle for independence in Algeria.[376] According to Rothberg, the French state's use of extrajudicial violence in Algeria awoke memories of violence under the Nazi and Vichy regimes, which were, in turn, used to delegitimise French colonial violence and torture which then raised consciousness about the Holocaust. These contradictions were highlighted in Klaus Barbie's trial in 1987 as Barbie's lawyer, Jacques Vergès, insisted on the hypocrisy of the French state for prosecuting Barbie for Vichy crimes whilst ignoring colonial crimes. For example, Vergès drew attention to the murder of between 15,000 to 40,000 Algerians for flying the Algerian flag to celebrate the Allied victory in 1945, and atrocities committed up until Algerian independence.[377] Extraordinarily,

[374] 'Birthday Honours: "Working class" British Empire Medal revived', *BBC News*, 16 June 2012 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-18456068 (16 June 2019)
[375] Gildea, Empires of the Mind, pp. 243-4, 247.
[376] Rothberg, *Multidirectional memory*, p. 7.
[377] J. Vergès, *Je défends Barbie* (Paris, 1988), pp. 17-9.

the judge allowed the trial to be televised due to its historical value and significance to the French state, unintentionally highlighting to the nation similarities between Vichy France and French Algeria. Despite this public call to attention, neither Algeria nor any other French colony, appeared in Pierre Nora's compilation of French *lieux des mémoire* published between 1984 and 1992, bar one essay on the 1931 colonial exhibition.[378]

Multidirectional solidarity came up against national myths. Many in France did not accept the torture narrative, arguing that the Algerian National Liberation Front were slitting throats and guilty of barbarism.[379] One year after President Chirac acknowledged, in 1995, the deportation of French Jews, he applauded 'the importance and the abundance of work accomplished over there of which France is proud', referring to the 'indisputable' French contribution to North Africa, without rousing controversy.[380] An amnesty preventing trials related to the Algerian War meant that individuals such as Maurice Papon, the Secretary-general of the prefecture of Bordeaux under Vichy, Prefect of Constantine Algeria (1949-54 and 1956-8) and Prefect of Police in Paris 1958, was only prosecuted in 1997 for his crimes under Vichy. As well as deporting 1,600 Jews to Nazi concentration camps, Papon was implicated in the torture and repression of civilians in Morocco in 1954 and in Algeria between 1956 and 1962, and responsible for crushing the Algerian independence demonstration of 17 October 1961. It was not until Jean-Luc Einaudi accused Papon of

[378] C-R. Ageron, 'L'Exposition Coloniale de 1931. Mythe républicain ou mythe impériale?, in P. Nora (ed), *Les Lieux des Mémoires* (Paris, 1984), pp. 561-591.
[379] B. Stora, *La Gangrène et L'oubli* (Paris, 1992), p. 214.
[380] Referenced in O. Lecour-Grandmaison, 'Sur la réhabilitation du passé colonial de la France', in P. Blanchard, N. Bancel and S Lemaire (eds.), *La fracture coloniale. La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (Paris, 2005), p. 121.

ordering a 'massacre' in *Le Monde* in 1998 that Papon's actions in Algeria received widespread attention.[381]

Both England and France were subject to significant postcolonial migration in the post-war period, becoming the host-country for sizeable non-European populations, bringing people of different ethnicities, races and religions to the centre of the former empires. In both England and France transformed, Judaism was no longer the significant non-Christian minority, as both countries became multi-religious, multiracial nations. Anti-racist struggles were sometimes divided between anti-fascists challenging racism in memory of the Shoah and anti-colonialists opposing racism in memory of colonialism, creating disagreement over the state of Israel.[382] In France, these two camps were split between the former's defence of the French Republic whose fundamental values were overturned by the Vichy regime's collaboration with Nazi Germany, and the latter's protest against the French Republic as an imperial power who committed atrocities against its Muslim majority colonies in North Africa before, during and after the Second World War. In this context, this chapter explores how teachers related the history of empire and the history of the Holocaust. It then examines how teachers navigated the legacies of the Holocaust and empire, particularly in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods where teachers had to respond to contemporary antisemitism, racism and Islamophobia.

[381] J-L.Einaudi, 'October 1961: For the Truth, At Last', *Le Monde* (20 May 1998) in R. Golsan (ed), *The Papon Affair* (New York, 2000), pp. 226-229.
[382] D. Gordon, 'Antisemitism, Islamophobia and the Search for Common Ground in French Antiracist Movements since 1898', in J. Renton and B. Gidley (eds), *Antisemitism and Islamophobia in Europe: A Shared Story?* (London, 2017), pp. 218-219; D. Sopo, *SOS Antiracisme* (Paris, 2005), pp. 67-8.

The Silent Empire in multiracial Leeds

The city of Leeds benefitted from significant postcolonial migration. In 2011, eighty-one percent of the population of the city identified as white British, eight percent as Asian or Asian British and three percent as Black or Black British. This had changed from 2001, when eighty-nine percent identified as white British, five percent as Asian or Asian British and one percent as Black or Black British. The city's postcolonial heritage was rich and diverse, with large Afro-Caribbean, South Asian and African communities. The white population was also diverse, including communities from Eastern European nations, and Irish Traveller and Roma Gypsy communities. A large Jewish community also lived in Leeds since the 1840s, moving to north Leeds from the 1950s. The community was home to several Holocaust survivors. Through their children and grandchildren, the history and heritages of these varied communities entered into school classrooms but were not necessarily addressed by teachers and the history curriculum.

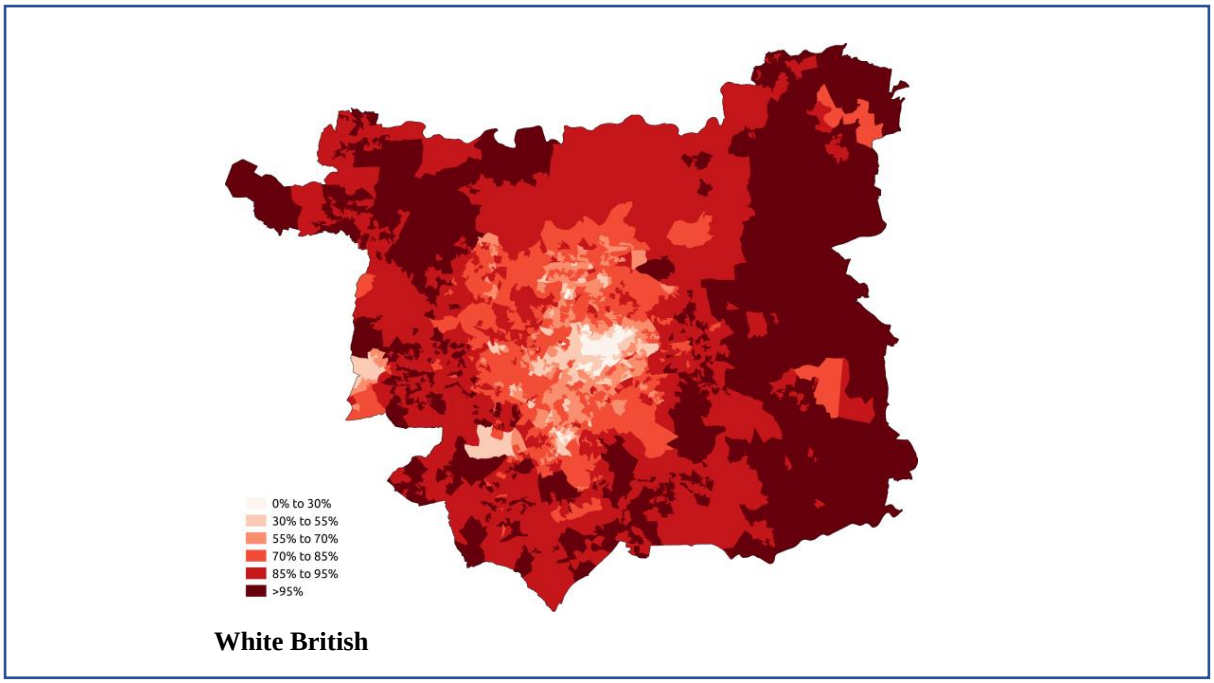


Figure 4.1 Distribution of ethnic groups in the Leeds Metropolitan District Council area according to the 2011 census

Richard taught in a very ethnically diverse school in Leeds. He had not always lived in Leeds, but grew up in Kent, where he was the only child in his family to attend a grammar school. He was thankful for his education as it was at school that he developed an appreciation for history, something that he believed was lost on his brother and sister. He started teaching in 1986 in a school in Sussex before teaching for two years in north Kenya as part of the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) programme. On return to England, he worked for seven years in a 'very white' school in Hull and in 1997 he moved to Leeds. Since then he had taught in the same multiracial school in north west Leeds, though most of Richard's pupils lived in poorer and more ethnically diverse districts in the south of the city and commuted to school by bus. His school in Leeds was one of the few comprehensive schools still run by the

LEA as it had resisted academisation. He liked his school because, 'it is very mixed, sort of, in terms of ability, in terms of culture, in terms of background of students.'[383]

Richard's school had a strong, proud and vibrant culture of anti-racism which contrasted enormously with his previous school in Hull. Richard said of his pupils,

> They are very conscious of prejudice and potential prejudices... one of most frightening things I have seen here was, there was boy accused of being racist and he hadn't necessarily been racist, but he had a made a comment which could have been perceived as racist and he was being chased down the corridor by a gang of people… the worst thing that they could have possibly done was be racist. They were baying for blood and we had to step in and save the poor chap.[384]

His students were aware of the power and significance of language, history and discrimination, particularly as many of his students were of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean heritage. As described by Richard, '[they] know what prejudice is and [they] know that prejudice can be very, very dangerous.'[385] As third- and fourth-generation immigrants, they demanded with confidence to be treated as equals. For Richard, history education was the best place to explore emotionally charged issues such as race, identity and injustice. He commented, '[history] helped me see the world in a different way but kind of through a safe environment that brought you back safely… you could go into these really bad places or strange places that were "out there".'[386] This had a direct impact on how he envisaged the purpose of history education. He reflected,

> It is like history is a sort of safe place to discuss difficult things. They will not talk about now or they won't know enough about now. But if you give them the feed on what was going on the past, they will talk about it and go somewhere with it and you can then make a link... it's like counselling.[387]

[383] Interview with Richard, conducted by H. Mann, Leeds, 22 November 2018.
[384] Interview with Richard.
[385] Interview with Richard.
[386] Interview with Richard.
[387] Interview with Richard.

Teaching about the Holocaust, along with the slave trade, was one of these dangerous and 'bad places' that Richard explored with his pupils. It raised pertinent questions about the vulnerability of minority groups in society; questions that were relevant in multiracial Leeds. He hoped that his pupils could identify the historic roots of contemporary issues and evaluate them 'safely' through the distance of the past.

After discussing his lessons on the Holocaust, however, Richard became despondent about his ability to achieve his aim.

> We would like to think we are taking them into this dangerous area and bringing them back safely but that is only because it is not really that dangerous. But as soon as you get something that is quite dangerous, we are not very good at it and we are just deluding ourselves about all we can do.[388]

Richard originally taught the Holocaust using school textbooks and the film *Schindler's List* from 1995, until the school received a box of resources from the HET entitled 'Understanding the Holocaust'.[389] This pack allowed Richard to analyse the chronology of the Holocaust in more detail. By presenting the Holocaust in stages, his pupils could identity moments when its progression could be stopped. The teaching pack supported each stage with a lesson workbook and small snippet videos about each stage of genocide. Richard expressed frustration that these lessons still could not address the civic and social issues that were relevant in Leeds. History teachers were not trained in race relations, anti-prejudice education or psychotherapy. His lessons on the Holocaust were not capable of representing the complexities of human behaviour, or questions of ethics, responsibility and moral choices, believing that his students only reached simplistic conclusions.

[388] Interview with Richard.
[389] HET, *Understanding the Holocaust* [teachers' pack], (London 1995).

Richard's misgivings about history education's ability to confront 'difficult' or 'dangerous' issues perhaps explained why he did not teach about the British empire. In England, few teachers broached the topic of colonialism in depth. They were given the option of teaching modules on migration and empire for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) by both the AQA and OCR examination boards, but few teachers chose these options, amounting in 2018 to ten and eight percent of examination board entries respectively.[390] There were few opportunities to make connections between the Holocaust and colonialism as the latter remained silent in most curricula. No participating teachers made connections between crimes committed during the Holocaust and those perpetrated in the British Empire. This included Richard's lessons, even though he taught in a classroom that had benefitted from successive generations of migration from former British colonies.

As a student at Hull University, Richard's favourite course critically considered colonialism. At the time, his professor Bernard Porter was writing critically about British imperialism, commenting that, 'it was quite cutting edge to look at the empire slightly differently. Nowadays probably looks quite empire oriented really.'[391] After finishing university and training as a history teacher, Richard lived and taught in Kenya between 1988 and 1990, a former British colony. There he taught a course on Kenyan history, where he was often challenged by his students. He explained,

> There was a lot of research coming out of eighties as well. Late eighties kind of the way people had been treated during the Mau Mau rebellion and I think the word genocide which… quite a bit about the way in which Kikuyu tribe had been treated... quite often have thirty grown adults talking to you about... and they would have quite strong views on it. But never any problems.[392]

[390] K. McIntosh, J. Todd and N. Das, *Teaching, Migration, Belonging, and Empire in Secondary Schools TIDE-Runneymede Report* (2019), p. 7.
[391] Interview with Richard.
[392] Interview with Richard.

He knew the history of Kenya in depth, including a variety of perspectives from northern Kenya (where he taught), Southern Kenya (where the Mau Mau rebellion occurred) and British narratives of empire, learnt at home and at university. Despite this knowledge, and his Kenyan students' use of the word genocide, he made no connections between the Holocaust and empire, and did not teach Kenyan history in either Hull or Leeds. Comparisons between the Holocaust and the Mau Mau Uprising might be drawn and were vocalised by his Kenyan students. Catherine Elkins' history of British rule in Kenya uncovered that the British established concentration camps that held between 160,000 and 320,000 Kenyans in order to fight the Mau Mau insurgency. Colonial authorities imprisoned Kikuyu women and children into around 800 enclosed villages dispersed across the countryside.[393] Thousands were murdered and many men were castrated as a form of punishment and ethnic cleansing.[394] Richard knew these facts, but as he never faced animosity when teaching history with the VSO, he was perhaps shielded from the emotional legacy and intergenerational trauma of colonialism.

After 1995, the history of the Nazi genocide of European Jewry was increasingly written as a history of imperial conquest. In 1995, Gerhard Weinberg argued that '[the Germans] had fought for vast conquests, and, within whatever areas they conquered, for a demographic revolution, which would leave them the sole possessors of the land.'[395] Their objective was colonial and the genocide of 'inferior races' became necessary in their pursuit of land. Weinberg avoided using the terms colonialism or imperialism to describe the Nazi occupation of Eastern Europe and it was not until 2003 that a number of historians were more

[393] C. Elkins, *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya* (London, 2005).
[394] D. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London, 2005), pp. 5-8.
[395] G. Weinberg, *Germany's War for World Conquest and the Extermination of Jews* (Washington D.C., 1995).

comfortable arguing that the Nazi conquest in Eastern Europe was a continuity from colonialism.[396] By 2010, Christopher Browning argued that the Nazi Empire was born from a confluence of antisemitism, racism, imperialism and eugenics, and Dirk Moses described the Holocaust as a 'subaltern genocide'.[397] According to Isabel Hull, the Holocaust was born out of a colonial mentality established in Imperial Germany that accepted genocide as a military necessity.[398] Using historical research, it would be possible to frame the Holocaust as the prerequisite for colonial expansion, with similarities to methods employed by Britain and France in pursuit of empire. When explaining the Nazi Occupation of Czechoslovakia and Poland, teachers did use the word 'Lebensraum', a word which describes settler colonialism. However, participating teachers did not make this connection and did not otherwise connect land expansion to genocidal activity. Overall, the memory of colonialism and the memory of the Holocaust did not intertwine within school history lessons.

Perhaps Richard's interactions with colonialism meant that he was more reluctant to teach it. His proud history as a VSO teacher in Kenya could be critiqued as a colonial adventure.[399] In 1988, during the same year that Richard was teaching in Kenya, Professor Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak published the ground-breaking article 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' which dismissed white male altruistic educative projects in India as colonialist and an advance on civilising missionary adventures.[400] The recognition of colonial memory did not only respond

[396] J. Zimmerer, 'Holocaust und Kolonialismus. Beitrag zur Archälogie des genozidalen Gedankens', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51/12 (2003), pp. 1098-1119; 'The birth of the Ostland out of the spirit of colonialism: a postcolonial perspective on the Nazi policy of conquest and extermination', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39/2 (2006), pp. 197-219.
[397] C. Browning, 'The Nazi Empire' in. D. Bloxham and D. Moses (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford, 2010); D. Moses, 'Colonialism', in P. Hayes and J. Roth (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 68–80.
[398] I. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*, (Ithaca, 2004), p. 333.
[399] See B. Deer, 'White Travellers', *The Sunday Times*, (26 April 1998).
[400] G. Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana, 1988), pp. 271-313.

second- and third- generation immigrants calls for historical justice, but also to white 'indigenous' Britons who would need to reassess British memory, self-identity and acts of altruism - such as Richard's Voluntary Service Overseas - through a postcolonial lens. Colonial atrocities in Kenya were only widely acknowledged in Britain after Caroline Elkins published *Imperial Reckoning* in 2005. Whilst Richard acknowledged British violence towards the Mau Mau in the South of Kenya, he maintained a pretence that the north, where he taught, was unaffected by British rule.[401]

> That is another myth about British colonial stuff, that there was a kind of line drawn between north and South [Kenya]. And the north was a northern frontier district and basically the British just said we are not interested at all and left them to get on with it... But the bits that the British could exploit, like the famous bits where the tea plantations are and things like that, they really controlled that and they moved people off the land etc. etc. In the north they weren't interested in the land because it was just a nomadic pastoral kind of area. So they never touched that, so where I was teaching actually had not really been that much impacted upon by the British.[402]

Richard thought that the region he worked in was too 'nomadic' to have been exploited by the colonial authorities. His historical interpretation is disputed by numerous historians of Kenya, who have argued that the colonial period restricted resource access to wells and the grazing lands in the north resulting in structural changes and resource scarcity that altered patterns of migration and led to poverty and violent ethnic conflict.[403] Teaching about empire, particularly to cohorts of proudly anti-racist pupils, might force him to reconsider his knowledge and experience of Kenya.

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[401] C. Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York, 2005).
[402] Interview with Richard.
[403] See G. Oba, 'Colonial resource capture: triggers of ethnic conflicts in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, 1903–1930s', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 5/3 (2011) pp. 505-534; H. Whittaker, 'Legacies of Empire: State Violence and Collective Punishment in Kenya's North Eastern Province, c. 1963–Present', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43/4 (2015), pp. 641-657.

There were also practical considerations. If Richard were to teach the colonial history of his pupils' ancestors, whose history would he choose? In Bradford, the majority of students' parents or grandparents migrated from Pakistan, so teaching about the British Raj and the 1947 partition could provide the school students with a historical awareness and consciousness that could explain why their parents migrated to Bradford. But in Leeds, pupils' ancestries varied with parents and grandparents migrating from across the Commonwealth. Teaching about the Mau Mau would not necessarily satisfy his Afro-Caribbean pupils' desire for historical knowledge and recognition of their heritage even if it could explain the system and logic of colonialism and empire. Teaching the Holocaust avoided all of these decisions, as well as questions about Britain's moral identity. The history was mandatory in the National Curriculum and thus did not need justifying to heads of departments or headteachers, particularly as it was universally accepted as a history that humanity must learn from. There were numerous decisions to be made about narratives, victim groups, responsibility, scope and geography, but these were guided by textbooks and institutions such as the HET, the IWM and the CfHE.

In contrast to the Holocaust, teachers lacked the resources and vocabulary to teach about empire. The 2019 TIDE-Runneymede Report on 'Teaching, Migration, Belonging, and Empire in Secondary Schools' found that teachers did not feel confident teaching empire, and that seventy-four percent of history teachers wanted further training.[404] Apart from occasional references to British concentration camps during the Second Boer War, the Holocaust and colonialism were not addressed comparatively and teachers did not engage emotion or mnemonic sources in relation to the Boers as they did with the Holocaust. Teachers largely framed Nazi occupation as an exercise of war, not imperialism, and excluded the legacy of

[404] McIntosh, Todd and Das, *Teaching, Migration, Belonging, and Empire*, p. 8.

the Holocaust including financial and symbolic reparations. Perhaps these struck too close to British guilt about its own crimes elsewhere and disrupted the narrative about Britain's moral role in the world, if Britain had acted like the Nazis.

Fragmented memories: the Shoah and North Africa

In France, the so-called 'memory trials' of Barbie and Papon underlined the importance and singularity of the Holocaust. Because they also implicated the French state, they helped to legitimize the government's authority to legislate on the past through memory laws that mandate the contents of school curricula. In 1990, the 'Gayssot' Law forbade the publication and dissemination of Holocaust denial. In 2001, the French state publicly recognised the Armenian genocide of 1915 and, separately, requested that schools acknowledge past and present trafficking and slavery. Most contentiously, in 2005, Nicolas Sarkozy's government decided to recognise 'France's positive role overseas, notably in North Africa' in the school curriculum and directed universities to provide this history with the 'place it deserves'.[405] Many historians and academics criticised the institutionalisation of 'nationalist communitarianism' which dictated which groups were permitted to 'have a past' in France.[406] In December 2005, nineteen historians demanded that the law be repealed, arguing for intellectual freedom and that the historian's role is to neither exalt nor condemn.[407]

Teachers' protests led to the APHG adopting a motion denouncing the law and publishing a statement arguing, 'it is up to historians to write history and for teachers to teach it'.[408] Their

[405] Légifrance, 'Article 4', *Loi n° 2005-158* (23 February 2005) https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/eli/loi/2005/2/23/2005-158/jo/article_4 (17 August 2020)
[406] 'La loi du 23 février 2005 : texte et réactions', *Revue d'histoire critique*, (2005) pp. 94-5; 'Colonisation : non à l'enseignement d'une histoire officielle', Le Monde (25 March 2005).
[407] 'Liberté pour l'histoire', *Libération* (13 December 2005).
[408] APHG Motion, 'Il appartient aux historiens d'écrire l'histoire et aux enseignants de l'enseigner', (22 May 2005).

demands included for history education to no longer be instrumentalised in the service of the *devoir de mémoire* that had driven advancements in Shoah education over the previous ten years. Their argument centred on the politicisation of history education that they believed belittled their professional judgement and freedom, bringing into question the appropriateness of the Gaysott Laws and the role of memory in history education. A survey, published two years earlier in 2003, under the leadership of the l'Institut national de recherche pédagogique (INRP), revealed that teachers perceived the Holocaust and the wars of decolonisation to be two radically different subjects.[409] The debate, however, opened new discourses among teachers about the competition of the two histories which were both approached as *mémoire*. Henry Rousso wrote in *Le Monde* on 24 December 2005 that Holocaust memory's universalism, as a symbol in the fight against all forms of racism, is lost on many, and that its memory has become 'a jealous model, therefore, both challenged and imitable'.[410] His conclusions were supported by the INRP survey which found that history teachers were more comfortable with teaching the Holocaust than the war in Algeria, with a better understanding of the Holocaust's history and memory (a pattern that was repeated in a local survey of high school teachers conducted by the Academie d'Aix-Marseille in 2017).[411] Nonetheless, as protests opposed the imposition of 'official' memory in schools and universities, there were few calls from educators for curricula to acknowledge the negatives of the French Empire that could equally hamper a teacher's freedom.

[409] L. Corbel, B. Falaize et al., *Entre mémoire et savoir, l'enseignement de la Shoah et des guerres de décolonisation* (Paris, 2003), p. 66.
[410] H. Rousso, 'Mémoires abusives', *Le Monde*, (24 December 2005).
[411] 'Guerre d'Algérie', Académie d'Aix-Marseille (16 February 2018) https://www.pedagogie.ac-aix-marseille.fr/jcms/c_10562953/fr/politiques-memorielles-pratiques-commemoratives-et-histoire-scolaire-la-guerre-dalgerie-memoires-et-histoire
(1 July 2019).

The separation of the Shoah, the French Empire and wars of decolonisation meant that none of the participating teachers included the North African experience of the Holocaust in their lessons, including teachers of North African descent such as Malik and Hélène. Among historians, the North African experience of the Holocaust was also marginalised. For example, Dan Michman, professor at Bar-Ilan University, asked whether the fate of North African Jews during the Second World War should 'belong' to the Shoah.[412] Yad Vashem also excluded North Africa in its history of the Holocaust and explicitly questioned whether it should be removed from Holocaust historiography.[413] In France, the Mémorial de la Shoah acknowledged the fate of North African Jewry underneath the term 'Shoah', yet education on the Shoah concentrated entirely on the metropole and the 'Final Solution' was imprecisely labelled as occurring in Nazi Germany, Auschwitz or Europe.[414] The treatment of Jews (or indeed of other colonial subjects) by the Vichy government in Algeria and Morocco was rarely acknowledged or communicated by the media, in education, or in Shoah remembrance services.

In French schools, Delbo's poetry was recommended as a literary source to explore memory of the Holocaust alongside other famous works by Primo Levi and Simone Veil.[415] Delbo was born in Vigneux-sur-Seine in Paris and joined the Young Communists at age nineteen while studying philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris. She fought in the Resistance movement until she was arrested in March 1942 and was sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau. After liberation, Delbo immediately began to write, completing the trilogy comprising *Auschwitz et Après*

[412] D. Michman, 'Le sort des juifs d'Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale: fait-il partie de la Shoah?' in D. Michman and H. Saadoun (eds), *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord face à l'Allemagne nazie*, (Paris, 2016), pp. 18-20.
[413] J. Metzger, 'The Jews of North Africa', https://www.yadvashem.org/articles/general/the-jews-of-north-africa.html (20 June 2018).
[414] Mémorial de la Shoah, 'La Shoah' http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/archives-et-documentation/quest-ce-que-la-shoah.html (20 June 2018).
[415] Interview with Nathalie Topalain, conducted by H. Mann, Aix-en-Provence, 3 September 2018.

[Auschwitz and After] between 1946 and 1947, but only publishing *Aucun de nous ne reviendra* [None of Us will Return] in 1965 and the second two volumes in 1970.[416] Her first publication, *Les belles lettres*, was published in 1961 at the height of the Algerian War as a commentary on torture, camps and censorship in Algeria.[417] Rothberg therefore included Delbo's collection of letters as an example of multidirectional memory.[418] Julien, a Marseillaise teacher, designed his recent classes around Delbo's poetry.

> Elle a vécu à Auschwitz. Elle a survécu. Du coup ça parle pas, ça parle pas réellement de la Shoah en tant que tel puisque elle n'est pas juive … Mais elle-même n'était pas juive, elle en parle sans en parler. Elle est partie de bas parce qu'elle était résistante pas parce qu'elle était juive. C'est plus ça...auprès des élèves. On est dans un milieu populaire qui est avec.... Beaucoup d'homophobie, beaucoup d'antisémitisme.[419]
>
> [She lived through Auschwitz. She survived. So, it does not speak, it does not really speak of the Shoah as such because she was not Jewish … But even though she herself was not Jewish, she talks about it without talking about it. She was deported there because she was a resister not because she was Jewish. It's more that… because... of the pupils… we are in a poor environment that comes with... a lot of homophobia, a lot of antisemitism.]

Julien found Delbo's work useful as a 'way in' to talking about the Shoah. The poems were a non-traditional approach to learning history as they lacked a chronological narrative, and flipped between prose and poetry, which immersed the reader in the scene so that they could imagine the experience of living through Auschwitz. They could build empathy without explicitly talking about Jewish victims, or as Julien commented, 'elle en parle sans en parler' [she talks about it without talking about it].

Reflecting French Holocaust teaching resources, Julien made no references to Delbo's motivation for publishing her works in the 1960s.[420] In fact, Rothberg concedes that there has

[416] C. Delbo, *Aucun de nous ne reviendra*, (Geneva, 1965); *Auschwitz et Après*, (Paris, 1970).
[417] C. Delbo, *Les belles lettres*, (Paris, 1961).
[418] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, pp. 199-225.
[419] Interview with Julien, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 14 June 2018.
[420] Mémorial de la Shoah, *Activités pédagogiques et formations enseignants* (Paris, 2019), p. 32.

not been any substantial analysis of Delbo's non-Auschwitz works.[421] Whilst some teachers were cautious about using her work to teach the Shoah as she was a non-Jewish survivor of the concentration camps, her poetry was treated singularly as an account of Auschwitz, without reference to her communism or protest against French actions in Algeria. Likewise, teachers did not draw upon other resistance fighters who were outspoken on Algeria and had made explicit connections between the Nazi and Vichy regimes and the Algerian War. For example, Claude Bourdet fought for the Resistance from 1940 until he was arrested by the Gestapo in 1944 and deported to Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald concentration camps. After the war, he published a series of articles drawing upon the memory of Vichy and the German Occupation of France, such as 'Y a-t-il une Gestapo algérienne' [Is there an Algerian Gestapo] in 1951 and 'Votre Gestapo d'Algérie' [Your Algerian Gestapo] in 1955, in which Bourdet suggested that the French army was involved in the forced segregation of indigenous groups in Algeria.[422] These latter resources were absent in school education.

Histories that included the colonial experience of the Shoah *might* be included in the French school programme. In 2009, UNESCO launched the Aladdin Project as an independent, international organisation based in Paris. Its founding mission was to spread knowledge of the Nazi genocide in the Muslim world in order to promote harmonious intercultural relations, particularly among Jews and Muslims.[423] It promoted resources which spread awareness about the actions of Muslims who protected and saved Jews during the Second World War, and the history of the Jews of countries including Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco,

[421] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, p. 203.
[422] C. Bourdet, 'Y a-t-il une Gestapo algérienne', *L'Observateur*, (6 December 1951); 'Votre Gestapo d'Algerie', *France-Observateur*, (13 January 1955).
[423] 'Project Aladdin' http://www.projetaladin.org/en/home.html (14 June 2019).

Egypt, Turkey, Iraq and Iran. For example, Mohammed V, the Sultan of Morocco, reportedly said to the French Protectorate authorities,

> I in no way approve of the new antisemitic laws and I refuse to be associated with any measure of which I disapprove. I wish to inform you that, as in the past, the Jews remain under my protection and I refuse to allow any distinction to be made between my subjects.[424]

Though his power to have saved his Jewish subjects is disputed, the memory of his protest provided a model of Jewish-Muslim solidarity that was little used in French Shoah education.[425] Teachers opted to maintain a European narrative of the Shoah which concerned mainland France. They lacked knowledge of these histories and had not searched for narratives that could include Muslims in the history of the Shoah. As one Marseillaises teacher queried, 'Les musulmans ont sauvé vraiment les juifs? Où ? Les Balkans?'[426] [Muslims really saved the Jews? Where? The Balkans?] Presenting Vichy France's crimes as metropolitan created a national memory in which French Jews were betrayed by the French state whilst anything that occurred in French Algeria, Morocco or other French colonies was remembered as external.

Similarly, whilst teachers such as Nicolas used the film *Nuit et Brouillard* in their lessons, no teachers referred to its political message concerning French atrocities in Algeria. Though unspoken, the film included pointed references to crimes committed in Algeria which Resnais saw in parallel to those committed under the Vichy regime. According to Bonner, the film emphasised the political prisoners of World War II in order to compare these political

[424] As quoted in D. Schroeter, 'Vichy in Morocco: the residency, Mohammed V, and his indigenous Jewish subjects' in E. Katz, L. Moses Leff, and M. Mandel (eds), *Colonialism and the Jews*, (Bloomington, 2017), p. 215.
[425] Schroeter, 'Vichy in Morocco' pp. 217, 226, 243.
[426] Interview with Édouard.

resistance prisoners to the Algerian nationalists.'[427] Like teachers who used Delbo's poetry, the film was taught in isolation, as a documentary about the Shoah which highlighted the brutality of the Nazi regime. Again, teachers made no cross-references between the Holocaust and Algeria. Teachers who referred to the Maison D'Izieu rarely talked talk explicitly about Klaus Barbie or the 'colonial hypocrisy' raised by his lawyer during his trial. Even Maurice Papon was not a character who adorned school textbooks or featured in teachers' lessons. The Vichy regime was treated in isolation, as something managed by Marshal Philippe Pétain and his friends. They made no analysis of the many civil servants, politicians and military officers who served under Pétain, and enjoyed careers in the French colonial administration before or after the war. Across all interviews, teachers taught the two histories separately, reinforcing a fragmented memory that treated the metropole, French Algeria and the French Empire in continued isolation. As summarised by Algerian-born French Jewish *pied-noir* historian Benjamin Stora,

> The difficulty of memorialising colonial history makes it possible to understand why the Algerian War is considered as an external conflict, whereas Vichy is experienced as a Franco-French drama which concerns all of French society.[428]

Projecting antisemitism onto Bradford and Marseille

Interviews with history teachers in Aix-en-Provence and Marseille revealed a complex relationship between the legacies of the Holocaust, which involved a duty to confront antisemitism, and the legacies of colonialism, that included contemporary Islamophobia and racism. Fear of antisemitism emanating from within the Muslim community created

[427] V. Bonner, 'The New Executioners: The Spectre of Algeria in Alain Resnais's Night and Fog', *Scope*, 13 (2009), p. 1.
[428] B. Stora, 'Quand une mémoire (de guerre) peut en cacher une autre (coloniale)' in P. Blanchard, N. Bancel and S Lemaire (eds*.), La fracture coloniale. La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (Paris, 2005), pp. 57-8.

additional tensions for teachers to navigate. In 2004, Georges Bensoussan, a French historian of the Shoah, commented in an interview,

> It goes back to the early nineties, when teachers began to encounter verbal violence while trying to teach the Holocaust in schools with large concentrations of North African students. The students would stop the teachers and say, "This is an invention." I know of cases in which the teacher mentioned Auschwitz and Treblinka, and students clapped.[429]

In his interview, Bensoussan highlighted the rise of antisemitism in North African communities over far-right denialist movements by figures such as Robert Faurisson, that dominated the public eye in the 1980s and 1990s. Between 2003 and 2004, the teaching journal *Historiens et Géographes* shared teachers' concerns about rising antisemitism among their Maghrebi pupils when teaching the Shoah, including boycotts of Resnais's *Nuit et Brouillard* and instances of Holocaust denial.[430] Muslim antisemitism created a fear of 'new' antisemitism that had *emerged* rather than *persisted* in France, redefining it as a 'foreign' threat rather than a Christian and 'indigenous' problem. These fears also existed in England, concentrating on the city of Bradford following a 2004 report that suggested 'some teachers in Bradford consider the Holocaust to be a difficult subject to approach with Muslim pupils.'[431] In 2007, the Historical Association's *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History* report stated that, 'a history department in a northern city recently avoided selecting the Holocaust as a topic for GCSE coursework for fear of confronting antisemitic sentiment and Holocaust denial among some Muslim pupils', receiving considerable media attention and a round-robin email chain suggesting that Holocaust education had been banned in British

[429] M. Friedman, 'It Began with Students Denying the Holocaust', *The Jerusalem Report*, (13 December 2004), p. 48.
[430] C. Fellah, 'Enseigner à des élèves difficiles et en grande difficulté', *Historiens et Géographes*, 386/4 (2004), pp. 73-75; M-P. Hervieu 'La Shoah, un sujet d'étude historique', *Historiens et Géographes*, 382, 2003/3, p. 579; 'La montée du communautarisme et la dislocation du lien social dans un collège de banlieue', *Historiens et Géographes*, 387/7, (2004), pp. 553-555.
[431] J. Miller, *Community Cohesion* (Bradford, 2004), p. 4. www.insted.co.uk/bradford.pdf (20 June 2019).

schools for fears of 'offending Moslem students'.[432] The email was quickly exposed as a hoax and Geoffrey Short embarked on an educational survey of Muslim-majority schools in the South East of England which disputed the Historical Association's findings.[433] The fear persisted, galvanised by antisemitic attacks killing three children, their father and a teacher in a Jewish school in 2012 in Toulouse, leading Geoffrey Short to overturn his own conclusions in a literature review of his own and others' research.[434] Participating teachers in Bradford and Marseille were wary about talking about whether their pupils held antisemitic beliefs or preconceptions, particularly if their students were Muslim, fearing that they were reinforcing a dominant trope. They were also cautious about the potential for antisemitism in their classrooms, compensating by focussing on Islamophobia in James' Bradford classroom and, for Nicolas in Marseille, through using images of violence and murder.

Bradford

> Bradford, I felt, was a place I had to see for myself, because it seemed that so many important issues, of race, culture, nationalism, and education, were evident in an extremely concentrated way in this medium-sized city of 400,000 people situated between the much larger cities of Manchester and Leeds. These were issues that related to the whole notion of what it was to be British and what that would mean in the future. Bradford seemed to be a microcosm of a larger British society that was struggling to find a sense of itself, even as it was undergoing radical chance. And it was a struggle not seen by the people governing the country.[435]

As described by London-born, British-Pakistani playwright Hanif Kureishi, Bradford is an unusual city. Unlike neighbouring Leeds, the city segregated into ethno-religious neighbourhoods affecting housing, schooling and community relations. Bradford rapidly

[432] Historical Association, *T.E.A.C.H.: Teaching emotive and controversial history 3–19* (London, 2007); J. Vasagar, 'Schools drop Holocaust lessons', *The Guardian,* (2 April 2007).
[433] B. Whitaker, 'The birth of a myth', *The Guardian*, (21 August 2007); G. Short, 'Teaching the Holocaust in Predominantly Muslim Schools.' *Holocaust Studies*, 14/2 (2008), pp. 95–110.
[434] G. Short, 'Reluctant learners? Muslim youth confront the Holocaust', *Intercultural Education*, 24/1-2 (2013), pp. 121–32.
[435] H. Kureishi, 'Bradford', *Collected Essays* (London, 2011) p. 36.

changed after the 1950s, as migrants from Pakistan moved to Bradford to work in the city's wool mills following Indian independence and partition in 1947. The city's Pakistani minority continued to grow. The 2011 census stated that sixty-seven percent of the population of Bradford identified as white British and twenty-seven percent as Asian or Asian British. This proportion of non-white British residents had grown since the 2001 census, when seventy-six percent identified as white British and nineteen percent identified as Asian or Asian British. The city had segregated across ethnic lines over the years, with the Asian communities predominately living in two regions of the city. The majority of the Asian population was Muslim, with twenty-five percent of the city identifying as Muslim in 2011, an increase from sixteen percent in 2001. Whilst the city's inhabitants began colloquially referring to the city as 'Bradistan', the term has been used as an insult by sections of the region's white population to express their fear about the future of English nationhood, society and culture.

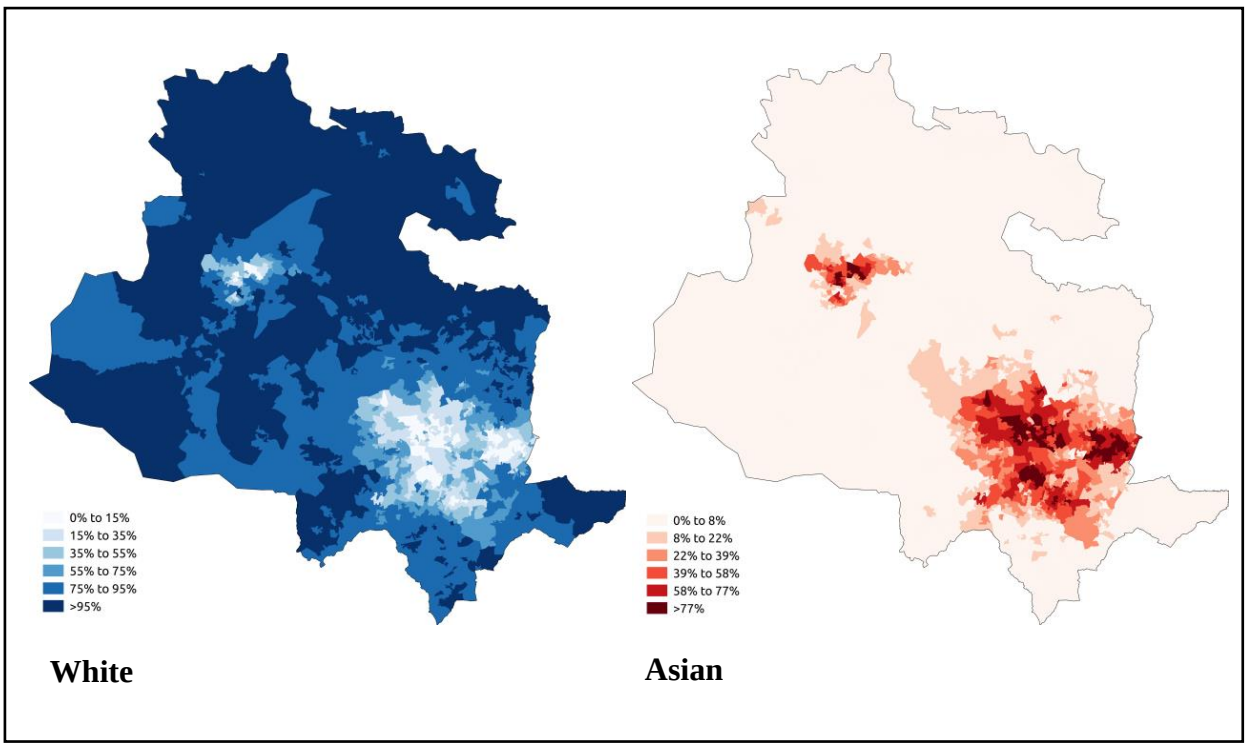


Figure 4.2 Distribution of ethnic groups in the Bradford Metropolitan District Council area according to the 2011 census

When I interviewed James in 2018, he had taught history in a predominantly Muslim school in Bradford for four years, after completing a degree in History and Politics at the University of York. By the time James started teaching, letters to the Bradford *Telegraph & Argus* starting from 2005 revealed a conflict among the city's inhabitants about whether Holocaust remembrance furthered the Israeli occupation. For example, in reference to Israelis, Hamdan Khan of St Michaels Road wrote in 2005, 'lines have certainly been blurred so that the colonists are seen using images of the Holocaust (with some colonists wearing yellow stars like the ones Jews were forced to wear by the Nazis) to convey the injustice that has been done to them', whilst Eli Kassack of Moorhead Lane wrote that he was saddened that the 'Jewish community repeatedly utter phrases such as "never again"' when commemorating the Holocaust when 'they themselves have perpetrated heinous crimes on the Palestinian

people.'[436] At the same time, the city played host to an increasing number of Holocaust educational activities, including annual remembrance services from 2001, survivor talks, theatre productions and, in 2011, an Anne Frank commemorative tree was planted in the city park. It was in this context that James decided to teach about the Srebrenica genocide alongside the Holocaust in order to build a sense of solidarity between his Muslim students and the victims of all genocides. He explained,

> I think it is fair to say that because of the Israel-Palestine situation there is a certain apprehension, or there is a potential for antisemitic beliefs in our kids because they are 99% Muslim… So, I think it's important that we make them understand that with Srebrenica is was Muslims that were being persecuted there and it kinda makes them realise that genocide isn't something that happens to Jews, it's a more general thing and hopefully will build that empathy.[437]

James used the Srebrenica genocide as a 'bridge' to empathise with the victims of the Holocaust. James believed that his pupils could share their outrage and sympathy with Jewish victim of the Holocaust once they had recognised the trauma experienced by Muslim victims of genocide. He attempted to create a 'transitional' empathy that could build solidarity across competing memories of victimhood. Teaching about Srebrenica could limit accusations that James' curriculum emphasised Jewish victimhood over Muslim victimhood which recalled the tensions of the Israel-Palestine conflict. According to James, his pupils showed no resistance to learning about the Holocaust and questions about Israel-Palestine only surfaced in a lesson when it was revealed that Jewish men in Nazi Germany were forced to change their names to Israel on their identification cards. His suggestion, that he taught the Srebrenica genocide for this purpose, therefore sat at odds with his account of his pupils'

[436] 'Letters to the Editor', *Telegraph & Angus* (31 August 2005); 'Letters to the Editor', *Telegraph & Angus* (3 February 2005). Also: 'Letters to the Editor', *Telegraph & Angus* (27 February 2008); 'Judge carefully' *Telegraph & Angus*, (8 March 2011); 'Support for remarks' *Telegraph & Angus,* (1 February 2013); 'MPs denigrate Israel' *Telegraph & Angus* (25 February 2013); 'New spirit arisen', *Telegraph & Angus* (20 August 2014); 'Pointing the finger', *Telegraph & Angus* (28 August 2014); 'Always the victim', *Telegraph & Angus* (1 September 2014).
[437] Interview with James, conducted by H. Mann, Bradford, 27 September 2018.

attitudes towards the Holocaust and even towards the Israel-Palestine conflict. Either James was reluctant to share examples of his pupils' resistance to learning about the Holocaust to an external researcher in a bid to protect his students from accusations of antisemitism, or James inadvertently projected stereotypes of Muslim antisemitism onto his pupils.

When teaching the Holocaust, James was cognizant of the discrimination faced by his Muslim students and he believed learning history would enable his students to address the inequalities around them. He explained,

> 99 percent of our kids are Pakistani origin, third-, fourth- generation immigrants. That connects them... If they don't have a sense of the actual situation they are in and why they are in that situation, how are they going to change that? You know if all of the working classes around the world and poorer countries are blind to history and don't understand why they are where they are, that will never change. [438]

James connected his pupils' ethnicity to their levels of poverty. In 2015, the Index of Multiple Deprivation placed wards in and around Bradford as belonging to the lowest tenth percentile of deprivation in the country, measuring income, employment, education, health, crime, housing and living environment.[439] The wards facing the highest levels of deprivation were all home to high percentages of people of Pakistani descent. It was in the context of inequality, discrimination and power relations that James valued teaching about the Holocaust. He drew links between the treatment of minorities in Nazi-occupied Europe and contemporary Islamophobia in England, commenting, 'I will always fall back on [discussing Islamophobia] when we are doing what is prejudice.'[440] His students' fear of walking in Bradford city centre, which his pupils described as ethnically white, and their occasional stories of verbal abuse, meant that Islamophobia felt tangible and present, whilst antisemitism

[438] Interview with James.
[439] City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council, *Deprivation at Ward Level*, (4 January 2017), https://ubd.bradford.gov.uk/media/1292/imd-2015-deprivation-at-ward-level.pdf (8 May 2019).
[440] Interview with James.

did not. This meant that, for James, the specificity of the Jewish fate during the Holocaust was secondary to understanding the processes of persecution, exclusion and intolerance of difference. He did not teach the Holocaust up to Auschwitz, commenting, 'we don't do concentration camps themselves'.[441] He was not interested in the mechanics of death, but took the persecution of Jewish communities as a case study to explore the dangers and potential culmination of prejudice and intolerance. His intention was not to hide the fate of the Jews, but to disguise its horror. James commented, 'that's not the important part is it?'[442] His lessons on the Holocaust dealt with the system of fascism rather than teach the history of the Holocaust as an event. Life as a minority in the Third Reich had greater contemporary parallels than survival and death in a concentration camp.

James taught about a broad range of victim groups in which antisemitism was not taken in isolation. He commented,

> As well we look at the fact the Holocaust wasn't just Jewish people, we look at gypsies, gay people, black people, socialists etc… we do two lessons on that about persecution in Nazi Germany, the first one, completely, we don't mention Jewish people at all within that and we look at ten or eleven different groups that were persecuted from alcoholics, to black people, to women that wanted abortions and we look at a very wide range.[443]

It was common for participating teachers in England to discuss other victim groups, though this usually was limited to references about the genocide of the Roma and Sinti, the deportation of homosexuals and the murder and imprisonment of political opponents. It was rare, however, to introduce Nazi persecution without mentioning Jewish victims. His lessons considered the peril of fascism (as opposed to antisemitism) which also threatened Bradford's Muslim community via the National Front, the BNP and the English Defence League. By

[441] Interview with James.
[442] Interview with James.
[443] Interview with James.

defining the Holocaust broadly, James could build solidarity with all victims of fascism and empower his students by providing them with the vocabulary and historical allegories to articulate the discrimination and Islamophobia that they experienced in their own city.

Marseille

By the 1990s, Marseille was divided between the affluent southern *quartiers* of the city, which were close to the beaches, predominantly white and housed many *pieds-noirs* following the Algerian War of Independence, and the northern *quartiers*. These neighbourhoods were incredibly poor with nearly forty percent living under the poverty line in 2006.[444] There were large populations of Maghrebis (particularly from Algeria), Cameroonians, Turks, Chinese and Vietnamese. Though the state does not collect data on its citizens' religion, it was estimated in 2014 that forty percent of Marseille was Muslim. Marseille also was home a large Jewish population, estimated at around 70,000 people.[445] The city's location as a port city and principal gateway to the Mediterranean Sea made Marseille a melting-pot of nationalities, ethnicities, religions and languages. This sometimes conflicted with French monocultural politics of secularism and assimilation, prompting a fierce Marseillaise identity that celebrated diversity. In schools, young people's desire to differentiate themselves from their peers and teachers, made Frenchness, religion, ethnicity and nationality important subjects of debate.

Questions of identity were exacerbated in Marseille by the city's recent violent history of antisemitism, which increased fear and suspicion between Jewish and Muslim minorities.

[444] H. Dumesnil and C. Cantiteau, *Etat des lieux préliminaire sur les quartiers Nord de Marseille* (2012), http://sirsepaca.org/content/pdf/Diagnostics_territoire/Diagnostic_commente_Marseille_quartiers_Nord_Fevrier2012.pdf (7 July 2020).
[445] Minority Rights Group International, *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - France : Jews* (2018).

Three Jewish men were stabbed outside a synagogue in Marseille in 2015 by a man shouting antisemitic abuse. One month later, a Jewish teacher in Marseille was stabbed by three men shouting antisemitic slurs whilst walking down a street in the city. In 2016, another teacher, Benjamin Amsellem, was attacked by a teenage male outside of a Jewish school. The teenager wielded a machete and claimed to be acting in the name of ISIS. The antisemitic murders in Paris of Ilan Halimi in 2006, Sarah Halimi in 2017 and Holocaust survivor Mireille Knoll in 2018, all perpetrated by men of Islamic faith, added to the fear that Jewish communities were under threat from radicalised Muslim individuals. This shifted discourse on antisemitism in Marseille from a fear of the far-right to a suspicion of Islam.

Since 2001, accusations of antisemitism, Holocaust denial and relativism were frequently directed at Salafi North African communities. Salafis define as 'strict believers': their identity is based exclusively on Islam and other political, social or cultural loyalties are rejected'.[446] The Salafi community in Marseille were separated, physically and culturally, from other parts of the city. Their rejection of French national identity based upon a secular system of values led to their categorisation as 'unassimilable' and newspapers frequently reported teachers' difficulties to teach the Holocaust to Muslim youths belonging to this community.[447] Teachers from the south of Marseille and Aix-en-Provence were quick to point to the *quartiers du nord* for examples of antisemitism and Holocaust denial. For example, Yva taught in a private Catholic school in Aix-en-Provence. The majority of students who attended her school were white and middle class. Yva was proud that several of her pupils were Jewish and she found her school to be a tolerant place to attend without having to hide

[446] M. Adraoui, 'Salafism in France', in R. Meijer (ed), *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement* (Oxford, 2014), p. 365.
[447] 'La montée du communautarisme et la dislocation du lien social dans un collège de banlieue', pp. 553-555; C. Beyer, 'Quand les professeurs peinent à enseigner la Shoah', *Le Figaro,* (26 January 2014); O. Monod, 'Affaire Dieudonné: "Oui, on peut enseigner la Shoah à l'école"', *L'express*, (11 January 2014).

one's faith. She believed that many had moved to her school due to an undercurrent of antisemitism in some state schools, where a larger proportion of pupils hailed from multi-ethnic poorer neighbourhoods. Yva had grown up in Brittany, where her family had lived for generations. She reluctantly moved down to Provence, following her husband's promotion, and though she maintained that her values included tolerance and anti-prejudice, she was suspicious of the large Muslim community in the northern neighbourhoods of Marseille. She remarked,

> La montée de l'islamisme… de plus en plus de musulmans en France. Et donc voilà ça crée de l'antisémitisme et des tensions entre les élèves. Peut-être que vous avez rencontré des professeurs des écoles des lycées publics à Marseille?... Mais je le sens... je vois quand même une dérive. Ah oui à Marseille ça doit être difficile pour eux d'enseigner la Shoah dans certaines classes où il y a beaucoup de Maghrébins non. Oui les pauvres, ça ne doit pas être facile.[448]
>
> [The rise of Islamism, more and more Muslims in France. And so that creates antisemitism and tensions between students. Perhaps you have met teachers from public high schools in Marseille?... But I feel it... I still see a drift. Ah yes in Marseille it must be difficult for them to teach the Holocaust in some classes where there are many North Africans. Yes poor people, it can't be easy.]

Her beliefs revealed a suspicion of Muslims that prevailed in some sections of white and traditionally Catholic France, and a suspicion about state schools in Marseille where antisemitism prohibited teachers from addressing the history of the Holocaust.

Teachers who worked in the *quartiers nords* of Marseille spoke differently of their Muslim and minority pupils than their reputation in neighbouring districts. There was a clear defensiveness about discussing antisemitism in their classes as teachers were wary about reinforcing an existing trope. This was the case for Nicolas. The points-based system of teacher allocation meant that many young teachers worked in schools in challenging neighbourhoods in Marseille, which fell at the bottom of the points-based lottery. Nicolas had

[448] Interview with Yva, conducted by H. Mann, Aix-en-Provence, 23 May 2018.

taught in a *collège* and a *lycée* in the north of Marseille for six years, where most of his students were of North African, Senegalese, Malian and Cameroonian descent and practised Islam at home. Knowing the reputation of his student-body, Nicolas was quick to defend his pupils against stereotypes of antisemitism. He said,

> Je n'ai pas eu de discours antisémite, c'est à dire un discours qui est haineux envers les juifs. Non, je n'ai jamais vu, mais par contre, des clichés vis à vis des juifs, ça c'est clair. Mais franchement ce n'est pas réservé aux élèves des quartiers Nord de Marseille, issus de l'immigration maghrébine ou autres. Franchement des clichés sur les juifs c'est quelque chose que même dans les bons collèges et malheureusement << des Français blancs >> entre guillemets. Ils ont les mêmes *quodlibets* vis à vis les juifs. L'histoire l'antisémitisme n'a pas attendu l'immigration maghrébine des années 60 70. Pour avoir l'antisémitisme en France... c'est quelque chose qui est très ancré dans notre capitale.[449]
>
> [I have not heard antisemitic discourse, that is, speech that is hateful to Jews. No I have never seen it… However, clichés about the Jews are clear. But frankly it is not reserved only for pupils from the northern neighbourhoods of Marseille, for immigrants from North Africa, or others. Frankly clichés about Jews are something that go around even in good schools and unfortunately among the "white French", in quotation marks. They have the same insults about the Jews. The history of antisemitism did not wait for the Maghreb immigration of the 60s 70. Antisemitism in France... it's something that is very much anchored in our capital.]

Nicolas was especially concerned with antisemitism in the city of Marseille as his wife was Jewish, and so were his children. He believed that middle class, white 'dinner-table' antisemitism was not included in statistical analyses about antisemitism and that the government was overly concerned with antisemitic prejudices in Arab neighbourhoods. Yet, the number of antisemitic attacks against Jews by radicalised Muslims rendered him irresolute and uneasy.

> Honnêtement je ne sais pas trop quoi penser. Je ne sais pas. Je constate... ça m'inquiète c'est clair. Non, je ne sais pas penser. [pause] Je sais qu'en compenser c'est terrible mais j'ai pas d'analyse je ne sais pas comment l'interpréter.[450]

[449] Interview with Nicolas.
[450] Interview with Nicolas.

> [Honestly, I don't really know what to think. I do not know. I observe... it worries me, there's no doubt. No, I do not know what to think. [pause] I know that to compensate for it is terrible, but I have no analysis, I do not know how to interpret it.]

Nicolas had fears about Muslim antisemitism but found these difficult to reconcile with his relationship with his pupils, who showed no signs of radicalisation or hatred against Jewish communities. He did not find it easy to teach the Holocaust, but he recognised that his pupils were saddened by the fate of Europe's Jewish communities. He commented, 'il y a une vraie empathie de la part des élèves pour les juifs d'Europe qui ont été, qui ont été assassinés dans ces conditions-là.'[451] [there is real empathy on the part of the students for the Jews of Europe who were murdered under those conditions.] Antisemitism did not prohibit Nicolas from teaching about the Shoah, but discourse surrounding the issue empowered Nicolas to engage with the subject matter. By teaching the Shoah, he played a part in protecting his Jewish family by building empathy with Jewish communities and simultaneously was able to prove critics and Islamophobes wrong about the capability of Arab pupils to engage with the history. Nicolas himself wanted to fully dismiss all allegations of antisemitism, which played into the right-wing discourse about a Muslim invasion of French culture and values, but at the same time he was cautious that his wife's and children's security was at stake.

According to Silverstein, Muslims empathised with the plight of Europe and France's Jewish communities during the war but local instances of hostility towards Jews persisted and were symptomatic of the French state's rejection of Arab immigrants and their children.[452] France has been described as hostile to Muslims, as Islam is rejected as incompatible with French

[451] Interview with Nicolas.
[452] P. Silverstein, 'The Fantasy and Violence of Religious Imagination: Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism in North Africa', in A. Shylock (ed.), *Islamophobia/Islamophila: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend* (Bloomington, 2010), pp. 141-71.

culture and values.[453] *L'affaire du foulard* [the veil affair] arose in 1989 after three Muslim girls were banned from attending school whilst wearing the headscarf. Between 1990 and 2003, schools were entitled to forbid or permit the headscarf on a case by case basis until the state banned all ostentatious religious symbols in public schools in 2004. The Niqab was later banned in all public spaces in 2011. Consequently, Muslim women were targeted by forced headscarf removals in public building and spaces.[454] Discrimination in the education system made it harder to teach the Holocaust. Christian-Jewish-Muslim relations were believed to be central to the survival of the French Republic, so whilst Silverstein pointed out the ineffectiveness of Holocaust education for addressing antisemitism and building Jewish-Muslim solidarity, it was the only tool history teachers such as Nicolas possessed.

'Frenchness' interacted with antisemitism. All teachers in north Marseille reported that their pupils asserted that they were not French, even when they were French citizens, spoke French and were often born in France. Nicolas' school was no different. He remarked,

> Les élèves des quartiers populaires sont Maghrébins, d'origine Africaine, Sénégalaise. Malienne... Quand ils parlent << des blancs >>, disent << les Français >>. Il y a dix ans dans leur vocabulaire. Donc oui, disent les Français pour qualifier les autres, sachant qu'eux aussi sont français puisqu'ils ont la carte nationale d'identité.[455]
>
> [The pupils from working class neighbourhoods are North Africans, of African origin, Senegalese. Malian... When they speak of "whites", they say "the French". They have spoken like this for ten years. So yes, they say "the French" to describe others, knowing that they too are French since they have a national identity card.]

Numerous teachers spoke of this process of identity negotiation occurring in the *troisième*, at the age of fourteen. Observant Muslim girls reaching puberty would encounter their first cultural-religious rejection by the state, as they were refused the right to wear a veil. It was in

[453] J. Wolfreys, *Republic of Islamophobia: The Rise of Respectable Racism in France* (London, 2018), pp. 21-8.
[454] K. Najib and P. Hopkins, 'Where does Islamophobia take place and who is involved? Reflections from London and Paris', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 2/4 (2020), pp. 458-478.
[455] Interview with Nicolas.

schools that they were forced to acknowledge their unassailable 'Otherness' in French society. Didier Lapeyronnie's interviews in the *banlieues* of Paris revealed that French youths proclaimed, 'je suis Arabe', regardless of their race or ethnicity. They united over their low status in France, on the periphery of society and citizenship, as the victims of colonial order. According to Lapeyronnie, they 'experienced life as if they were "colonised".'[456] Whilst young people of 'colonial' descent asserted an Arab identity, the Jewish community (including Sephardic communities) were presented or perceived as white, and therefore as French and as a different minority from the melting port of northern Marseille. According to Michel Wieviorka, this negation of French identity or anti-French sentiment also responded to anti-Jewish feeling. He said,

> The Jews may possibly appear as a personification of France. They signify successful integration into society and into the nation. They symbolise this France which behaves badly in other respects towards newcomers, refusing to integrate them fully while lecturing them on equality and fraternity.[457]

In the eyes of young people, Jews lived in the prosperous southern districts of the city and exemplified successful social integration. They had access to money, 'French' culture and fashions and therefore ate, dressed and socialised differently to those living in their *quartier* or 'ghetto'. For the most part, French Jews were not regarded as a postcolonial group and therefore separate from other minorities.

Nicolas' lessons were exceptional for his use of particularly violent imagery and evidence. Alongside extracts of the films *Nuit et Brouillard* and *Le Chagrin et La Pitié*, Nicolas created a chronology of genocide through images. With his younger pupils at the *collège* he relied on

[456] D. Laperyronnie, 'La banlieue comme théâtre colonial, ou la fracture colonial dans les quartiers', in P. Blanchard, N. Bancel and S. Lemaire (eds), *La fracture coloniale : La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (Paris, 2006), p. 214.
[457] M. Wieviorka, *The Lure of Anti-Semitism: Hatred of Jews in Present-Day France* (Boston, 2007), p. 394.

images of concentration camps, but with his older pupils at the *lycée* Nicolas was relaxed about showing violent images. He used multiple photos of women being held captive and shot in the back as part of the Einsatzgruppen killings on the Eastern Front, images that 'font froid dans le dos' [make one's blood run cold]. He intended the photographs to show the mechanisms of genocide, and therefore expressed his regret that, 'il n'y a quasiment aucune image sur le génocide dans les chambres à gaz. Il n'y a que trois photographies qui ont été prises par les Sonderkommandos.'[458] [There are almost no images of genocide inside the gas chambers. There are only three photographs which were taken by the Sonderkommandos.] The stark images aimed to shock his pupils and build sympathy with the Jewish plight as one that was not signified by acceptance, assimilation and prosperity in France, but by a legacy of violence, murder and suffering.

He supported his photographs with testimonies and documents which explained life in the concentration camps. This included excerpts of memoirs, Nazi accounts and reports, which detailed atrocities within the concentration camp system and by the Einsatzgruppen.

> Mon sens, finalement on ne retient que des images de ces cadavres. On retient peut-être pas le processus génocidaire… et puis ces gens ont une vie avant. Cette vie elle s'exprime par des portraits aussi des gens qui ont été déportés et des portraits de gens décharnés et des gens.... avant qu'ils subissent les mauvais traitements qu'ils ne font que physiquement, ils sont complétement diminué et affaibli.[459]
>
> [My sense is that in the end we only retain images of these corpses. We may not remember the genocidal process… and that these people had a life before. This life is expressed by photos, also [photos] of people who were deported and photos of emaciated people and of people before they suffered the abuse, not only physically, which rendered them completely diminished and weakened.]

His lessons attempted to display the destruction of humanity through images as the only method of instruction that he believed would commit the horrors to memory. His lessons did

[458] Interview with Nicolas.
[459] Interview with Nicolas.

not explain Nazi antisemitism but illustrated its conclusions. Creating shock, anger and sorrow was his only weapon to teach the Holocaust in a manner that he hoped would halt antisemitic thought. It would protect himself from having to confront any of his pupils' possible antisemitic beliefs and hopefully play a small part in protecting his family if his pupils' empathy for Holocaust victims prevented them from engaging in antisemitic dialogue in the future.

Conclusion

The relationship between the Holocaust and colonialism was complex. On the one hand, their popular memory was almost entirely distinct. Despite Michael Rothberg's efforts to draw moments of solidarity and crossover between the two historical memories in the 1950s, they were increasingly remembered separately in England and France, expedited by the Holocaust 'memory boom' in the 1980s and 1990s. This was, in part, caused by the strength of the word genocide which framed the Holocaust as an event, as opposed to a system of persecution, plunder, extortion, slavery and murder inspired by a colonial logic. Likewise, colonial memory activism often centred on historical events such as massacres or wars, particularly in France, which can be commemorated annually on anniversaries. The magnitude of murder during single events - such as the 379 Indians killed in the Amritsar massacre in 1919, or the 6,000 to 40,000 Algerians murdered during the Sétif and Guelma massacre in 1945 - could not compare to the number killed during the Holocaust.[460] The structures of empire and imperialism, whose victims are countless, were much harder to memorialise, along with their legacies of racism, poverty and global inequality today. The silence that surrounded histories of empire in England meant that multidirectional memory between colonialism and the

[460] Figures estimated by N. Collett, *The Butcher of Amritsar: General Reginald Dyer* (London, 2005) p. 263. J. Peyroulou, 'Le cas de Sétif-Kherrata-Guelma (Mai 1945)', *Violence de masse et Résistance - Réseau de recherche* (Paris, 2008).

Holocaust was weak, as teachers were ignorant of connections between the two events. Public state apologies for colonial atrocities such as the Mau Mau massacre were only momentarily covered by the press. The events were only institutionalised digitally in 2018 by the grassroots, volunteer-led, Museum of British Colonialism.[461]

In France, the history of the Holocaust and the history of the French Empire overlapped, with the same agencies, characters and individuals involved in persecution and atrocity crims. The French state's acknowledgment of the Shoah in 1995 opened up political space to discuss other crimes committed under the Vichy state and as part of a continuum of violence in the colonies. This challenged the myth that Vichy France existed as a 'dark blip' in France's teleological path from the Enlightenment to Republicanism and instead framed Vichy crimes as part of a spectrum of violence, inherited from former imperial exploits, and practised in Algeria after 1945. However, a strong French Republican memory forged in resistance to Nazism prevented the public acknowledgement of the continuities between French atrocities, and French history teachers throughout the 2000s and 2010s maintained a separation between their lessons on the Holocaust and their lessons on Algeria. In England, presenting the Holocaust as a crime associated with imperialism equally posed too many difficult questions for a nation built on the spoils of the British Empire. As a result, genocide was treated as an isolated crime.

Complicating the memory between the Holocaust and empire further were the legacies of antisemitism and Islamophobia that descended from the two events. A long history of persecution, pogroms and genocide, meant that Jewish communities were emancipated in England and France, and politically accepted and assimilated into society after 1945 as both

[461] Museum of British Colonialism, https://www.museumofbritishcolonialism.org/ (30 March 2020).

countries reformed their identity in opposition to Nazi Germany. The precariousness of Muslim communities' status and security in both countries sometimes created a sense of competition and discord between the fights against Islamophobia and antisemitism which was intensified by tensions between Israel and Palestine. This disrupted Holocaust memory, which was perceived to be weaponised by groups loyal to the Palestinian cause, whilst Jewish groups feared that the history was relativized or rejected by Muslim groups. History teachers working in Muslim communities in Marseille and Bradford had to negotiate these memory battles when teaching the Holocaust, particularly in France where the education system was politicised as a public space to nurture French citizenship.

Chapter 5: *Lieux de mémoires*: the teacher and the museum

This chapter explores the influence of museums and sites of memory, both in shaping teachers' understanding about the Holocaust and for providing school groups with 'embodied' and 'authentic' encounters with the Holocaust. These *lieux de mémoires,* as conceptualised by Pierre Nora, express, shape, and sometimes define group identity. His compendium of French collective memory identified 'significant entities' which formed the symbolic element of France's memorial heritage.[462] In practice, *lieux de mémoires* are often an institutional and top-down product, and therefore have the appearance of fixed and official authorities on history, culture and knowledge. Memory, however, requires preservation and regular re-embodiment, which is partially achieved through educational encounters.[463] A memorial that no one visits or interacts with adds nothing to collective memory. Rather than studying museums and memorials as authoritative fixtures in Holocaust education, this chapter explores the dynamics between teacher, pupil and *lieu de mémoire* as teachers attempt to provide their pupils with mnemonic experiences.

The French classroom was labelled by Nora as a *lieu de mémoire*, as a space in which teachers and textbooks can idealise the past and fetishize material remains of national history.[464] Teachers transmit a shared memory of the past using textbooks, and by visits to museums, memorials, libraries and archives. Because the French school holds a symbolic place in French society as the unifier of the nation and training ground for French citizens, his analysis imagined classrooms as static and uniform, rather than spaces where texts and

[462] P. Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (New York, 1996), p. xvii.
[463] Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, pp. 127-8; J. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, 1993), p. xi.
[464] P. Nora, *Rethinking France* (Chicago, 2001), p. viii.

narratives can be modified, questioned or occasionally rejected.[465] As *lieux de mémoires* do not transmit their memory organically, this chapter explores how these sites are reembodied through education, as a form of intergenerational memory transmitted from teacher to pupil. It reveals how teachers construct narratives through feeling, poetry, testimony, and with the assistance of museum educators.[466]

Museums and memorials were crucial agents in the transformation of Holocaust memory in England and France from something specific and Jewish to something of universal interest and importance. Holocaust archives, museums, libraries and memorials were constructed and preserved firstly by national and transnational Jewish communities, starting even before the outbreak of the Second World War.[467] In France, Annette Wieviorka therefore argues that it was French Jews who constructed Shoah memory in France, erecting their own memorials, archives and commemorations.[468] Starting in the 1980s, however, local museums founded in memory of the French Resistance created space to recognise those deported for their race and religion alongside those deported for their politics and acts of resistance, a trend that has accelerated since 2000.[469] This created opportunities for local sites of Holocaust history, such as the Camp des Milles, to preserve their memory as Shoah memorials. In the 1980s and 1990s in England, Christian groups built and maintained institutions to create and preserve

[465] For teaching a common history to instil national values and foster national identity, see Anderson, *Imagined communities*; E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalisms* (Ithaca, 1983); A. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986). Worden's *National Identity and educational Reform* provides the most succinct account on the application of memory in schools.
[466] J. Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedäctnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 2007), p.18.
[467] The Wiener Library was founded in London in 1933 to document and inform the international community of Jewish persecution by the Nazis. In France, the Centre for Contemporary Jewish Documentation moved from Grenoble to Paris in 1944 to preserve the evidence of Nazi crimes.
[468] A. Wieviorka and N. Weill, 'La construction de la mémoire de la Shoah : les cas français et israélien', *Les cahiers de la Shoah*, 1 (1994), pp. 163-191
[469] See for example Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation de Besançon http://www.citadelle.com/fr/le-musee-de-la-resistance-et-de-la-deportation/decouvrir-le-musee/son-histoire.html (22 July 2018); E. Pastwa, 'Devenir et pérennisation d'un musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation', in J-Y. Boursier (ed), *Musées de guerre et mémoriaux* (Paris, 2013), pp.181-186.

Holocaust memory among their own communities, such as the 1983 Auschwitz exhibition in St. George-in-the-East Church in East London and the Beth Shalom National Holocaust Centre in Nottinghamshire, which opened in 1995. In the same period, national Holocaust museums opened in both England and France: in 2000 at the IWM in London and in 2005 the Mémorial de la Shoah opened in Paris. The establishment of state-funded Holocaust museums and memorials created a sense of public ownership over the memory in the 1990s and 2000s.[470] This chapter considers these national and local sites of institutionalised memory alongside memorial sites in France and Poland.

Constructing sites of memory

In both England and France, it was common for teachers interviewed for this project to have visited at least one site of Holocaust memory. Several teachers organised school trips to purposefully visit concentration camps that they themselves had not been to.[471] School visits to camps were relatively rare before 2000, and among teachers I interviewed in England, Paula from Lincolnshire was one of the only teachers to have visited a Holocaust site as part of her own school education. School visits became more feasible in the 2000s, encouraged in part by the explosion of the budget airline industry in Europe which opened the possibility of schools travelling to Poland.

The experience of visiting a concentration camp was reputed to affect or even transform a person. Public figures accused of antisemitism were routinely made to visit a camp to change

[470] S. Barcellini, 'L'intervention de l'État dans les musées des guerres contemporaines'. in J-Y. Boursier (ed), *Musées de guerre et mémoriaux* (Paris, 2013), pp. 35-48.
[471] Interview with Yva; Interview with Sheila and Tony.

their attitudes and behaviour, and as an apology and atonement for their wrongs.[472] The 'Lessons from Auschwitz' project run by the HET was based on the premise that 'hearing is not like seeing', and this could therefore 'clearly highlight [to young people] what can happen if prejudice and racism become acceptable.'[473] As I sat down with Paula, in her home town of Spalding, it was clear that her ambition as a history teacher was to expand her pupils' (as well as her own) horizons beyond the confines of a Lincolnshire market town. With the exception of a few years in Chester, Paula had lived in the town since she was a child and would satisfy her curiosity for learning about other cultures and people through reading history books. Her own visit to Dachau concentration camp on the outskirts of Munich as a teenager awoke a sense of injustice about the past. It raised a multitude of moral and historical questions that were never answered by her history teachers and put her on a quest to find out 'who and why people were murdered and imprisoned in Dachau' between 1933 and 1945.[474]

Paula had no memories of learning about the Holocaust in school except during her school trip in the mid 1980s to Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site in Germany. The visit took place on the coach journey home from visiting the Austrian-Italian border and the Salt Mines and Sound of Music sites in Salzburg, Austria. With its mishmash of cultural and historic sites, Paula struggled to remember the purpose of the trip, except that it definitely wasn't to practice her German; she hated learning languages. With no prior learning about the Holocaust, her memory of Dachau was dominated by her mental image of the International Monument at the site,

[472] 'Tory MP who threw Nazi-themed stag party 'not racist or anti-Semitic', inquiry finds', *The Telegraph*, (22 January 2014); 'Jeremy Corbyn visits concentration camp and Holocaust memorial museum', *Independent*, (2 December 2016); 'Chelsea to send racist fans on Auschwitz trips instead of banning them', *The Guardian*, (11 October 2018).
[473] 'HET – Lessons From Auschwitz', https://www.het.org.uk/lessons-from-auschwitz-programme (8 February 2020)
[474] Interview with Paula.

> All I remember seeing a big statue that looked like lots of people. And still the same question that I still have today, is the same question that I had then, and I remember because the RE teacher that was leading the trip, I kept asking her why. Why did this happen, why did people do this? And that is still the question I have today.[475]

Dachau was the first concentration camp established by the newly elected Nazi regime in 1933. It originally housed Jews as well as political dissidents from the Social Democratic and Communist Parties, but after the establishment of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, it imprisoned a growing number of 'asocials', including the criminals, the 'work-shy', 'drunkards', Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals. After the *Anschluss* and *Kristallnacht* in 1938, the number of Jewish prisoners rose dramatically and overall made up one quarter of all total victims. In 1965, the site was reopened as a memorial to the victims, and from 1978 the site became increasingly popular with West German schools and foreign school groups travelling through Bavaria, aided by the publication in 1978 of an exhibition guide printed in German and English to help teachers prepare for a visit to the memorial site.[476]

Memory of the Holocaust had undoubtedly evolved since Paula's visit as a teenager. As James Young explains, memorials reflect the attitudes, values, anxieties and hopes of a society. Their meaning and significance evolve, suggesting that 'no memorial is ever-lasting'.[477] When Paula visited, the history of the camp was portrayed within the context of Nazi repression of political opponents, briefly mentioning the imprisonment of clergymen and Jehovah's Witnesses, before studying the persecution of the Jews, medical experiments, slave labour, executions and the 'Final Solution'.[478] The exhibition graphically depicted suffering, brutality and death through a montage of photographs that included images of corpses, prisoner suicide, murder, starvation and medical experiments. Homosexuals, gypsies

[475] Interview with Paula.
[476] Dachau Memorial Museum, *Konzentrationslager Dachau, 1933-1945* (Brussels, 1978).
[477] Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p. 154.
[478] Dachau Memorial Museum, *Konzentrationslager Dachau.*

and Eastern Europeans were notably absent from the narrative and so was any explanation of genocide, other than the use of the term 'Final Solution'.[479] Paula could no longer remember seeing these images, remembering only the large bronze statue portraying the victims of the camp enmeshed in barbed wire. She remembered little about the history of the camp, or the differences between victim groups, but came away with moral uncertainties about humankind and its capacity for inflicting suffering.



Figure 5.1 Memorial sculpture by Nandor Glid installed in 1968

It was not Paula's historical knowledge that motivated her curiosity in the Holocaust, or any connection or interest in the Jewish community, but her emotive reaction whilst visiting Dachau that required responses to the questions, 'why did this happen?' and 'why did people do this?' She avidly attempted to develop her self-knowledge through reading and internet

[479] H. Marcuse, 'Nazi crimes and identity in West Germany: Collective memories of the Dachau concentration camp, 1945-1990' (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1992), pp. 398-399, 402.

research. In 2015, she pursued additional teacher training as a Beacon school partner to the CfHE, visiting the sites of Auschwitz, Dachau, Treblinka, the town of Jadow and the Warsaw ghetto as a teacher. Unlike her first trip to Dachau, her subsequent visits to Poland and Germany aimed to primarily understand the Jewish experience and the phenomena and mechanisms of genocide. As a teacher, she was finally able to respond to the ethical, moral and philosophical question she posited as a teenager, on a chance visit to Dachau on a school trip to Austria.

A pilgrimage to Auschwitz

Several participating teachers travelled to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum with a school group. From the 2000s, trips were encouraged by educational charities such as the HET and the Mémorial de la Shoah. In response to the demand, the International Center for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust opened at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 2005 with a mission to encourage and improve school group learning at the camp. In 2007 the Museum hosted a European seminar entitled, 'Auschwitz: History, Remembrance, and Education — Teaching the Holocaust at an Authentic Memorial Site' for teachers and scholars, including from France and the United Kingdom.[480] Consequently, in 2008 the British government began funding two students every state high school to visit Auschwitz every year, organised by the HET following a two-year trial.[481] The Fondation pour le Mémoire de la Shoah's programme for French *lycéens* was likewise extended in 2007 across other *départments* and *rectorats* in France.[482]

[480] Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum, 'Education' http://auschwitz.org/en/education/ (2 September 2018).
[481] 'Government to fund compulsory trips to Auschwitz, *The Guardian*, (4 February 2008).
[482] Mémorial de la Shoah, 'Voyages d'Étude à Auschwitz', (2015) http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/upload/minisites/voyages/index.htm (6 September 2018).

Teachers from England and France favoured visiting former concentration camps to learn about and remember the Holocaust over visits to museums relating to Nazi persecution or genocide. They regarded a visit to Auschwitz as the apex of Holocaust memory. With the exception of the burst of activities surrounding the centenary of the First World War, participating teachers in England suggested that visiting a concentration camp had overtaken visiting the World War One battlefield sites as the favoured history trip abroad. In France, trips to battlefields such as Verdun were generally less popular within the French history curriculum, with French visitors making up less than half the number of Britons visiting Ieper [Ypres] in 2009.[483]



Figure 5.2 Visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau, lycée militaire d'Aix-en-Provence (2008)

Yva, who moved to Aix-en-Provence in 2004, was able to compare teaching the Shoah in Aix with her earlier experiences teaching in Brittany in the late 1980s and 1990s. Whilst she

[483] C. Winter, 'Tourism, social memory and the Great War', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36/4 (2009), pp. 607-626.

believed that pupils had become less interested in the Shoah over this time and between these locations, she found Auschwitz to be an exception.

> Interviewer: Aujourd'hui, vous avez dit qu'ils n'avaient pas le même intérêt?
>
> Yva : Non, non, non. C'est horrible.
>
> Interviewer: Donc, si vous deviez organiser une visite à, par exemple, Auschwitz?
>
> Yva : Ah oui, tout le monde voulait y aller. Voilà parce que quand même ce site, c'est à la télé tout… et c'est dans tous les livres d'histoire en France.[484]
>
> [Interviewer: Today, you said they do not hold the same interest?
>
> Yva: No, no, no. It's horrible.
>
> Interviewer: So, what if you had to arrange a visit to, say, Auschwitz?
>
> Yva: Oh yes, everyone wanted to go. That's because this site is on TV all the time... and it's in all history books in France.]

Yva believed her pupils in Aix were less and less interested by the history of the Holocaust and lacked the curiosity to learn its history or visit less famous sites or locations. Across the world, Auschwitz had become central in Holocaust memory, leaving one teacher in Lincoln to earnestly comment, 'Auschwitz is basically a synonym for the Holocaust.'[485] The permeation of Auschwitz imagery through cultural media conveyed an interest in the symbolism of the Holocaust that did not always coincide with an interest in its history. Alice Pettigrew and Eleni Karayianni for example argue that student misconceptions arose in England because of the tension between academic historians' requirements of clarity, complexity and nuance in understanding the Holocaust, and the dominant Auschwitz-centric narratives that were often imprecise and abstract.[486] Though Auschwitz was the setting of

[484] Interview with Yva.
[485] Interview with Kimberly, conducted by H. Mann, Lincoln, 22 May 2017.
[486] A. Pettigrew and E. Karayianni, ''The Holocaust is a place where … ': the position of Auschwitz and the camp system in English secondary school students' understandings of the Holocaust', *Holocaust Studies*, (2019), pp. 1-17.

infamous survivor accounts, such as those by Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel and Simone Veil, it entered popular memory through the success of the film *Schindler's List* in 1994 and the advent of the International Day of Remembrance for the victims of the Holocaust that took place from 2001 on the anniversary of the camp's liberation.

Auschwitz emerged in the 2010s as a place of 'dark tourism', where travellers visited to understand the human capacity for evil and see the mnemonic landscape which defined the political landscape by providing example of the antithesis of human progression.[487] These visits have been defined as a form of thanotourism: 'travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death'.[488] Whilst thanotourists have been criticised for eliciting enjoyment, pleasure and satisfaction out of the suffering of others, other scholars have more positively described these tourists' motives as visiting spaces of death or calamity that have political or historical significance, and that continue to impact upon the living. [489] In Holocaust studies, Carolyn Dean argues that pseudo-engagement with Holocaust memory is not really concerned with those affected by crimes against humanity, but with 'the amusement of fully enjoying one's sensitiveness.'[490] By extension, Dean suggests people desire to visit sites such as Auschwitz to enjoy the pleasure of not-having-been-a-victim.[491]

Auschwitz symbolised the depths of inhumanity which invoked a macabre curiosity. It appealed to young people who wanted to see, feel and touch the face of evil. The

[487] C. Griffiths, 'Encountering Auschwitz: touring the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum', *Holocaust Studies*, 25 (2019), pp. 182-200.
[488] A.V. Seaton, 'Guided by the dark: From thantopsis to thanatourism', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2/4 (1996), p. 240.
[489] M. Best, 'Norfolk Island: Thanatourism, history and visitor emotions', *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures*, 1/2 (2007), p. 38; P. Stone, 'Enlightening the 'dark' in dark tourism', *Interpretation Journal*, 21/2 (2016), p. 24.
[490] C. Dean, *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust* (Ithaca, 2004), p. 9.
[491] Dean, *The Fragility of Empathy*, p. 9.

concentration camp was unsurprisingly placed highly on a number of bucket lists, including The Great Global Bucket List and bucketlist.org, where hundreds of individuals rated their experience out of five and posted their photographs.[492] The popularity of Auschwitz as a tourist site overrode customary forms of remembrance expected at the site. Many lamented the Auschwitz selfie, criticising young people who pose in front of the 'Arbeit Macht Frei' gate and post the image onto their Instagram.[493] Their 'disrespectful' engagement with the Holocaust sparked anxiety about the future. Beyond the cynicism, the social media ethos has been argued to be a process by which 'identity and selfhood is founded, performed and mediated' in the digital age.[494] It provided avenues for young people to share their voice, opinions and identity in debates that are otherwise guarded by adults and institutions.[495] As young people started to measure their worth through meaningful, valued and documented experiences, it should be no surprise that visits to Auschwitz held significant cultural capital.

[492] Bucketlist, 'Visit Auschwitz', https://bucketlist.org/discover/visit-auschwitz/#.Xjw_vTL7TX7 (6 February 2020).
[493] I. Dalziel, '"Romantic Auschwitz": examples and perceptions of contemporary visitor photography at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum', *Holocaust Studies*, 22 (2016), pp. 185-207.
[494] T. Thurnell-Read, 'What's on your Bucket List?': Tourism, identity and imperative experiential discourse', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 67 (2017) pp. 58-66.
[495] G. Commane and R. Potton, 'Instagram and Auschwitz: a critical assessment of the impact social media has on Holocaust representation', *Holocaust Studies*, 1-2/25 (2019), pp. 158-181.

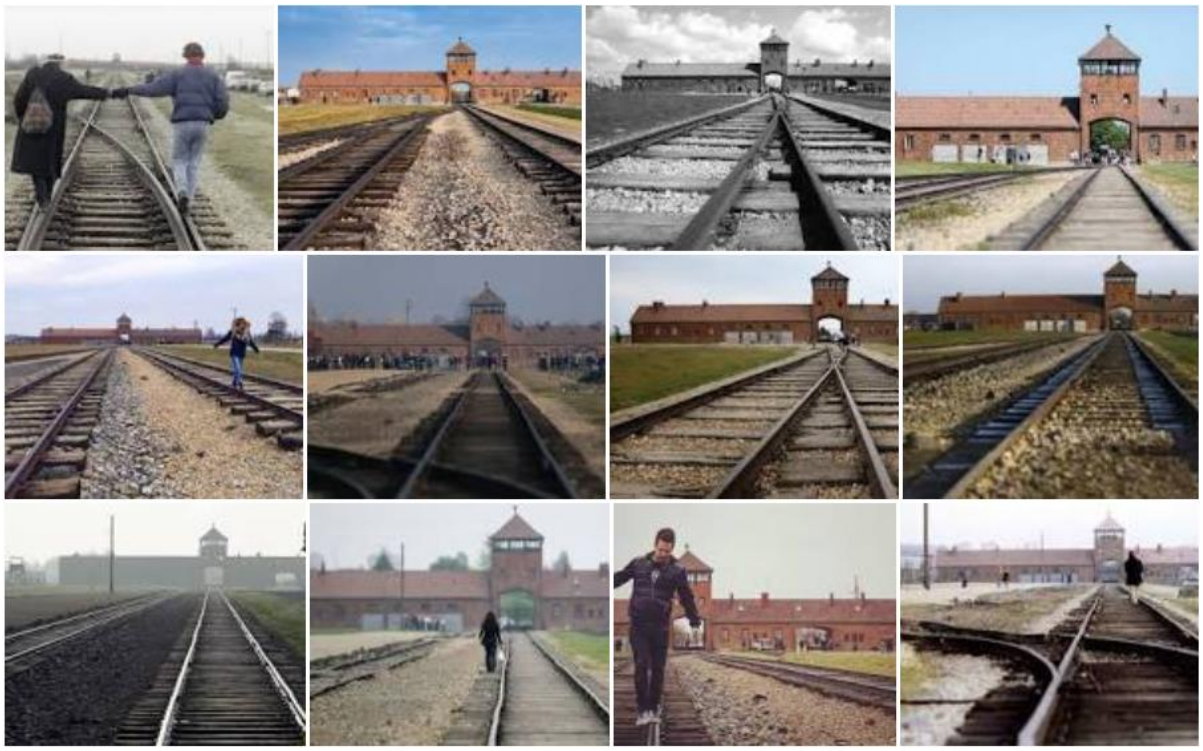


Figure 5.3 Visitors to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum

Teachers usually prohibited their pupils from engaging in 'disrespectful' behaviours and instead encouraged them to develop and interpret their identity and selfhood at the site by writing poetry or through reflection. It was important to have the correct emotional encounter, creating anxiety when teachers' and pupils' own experiences did not meet their expectations. Paula visited Auschwitz twice, firstly with a group of school children, and later with the CfHE teacher training programme. She commented

> So the first time I went, I had got in my head, you know you see the image of the railway and the gate going in, and I thought, oh blimey, that is me done for. But it wasn't. It wasn't that at all. It was when we went into the room where behind the glass, they've got the shoes. And I stood, and I cried. But the second time I was less affected, although you have, and I don't think it matters how many times I go, because my husband wants me to take him, it's always going to be so emotive.[496]

[496] Interview with Paula.

Photographs of the entrance to the camp were increasingly used in exhibitions, on book covers, in film and in art, rendering this fixed image of Auschwitz a cultural symbol signifying horror, hopelessness and evil. The train tracks were devoid of personhood, an abstract symbol of the Europe-wide bureaucracy and organisation of genocide. They lacked the emotive power of the individual, captured by their personal belongings.

Paula's reactions resonated across the Channel, with school pupils in France. Angélique, a school pupil from Marseille who visited the camp in 2007, commented that on arriving at the gate of Auschwitz,

> Pour ma part, le camp d'Auschwitz représentait une grande ville touristique où personne n'habitait. C'est triste à dire mais c'est ma première impression.[497]
>
> [For me, the Auschwitz camp was a big tourist town where no one lived. It's sad to say but it was my first impression.]

Her classmate, Stephanie, similarly failed to connect with the symbolic images which saturated the cultural memory of Auschwitz,

> Quand nous sommes arrivés devant l'entrée d'Auschwitz I, avec cette inscription barbare « Arbeit macht frei », je ne réalisais pas que j'étais *là*, là où la plupart sont morts tragiquement.[498]
>
> [When we arrived at the entrance of Auschwitz I, with this barbaric inscription "Arbeit macht frei", I did not realise that I was *there*, where the majority died tragically.]

Both teachers and students felt underwhelmed when they encountered Auschwitz. The space did not provide the emotional affect that they expected and wanted. Their *being* at Auschwitz, at the largest and most significant *lieux de memoire* in Holocaust remembrance, imparted no affective legacy in itself. The site required explanation and personifying through stories and

[497] P. Parodi, 'Annexe 4', *Un voyage scolaire à Auschwitz,* (19 March 2008), pp. 12-13, in author's possession.
[498] Parodi, *Un voyage scolaire à Auschwitz*, pp. 12-13.

testimony. Their sentiment was matched by Alain Finkelkraut. He explained, 'It is much easier to picture things when you read *If this is a man* [by Primo Levi] than when you visit a camp. The camp is naked, abstract, stripped of everything.'[499] Its mnemonic power was not *being* at Auschwitz, but by *imagining* Auschwitz.

Nevertheless, the global image of Auschwitz held symbolic power, and teachers' friends and family who worked outside of the fields of education and history aspired to go. Paula's hope that her husband could accompany her was a theme in several interviews in England. For example, Sheila wanted to take her granddaughter when she was old enough.[500] Kimberly, a teacher from Lincoln in her twenties, commented,

> I've been to Auschwitz and I've met a survivor, so I really understand why it's so important and why I'm teaching it. Before I just wanted the kids to sit down in front of me… See now, my friends, they know I've been to Auschwitz and they say they'd love to go there. But that's it. They don't really understand what it meant, or what it really is, and they don't see what it means today.[501]

Kimberly echoed Dean's concerns, fearing that there was a cognitive distance between going there and what had happened there. She believed that her friends were neither prepared nor informed enough to bridge that gap in their understanding. That fissure also explained its importance and dominance in Holocaust memory. As argued by James Young, 'the site retains its symbolic power over us partly because we don't live here, because we must make this pilgrimage to memory.'[502] The distance between it and the visitor made it sacred, and

[499] 'Alain Finkielkraut : "Respecter Auschwitz, c'est ne plus s'y rendre"', *Télérama*, (13 December 2011) https://www.telerama.fr/monde/alain-finkielkraut-respecter-auschwitz-c-est-ne-plus-s-y-rendre,76137.php (20 September 2018).
[500] Interview with Tony and Sheila.
[501] Interview with Kimberly.
[502] Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p. 144.

even Paula's, Angelique's and Stephanie's inability to respond to the gates and buildings of the site served to highlight the expanse between themselves and the camp's history.

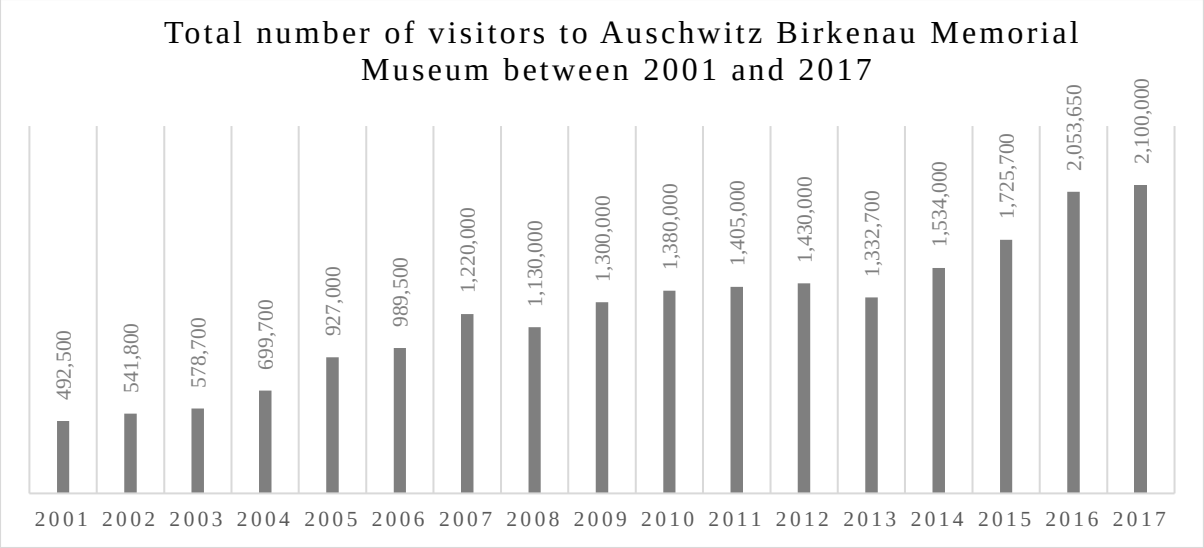
Teachers invariably felt privileged to have visited Auschwitz. They shared their photographs and experiences as a visitor with other classes. It gave them authority in the classroom; a new role as a witness who could authenticate history by embodying its memory. Some took this further to authenticate the existence of evil. Young people who visited the camp were also asked to 'bear witness' to what they had seen, as memory heirs to the Holocaust. In England, sixth formers who visited the site with the Lessons from Auschwitz project usually gave an assembly about their visit to their year group. In Provence, school groups visiting Auschwitz had to create and present a memorial through art, music or poetry that they performed to political dignitaries from the region as part of the *Journée de Restitution "Mémoire et Citoyenneté"* ["Memory and Citizenship" Restitution Day]. Their role was symbolic: young people formally testifying quelled growing panic about the death of living memory of the Holocaust as the final generations of survivors passed away.

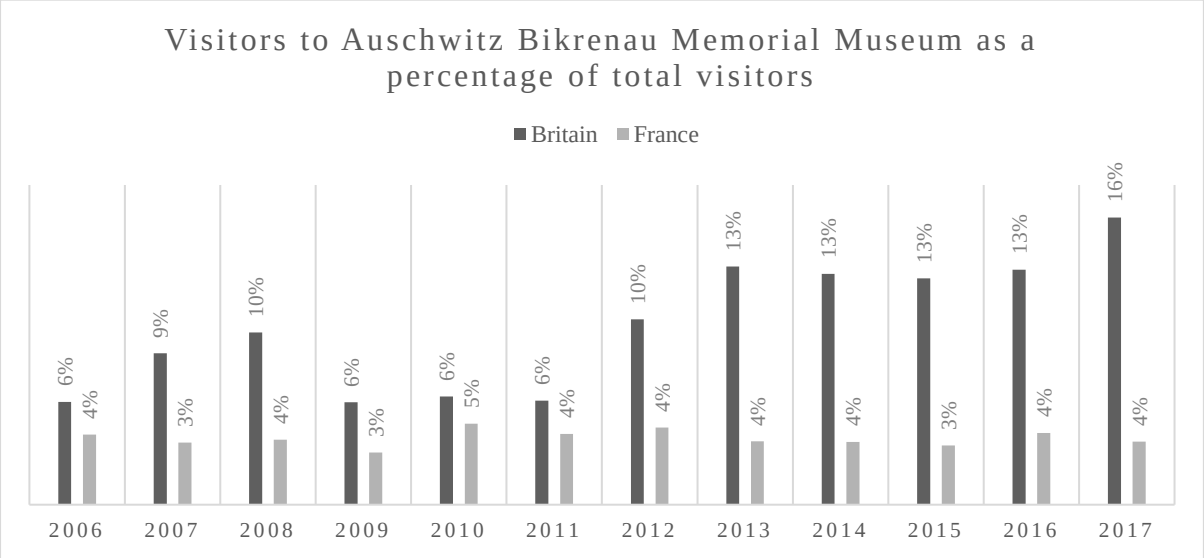
The pursuit of affective experiences perhaps explains why visits to Auschwitz were particularly popular among Britons. Between 2007 and 2017 Britons were the highest foreign visitor group. For example, in 2014, there were 199,000 British visitors compared to 398,000 Polish visitors, 92,000 American visitors, 75,000 German visitors, 62,000 Israeli visitors, and 54,000 French visitors.[503] The number of British visitors rose considerably since 2006, when Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum began collecting visitor numbers by nationality: in 2006, 57,200 visitors travelled to the site compared with 339,400 in 2017. The memorial museum proved popular internationally, increasingly from 492,500 visitors in 2001 to

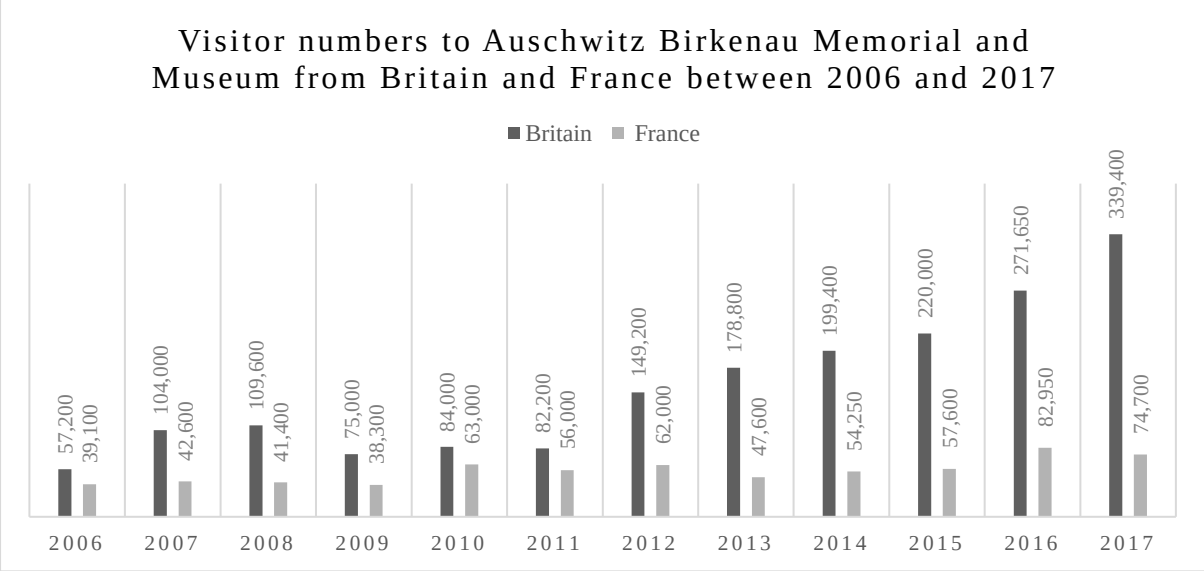
[503] Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum, *Annual Report* [2006-2017], http://auschwitz.org/en/museum/museum-reports/ (7 September 2018).

989,500 visitors in 2007 and 2,100,000 visitors in 2017. Nevertheless, the rate of increase was much higher for Britons, who represented sixteen percent of all visitors by 2017, compared to the French who consistently amounted to around four percent of visitors. Though school groups accounted for a proportion of the visitors, only around 7000 British students took part annually in the 'Lessons from Auschwitz' programme, and 2000 French students in the Fondation de la Mémoire de la Shoah's 'Voyage d'étude à Auschwitz'.[504]

[504] HET, 'Lessons from Auschwitz'; M. Orjekh and B. Bossy, Les voyages d'étude à Auschwitz du Mémorial de la Shoah', *Tsafon*, 73 (2017), p. 121.







Figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 Visitors to Auschwitz Birkenau Memorial Museum

Why were the numbers of Britons so significantly higher than any other country? Did Britons seek highly affective experiences, or were they more attuned to the plight of European Jewry than other Europeans? Certainly, British educational culture valued experience rather than the French preference for cognitive exploration. For Britons, visiting Auschwitz was also unhampered by the national guilt, shame and remorse that burdened other countries.[505] To visit did not implicate the nation in the moral failings of the Second World War, nor did it insult national pride. To the unreflective Briton, Auschwitz presented itself as something foreign, far from Britain in time and distance, created under a political regime diametrically opposite to Western liberalism. To visit could even vindicate the British Army in the Second World War, by portraying the war against Nazi Germany as one against evil, for which Auschwitz provided the ultimate evidence.[506]

The lower visitor numbers in France were perhaps influenced by greater criticism about the pedagogical value of visiting the site. Jewish history teacher Catherine Pederzoli-Ventura was suspended for four months in 2010 from teaching in a lycée in Nancy for organising too many visits to Auschwitz with too greater number of pupils, which was argued to break the principles of *laïcité* and teacher neutrality.[507] In 2011, a debate raged in France about whether one should visit Auschwitz. Following a report by telerama that described mass tourism to Auschwitz as an 'assault on memory', the French philosopher and public intellectual Alain Finkelkraut argued against people visiting Auschwitz.

[505] A. Richardson, 'Site-seeing: reflections on visiting the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum with teenagers', *Holocaust Studies*, (2019), pp. 1-14.
[506] Tom Lawson makes similar conclusions about visitors to the Imperial War Museum in London. See T. Lawson, 'Ideology in a Museum of Memory: A Review of the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religion*, 4/2 (2003), p. 183.
[507] C. Pederzoli-Ventura and S. Marty, *La Shoah Censurée : La Sorcière de Nancy* (Lormont, 2015).

> I say to myself that to honour the dead, to respect these places, it is best not to go there anymore. I am therefore sceptical about the educational value of travel to Auschwitz for younger generations.[508]

Several newspapers and journals reacted to Finkelkraut and the telerama report, debating the utility of visiting Auschwitz, considering the rise of 'selfie' tourists who adorned the site. For example, in an article entitled, 'Faut-il visiter Auschwitz?', the weekly newspaper *Le Point* argued that one should, as long as you understood why you were going there and refrained from behaviours which affronted the memory of the Shoah.[509] On school visits, teachers questioned what they considered to be appropriate forms of learning. Teachers from Aubagne, a commune on the outskirts of Marseille, that conducted a school visit to Auschwitz in 2007, decided not to ask for specific written work at the two Auschwitz camps: 'filling in a questionnaire seemed "out of place" and inappropriate'. Instead the pupils took photographs in order to make an exhibition of the places evoked in the witness testimony they had previously heard from a Holocaust deportee named Mr. Attali.[510] The teachers concluded that the trip to Auschwitz posed new and specific problems,

> Il s'agit alors de trouver la mesure entre le travail historique, perçu comme rationnel et distant, et l'émotion, nécessaire pour être dans la compassion, nécessaire envers les victimes mais qui ne doit pas être de nature à troubler le travail historique.[511]
>
> [It is then necessary to find the balance between historical work, perceived as rational and distant, and emotion, necessary to developing compassion, necessary towards the victims but which must not disturb the historical work.]

Other than the national exhibitions at the Auschwitz I site, which no teachers mentioned or were able to recall in any detail, the Auschwitz-Birkenau site provided limited historical

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[508] 'Alain Finkielkraut : "Respecter Auschwitz, c'est ne plus s'y rendre"', *Télérama*, (13 December 2011) https://www.telerama.fr/monde/alain-finkielkraut-respecter-auschwitz-c-est-ne-plus-s-y-rendre,76137.php (20 September 2018).
[509] 'Faut-il visiter Auschwitz', *Le Point*, (30 January 2012) http://www.lepoint.fr/monde/auschwitz-pietine-28-01-2012-1424764_24.php (25 September 2018).
[510] Parodi, *Un voyage scolaire à Auschwitz*, p. 2.
[511] Parodi, *Un voyage scolaire à Auschwitz*, p. 5.

knowledge other than the camp's geography and architecture that was not already included within school textbooks. It was difficult to interrogate the site as a historical document or source, as it was also a graveyard, and by its existence it was emotive and non-rational. The duty of memory towards the Holocaust overrode French educational sensibilities towards cognitive explorations of history over emotive and manufactured 'immersive' experiences.

As the majority of French Jews who died in the Shoah were murdered in Auschwitz, the *Rectorat* and the *Conseil Régional* of Aix-Marseille believed it necessary for students to travel specifically to Auschwitz to walk in the 'displaced' footsteps of a deported French Jew. Projects which rested only on emotion, or only on history, risked some students detaching themselves from the memory.[512] Put simply, the Inspector-General for *histoire-geographie* in Aix-Marseille *Rectorat* concluded, 'Auschwitz means they will never forget.'[513] For Mariline, a teacher in a public lycée in Aix-en-Provence visited Auschwitz with her school to awaken her pupils' consciousness: 'J'aimais germer, planter des graines qui ont germé, qui continuent de germer.'[514] [I liked to germinate, to plant seeds that have grown, that continue to grow.] One of her students had graduated from high school and continued to work on the memory of the Shoah, not 'because he was Jewish', but because he had impelled by his trip to Auschwitz where he had encountered 'other human destinies'. Mariline commented, 'Bon certes, c'est un sur trente-cinq, mais c'est déjà un sur trente-cinq.'[515] [Yes, it's one in thirty-five, but it's already one in thirty-five.] Taking students to Auschwitz was less a school trip than a pilgrimage, with the power to change lives. It provided the ultimate location for self-reflection.

[512] Interview with Nathalie Topalain.
[513] Interview with Nathalie Topalain.
[514] Interview with Mariline, conducted by H. Mann, Aix-en-Provence, 18 May 2018.
[515] Interview with Mariline.

In England, teachers rarely questioned the educational values of visits to Auschwitz, except among educators who visited the site regularly. Alasdair Richardson, for example, discussed problematic student encounters at Holocaust sites after working as a tour guide for the HET. The aim of the Lessons from Auschwitz programme was to consider the humanity of victims, the humanity of perpetrators, and address misconceptions that SS guards were forced into their roles. Throughout the day, educators gave readings and posed questions to the pupils. The visits extended beyond Auschwitz to consider pre-war Jewish life, either at a Jewish cemetery, the site of a former synagogue or the site of the current synagogue.[516] The Auschwitz 'tour' expanded into the neighbouring town Oświęcim, and the site served, sometimes contradictorily, as a museum, a memorial, and as an authentic site, in different spaces and places. The site as it exists today is not the Auschwitz of the 1940s.[517] Decaying huts have either been removed or replaced. One of the gas chambers was reconstructed so that the visitor can embark on the final walk from the train lines, through the gateway and across the long walk to the crematorium. Richardson queried the extent to which pupils were aware that the site was a 'post-event space', mediated through guides, displays and objects: 'it is not the site as *was*, but the site as *is* and this is an important distinction to make clear to them as they visit'.[518]

Richardson's concerns were not replicated in France. The camp's centrality in French Holocaust memory encouraged educators to instead create 'authentic', immersive experiences by travelling to Auschwitz in winter. Nathalie Topalain, the Inspecter d'histoire-géographie for the Aix-Marseille region, explained the *voyages de mémoire* project,

[516] Interview with Martin Winstone.
[517] Richardson, 'Site-seeing: reflections on visiting the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum with teenagers', pp. 2-3.
[518] Richardson, 'Site-seeing: reflections on visiting the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum with teenagers', p. 11.

> Il se fait toujours en hiver, vers le mois de février, afin que les élèves passent la journée dans la neige et soient immergés dans la dureté des conditions du camp… Pour comprendre « déplacement », éprouver le froid, et de rencontrer un survivant qui a souffert par le voyage.[519]
>
> [It is always done in winter, around February, so that the pupils spend the day in the snow, and are immersed in the harshness of the camp conditions… To understand 'displacement', to feel the cold, and to meet a survivor who suffered through the voyage.]

Auschwitz was important as it was the final place of death for thousands of French Jews deported from Drancy internment camp, on the outskirts of Paris. The aim of the project was to experience the memory of the Holocaust and come as close to the history as possible. The cold magnified the 'evil', and left no pupil questioning the suffering that occurred in the camp. Pupils' discomfort was paramount in forging an experience that was physical as well as emotional. The French instinct to immerse the student in an 'authentic' and frozen memory site could not represent the totality of experiences of suffering. Many Auschwitz survivors testified that the midsummer sun was in fact more difficult to endure than the winter.[520] However, the immersive nature of the experience of visiting in winter triumphed over the need for representative historical experiences. The remains of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp under snow became the symbol to represent all French Jewish suffering, and the symbol was as important, if not more important, than the complexities of the multitudes of histories.

Teachers who partook in the *voyage de mémoire* spoke strongly about the importance of the Auschwitz visit. Julien taught in one of the most deprived schools in the country, a *lycée professional* included as part of the ZEPs. At his vocational high school, he taught sixteen to eighteen year old pupils who did not intend to go to university, but were studying to obtain the *certificat d'aptitude professionnelle* or the *baccalauréat professionnel*. Unlike in England,

[519] Interview with Nathalie Topalain.
[520] See Warsaw, Institute of National Remembrance, Józef Paweł Ludwig (testimony, Warsaw, 1947), IPN GK 196/134, pp. 304-8.

these pupils were obliged to continue their study of *histoire-géographie*. This was the case for Julien's class of students following the *métiers de la sécurité* pathway, all aiming for careers in the police, fire brigade and security services. The students visited the Camp des Milles internment camp in neighbouring Aix-en-Provence, the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, the *archives départementales* in Marseille and visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum. Following their journey through different layers of Holocaust memory, the class collectively created a living memorial through an online documentary entitled 'aucun de nous ne reviendra' [none of us will return].[521]

The cold was a symbolic feature of their webdocumentary, which exhibited the creation and representation of embodied memories by connecting pupils with historical narratives about Auschwitz, recording their walk in the snow accompanied by the testimony of a Holocaust survivor and the poetry of Charlotte Delbo. By writing poetry themselves, the students reflected on their 'moment of contact' as described by Alison Landsberg, as the pupil 'sutures him or herself into a larger historical narrative'.[522] They perceived their learning not only as intellectual, but as a personal and deeply felt memory of the camp. Throughout the webdocumentary placed themselves within the space of the victim, using the imagery and experience of cold, ice and snow as a metaphor for suffering.

[521] 'Aucun de nous ne reviendra' (webdocumentary, 2018) http://www.aucundenousnereviendra.fr/ (27 November 2019).
[522] A. Landsberg, 'Memory, Empathy, and the Politics of Identification', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 22 (2009), pp. 221-2.



Figure 5.7 Still from webdocumentary including poem from lycéen Leon P.[523]

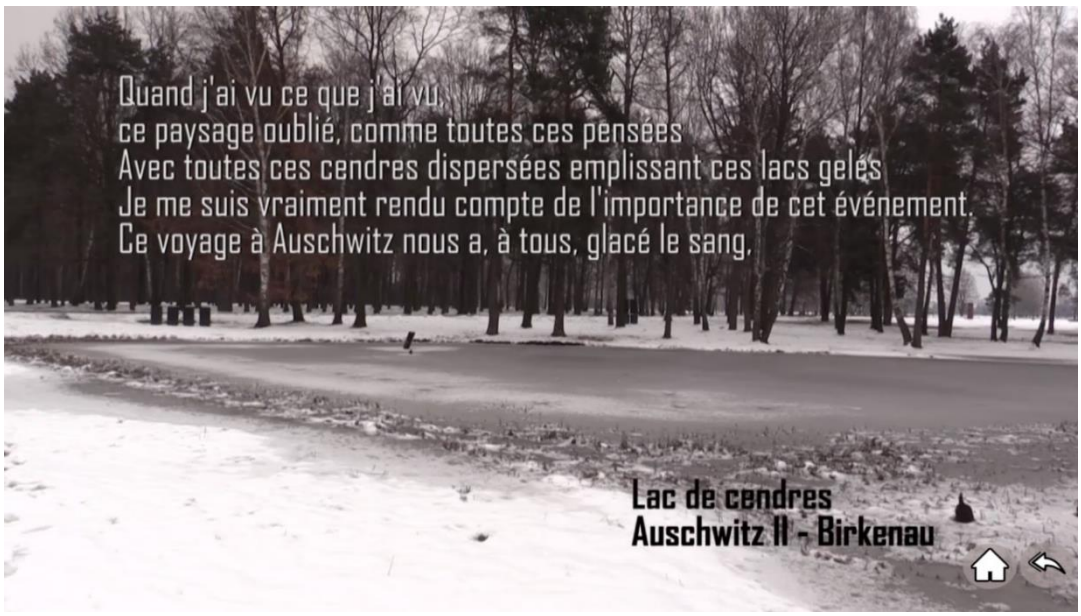


Figure 5.8 Still from webdocumentary including poem from lycéen Guillame M.[524]

[523] [When I saw what I saw
I saw what they saw
I saw these entrances
Where no one ever exits
I saw this railway
Taking from them the Last Judgment]
[524] [When I saw what I saw

His pupils positioned themselves as contemporary witnesses to a traumatic past. Caring about the history was as important as knowing about the history and encountering the site physically produced emotion. 'Feeling' the history was Julien's pedagogical objective. He explained:

> On ne peut pas faire de l'histoire sans l'émotion... c'est une base importante, nécessaire, utile pour le professeur... l'émotion se bâtit un réel savoir. Là [à Auschwitz], on comprend mieux ce qui s'est passé et ce qui peut se passer. Mais l'émotion ne suffit pas. Quand on apprend la question et qu'est-ce qui a marqué les élèves... se déplacer sur les lieux.... La base de nourriture à la fois émotionnelle et scientifique, qui est, à mon avis, un mélange parfait pour faire l'émotion.[525]
>
> [You cannot do history without emotion... it's an important, necessary, and useful basis for the teacher... emotion builds real knowledge. There {at Auschwitz}, we understand better what happened and what can happen. But emotion is not enough. When we learn about the issue and what has marked the students... to be at the place... A sustenance that is both emotional and scholarly, which, in my opinion, is a perfect mix to produce emotion.]

Julien believed in emotional knowledge which could build a deeper and more authentic understanding of history. He expressed his frustration at knowledge-rich approaches that bored his pupils following vocational pathways.[526] Visiting the memorial site at Auschwitz was as close as his pupils could come to experiencing the Holocaust, both physically and ethically. 'Suffering' 'with' the victims provided an illusion of coming to terms with the past, similar to how historian Ulrike Jureit describes the 'norm of memory politics' in Germany.[527] This form of empathy, where the pupils *felt with* the victims, created an illusion of solidarity and togetherness. Sharing 'discomfort' with Holocaust victims was more important in France

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This forgotten landscape, like all these thoughts
With all those scattered ashes filling these frozen lakes
I truly realised the importance of this event.
This trip to Auschwitz has frozen everyone's blood.]

[525] Interview with Julien.

[526] Interview with Julien.

[527] U. Jureit, *Gefühlte Opfer. Illusionen der Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Stuttgart, 2011), p. 10.

than in England as it connected young people to the crimes of the Shoah and went some way to absolve France of its shame.

Institutionalising national memory: downloading the museum

All teachers, whether they had visited Auschwitz or not, regarded national institutions engaged in Holocaust education as authorities on the history of the Holocaust. These institutions guided teachers on how to 'correctly' employ Holocaust memory in the classroom, including pedagogical 'dos and don'ts' of Holocaust education.[528] In accordance with Aleida Assmann's definition of cultural memory, national museums function as mediums of memory by organising, constructing and communicating stories, images and narratives perceived to be of value to the national community.[529] The existence of a government-sponsored museum is a clear indication of the inclusion of that narrative in national history. How they choose to display and interpret material evidence constructs and transmits meanings that teachers are able to relay in their lessons. In the 2000s, national, state-sponsored museums and exhibitions dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust opened in both England and France. Their educational component provided the museums with a clear purpose.

In France, the Mémorial de la Shoah opened in Paris in 2005, funded by the Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah with money recovered from properties taken from French Jews during the Holocaust. It continued the activities of the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Centre, established in 1943 to document Nazi atrocities against Jewish

[528] HET, *General Principles for teaching the Holocaust* (London, 2012); Mémorial de la Shoah, 'Conseils pour enseigner l'histoire de la Shoah', http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/pedagogie-et-formation/activites-pour-le-secondaire/conseils-pour-enseigner-lhistoire-de-la-shoah.html (20 May 2020).
[529] A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München, 1999), pp. 137-9.

communities. Its mission expanded, becoming a public place of remembrance for the genocide of the Jews and a museum devoted to the Jewish experience during the Second World War. It encompassed several memorials: the tomb of the unknown Jewish martyr (built at the site in 1956), the Wall of Names [of French victims of the Shoah], the children's memorial and the wall of the Righteous. Titled as the *Mémorial* de la Shoah (as opposed to the *Musée* de l'histoire de la Shoah), the centre straddled the bridge between memory and history of the Holocaust: the national 'duty to remember' required the site to preserve history, to present history, and to provide a space to commemorate the victims. In Aleida Assmann's definition, the centre was both a place of storage memory *(Speichergedächtnis)* and functional memory *(Funktionsgedächtnis)*.[530] It oscillated between the will to preserve and store memory, the desire to transmit shared remembrance of the Holocaust and the need to develop objective, unequivocal knowledge. Its mission therefore had three dimensions: heritage, commemoration and education. From its opening, the Mémorial de la Shoah designed several resources for school groups and offered free teacher training for both trainee and incumbent teachers. Whilst the majority of visitors walked around the permanent exhibition of the Memorial, school groups were additionally offered the option to make thematic visits on topics such as "the different forms of resistance", 'Nazi antisemitism' or 'Vichy France'.[531] Schools partook in memory walks, where pupils traced the history of the Holocaust in the streets of Paris, whether the historic presence of Jewish neighbourhoods in the Marais or the Judeo-Spanish influence in the eleventh arrondissement.[532]

[530] A. Assmann, 'Zur Mediengeschichte des kulturellen Gedächtnisses' in A. Erll and A. Nünning (eds.), *Media and Cultural Memory* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 45-60.
[531] Mémorial de la Shoah, 'Visites guidées' http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/pedagogie-et-formation/activites-pour-le-secondaire/visites-guidees.html (2 October 2018).
[532] Mémorial de la Shoah, 'Parcours de mémoire', http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/pedagogie-et-formation/activites-pour-le-secondaire/parcours-de-memoire.html (2 October 2018).

In the United Kingdom, the Holocaust exhibition at the IWM in London opened in 2000, as the first national museum on the history of the Holocaust. Unlike the Mémorial de la Shoah, it principally operated as a museum exhibition, with only minor archival holdings relating to the Holocaust and no distinct memorial. Its Advisory Group determined the exhibition's philosophy and mission: 'to put the story of the Holocaust on record in the United Kingdom for this and future generations, told with authority and detachment as one would find in an encyclopaedia entry'.[533] They outlined two audiences to cater to: firstly the older generation, whom they intended to inform, 'did you know that while the Second War was being fought, another struggle was going on between the Nazi state and the Jews of Europe?'; and secondly the younger generation, who were to be asked, 'Did you know that around the middle of the century a civilised Western state opened a campaign of genocide against a people who had lived in Europe for centuries?'[534] Unlike the standalone Mémorial de la Shoah, the IWM Holocaust exhibition curators' first question tried to encourage unlikely visitors by situating it in the IWM, which otherwise celebrates and commemorates British military combat. Whilst the Mémorial de la Shoah intended to build upon a shared French understanding and duty of memory with regards to the Holocaust, when the IWM exhibition was first commissioned in 1995 it intended to create public knowledge and memory. The exhibition consciously intertwined the chronology of the Second World War with the evolution of the genocide, to show the causal relationship between the two histories, in order to develop historical understanding, but did not otherwise connect the exhibition to museum's function as the repository for the country's war histories and memories. Though a crimes against humanities exhibition attempted to locate the Holocaust within a wider history of genocide and atrocity, the Holocaust exhibition did not respond to British colonial aggression, despite being located

[533] London, IWM Archive, Minutes of the first meeting of the IWM's Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 15 April 1996, Exhibition Design File, Holocaust Exhibition Archive.
[534] Minutes of the first meeting of the IWM's Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group.

in the *Imperial War* Museum.[535] Its parallel mission, to educate young people, was therefore moral but not universal. It aimed to protect future generations from the failures of the past by educating about the weaknesses of Western democracy: history lessons for the future without necessarily implicating Britain.

Of course, not every teacher made a visit to their 'national' Holocaust museum. In most cases, teachers did not extend education far beyond the classroom, particularly for schools several hours from the capital cities in Provence, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Poorer neighbourhoods also lacked the access to history, museums and memorials. According to Alexandre, a *histoire-geographie* teacher in Aix-en-Provence, this was the case for him during his adolescence in a Provençal village. Growing up in a working class household, his father fluctuated between working as a handyman and periods of unemployment and his mother worked long hours as a cleaner. His childhood was spent riding his BMX and playing football, not reading books and visiting museums like many of his history teacher colleagues.[536] He was honest about his motivations to become a teacher: to have enough free time to continue playing sports. Whilst he enjoyed teaching history, he hadn't developed the same curiosity about historians' interpretations and historical exhibitions as his peers.[537] His experience was rare in the profession, as most teachers' interest in history was sparked and moulded by their parents in their childhood. However, it was perhaps more consistent with that of many school pupils. Several reports which analysed 'cultural capital' in different neighbourhoods found evidence that children from working class backgrounds did not access museums (as well as literature, art, classical music, and theatre) and were therefore deprived

[535] T. Lawson, 'The Holocaust and Colonial Genocide at the Imperial War Museum', in C. Sharples and O. Jensen, *Britain and the Holocaust: Remembering and Representing War and Genocide* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 161.
[536] Interview with Alexandre.
[537] Interview with Alexandre.

of the historical knowledge available to their peers.[538] Whilst Marseille and Aix-en-Provence were both rich in culture and in historical sites where one could learn about the Second World War, the French Resistance and the Holocaust, many pupils from deprived areas had never travelled to Paris. The same patterns emerged in both Lincolnshire and Leeds/Bradford, due to poverty, lack of opportunity and, in the case of Lincolnshire, inadequate transport infrastructure. Their knowledge of history was consequently restricted and visiting Holocaust memory sites was no exception.

In both countries, the two museums still played an authoritative and practical role in setting the national canon in Holocaust education from the mid 2000s. Through their websites and published materials, teachers across the country could access the museums' history and pedagogy without visiting the site, and both institutions worked closely with the Ministry of Education to promote, further and improve education across the country. Charlotte Le Provost provided guidance and support for different departments outside of Ile-de-France, and for individual schools in Aix and Marseille participating in the *Voyage à Auschwitz*. Paul Salmons led programmes on education about the Holocaust at the IWM between 1998 and 2009 and went on to direct the CfHE, taking the primary role in teacher training in the United Kingdom on the subject of the Holocaust.

Both institutions created substantial educational resources. In 2011, the Mémorial de la Shoah expanded their remit beyond school trips, to downloadable factsheets, maps, selected archival documents, and pedagogical brochures. The factsheets, designed as historical syntheses, covered the five themes: 'the rise of Nazism', 'the stages of the Holocaust in Europe', 'the Vichy regime and the Jews', 'prosecuting Nazi criminals' and 'other genocides of the

[538] See A. Sullivan, 'Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment', *Sociology*, 35 (2001), pp. 893-912;

twentieth century'. With the exception of the final theme, the factsheets concentrated nearly exclusively on Jewish victims, and on the process and chronology of the genocide, as opposed to the stories of individual victims or perpetrators.[539] The elected archival documents transitioned between a German, European and French history of the Holocaust, which aimed to provide an indicative sample of archival and iconographical documents that teachers could use in their lessons to develop historical reasoning and provide evidence of the collaboration of Vichy France in the Shoah.[540]

In comparison, all school groups visiting the IWM in England were sent a pre-visit film, *The Way We Lived*, to help them appreciate the Jewish culture and customs that were lost during the Holocaust, and to recognise Jews not just as victims, but as ordinary humans.[541] It introduced children to individuals present in the physical exhibition at the museum and projected a cultural memory of Jewish pre-war life by evoking a sense of society, place and time in 1920s and 1930s Europe, defining the Jewish collective past for British school children. The IWM also produced a cross-curricular resource pack entitled *Reflections*, and a student's guide to the Holocaust, *Torn Apart*.[542] The historic, ethical, civic and moral questions covered in the pack narrated the history through the stories of individuals and families, with thirty-two A4 photographs and synthesised biographies accompanying the lesson plans. With the exception of one lesson on 'the loss of rights and freedoms', the learning pack did not provide a chronology of the Holocaust, but instead the scheme of work

[539] Mémorial de la Shoah, 'Fiches Thématiques', http://www.enseigner-histoire-shoah.org/outils-et-ressources/fiches-thematiques.html (2 October 2018).
[540] Mémorial de la Shoah, 'Documents d'Archives' http://www.enseigner-histoire-shoah.org/outils-et-ressources/documents-darchives.html (2 October 2018).
[541]
[542] P. Salmons, *Reflections: The Holocaust Exhibition, A cross-curricular resource pack for teaching about the Holocaust*, (London, 2000); P. Salmons, *Torn apart a student's guide to the Holocaust Exhibition*, (London, 2000).

attempted to study the question, 'why did the Holocaust happen?'.[543] With the absence of national shame to contend with compared to Britain's European neighbours, the IWM's classroom pack did not need to document and evidence the Holocaust and instead centred on individuals, providing stories and moral dilemmas designed to humanise the Holocaust. Although the museum provided space for reflection, without a direct history of the Holocaust, there existed no formal memorial remembering the names of British victims. As such the educational material had more space to rely on emotive accounts and moral choices.[544] In France, however, a deliberate attempt was made to avoid the ambiguities of an individual's choices, motivations and morality by focusing on purely historical documents.

Both museums extended their influence via the internet, becoming digital *lieux de mémoires*. Their influence was perceptible in teachers' lessons or educational philosophy despite many never visiting the museums. In 2009, the IWM's teaching resource *Reflections* was the second most popular named resource in a survey of teachers in English secondary schools.[545] The museums were able to establish their presence inside the classroom, quite literally if schools borrowed the Memorial de la Shoah's travelling exhibitions or projected the IWM's film *The Way We Lived* to their pupils. Online learning also reduced museums' control over their narrative. The digitisation of exhibitions and museum collections democratised the process of meaning-making, and teachers were free to self-select documents and photographs and provide a counter narrative to those determined by the museum.[546] One school's student project in Marseille selected to focus their memory project on the Holocaust on *les juifs arabes*, whose history was absent in the museum exhibit, but was close to the students' North

[543] Salmons, *Reflections*, (London, 2000).
[544] This is discussed further in chapter 6, pp. 256-265.
[545] Pettigrew et al., *Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, p. 45.
[546] M. Henning, *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory* (Maidenhead, 2006), p. 137.

African heritage.[547] By recovering images of North African Jews arrested in Nice and Marseille who in their words 'looked just like them', they created a short film that illustrated that it could have quite as easily have been them who were arrested and deported. Likewise, a school in Bradford used sources drawn from the IWM's study guide *Reflections* to find similarities with victims from more recent genocides in Rwanda, Srebrenica and Darfur.[548] For the most part, teachers trusted museums to provide balanced historical narratives and incorporated their lesson resources and historical sources as educational and historical authorities on the subject, slowly creating a shared canon and purpose when teaching the Holocaust.

Proximity and distance at local sites of memory

Teachers usually opted to visit local museums over the national institutions located in the countries' capitals. In the case of France, local museums, archives and memorials also offered the visitor the chance to study a micro-history of the local region. Many teachers in Aix-en-Provence and Marseille looked to the Camp des Milles as their local source of Shoah history. In 1939, the Camp des Milles, a tile factory bordering the city of Aix-en-Provence was requisitioned by the French army as an internment camp for foreigners and enemies of the state. By June 1940, some 3,500 artists and intellectuals were detained there as 'enemy aliens', usually German and Austrian Jews and Nazi political opponents who had fled to the port of Marseille from the Third Reich. After the establishment of Vichy France, the camp functioned as a transit camp for 'undesirables' - mainly male Jews - between 1941 and 1942. Women and children were made to stay in several hotels in Marseille, until they were able to emigrate, usually to the United States of America. However, once emigration became

[547] Interview with Phillipe, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 29 June 2018.
[548] Interview with Luke, conducted by H. Mann, Bradford, 27 September 2018.

impossible, the camp was used to imprison all Jews in the region before they were deported to Drancy and finally to Auschwitz-Birkenau.[549] During this period thirty-three local Jewish families were interned in the Camp des Milles, who were joined by 2000 Jews from Eastern Europe.[550]

Until Serge Klarsfeld's publication of his book *Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France* in 1978, which listed the names of every Jew deported from France who died in internment camps or was executed between 1940 to 1945, there was a silence around the history of French internment camps and deportations.[551] The Camp des Milles reopened as a tile factory after the war. After the Centre d'histoire de la résistance et de la déportation opened in 1992 in Lyon, memorial museums began to recognise Jewish deportees alongside political deportees who were already celebrated and mourned for their sacrifice as members of the French Resistance. Whilst the *salle des peintures murales*, an external room decorated by imprisoned resisters and 'enemy aliens', was preserved in 1983 and a memorial wagon was installed at the site in 1992, it was only after the Papon trial in 1997-8 and the establishment in 2000 of the International Day of Remembrance for the Holocaust that the Ministry of Culture awarded the entire camp status as a historic monument in 2004 for its immediate protection and preservation. Plans to develop a memorial and education centre at the Camp des Milles were discussed from 2002 and the educational centre was finally opened by the French Prime Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault on 10 September 2012.[552]

[549] A. Fontaine, *Le camp d'étrangers des Milles : 1939-1943* (Aix-en-Provence, 1989), pp. 136-8.
[550] J. Lubetzki, *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation allemande* (Paris, 1945), index
[551] S. Klarsfeld, *Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France* (Paris, 1978).
[552] 'Camp des Milles : la mémoire de la déportation' *La Provence* (10 September 2012).



Figure 5.9, Camp des Milles

The memorial's primary purpose was education, with a strong emphasis on active citizenship. Its mission was to 'increase the vigilance and responsibility of each of us in the face of racism, antisemitism and fanaticism of every kind'.[553] It heralded civic resistance to prejudice using the history and memory of the Camp des Milles, the history of the Armenian and Rwandan genocides and examples of contemporary discrimination in France to encourage pupils to reflect on their capability to react to prejudice and atrocity crimes. The museum was therefore divided into three parts: a museum dedicated to the history of the camp and the history of the Shoah, a memorial situated over three floors where people were interned and a reflective area. In the final section, pupils studied the stages of genocide, the concept of a bystander and the exhibit asked pupils to reflect on what they would do if similar crimes were to happen in their lifetime.

The locality of the memorial was important, not only for practical purposes, but because its proximity was able to underscore the horror of genocidal crimes. Hélène, who taught in a

[553] Camp des Milles, '30 ans de combat contre l'oubli et l'ignorance', http://www.campdesmilles.org/fondation-30-ans-de-combat.html (12 May 2018).

multicultural school in Marseille, used the centre to bridge some of her students' reluctance to learn about the Shoah.

> Et là, quelque soient les origines des élèves, une espèce d'indignation en générale, parce que justement là, on les amène dans des lieux comme ça, on leur montre les images de l'histoire presque locale qui a plus de sens pour eux. C'est vraiment important. [554]
>
> [And there, whatever the origins of the students, a kind of general indignation [is felt], because precisely there, we bring them to places like that, we show them the images of the almost local history that makes more sense to them. It's so important.]

The local connection to the Shoah made the history more abhorrent to her pupils. They were no longer irrelevant, or the same Jews that her pupils associated with the current Israeli/Palestinian conflict, but historic neighbours of the teenagers, who too had faced injustice at the mercy of the French.

In tandem with the proximity of the camp, the memorial provided an immersive experience for pupils, where they could imagine the lives of the camp's prisoners through their physical reactions. Its temperature and darkness made the memorial uncomfortable, spooky, and explained the tragedy of forced imprisonment better than a textbook, film or image. The former ovens and roof of the factory formed the memorial. In 1942, male prisoners were forced to sleep in the clay tile ovens whilst women and children were imprisoned in the attic and roofs of the factory. The dark, cold, damp and dusty furnaces and corridors were eerie, and dramatically transported the visitor from the sunny and bright landscapes of Provence, to the dark depths of the Second World War. Remnants of human activity were visible in the ovens, despite their industrial use until the 1980s. Pupils could see the paintings and graffiti of the prisoners, many of whom were German and Austrian intellectuals and artists, interned in France as enemy aliens between September 1939 to June 1940 before the camp was

[554] Interview with Hélène.

refashioned as a camp for ‘undesirables’ in 1940 and finally a Jewish deportation camp in 1942.



Figure 5.10 Camp des Milles memorial component



Figure 5.11 Graffiti drawn by camp prisoners in the Camp des Milles sleeping quarters

Alexandre took his students to the Camp des Milles every year after it opened. He had taught in Marseille after finishing his teacher training, but now taught in a more affluent school in Aix-en-Provence. His described his school in Aix as less troubled by violence, drugs, poverty and unemployment than his school in Marseille, but also more diverse. According to Alexandre, his former school was entirely populated by pupils from the Maghreb whilst his school in Aix had white pupils, pied-noirs, *issus d'immigration* and a great diversity of background, nationality, memory and identity. His academic interest was in geography rather than history, and this meant that he preferred teaching modern and contemporary history, including the Shoah, a topic he described as 'bizarrely easy to teach'.[555]

> Notamment, quand ils sont au Camp des Milles, ils ont senti qu'il faisait très froid. Et ils étaient habillés. Et là, ils comprennent, mais [les internés] y avaient juste une petite tenue. Oui ils n'avaient rien. Là faisait froid, voila, ça passe par l'immersion, lors des sentis… C'est toujours délicat se mettre en place... c'est n'est pas pareil. Moi, je trouve ça… un peu déplacé. Mais, pour les enfants ça aide à comprendre. Ils n'ont pas la capacité d'abstraction.[556]
>
> [Notably, when they were at Camp des Milles, they felt that it was very cold. And they were dressed. And there, they understand, but [the internees] had only a few clothes. Yes, they had nothing. It was cold, it happens by immersion, when feeling… It is always difficult to position oneself... it is not the same. Personally, I find that a little… inappropriate. But for the kids it helps to understand. They do not have the capacity for abstraction.]

The immersive encounter was of paramount importance to Alexandre. His pupils' sense of cold added to their experience, as, he believed, it took them beyond their capacity for an intellectual understanding of internment camps to a physical understanding. He acknowledged that there was a significant distance between the experience of a 'post-camp' space and the lived experience of a prisoner in 1942 that rendered claims of authenticity and discomfort awkward.

[555] Interview with Alexandre.
[556] Interview with Alexandre.

Despite Alexandre's reservations about 'authenticity', he recognised the power of the immersive experience for his students, who, he believed, struggled to imaginatively reconstruct historical settings. Alexandre explained further:

> [On] fait partie aussi de toute cette mémoire, mémoire esthétique, mémoire physique, la mémoire auditive, la mémoire visuelle. Un prof d'histoire, quand on enseigne, [on] joue sur tout ce mémoire-là. Il y eu un silence… quelque chose qui se passe. Soit issus des immigrations soit ceux qui se posaient des questions sur le conflit israélo-palestinien qu'on conçoit sont pas de tout sensible à ça ce qui se passait dans cette mémoire-là physique. Elle marche bien.[557]
>
> [We are also a part of all this memory, aesthetic memory, physical memory, auditory memory, visual memory. As a history teacher, when you teach, you play on all that memory... something happens. Either those from immigrant backgrounds or those who were wondering about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that you can imagine do not fully appreciate what was happening in that physical place of memory. It works well.]

Alexandre understood that it was memory rather than history that surrounded him and his pupils when visiting the Camp des Milles. However, memory had the capacity to engage, entrance and move his pupils to great effect. Ethnographers Shanti Sumartojo and Matthew Graves, who conducted a sensory ethnography of the site, concluded that 'the sound, smell, look, taste and feel of memory sites are a vital aspect of how we encounter and make sense of them.'[558] The site could not only be described as a local *lieu de mémoire* as described by Nora, but the memorial encouraged physical responses whereby the pupil could embody the memory, whilst walking through the dark, damp and cold corridors.[559] Memory scholars have instead increasingly considered how the past is transmitted and understood on a multi-sensual level and the ways sense can magnify the ethical involvement of the visitor beyond their cognitive interactions with the past.[560] Alexandre, for example, observed on prior school trips

[557] Interview with Alexandre.
[558] S. Sumartojo and M. Graves, 'Rust and dust: Materiality and the feel of memory at Camp des Milles', *Journal of Material Culture*, 23/3 (2018), pp. 328-343.
[559] P. Nora, 'Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (1989), p. 12.
[560] L. Freeman, B. Nienass and R. Daniell, 'Memory, materiality, sensuality', *Memory Studies*, 9/1 (2017), p. 9; See also K. Schlunke, 'Memory and materiality', *Memory Studies*, 6/3 (2013), pp. 253–261; Sturken, 'Memory, consumerism and media', pp. 73–78.

that the weight of the memory caused students to physically 'fall down' and lower their head, and to walk in silence. He believed this physical, emotional response was the transformative moment that triggered feelings of care and sympathy for the victims of the Holocaust, which could be translated into empathy for Jews today or a more nuanced understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict if they recognised a history of Jewish suffering. The immersive and physical memory connection was more about the present than about learning about the past, something that was disquietingly clear to Alexandre, but less obvious to his pupils who, he thought, required the physical experience to construct their historical imagination. Buoyed by the *devoir de mémoire* concerning the Shoah, these school trips broke away from French traditions of cognitively engaging with history and memory and instead manufactured an emotive, 'immersive' and 'authentic' experience.

Outside of London, there existed very few memorials or museums to the Holocaust in England until the Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre opened at the University of Huddersfield in 2018. The notable exception was Beth Shalom, since named the National Holocaust Centre and Museum, which opened in 1995 as the first Holocaust museum in England. It was situated in Laxton, a small village in Nottinghamshire, 20 miles from the city of Lincoln. Its founders, brothers Stephen and James Smith, were inspired to open the memorial and museum because of their shock at the magnitude of the event and at their own ignorance after a visit to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem in 1991. James explained,

> Because of own identity growing up in the Church [we thought] that Christians were being persecuted by the Nazis, because [we learnt of] this Christian family that ended up in a concentration camp. We kind of somehow managed to miss the point that they were put in a concentration camp because they were rescuing the Jews… we decided that we can't just walk away from [Yad Vashem] and not do something.[561]

[561] Interview with James Smith, conducted by H. Mann, Retford, 22 June 2017.

As non-Jews, however, they found themselves as 'outsiders' to the early Holocaust education initiatives of the 1990s,

> We were two kids living like, we grew up in a little mining village and the we moved to an even more parochial place [Laxton], and you know, we barely knew who our MP was, never mind connected to the kind of work that Grenville Janner was doing in London… We tried by the way, I even went along to like, Jewish society stuff at University, but I felt pretty awkward doing that as well. "I'm not Jewish, why am I going along here."[562]

Consequently, they established an educational centre in the Methodist Christian retreat centre their parents had been running for the previous ten years, which Stephen Cooke argues can be seen as a symbol of atonement for the part that Christianity played in the Holocaust.[563] The Smith brothers similarly detected 'purposeful ignorance' in British society, perpetuated by what Stephen Smith called 'victor's syndrome' that led him to believe that they needed to confront the Holocaust as something connected to British memory of the war. As such they hoped to awake 'a non-Jewish public from its apathy.'[564] Critical that neither the government nor the Church had done something, they initially fundraised entirely outside of the Jewish community, believing that it should be the 'non-Jewish world that takes responsibility'.[565]

The centre's permanent Holocaust exhibition was designed between 1992 and 1995, and narrated the rise of Hitler, the rise of antisemitic persecution and the progression of the genocide. School groups explored the centre's exhibition to provide them with a historical grounding before meeting a Holocaust survivor, following the Smith's own impactful experience. James explained,

> Stephen began to meet some survivors. Leon Greenman for example… I'll never forget the day he came back and he bought me an audio tape, and I was like listening

[562] Interview with James Smith.
[563] S. Cooke, 'Beth Shalom: Re-thinking History and Memory', *The Journal of Holocaust Education,* 8/1 (1999), p. 28.
[564] S. Smith, *Making Memory, Creating Britain's First Holocaust Centre* (Newark, 1999), p. 74.
[565] Interview with James Smith

> to it in my car going up to Leeds. It was just like, mind-blowing. I mean today you hear Holocaust survivors everywhere, but in those days, we had never heard of, we didn't even know there were Holocaust people that had survived this and lived in this country. And we were just in awe, crying about his little son and his wife who disappeared in Auschwitz, and it was just like a man with a cockney accent from the East End of London.[566]

They learnt that survivors made the Holocaust 'real' and centred its memory in Britain. Survivors formed the bedrock of the centre for nearly twenty-five years, and still in 2018, Holocaust survivors talked to school pupils every day and testimony was used as a primary form of education.[567] In 2017, the centre embraced new interactive technologies, developed by Stephen Smith in the IWitness educational Programme at the Shoah Foundation at the University of Southern California, to allow students to meet a 'holographic' Holocaust survivor.

The survivor talks were a major attraction for teachers in Lincolnshire. For example, history teacher Tony had taken school trips to Beth Shalom between its opening in 1995 and his retirement in 2015. Tony started teaching the Holocaust in 1988 with the introduction of GCSE coursework, because it was a 'bountiful' subject full of sources and documents. His coursework focused on what he saw as the key question, 'who was responsible?'[568] Tony was keen to include school trips in his GCSE course for history and used them to sell the GCSE option to his year nine history classes. Alongside a history trip to Leeds to see a performance of the First World War drama *Journey's End*, where pupils could go shopping in the afternoon, Tony would tell his classes about the life-changing opportunity to meet a Holocaust survivor. It was unclear which of the two trips sold the course better to his students, but Tony was certain that taking his pupils to Beth Shalom represented the ultimate learning opportunity. The centre was equipped with a friendly café, a memorial rose garden

[566] Interview with James Smith.
[567] Interview with James Griffiths, interviewed by H. Mann, Laxton, 6 January 2016.
[568] Interview with Tony and Sheila.

with flowers planted in memory of individuals or entire communities. Following Jewish traditions of mourning, visitors were invited to 'take a stone and place it in the memory of the one and a half million children whose lives were needlessly wasted.' The centre encouraged school groups to perform rituals of remembrance with survivors, and teachers and pupils could share lunch with survivors in the café before the talks. Beside a museum, Beth Shalom functioned as a community centre, bringing together different generations, the traditions of Christianity and Judaism, to form a space where relationships could be made which extended the traditional discipline of history education. Tony explained,

> [that's why] we visit Beth Shalom, getting as many children exposed to survivors, to hear their story… and also the connections we made, because we regularly went to Beth Shalom, we made a point of that, and seeing the impact on students, it was always when we got off the bus at the end of the day.[569]

Sheila taught history in the same school and was equally convinced about the trip's social and spiritual value. She responded to Tony by saying, 'oh no, it was the stones, putting the stones. I haven't been there for ages and I was just wondering how many there are now'. [570] This ritual act of placing stones in memory of a child victim created an 'embodied' memory that incorporated the visitor into the memorial as a 'rememberer' and a mourner.[571] It allowed for a collaboration between the present self and the expression of the past, particularly for the teachers who watched the pile of stones grow over their many visits.[572] Sheila and Tony responded positively to the memorial aspect of the centre. Though the visits were scheduled to coincide with their lessons on the 'Rise of Hitler', they also stood alone in the teacher's

[569] Interview with Tony and Sheila.
[570] Interview with Tony and Sheila.
[571] See J. Boyarin, *Remapping memory: The politics of TimeSpace*, (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 20-26.
[572] Boyarin, *Remapping memory*, p. 22.

scheme of work as something unique, where school pupils could self-reflect and engage in remembrance.



Figure 5.12 Children's memorial, Beth Shalom/National Holocaust Centre

After 2014, the centre struggled to attract as many secondary school groups due to the diminishing number of school trips and changes in school history curriculum, which pressured several schools to condense the Key Stage Three curriculum into two years (years seven and eight), as lessons on the Holocaust were traditionally placed at the end of the year nine school programme.[573] Several schools cancelled all school trips to limit teaching to the classroom, where progress could be tangibly measured using criteria provided by Ofsted. In contrast, youth visitor numbers at the Camp des Milles grew thirty percent after 2014.[574] Although teachers in France were under pressure to prepare their students for the Brevet at the end of the *troisième*, and for their *baccalaureate* in the *lycée*, the Shoah was ingrained into both the middle school and high school programmes so that the topics had to be taught at particular ages, as part of a unified school programme. The segregation of middle school and

[573] Interview with James Griffiths.
[574] G. Rof, 'Parler au présent, le défi des sites mémoriels', *Le Monde*, (29 May 2018) https://www.lemonde.fr/education/article/2018/05/29/parler-au-present-le-defi-des-sites-memoriels_5306375_1473685.html (23 July 2020).

high school meant that it was physically impossible to fold different school year programmes together, and there were more opportunities across year groups to visit the site.

While in Provence, every participating teacher bar one took school groups to Camp des Milles, in England, Beth Shalom was much more popular in Lincolnshire than in Leeds/Bradford. This was partly an issue of distance, as Leeds and Bradford were both around sixty miles from Laxton. However, according to the centre's education manager, the centre also attracted more schools from towns across the East Midlands than schools in the neighbouring cities.[575] The multitude of museums and cultural spaces within these urban centres perhaps dissuaded school teachers from hiring coaches and travelling to a village over an hour away. The lack of interest may have also related to race and racism. With a far higher percentage of ethnic minority pupils in Leeds and Bradford, teachers did not need to use the example of the Holocaust to teach about the dangers of racism. This differed in France where transmitting the memory of the Shoah was a national responsibility. Whilst schools in multiracial Marseilles might not have required the example of the Holocaust to teach about anti-racism, teachers believed Camp des Milles to be a useful and necessary site to redress history.

Only Julien, a teacher from a school that was categorised as a *Zone d'Education Prioritaire*, was uneasy about the educational activities provided by the Camp des Milles. This did not relate to the history or memorial aspect of the centre, but their pedagogical approach. He explained,

> Je pourrais y retourner mais je ne sais pas... parce que je crois qu'on est une pédagogie basse. Le lieu est génial... mais quand on propose à des élèves une visite guidée qui dure deux heures, deux heures et demie, des élèves de lycée professionnel qui sont en difficulté scolaire, sont en échec pour la plupart, ils ne tiennent pas. De plus ils diront

[575] Interview with James Griffiths.

> rien mais ne écoutent plus. Si jamais les élèves sont plus turbulents ils se font remarquer et il se passera mal.[576]
>
> [I could go back there but I don't know... because I think they have poor pedagogy. The place is great... but when we offer students a guided tour that lasts two hours, two and a half hours, vocational high school students who are struggling academically, failing for the most part, can't concentrate. What's more, they will say nothing but no longer listen. If the students start to misbehave, they stand out and it will go wrong.]

His concerns related to his students' academic ability which was compounded by the educational deprivation in the school's neighbourhood. The traditional *cours magistral* style of teaching was still popular in most schools in France, and only a minority of teachers talked about group work, pedagogy and different learning styles. Julien taught history to groups of students training to enter non-academic vocations, and usually these were students who had not performed well in formal, traditional classrooms. The Camp des Milles was staffed and directed by academics, many of whom held PhDs, and succeeded in the traditional setting of a French school. They saw their role as transmitters of knowledge that could in turn challenge behaviours and attitudes. Unlike Beth Shalom, where students could explore the museum exhibition and memorial gardens at their own pace, completing activity worksheets to direct and maintain the students' focus, school visits at the Camp des Milles were controlled and managed by an educator who would lead a school group to different places in the museum and deliver short lectures.

Though the different approaches related to the contrasting pedagogical cultures in England and France, it also connected to the purpose of the two museums. Beth Shalom wanted to bring the British public out of its 'apathy' and confront pertinent moral questions in history and today. It had a spiritual component by attempting to build new bonds between a historically Christian country with their Jewish residents. Its objectives were achieved

[576] Interview with Julien.

through self-reflection. Allowing pupils to choose for themselves events, images or testimonies from the exhibition that interested them, they had a greater chance to explore the more general moral questions the exhibition posed. Unlike at Beth Shalom, *laïque* principles meant that education at Camp des Milles could have no religious overtones. Its reflective 'citizenship' pedagogy was framed as a multidisciplinary, intellectual exercise informed by a board of academics and historians, far removed from the grassroots Christian-Jewish dialogue that established Beth Shalom.[577] In Camp des Milles, the site of specific and complicated history that told the story of the establishment of the Vichy regime, there was a greater pressure that pupils should leave the museum with knowledge of specific events so that the museum achieved its *devoir de mémoire*.

Conclusion

The power of institutional memory lies in its materiality. Teachers believed that their students could access the history of the Holocaust if they interacted with its memory through an embodied experience. Their pupils orientated themselves around places and senses, given that 'we rarely remember through ideas only, but rather through our encounters with things and through embodiments and disembodiments collected in material traces and objects'.[578] Visiting a museum, particularly when it involved a memorial aspect, served as a collective commemorative ritual. Teachers appreciated these sites for the opportunity to 'experience history' by embodying its memory.[579]

In France, teachers heightened the sensory experience. At Camp des Milles, pupils were encouraged to feel the cold, smell the damp, dust and rust, and walk through the tunnels and

[577] S. Smith, Making Memory, pp. 19-23; Camp des Milles, 'Conseil scientifique', http://www.campdesmilles.org/fondation-cs.html (14 February 2020).
[578] Freeman, Nienass and Daniell, 'Memory, materiality, sensuality', pp. 3-4.
[579] P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 44, 48-9.

corridors in the dark. Visits to Auschwitz were purposely organised in January or February, when the camp would be covered in a thick sheet of snow, to emphasise suffering at the camp. Remembrance that is triggered by sensory encounters disturbs the individual's standard thought processes and transports the learner to imagine difference places and time periods.[580] Pupils could imagine the routine difficulties and challenges individuals faced at the time, as well as the broader narratives and chronology provided by textbooks. =. In each case, the pupil became the witness.

In both countries, institutions provided guidance and inspiration for Holocaust lessons, both at memorial sites, and in the classroom as authorities on Holocaust education and history. They set parameters for standards of 'correct' engagement with the Holocaust and appropriate pedagogies. Teachers were free to plan their own lessons and resources, but if they lacked time or confidence, they were offered free and safe options to use in their classroom. It provided opportunities for the teacher to adapt the lessons and provide counter-narratives that expanded the memory of the Shoah to involve their students' identities. In most cases, the museums promoted the liberal democratic values of the nation, which compounded many teachers' sense of purpose, and exercised their underlying motivation to teach history. Their school visits resembled a ceremony of remembrance. Out of respect for the victims, survivors and the 'duty' to remember (in France), their interaction was uncritical and credulous, paradoxically so when a key objective of Holocaust education was to *réagir* [react].

[580] D. Drozdzewsk, S. De Nardi and E. Waterton, 'Geographies of memory, place and identity: Intersections in remembering war and conflict', *Geography Compass*, 10 (2011), pp. 447–456.

Chapter 6: Holocaust representations: expectations in storytelling

To trace the endless number of Holocaust representations in novels, films, literature, documentaries, movies, memoirs and comics is a near-impossible task. For Yehuda Bauer, representation of the Holocaust had become a common feature on the Western cultural landscape by the 1990s.[581] By 2000, its cultural manifestation had been described as ubiquitous.[582] According to Tim Cole, 'the "Holocaust" has saturated Western culture to such an extent that it appears not only centre stage, but also lurks in the background.'[583] From the mid 1990s, history teachers were surrounded by depictions, images and stories of the Holocaust in professional, private and social settings. Seventy-six percent of teacher respondents to a CfHE survey in 2009 used cinema to teach the Holocaust, while a further seventy-three percent used 'resources developed from my own reading' (other than textbooks)'.[584] Whilst no such survey was conducted in France, in my interviews in both England and France, teachers regularly referenced books, films and television programmes which influenced their thinking and pedagogy.

The Holocaust has been mediated, and indeed constructed through culture: through film (including documentaries, cinema, teledramas and televised broadcasts of Nazi trials) and through texts (written testimonies, novels, comics, digital stories, children's literature, poetry and diaries). Cultural manifestations and stories of the Holocaust are thus plentiful. They hold mnemonic power by communicating the history of the Holocaust in an empathetic format,

[581] Y. Bauer, 'The Significance of the Final Solution', in D. Cesarani (ed.), *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (London, 1994), p. 306.
[582] T. Cole, *Selling the Holocaust* (Abingdon, 2000), p. 2.
[583] Cole, *Selling the Holocaust*, p. 2.
[584] Pettigrew et al., *Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, pp. 46-7.

permeating history through the recreated lived experience of individuals.[585] Film, prose and testimony have all functioned in educational settings: as mediums of remembrance, as objects of remembrance, and even conceptually in the French *lycée* history programme, as vehicles to observe and analyse the production of cultural memory. This chapter explores how teachers choose and use stories of the Holocaust and negotiate the ethics of Holocaust representation in their classrooms.

Very few people have a personal memory of the Holocaust, yet many people are able to remember an image of the Holocaust, including details about the geography and architecture of concentration camps, the behaviour of the SS guards and the physical sensations of prisoners such as cold, hunger, and exhaustion.[586] Their memory is not organic, but a mediated experience; they are not accumulated through the act of witnessing, but because they have acquired memories through images, literature, memoir, and through film. The term 'prosthetic memory' was coined by the American cultural historian Alison Landsberg to describe the emotional and immersive process of watching a cinematic recreation of an historical or real-life event. The word 'prosthetic', meaning substitute or artificial part, suggest historical memories created through film 'do not come from a person's lived experience in any strict sense', but nevertheless comprise our shared and individual memory of an event. Through narrative and emotion, they tell a story about the past and bestow a memory which the audience both possess and are possessed by.[587] Whist all memory is

[585] A. Erll and A. Rigney, 'Literature and the production of cultural memory', European *Journal of English Studies*, 10/2 (2006), p. 111-115.
[586] A. Landsberg, 'Prosthetic memory: total recall and blade runner', *Body and Society*, 1/3-4 (1995), p. 175.

[587] Landsberg, 'Prosthetic memory', p. 176.

mediated, cinema provides the opportunity for entire groups and generations to share the same historical narrative, imagery, plot line and, to some extent, emotional response.

This chapter argues that teachers use film and individuals' stories to formulate a prosthetic memory of the Holocaust, at times replacing 'authentic' history and 'organic' experiences and documents with those mediated by the moving image. It examines the different genres of Holocaust novels, diaries, memoirs and films that were adopted by different nationalities and generations of teachers, and the impact of 'storytelling' on how they taught history and narrative when teaching the Holocaust. As Efraim Sicher has argued, 'collective memory cannot be divorced from its construction in culture', and its influence on teachers' memory was vast and myriad.[588] This chapter argues that the reach of some cultural media, such as *Schindler's List* and *The Diary of Anne Frank,* was so widespread in England that they became signposts in cultural memory of the Holocaust, creating an expectation that teachers should share these narratives rather than the history of the Holocaust itself. Whilst cinematic representations were largely rejected in France, a small group of teachers made exceptions for films that allowed France to move beyond its shame as an occupied and collaborating nation.

Cultural expectations

English and French teachers most frequently mentioned the film *Schindler's List* (*La Liste de Schindler*) and the book *The Diary of Anne Frank* (*Le Journal d'Anne Frank*), though *Schindler's List* was more popular among English than French teachers. Teachers working in the 1980s and early 1990s taught in an era before *Schindler's List*, yet the film was so dominant in some teachers' memory that it had almost erased their memory of teaching the Holocaust before its release. In the mid 1990s, schools across England organised screenings

[588] E. Sicher, 'The Future of the Past: Countermemory and Postmemory in Contemporary American Post-Holocaust Narratives', *History and Memory*, 12/2 (2000), pp. 56-91.

for year groups, and the film has remained a regular source in many Holocaust classes. The *Diary of Anne Frank* has mediated the history of the Holocaust to children since the book's translation into English and French in the 1950s. In both cases, the transnational, transcultural and transgenerational reach of the two publications gave rise to mnemonic expectations about the Holocaust. *Schindler's List* created a 'prosthetic' image of Auschwitz that dominated many English teachers' representations of the Holocaust and there was an expectation across both countries to be familiar with Anne Frank's name and image.

Schindler's List

The Hollywood film *Schindler's List*, directed by Steven Spielberg, was released in the United Kingdom and France in 1994 to great popular response. The film generated $21,170,107 in Britain and $17,233,433 in France, surpassed in revenue only by the United States, Germany and Japan. It recounts the story of Oskar Schindler, a Sudeten-German businessman, who saved the lives of more than a thousand mostly Polish Jewish refugees from Auschwitz concentration camp by employing them in his factories during World War II. As a Hollywood film, *Schindler's List* was the first cinematic representation of the Holocaust to have global reach.

In France, the film was immediately compared to *Shoah*, a film produced in 1985 by the French Jewish director Claude Lanzmann. His masterpiece, according to French sociolinguist Jacques Walter, 'functions as a reference, if not as the orthodox in the genre of audio-visual representations of the Holocaust.'[589] His description was particularly resonant in France where the film, despite its international range of settings and witnesses, is proudly regarded as a French cultural production. Lanzmann compiled decades' worth of interviews with

[589] J. Walter, 'La liste de Schindler au miroir de la presse', *Mots*, 56 (1998), p. 70.

Holocaust witnesses, survivors and perpetrators into a nine-and-a-half-hour *chef-d'oeuvre* that interspersed testimony with shots of landscapes of former camps. Considering memory as the only legitimate representation of the Holocaust, Lanzmann and others fiercely critiqued *Schindler's List* for recreating and misrepresenting the 'evil' of the Holocaust, whilst glorifying saviours whose narratives were the rare exception.[590] The film's inauthenticity and impurity of memory, coupled with Lanzmann's critique, stifled the film's use as an educational resource in France. Whilst Andy Pearce argued that the media response in the United Kingdom included similar critiques, he noted that its flaws were often balanced with its assumed role in tackling social ills. According to Pearce, commentators on the film instead suggested that it should play a pedagogical role in 'securing the future of Holocaust consciousness' and that it was readily accepted that 'seeing' equated with 'learning', and 'learning' with 'remembering'.[591] The film's utility as an educational tool echoed calls in the United States of America, where pleas were made from Steven Spielberg and President Bill Clinton for every school pupil to watch the film. In the United Kingdom, the film was awarded a 'fifteen certificate' in 1995, owing to its 'strong language, violence and emotional distress'.[592] However, the HET sent a censored video copy to every school in 1995, having removed the sex scene between Oskar Schindler and his lover, while in France, the Centre National du Cinéma recommended the film for use in *collèges*.

In stark comparison to France, several teachers in England spoke of the importance of *Schindler's List* in their lessons on the Holocaust, and nearly all teachers in England

[590] L. Rohter, 'Maker of 'Shoah' Stresses Its Lasting Value', *The New York Times*, (6 December 2010) https://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/07/movies/07shoah.html (24 July 2020).
[591] Pearce, Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain, p. 194.
[592] British Board of Film Classification, 'Schindler's List' https://www.bbfc.co.uk/releases/schindlers-list-1970-1 (20 February 2019).

referenced the film as one that they had watched. This was analogous to the results of the national survey of teachers in the United Kingdom in 2009 which found that the most commonly cited resource for teaching the Holocaust was *Schindler's List*. Of the 127 practitioners who made reference to the film, fifty-one believed it was their most useful resource.[593] Among teachers that I interviewed, nearly all had watched the film, and those who taught in the 1990s and 2000s showed the film to their classes. Following its release, its social gravity meant that teachers believed its importance extended beyond the history classrooms and was germane to the whole school. This was the case for Stuart, who taught in Lincoln during the 1980s and 1990s and now worked as a teacher trainer on the History PGCE course at the University of Hull. In 1994, following the release of the film in the United Kingdom, Stuart took a group of around two hundred school children to watch the film in a cinema.

> When I was teaching… as head of department, *Schindler's List* came out … and the Head said, right take them. But that was good in a way... But there was no context, it was just take them and watch them. And we didn't have any time to do any follow up or any lead into it. So, if I did it now, I would do it in a very different way.[594]

In the mid 1990s, the film was a trusted method of teaching the Holocaust to teenagers, welcomed by teachers who were unsure of what and how to teach a violent history of genocide. The film's cultural significance meant that watching *Schindler's List* overrode the importance of pupils' other lessons that day. The film provided new access to a period in history that teachers were unsure and anxious how to teach since its introduction onto the National Curriculum a year earlier. Despite significant historical scholarship by the 1990s, a scarcity of educational resources that translated the history of the Holocaust for school pupils meant that its narrative, based on a true story, sufficed as a historical record. The film

[593] Pettigrew et al., *Teaching about the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, p. 45.
[594] Interview with Stuart, conducted by H. Mann, Lincoln, 21 June 2017.

recreated a history that was otherwise described as unknowable, unimaginable or of another world. It required no context or historical introduction, and it was presumed to impart transformative historic and social lessons. For many history teachers in England in the 1990s, watching the film therefore fulfilled the National Curriculum's requirements.

The realism of the film, combined with its emotive effect, made it a powerful memory of the Holocaust. For example, for Emma from Lincolnshire, the film was her only memory of learning about the Holocaust, despite acknowledging that she 'must' have known of the history from elsewhere. When asked where she first learnt or heard of the Holocaust, Emma said,

> I remember going to see *Schindler's List* when it first came out, so I must have been probably about seventeen, eighteen when that first came out at the cinema. And I went to go and see it… And I think, well I was aware of it before, so I can't really remember at what point I was aware that this had happened. I was aware that it happened before then, but I think that really made me realise quite the extent of what it was that had happened.[595]

The film provided a 'sensually immersed knowledge' of the Holocaust that would be difficult to acquire by purely cognitive means, including via their own prior education.[596] The film's capability to visualise the temporality of the past mediated a pseudo-reality by creating a 'realistic' representation of the Holocaust, which stood in for 'authentic' images that would otherwise be constructed by historians and witnesses. Miriam Bratu Hansen argues that *Schindler's List* enhanced the fallacy of an immediate and unmediated access to the past: 'by

[595] Interview with Emma.
[596] A. Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York, 2004), p. 113.

posing as the "real thing" the film usurps the place of the actual event.'[597] In defining Holocaust memory, the film's crime is was be both believable yet inevitably fictitious.

Schindler's List was considered a 'must watch' film for older students and adults. Peter, who taught history in Lincolnshire, referenced the film as a self-evident marker in his understanding of the Holocaust. When discussing where he had come across the Holocaust in popular culture and media, he said,

> It would have probably been around about the time I was at school, maybe school sixth … that I had seen anything that was specifically to do with the with the Holocaust … and when … it becomes more obvious then you take a bit more notice of it and think oh actually I'll find out more. And then obviously *Schindler's List*, obviously, but that came up later, but yeah certainly.[598]

Stuart referenced *Schindler's List* similarly. In response to a question about what films or blockbusters he had watched, he answered, 'I have sort of gone off them. But *Schindler's List* obviously.'[599] Claire held similar expectations about the need to watch the film. She commented,

> I watched *Schindler's List* again recently. I found out that my husband hadn't watched it. I thought we had in university, but he hadn't. And it's... everybody should watch that film.[600]

They all perceived it to be 'obvious' that they had watched the film. They sensed a cultural or professional expectation to be acquainted with the most famous depiction of the Holocaust. The imagery of the film was almost as important as the history of the Holocaust. By imitating the real thing, purposefully using black and white cinematography, and reconstructing the camp of Auschwitz, the memory generated by the film replaced the embodied memory shared

[597] M. Bratu Hansen, 'Schindler's List" is not "Shoah": The Second Commandment, Popular Modernism and Public Memory', *Critical Inquiry*, 22/2 (1996), p. 301.
[598] Interview with Peter.
[599] Interview with Stuart.
[600] Interview with Claire, conducted by H. Mann, Oxford, 14 January 2016.

by those with lived experience of the camps, and as the most mainstream, publicised and enduring representation of the Holocaust, it became the dominant marker and reference point in Holocaust memory.

In France, all teachers knew of the film, but far fewer had watched it, particularly those in their twenties and thirties. They differed from their contemporaries in England where older teenagers had watched the film at school or at home in the 1990s and 2000s, almost as a 'coming of age' ritual for those interested in the history of the Holocaust. In fact, the only teachers who spoke of the film positively in France were those with extensive links to the Anglo-Saxon world. Nicolas taught in Marseille but had spent several years living in Australia and the United States and was a self-professed anglophile. He watched the film in the cinema and commented, 'après des films de fiction, il y avait *Schindler* forcément... je crois que c'est possible que j'ai été le voir au cinéma … Évidement ça me marque.'[601] ['Then, fictional films, where there was *Schindler* of course... I think it's possible that I saw it in the cinema... Obviously it moved me'] Yva taught in Aix-en-Provence but she maintained a cultural proximity to England and worked occasionally in English private schools. She was a self-confessed anglophile and had also married an Englishman. She was the only French teacher to use the film in her lessons, commenting, 'c'était plus vivant qu'un cours fait par un professeur.' [602] ['it was more stimulating than a class taught by a teacher']

In contrast to their counterparts in England, other teachers in France rejected *Schindler's List* because of its emotiveness. For example, Malik who taught in a Catholic private school in Marseille, commented,

> Les films grand public [comme *La Liste de Schindler*] ont beaucoup d'émotions. On joue sur l'émotion pour que le lecteur reste attentif mais je ne suis pas sûr que l'on

[601] Interview with Nicolas.
[602] Interview with Yva.

> comprenne réellement ce qui s'est passé. On voit le résultat mais comment ça s'est mis en place, un film hollywoodien, Je ne sais pas s'il m'a convaincu.[603]
>
> [Blockbuster films [like *Schindler's List*] contain a lot of emotion. They play on emotion so that the audience stays focused, but I am not sure that the audience really understands what happened. We see the result but not how it happened, a Hollywood movie, I am not sure if I'm convinced.]

Malik prioritised historical objectivity over engagement. His reluctance was reinforced by a general hostility to Hollywood in France.[604] According to Malik, the film's emotion detracted from its pedagogical utility. As described by Landsberg, *Schindler's List* permits a powerful emotional identification with the films' characters, but such an identification limits the possibilities for a more cognitive engagement with the specific circumstances of the 'other'.'[605] Malik believed its emotional focus prohibited the development of a cognitive understanding of the historical context that led to the creation of the Auschwitz camp.

Though most teachers in England valued their pupils' emotional engagement with the film, pedagogical authorities that celebrated the use of film in schools changed their approach in the 2010s, hoping to create more critical and engaged audiences in response to Ofsted pressure to follow 'active learning' child-centred pedagogies and an aversion to 'passive' activities.[606] For teachers, these concerns were heightened by the advance of video games which teachers believed desensitised their pupils to violence. Sally, a teacher in Lincolnshire and an active participant in the Historical Association, explained why she no longer used films in her lessons.

> I used to use a bit of *Schindler's List* years ago when I was teaching, but I don't use it anymore… Films of the Holocaust aren't actually that productive in the classroom because… When I first started teaching, you had to really prepare them for watching

[603] Interview with Malik.
[604] P. Roger, *The American Enemy: the history of French anti-Americanism* (Chicago, 2005), p. 427.
[605] Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 127.
[606] J. Beere, *The Perfect Ofsted Lesson* (Carmarthen, 2010), p. 71; J. Smith, *The Lazy Teacher's Handbook: How Your Students Learn More When You Teach Less* (Bancyfelin, 2010), p. 3.

> bits like that, but now, I don't know if they're all just hardened or they just all play these horrible games all the time, but it doesn't have an impact. It's just like 'oh yeah' and that's not what I want when I'm teaching the Holocaust. I don't want an 'oh yeah'… I think I got to the stage where it just didn't seem to be making them think.[607]

Sally's approach had changed since she started teaching in 1996. From the late 2000s, she no longer used film because she believed that it no longer shocked or engaged her pupils. Whilst Sally blamed the rise of violence mediated through television and the video game industry, her pupils perhaps no longer found the Holocaust's history to be shocking, as unlike the 1990s, they encountered it elsewhere. Outside of school, films such as *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* and *The Book Thief* were popular with teenagers and stories and videos about the Holocaust were shared over social media for young people and by young people.[608]

Sally was also concerned about her pupils' passivity, claiming that films did not encourage thinking. It was a position shared by Holocaust education organisations in the 2010s. The organisation Film Education produced the resource *Thinking Film, Thinking History* in 2013 in collaboration with the HET, which included short clips of thirteen Holocaust films integrated into historical enquiries into different aspects of the Holocaust.[609] Rather than sharing films as illustrations of history, the resource advocated a critical, engagement with Holocaust representation by examining short clippings, although even that resource was removed from the HET's website by the late 2010s. Focusing on the film *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, which had been seen by sixty-four percent of surveyed students, the CfHE's 2016 survey of what school children know and understand about the Holocaust identified cinema as the origin of many pupils' misconceptions. This included the idea that most

[607] Interview with Sally, conducted by H. Mann, Sleaford, 12 July 2017.
[608] W. Kansteiner, 'Transnational Holocaust Memory, Digital Culture and the End of Reception Studies', in T. Sindbæk Andersen and B. Törnquist-Plewa (eds), *The Twentieth Century in European Memory: Transcultural Mediation and Reception* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 321-5; Commane and Potton, 'Instagram and Auschwitz', pp. 158-181.
[609] Film Education, *Thinking Film Thinking History* (CD-Rom, 2012).

Germans did not know what was happening.[610] Uneasiness about the use of film to teach the Holocaust evolved from concerns about pupils' passivity to anxieties over their historical knowledge.

The Diary of Anne Frank

Anne Frank, having fled Germany with her family in 1933, became stateless and trapped in the Nazi-occupied Netherlands. Between 1942 and 1944 her family hid in the annex in her father's workplace until they were betrayed and arrested by the Gestapo in August 1944. Though her diary ended on 1 August 1944, Anne was transported from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where she died at the age of fifteen in February 1945. Her story was tragic and contained many 'expected' events in a Holocaust testimony: persecution, betrayal to the Gestapo, deportation to Auschwitz, and death in a concentration camp. Her diary, which chronicled her loss of freedom and hopes for the future, was translated into forty-seven different languages, and the character of Anne Frank appeared in songs, films, theatre and comics.[611] She symbolised 'good' and innocence in the good/evil binary of Holocaust memory, regularly invoked as a paradigmatic figure as a Holocaust victim, a human rights icon, a girl, a Jew, a young writer and a feminist.[612]

From the 1990s, there was a resurgence of attention on Anne Frank's memory as public interest in the Holocaust grew.[613] Her memory was maintained during the production of *Schindler's List* as during filming, Sir Ben Kingsley, who played Itzhak Stern, kept a picture of Anne Frank in his coat pocket. In 1995, Spielberg used the profits from *Schindler's List* to

[610] Foster et al., *What do students know and understand about the Holocaust?* pp. 77, 91-94.
[611] *The Diary of Anne Frank*, F. Goodrich and A. Hackcett, (Theatre, 1955); *The Diary of Anne Frank*, G. Stevens (dir.), (Film, 1959); *Anne*, L. de Winter and J. Durlacher (Theatre, Amsterdam, 2014).
[612] B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and J. Shandler, *Anne Frank Unbound: Media, Imagination, Memory* (Indiana, 2012), p. 17.
[613] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Shandler, *Anne Frank Unbound*, p. 11.

fund the documentary *Anne Frank Remembered.* In 1997, the 1955 Broadway play *The Diary of Anne Frank* was adapted and opened in Boston and Manhattan where it received the Tony Award for Best Revival of a Play. In the same year, the Jugendbegegnungsstätte Anne Frank [The Anne Frank Educational Centre] was opened in Frankfurt, where Frank was born. As a result, in 1999 the editors of *Time Magazine* selected Anne Frank was one the 'Heroes & Icons' in a special edition titled 'Time 100: The Most Important People of the Century', commenting, 'in a way, the Holocaust began with one book [*Mein Kampf*] and ended with another. Yet it was Anne's that finally prevailed.'[614] In 2005 the Merwedeplein apartment, where the Frank family lived between 1933 and 1942, opened to the public, providing tourists with Anne Frank tours across Amsterdam. By the same year, the Anne Frank House was receiving over one million visitors a year, more than the number of visitors to Auschwitz-Birkenau, fifteen percent of whom travelled from the United Kingdom and five percent from France.[615] In the 2010s, the Anne Frank icon entered the digital world, with several Twitter accounts established in her memory and even her own Facebook page.[616] Without the need for formal education, her image and memory became a global reference point for the Holocaust.

[614] R. Rosenblatt, 'The Diary of Anne Frank', *Time Magazine,* (June 14 1999).
[615] Anne Frank House, 'Annual Report 2017', https://www.annefrank.org/en/downloads/filer_public/3f/66/3f669dd5-11a0-43d1-bdae-93f0aeba507a/annual_report_2017_afh.pdf (30 August 2018).
[616] Facebook, 'Anne Frank' https://www.facebook.com/annefrankauthor (12 July 2020).



Figure 6.1 Anne Frank House Twitter account, 19 December 2016.

It is perhaps therefore surprising that her diary was rarely used as a text to teach about the Holocaust in secondary schools in history lessons in either England or France. No teachers I interviewed used the diary itself to teach the history of the Holocaust. This is not to suggest the name ‘Anne Frank’ was not mentioned. Her photo continued to adorn posters in

classrooms and was often included without context in school history textbooks. Nevertheless, though teachers knew her name and image, they did not know her biography in detail and few had read the diary themselves, especially as adults. Katy, a history teacher in her early thirties, felt guilty that she didn't like the book. She commented,

> I've never read [*The Diary of Anne Frank*]. I couldn't get into it. It's really bad. It's really bad. I tried. But I just. But I just had no... I just can't read it. It just doesn't… I think because I know the end which is ridiculous but yeah. And I encourage my students to read it. Pretend that I have. Yeah, it's really bad.[617]

For Katy to pretend to have read it, suggested that she felt an expectation and pressure to be acquainted with Anne Frank's life, words and memory. Reading the Diary equated to a form of moral value, as Katy commented, 'I couldn't get into it. It's really bad. It's really bad.' She treated the book as a novel, one in which the suspense of the story was ruined if she knew the ending, rather than a historical source to be used as evidence to interpret and evaluate. The diary's ending gave the book its cultural status as Anne Frank is betrayed to the Gestapo and dies in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, making her youthful, innocent and hopeful writing a timeless reminder of the magnitude of Nazi crimes. Katy felt ashamed for finding the book boring or inaccessible, and hid this from her students, encouraging them to read it. She believed her students should be knowledgeable about Anne Frank, even if she was not.

Linda, a teacher in Wakefield and Leeds, also made dismissive comments about aspects of Anne Frank's life and death. Linda grew up in Pudsey, on the outskirts of Leeds. She entered teaching later in her life after beginning a degree in sociology as a mature student and enrolling on a PGCE course. She trained in 2002 as part of the first cohort of citizenship teachers in the United Kingdom. Linda became interested in Holocaust education by accident, wandering into the IWM during a long lunch break whilst visiting the Houses of Parliament.

[617] Interview with Katy, conducted by H. Mann, Oxford, 21 March 2016.

It was there that she learnt about the Holocaust for the first time. Inspired by her visit, she applied to complete a fellowship at the IWM in 2006 and completed an intensive course there on the history of the Holocaust. This included visits to Yad Vashem, the state Holocaust museum in Israel, to Auschwitz-Birkenau and Krakow and to Dachau Concentration Camp.

It was as a teacher undertaking specific training on the Holocaust that Linda first encountered *The Diary of Anne Frank*. She explained,

> The first time I read [*The Diary of Anne Frank*] was when I was doing the fellowship. No, again it's really weird. Again, I kinda knew about Anne Frank, I have a feeling I knew about her, that she hid in a cupboard, but that was it.[618]

Linda recognised her name and image but knew nothing about her except that she 'hid in a cupboard'. Other teachers joked that there were similarities with the stories of Anne Frank and Harry Potter. Frank's history was remembered as if it were fiction; as a sanitised story in which her death, suffering and agony were easily forgotten. Even secondary schools that engaged with Anne Frank's memory sometimes did so without reading her diary. Her memory could be shared via inspirational quotes and hopeful diary entries that taught about the dangers of prejudice and hatred without discussing the violence of genocide. Exhibitions organised by the Anne Frank Trust told the history of the Holocaust through her biography, illustrated by photographs and diary quotes with parallel messages about contemporary racisms and divisions. Anne Frank became an icon of Holocaust memory, rather than a book or prism through which to mediate the history of the Holocaust. There was an expectation that all should be aware who Anne Frank is, as an innocent victim of Nazi persecution and genocide, without necessitating any specific knowledge of her life or death.

[618] Interview with Linda, conducted by H. Mann, Leeds, 12 October 2018.

In France, teachers infrequently used *Le Journal d'Anne Frank* in their lessons. When asked if she had read any books on the subject of the Shoah that had stuck with her, Yva, who taught in Aix-en-Provence, replied saying that she had read Anne Frank's diary as a child, a book that had touched her greatly, and she promised to herself that one day she would visit the annex she hid in. She qualified her answer with the remark, 'Évidemment tout le monde lit Anne Frank, c'est pas la Shoah…' [619] [Obviously everyone reads Anne Frank, it's not the Holocaust…] This response was surprisingly common in France. The memory of Anne Frank as a girl who hid in an annex diluted the true horror of her story. Many were unaware of or had forgotten her death from typhus in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Anne Frank's story was analogous to the experience of thousands of French Jewish children who were hidden, including the forty-four children who were hidden at the maison d'Izieu until they were found by the Gestapo under the command of Klaus Barbie. Most were deported to Auschwitz via Drancy.[620] Anne Frank's experience was very close to those of most French Jewish children who were often hidden during the war.[621] Ever since an international reunion of *enfants cachés* [hidden children] in New York in 1991, the term and experience has been recognised as a *lieu de mémoire* in France.[622] It is thus surprising that Yva proposed that *The Diary of Anne Frank* was not the Shoah. It suggests that the realities of the lived experience of the Shoah in France did not equate to its memory. Yva had forgotten Frank's death, and marginalised the experiences of the thousands of *enfants cachés* in France, whose stories and memoirs have been buried beneath narratives explicitly testifying about Auschwitz or other death or forced labour camps.[623] Like in England, history teachers who shared Anne Frank's

[619] Interview with Yva.
[620] J-C. Bailly and K. Houzé, *La colonie des enfants d'Izieu, 1943–1944* (Lyon, 2012).
[621] See D. Bailly, *The hidden children of France, 1940-1945: stories of survival* (Albany, 2010).
[622] N. Zajde, *Les Enfants cachés en France* (Paris, 2012), pp. 1-2.
[623] D. Frischer, *Les enfants du silence et de la reconstruction* (Paris, 2007).

memory did so without transmitting the details of Anne Frank's life and death. In education she became a mere symbol of the Holocaust rather than a medium of its history.

The reach of *Schindler's List* and *The Diary of Anne Frank* is an indication of a global Holocaust memoryscape as their iconography travelled across technologies and between countries.[624] The Diary and the film were non-physical *lieux de mémoire*, as defined by Pierre Nora: they became entities, 'whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.'[625] Unlike Nora's original analysis of France, these memory sites were not bounded by the nation-state, but were transnational. Their memory permeated beyond the borders of the Netherlands and Poland respectively. Yet, as the two containers of Holocaust memory travelled into two national cultures, their reception changed in response to the cultural and pedagogical landscapes.[626] In England, teachers were often comfortable replacing the history of the Holocaust with the story of Oskar Schindler. Only a few teachers expressed concern by misrepresentations of the history and experiences of the Holocaust into a story of survival whereas in France teachers were more concerned about the ethics of recreating an image of the Holocaust. Teachers' use of Anne Frank's name and image, rather than her diary and story, revealed that the expectation to be acquainted with memory sources was as strong as the need to transmit history.

[624] Erll, 'Travelling Memory', p. 14; *Global Memoryscapes: Contesting Remembrance in a Transnational Age* (Tuscaloosa, 2011), p. 13.
[625] Nora, *Realms of Memory*, p. xvii.
[626] C. de Cesari and A. Rigney, *Transnational memory. Circulation, articulation, scales* (Berlin, 2014), p. 5.

Approaching the *devoir de mémoire* through French film

In general, participating teachers in France emphasised cognitive rather than affective learning, rejecting the use of cinema except for the film *La Rafle*.[627] Though the public television channel *La Cinquième* (later known as *France 5*) started producing educational content in 1994 directed towards teachers, a survey conducted in 2004 found that history teachers were unlikely to use films, including documentaries.[628] It was a concern that was particularly acute in French Holocaust memory, not only due to the sensitivities of the topic, but also following the success and cult status of Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985) which denounced all visual recreations of the Holocaust as obscene and pornographic in contrast to the purity of testimony and individual memory.[629] Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, there was a shared agreement that French filmmakers had got it 'right', by concentrating on the emotional and academic complexities of memory as demonstrated by *Shoah*, rather than the prosthetic experiences garnered through a Hollywood style production.

Exceptions were made for *La Rafle* [*The Roundup*], a 2010 French film based on the story of a young Jewish boy who was arrested as part of the the Vel' d'Hiv Roundup of Parisian Jews by French police in July 1942. The story follows Annette Monod, a Protestant nurse who volunteered for the Velodrome and accompanies a group of children who are transported to Beaune-la-Rolande internment camp before being deported to Auschwitz.[630] Through the children's youthful innocence, the film avoids dealing with the antisemitic justifications for French Jews' internment and subsequent deportation to Auschwitz. Aixois teacher Bernard

[627] See also F. Audiger and D. Motta, 'The strange concept of affective education: a French perspective', in *Affective Education: a comparative view* (London, 1998). pp. 132–144.
[628] B. Lefebvre, 'L'enseignement de l'histoire de la Shoah dans la secondaire : état des lieux et perspectives, *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 193 (2010), pp. 109-128.
[629] C. Lanzmann, 'Holocauste, la représentation impossible', *Le Monde*, (3 March 1994), p. 1.
[630] *La Rafle*, R. Bosch (dir.), (Film, 2011).

showed an extract from the film for this first time in 2018. Since the 1990s, transferring his knowledge about the Vel d'Hiv became a vital component of his *républicain* teacher identity. He said,

> C'est un film qui est très intéressant parce que c'est un film français, *La Rafle* … Et le film est vraiment une reconstitution… Je vais leur passer la séquence de La Rafle elle-même où on commence les policiers arrivent dans le quartier et on voit tout le processus de rafle que les policiers français ont mené... Il ne faut pas occulter la responsabilité de l'Etat de Vichy, de l'Etat français. C'est quelque chose c'est une partie de notre histoire qui doit être regardé en face. Elle l'est depuis peu en France officiellement... on en parle dans les programmes depuis pas mal de dizaines d'années…. c'est Monsieur Jacques Chirac... qui a fait un discours très célèbre, très important dans sa carrière, en tant que président de la République qui a reconnu la responsabilité de l'État français dans La Rafle du Vel d'Hiv.[631]
>
> [It's a very interesting film because it's a French film, *La Rafle*... And the film is really a re-enactment… I'm going to show them the sequence of the roundup when the police arrive in the neighbourhood and we see the whole process of roundup that the French police undertook... We must not conceal the responsibility of the Vichy state, of the French state. It's something, it's a part of our story that must be directly confronted… It has only recently been accepted in France officially... it has been mentioned it in the school curriculum for only a few decades... it is Mr. Jacques Chirac... who made a very famous speech, very important in his career, as President of the Republic, who recognised the responsibility of the French state in the Vel d'Hiv roundup.]

Bernard admitted that the film was a re-enactment and therefore not history, but the film's theme gave him enough reason to still show excerpts of the film to his pupils. As a French-made film, produced with the support of the Ministry of Education and the Mémorial de la Shoah, it stood as a significant French cultural production in service of the *devoir de mémoire* and could escape the disdain placed on Hollywood creations.

Hélène also regularly showed the film to her class. She was also reaching the age of retirement and taught history in a mixed demographic school in south-central Marseille. She belonged to the same generation as Bernard, which meant that they both had taught before

[631] Interview with Bernard.

and after Chirac's 1995 speech; their sense of duty to convey French culpability was heightened compared to their younger colleagues. Her school's population was less affluent than Bernard's, and her pupils were largely unfamiliar with Holocaust cinema. Hélène used the film as a method to explain French collaboration with the Nazi regime and active perpetration of the genocide.

> En parlant du régime de Vichy souvent ils sont indignés … Après il y a eu des choses qu'on leur a montré… Les films comme *La Rafle* par exemple… Et ils comprennent donc qu'il y a eu une période noire de l'histoire de France. On parle aussi beaucoup de la résistance au contraire... une chose importante.[632]
>
> [When speaking of the Vichy regime they are often indignant... After they are shown some things... Films like *La Rafle* for example... And they understand that there was a dark period of history in France. We also talk a lot about resistance on the contrary... an important thing.]

She suggested that there was a difference between her students' discussion of the Vichy regime and of the Resistance movement. Her students' indignation towards Vichy suggested a level of shock, provoking reactions of anger, whilst all were well versed in the heroic deeds of the French Resistance. The film's narrative of Vichy crimes was accompanied by the compassion and beauty of Annette, the Protestant nurse who, echoing the symbol of Marianne, sacrificed her safety to protect French Jewish children, and by extension the values of the French Republic. The real-life Annette, a social worker nicknamed the 'Angel of Drancy' for providing care to camp internees and supporting the Resistance efforts, was awarded the Médaille de la Résistance française and the Légion d'Honneur in 1973, rather than the title of *juste parmi les nations* as suggested in the film.[633] Unlike Resnais' *Nuit et Brouillard*, the film no longer needed to awake the French public to French complicity in the Shoah, but it instead provided a narrative of French complicity and tragedy coupled with a

[632] Interview with Hélène.
[633] F. Anquetil, *Annette Monod : l'ange du Vél d'Hiv, de Drancy et des camps du Loiret*, (Maisons-Laffitte, 2018).

story of French salvation and sacrifice that recalled the good/bad binary in memory of the French Resistance and collaboration. With the sponsorship of the state and the principal authority on Shoah memory in the country, the film appealed to a traditional, conformist group of French teachers who believed in the innate virtue of the French Republican system. These teachers did not otherwise use cinema to teach history and overall followed a '*republicain*' teacher-led style of teaching that rejected pedagogical reform. However, in the case of the Holocaust, their conviction towards the memory of the Shoah overrode their objections about using cinema to teach history.

Holocaust genres: choosing between fact and fiction

It was not only film that divided history teachers in England and France on how to teach the Holocaust. Whilst novels were absent from the history classroom in France, historical fiction was popular among a subset of teachers in England. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, history educators in England started to advocate the use of historical fiction to teach history. It was argued that it provided children a 'more faithful picture of [history] than that which they infer from standard school books or even from artefacts and documents alone'.[634] From 1993, projects run by Each (English and history project) and the Historical Association encouraged young people in secondary schools to research and write their own historical fiction.[635] In England, participating teachers openly talked about historical fiction and a few history teachers used these books in their lessons, though this approach was subject to debate.[636] In

[634] V. Little and T. John, 'Historical Fiction in the Classroom', *Teaching of History Series*, 59 (London, 1986).
[635] A. Hicks and D. Martin, 'Getting under the skin: The Each Project' in F. Collins and J. Graham, J. (eds), *Historical Fiction for Children: Capturing the past* (London, 2001); 'Teaching English and History Through Historical Fiction', *Children's Literature in Education*, 28/2 (1997), pp. 49-59.
[636] V. Mills, 'Fiction, Empathy and Teaching History', *Teaching History*, 81 (1995), pp. 7-9; 'Mummy, Mummy: using our historical imagination', *Teaching History*, 169 (2017), p. 72.

France, no such collaboration between different subject departments developed.[637] Historical fiction was taught in schools, including texts on the Holocaust since 2002, but at the primary level. In every case, these stories were taught by French literature teachers rather than in the discipline of *histoire-géographe*.[638] Historical novels were present in French *lettres collège* programme and related to the periods being studied in history, and in England, English language teachers sometimes chose novels that dealt with the Holocaust.[639]

The number of novels on the theme of the Holocaust grew exponentially from the millennium. They included *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* by John Boyne, *The Book Thief* by Markus Zusak and *Sarah's Key*/*Elle s'appelait Sarah* by Franco-British author Tatiana de Rosnay, which were all subsequently adapted as films.[640] Béatrice Finet's research on children's historical fiction about the Holocaust, written predominantly by French authors between 1997 and 2009, found that many of the novels included photographs of Anne Frank's family, which Finet argues, awarded the novels an educational role by offering 'a guarantee of seriousness'.[641] However, in contrast to England where history teachers were more aware of popular historical fiction, and sometimes would have read it, in France, participating history teachers were not interested in children's and young persons' novels and texts on the Holocaust. Texts used in French secondary education were all first-hand accounts, and though Anne Frank was used fleetingly, they favoured the celebrated non-

[637] B. Finet, 'La Shoah racontée aux enfants : un cas particulier de fiction historique', *Repères*, 48 (2013), pp. 69-83 ; M. Brunel, 'La fiction historique de jeunesse et les « grands hommes » de l'Histoire : quels intérêts didactiques dans l'appropriation des savoirs en français ? Le cas Molière', *Repères*, 48 (2013), pp. 223-40.
[638] M. Jaubert, S. Lalagüe-Dulac and B. Louichon, 'Les fictions historiques : un objet littéraire, éditorial et scolaire qui interroge les frontières', *Repères*, 48 (2013), pp. 7-16.
[639] L. Laroque, 'La fiction historique dans les manuels de français du CM à la 5°', *Repères*, 48 (2013), pp. 103-119.
[640] M. Zusak, *The Book Thief* (London, 2005); J. Boyne, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas: A Fable* (Oxford, 2006). T. de Rosnay, *Elle s'appelait Sarah* (Paris, 2006); *Sarah's Key* (Paris, 2007).
[641] Finet, 'La Shoah racontée aux enfants', pp. 53-4.

fiction works of Primo Levi, Simone Veil and Charlotte Delbo who all narrated their survival of Auschwitz.

After 2008, the film *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* by John Boyne dominated debates in England about how to teach the Holocaust appropriately to young people. *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* narrates the Holocaust through the eyes of Bruno, the son of the German SS Commander of Out-With, a fictional imitation of Auschwitz-Birkenau.[642] Bruno's life is most likely based on that of Rudolf Höss's family of five children who lived in a villa beside the camp.[643] Bruno befriends Shmuel, a Jewish child prisoner of the camp who lives a strange parallel existence on the other side of the adjoining wire fence and who, like the other people there, wears a uniform of striped pyjamas. The two young boys are characterised by their innocence and ignorance to the genocide that is happening around them, and when Shmuel's father disappears from the camp, Bruno slips under the barbed wire fence to look for him. The story concludes with the roundup of the two boys and their march to the gas chamber, where they die hand-in-hand. The film adopted the expected imagery of the Holocaust - notably barbed wire, gas chambers and striped uniforms – but it was ultimately an implausible story of friendship through the barbed wire of a death camp.

The film was advertised by Miramax in tandem with Film Education as an educational film upon its release in 2008, running multiple screenings across the United Kingdom for schools and producing a wide supply of online educational resources for school teachers and pupils.[644] Twelve thousand schools received letters advertising the film and book to teachers. Its use of child characters supported the child-centred assumption that children could more

[642] *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, M. Herman (dir.), (Film, 2008).
[643] I. Baxter, *The commandant: Rudolf Hoss, the creator of Auschwitz* (Dunboyne, 2008).
[644] Film Education, 'The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas', http://www.filmeducation.org/theboyinthestripedpyjamas/ (28 July 2018).

easily identify with historical actors of their own age.[645] Though the book remained confined to English language classes, the release of the film supplied a visualisation of a concentration camp that provided the story legitimacy and value to some history teachers and increased its popularity with young people. Boyne wrote in his preface to the book that he hoped to convey the 'emotional truth', as seen through the eyes of an innocent bystander. Like Zusak's *The Book Thief*, the novel was written from the perspective of a naïve non-Jewish child for a non-Jewish audience, and therefore appealed to English school children wanting a simple roadmap to understand the Holocaust which bypassed the complexities of the rise of Nazism and simplified issues of guilt and accountability.

The popularity of the film created anxiety amongst Holocaust educators and within the British Jewish community. Writing in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Robert Eaglestone called the book, 'dangerous' by turning Auschwitz into 'a childish fable, and makes Auschwitz as unreal as Camelot or Hogwarts School', reflecting the outrage in the Jewish community that someone could fictionalise the Holocaust.[646] Eaglestone and others were angry that the story suggested that children could survive in death camps such as Auschwitz even though children were overwhelmingly deemed 'unfit for work' and selected for the gas chambers upon arrival to the camp. For Eaglestone, its worst crime was to create a false equivalence between victims and perpetrators. Fears over the impact the book and other representations may have on public memory of the Holocaust led Michael Gray to study pupils' knowledge of the Holocaust in the early 2010s. He identified that the imagery of *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* had become a recurrent theme in children's memory, with either the characters or

[645] P. Lee, 'Historical Imagination', in A. Dickinson, P. Lee and P. Rogers (eds), *Learning History* (London, 1984); M. Booth et al., *Empathy in History* (Eastleigh, 1986); R. Ashby and P. Lee, 'Children's Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History' in C. Portal (ed), *The History Curriculum for Teachers* (Basingstoke, 1987).
[646] R. Eaglestone, 'Boyne's dangerous tale', *Jewish Chronicle*, (May 23 2007).

storylines appearing in school pupils' accounts. Key terms such as 'shaved head' and 'striped pyjamas' surfaced in his surveys and interviews with English schoolchildren, with some children believing the Holocaust ended after an SS guard lost his son in the gas chamber as happens in the novel.[647] *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* created particular indignation as it failed to narrate the life of a real child victim, where errors in individual memory or diversions from the truth could be more easily forgiven.[648] At the heart of the Jewish community's anxiety was a fear that children reading or watching the story would consequentially deduce that the Holocaust itself was also a fiction.

Despite the book's translation into French in 2007, no participating teachers in France had read or watched the book or the film. Among teachers of history in England, they were divided between their love and hate for the film. Those that had undertaken training with the CfHE or the HET were united in their abhorrence of *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*. The scandal of the film served as a popular topic of conversation amongst teachers training in Holocaust education, and in light of Gray's research on the fallacies perpetuated by the book in 2013, the CfHE and the HET designed seminars to specifically address the film's popularity. Paula from Lincolnshire who trained with the CfHE commented,

> It has to be written by a historian if I am going to read about the Holocaust. I have got a big thing about that. Particularly since The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas came out... But I have got a real issue with seeing that in the context of what actually happened… You have to avoid sensationalising the whole thing. And I think, if you've got the right material, I don't think you necessarily need … any film to get across the point and the message and what happened.[649]

[647] M. Gray, *Contemporary Debates in Holocaust Education* (London, 2013), pp. 7-9
[648] A. Maws, 'There are right and wrong ways to teach about the Holocaust', *Times Educational Supplement*, (21 July 2016).
[649] Interview with Paula.

Stuart, who worked and trained with the HET, similarly hated the fictional text, and was especially angered by the ending of the film which dramatically built up to Bruno's death rather than Schmul's. He commented,

> Ah, I hate it. Absolutely hate it, and that's something I say to students. I absolutely hate it. The reason why I hate it is because it couldn't have happened. It's a fiction, and when there are so many true stories about the Holocaust, why have a fiction? And the other thing about it, and the film is worse than the book, is that you end up feeling sorry for the wrong people. And that is just a travesty.

Linda, whilst she recognised the appeal of the book, had been convinced of its fallacies whilst completing teacher training on teaching the Holocaust with the IWM, Like Stuart, Linda was cautious to conflate German and Jewish victimhoods. She remarked,

> I have a particular bug bear about The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas as being... it is an interesting story and I get why they wrote it, but when we talked about it as Holocaust educators and things like that, we sort of thought, well if it had been that easy for someone to get into the camp, then it would have been just as easy for someone to get out of the camp and it didn't happen. And the sort of conflating of various different issues.[650]

All three of these teachers had undergone significant training on how to teach the Holocaust. Linda embarked on a fellowship in 2006 at the IWM with Paul Salmons, the leading expert in educating about the Holocaust who went on to head the CfHE. Stuart completed the same fellowship in 2001, and for fifteen years worked part-time for the HET, taking school groups to Auschwitz. Paula applied for her school to become a Beacon school with the CfHE in 2015, during which she embarked on an international Holocaust history and pedagogy training course, directed again by Salmons. In sum, they had significant historical and cultural knowledge and were convinced by Salmons on the importance of historical cognisance in Holocaust understanding.

[650] Interview with Linda.

In an issue of *Teaching History*, a journal published by the Historical Association for secondary school history teachers, Salmons argued that,

> A study of the Holocaust which ignores such an explicitly historical approach not only risks distorting the past in the service of presentist aims and misses deeper and more complex meanings, but also leaves young people open to manipulation and coercion from those who use the past to push their own social, political or other agendas.[651]

For those who worked with survivors, or studied and researched the history of the Holocaust, Holocaust denial and revisionism was a constant threat and fear. The growing popularity of denial online raised the question about whether 'substandard' education on the Holocaust may in fact produce further Holocaust denial.[652] Linda was worried that the historical impossibilities in the book/film's plot would diminish any 'lessons to be learnt' from Holocaust education if her students realised that the narrative was fictional.[653] Teachers also held a number of moral concerns. Paula believed that *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* minimised the horror of the Holocaust. She regarded the film in particular as a form of entertainment and she believed that it risked belittling the Holocaust. Stuart believed that fiction was surplus to the wealth of witness testimonies and memoirs which could cover the same history using 'embodied' and authentic memories.[654] It took ownership of a period of history that was supposed to belong to survivors.

Many history teachers in England without specialist training in teaching the Holocaust were passionate about the value of the book in engaging their students. The book was influential as it was marketed successfully as an entry point to a morally and emotionally challenging topic.

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[651] P. Salmons, 'Universal meaning or historical understanding? The Holocaust in history and history in the curriculum', *Teaching History*, 141 (2010), p. 58.
[652] W. Allington, 'Holocaust Denial Online: The Rise of Pseudo-Academic Antisemitism on the Early Internet', *Journal of Contemporary Antisemitism*, 1 (2017), pp. 300-336.
[653] Interview with Linda.
[654] Interview with Stuart.

By framing Bruno as an unknowing German child who held no antisemitic sentiment, the book popularised a redemptive moral tale in which all were innocent except for a few bad Nazis. The story reflected collective memory and mythologies that had developed in England through cumulative cultural representations of the Holocaust. The film's story represented the slippery and arbitrary division between fact and fiction that appealed to some teachers seeking a 'child-friendly' moral story and angered other teachers wanting to preserve historical authenticity.[655]

Sheila, who taught on the border of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, was enthusiastic about the book's ability to engage 'the younger ones'. She commented,

> I think [*The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*] is quite good, yeah, it's quite powerful… It's one for the young ones, one that you can feel you can bring in, that's accessible for the younger ones. Permissible for the younger ones. They have all seen it. But when they get into year nine, ten, then you can show them a bit more.[656]

Sheila, like most history teachers who enjoyed *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, was referring to the film rather than the book. Its simple narrative, that rendered all characters victims and designated no blame, told an easy moral story about the innocence of all children. Bruno and Shmuel's naïvety was alluring as they explored their friendship at a horrific time in history, a friendship that was so powerful that it is able to cross all boundaries. The film included discernible 'Auschwitz' imagery, awarding it an air of authenticity, but without depicting the violence or suffering inside the concentration camp as present in *Schindler's List.* The film was therefore regarded as age-appropriate, particularly for pupils in year eight (aged

[655] R. Franklin, *A Thousand Darknesses: Lies and Truth in Holocaust Fiction* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 4, 13-14, 149, 189.
[656] Interview with Tony and Sheila.

twelve/thirteen). This was the case at Sheila's school and the film enabled teachers to present the subject of the Holocaust at an earlier age.

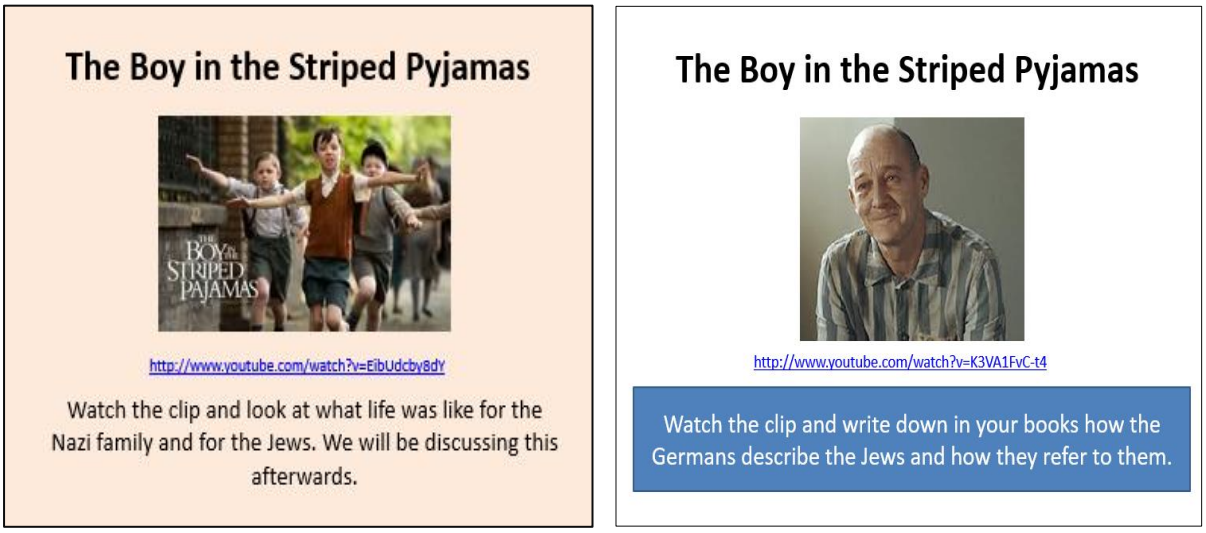


Figure 6.2 PowerPoint lesson slides from the Times Educational Supplement Resource Sharing Website, 2012.

Claire also used the film in her lessons. She remarked,

> I think the resources are better that I can put in front of them as I would have access to those kinds of photos those kinds of images before... I've got clips from *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas.* Students tend to have a baseline now when they come up. They tend to have seen something like that already in English. A bit more of a cultural perspective now.[657]

As Claire suggested, it was common for the film to replace historical sources and served as a source to comprehend the lived experience of the Holocaust. Some teachers published their lesson plans and resources on the *Times Educational Supplement* sharing platform in which they used the film as a source to comprehend the lived experience of concentration camps. Even though the film was rated as 12A, it was regarded as safe to show as it was produced for children, whilst its images and clips retained their power as they conveyed the imagined image of Auschwitz.

[657] Interview with Claire.

The story therefore appealed to teachers' desire for their pupils to easily engage and empathise with the characters. The actors spoke in British accents, making the language and filmography more accessible than archival footage or foreign films, and children were used as its protagonists. Its accessibility to English school pupils increased its appeal to teachers who followed child-centred learning orthodoxies. As the children had often read the novel in their English lessons, it was an easy starting point at which the pupils were confident to converse and the teachers could assume an equal foundation of knowledge. The geographical and temporal distance between the Holocaust and contemporary England allowed teachers to engage with 'inauthentic' moral narratives rather than historical documents. Unlike in France, teachers did not worry about secondary antisemitism: antisemitism that is caused by the Holocaust and motivated by the deflection of national guilt for which Jews are blamed.[658] Feelings of guilt and expressions of denial very rarely entered British classrooms. This rendered historical inaccuracies less important compared to in France, meaning that some teachers in England were comfortable using the novel and film *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas,* despite knowing its historical flaws. As teacher and educational researcher Michael Gray suggests, many teachers lacking Holocaust expertise may see the book/film as an 'easy, popular or even reliable way of teaching the Holocaust'.[659]

Conclusion

Books and films reimagine the Holocaust for the reader or audience, providing the learner an embodied experience that creates a prosthetic memory. The same processes of imagination,

[658] P. Schönbach, *Reaktionen auf die antisemitische Welle im Winter 1959/60* (Frankfurt am Main, 1961), p. 80.; European Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Antisemitism: Summary overview of the data available in the European Union 2003–2013* (Vienna, 2014), p. 3, fra-2014_antisemitism-update-2003-2013web.pdf (11 Feb 2019)
[659] M. Gray, 'The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas: A Blessing or Curse for Holocaust Education?', *Holocaust Studies*, 20/3 (2014), p. 131.

identification and empathy were activated whether the teacher chooses *Schindler's List, The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* or *Le Rafle.* Each of these cultural productions provided an opportunity for the learner to live the Holocaust through another's personal perspective. Differences between the two countries rested on ethics, pedagogy and duty.

In England, where the memory of the Holocaust was less charged, films provided a cathartic engagement with the Holocaust by providing a narrative with a beginning, middle and ending. They could abridge and simplify a complex history and circumvent historical complexities and legacies that did not fit in the film's storyline. The most controversial example was *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, which committed the double crimes of being both historically implausible and empathising with the wrong victim. Many teachers in England, particularly those distant from the Holocaust canon of remembrance and education, were oblivious or insensitive to these concerns. The moral qualities of the fable resonated with the universal philosophical questions that the history of the Holocaust posed to educators about values, morality and humanity. This distance was less achievable in France, where history teachers were entrusted with both the formation of French citizens and with communicating France's complicated history of resistance and collaboration in genocide. Whereas remembering the Holocaust posited moral quandaries in England about what it meant to be human, in France these questions were entangled with debates about what it meant to be French. As such, approaching this memory ethically was critical.

Different philosophies about the purpose of history education, and the subject's societal role, also impacted upon the selection and genre of teaching resource. Many English teachers' preference for a skills-based, child-centred history curriculum provided justifications for using historical fiction as an engaging entry point to learning about the Holocaust. Fiction could provide broad moral lessons and allowed the Holocaust to serve as the setting for fable.

With limited direct history of the Holocaust, there was little need to redress the past and historical truth became secondary to the exploration of humanity, evil and civilisation. In France, by contrast, the emphasis on historical knowledge meant that fiction was absent in secondary level history education throughout the 1990s and 2000s. For teachers who witnessed the Barbie Trial, the rise of the Front National under Jean-Marie le Pen in the 1980s, and felt the impact of Jacques Chirac's acknowledgement of France's crimes against humanity in their own classrooms, *Le Rafle* created an unusual space for historical fiction in their lessons. The film's accreditation by both the Memorial de la Shoah and the Ministry of Education provided it with the authority to represent history in secondary schools, in a space that had previously only been occupied by witness accounts, textbooks and documentary. However, the film's narrative, of Jewish innocence through the image of the child, Vichy cruelty, and French salvation and true values embodied by the nurse Annette Monod, provided a useful encounter which could disturb and resolve French nationhood in the space of one film.

In both England and France, national memory and sentiments also responded to global cultural memory of the Holocaust. *The Diary of Anne Frank* and films such as *Schindler's List* became symbols of Holocaust memory and created expectations on how teachers should portray Holocaust narratives, imagery and iconography. Although the Hollywood production *Schindler's List* was rejected by French teachers, in England it provided a canon for the public by which other representations of the Holocaust could be judged, and the classroom was no means immune from such expectations. In the case of Anne Frank, it was not her diary but her image and symbolism that provided cultural capital. As Astrid Erll argues, these images catered to the public by providing a semblance of 'authenticity' or 'truthfulness' by providing the teacher with a construction of the past that resonated with

cultural memory.[660] Without an awareness of these symbols and markers, their pupils would struggle to traverse the web of collective Holocaust memory and appreciate the Holocaust's significance today. This was particularly acute in England, where the nation's imagined distance from Holocaust sites and the allure of Anglophone films meant that cultural representations were the most significant medium of memory.

[660] A. Erll, 'The Power of Fiction: Novels and Films as Media of Cultural Memory', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (eds), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin, 2008), p. 389.

Chapter 7: The production of emotion in Holocaust education

In both England and France, the production of emotion was a central component of lessons about the Holocaust. Unlike many other school history topics which included examples of atrocity and death, or indeed embodied a memory of suffering, personal and emotive stories were usually part of a wider, 'academic' study of the subject rather than its central and defining component. When educating about the Holocaust many teachers aimed to produce emotion; it was often the objective of the lesson and the motivation to teach the history.

Since the widespread introduction of the study of history to school classrooms in the late nineteenth century, it has been argued that its purpose was to create a sense of pride in the 'imagined community' of the nation.[661] The secular teaching profession in France was built upon the notion that clerics could not instil or inspire pride in the nation since their *patrie* was the Church, heaven and God.[662] Thus, ever since, teachers have been employed centrally as civic servants of the Republic, tasked with the formation of nationhood, and the encompassing feelings of pride, honour and communality.[663] Likewise, in England, the production of emotion was not new to history teaching; during the First World War, schools altered their practice to promote patriotic mentalities through teaching the history of the empire and decorating the classroom with images of British soldiers and the Union Jack.[664] Emotion was of course a feature in war commemoration, often practised in schools. This focused upon the feeling of patriotism: a composite of pride and sorrow that romanticised the

[661] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 6; E. Bleich, 'Re-imagined communities? Education policies and national belonging in Britain and France' in A. Geddes and A. Favell (eds), *The Politics of Belonging* (Abingdon, 1999), pp. 63-64.
[662] P. Macherey, 'Philosophies laïques', *Mots*, 27 (1991), pp. 5-21.
[663] J. Ferry, 'Lettre aux instituteurs' (17 November 1883), in *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry* (Paris, 1893), pp. 259-67.
[664] Wright, 'Moral Education and the English Elementary School', pp. 33-34.

suffering and the sacrifice of the soldier in the trenches during both the Battle of the Somme in English memory and the Battle for Verdun in French schools. Starting in the late 1990s in French school education, national shame began to be communicated and resolved in the classroom. This trend, started in West Germany and Japan to foster democratic values and human rights after the end of the Second World War, was adopted in French education in 2002 through the introduction of Shoah remembrance in schools.[665] This chapter argues that teachers and adults envisaged that the nation could move beyond its past through young people's acts of remembrance. Their commemoration served as a ritual of atonement for the rest of the nation. Though Holocaust remembrance was introduced into English schools in 2001, lower levels of national shame produced a universalised model of remembrance that focused on the emotional development and self-reflections of the individual, rather than the collective, rememberer.

Emotional responses also related to citizenship, as teachers attempted to create citizens out of their pupils. Margit Pernau and Helge Jordheim's global survey of emotional life reveal common perceptions of 'civility' as learnt rather than natural, and conditioned by education systems as well as self-education.[666] Emotion and 'civility' connect in particular to the child and the adolescent, not least as they are the only age-periods in which states can inform and shape the citizen through compulsory state-education systems. With expanded franchises, young people needed to be moulded into mature, democratic citizens, meaning that they were usually viewed as the next generation of adults rather than beings with selfhood.[667] According

[665] M. Zembylas, 'The politics of shame in intercultural education', *Education, citizenship and social justice*, 3/3 (2008), pp. 263–280.
[666] M. Pernau and H. Jordheim, 'Introduction' in M. Pernau and H. Jordheim et al. *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth-century Asia and Europe* (Oxford, 2015) p. 14.
[667] H. Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 3-4; K. Vallgårda, K. Alexander and S. Olsen, 'Emotions and the Global politics of Childhood', in S. Olsen (ed.) *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 12, 21.

to historian Laura King, shifts in standards, particularly around the Second World War, were often achieved or imagined via the child, changing how children and adolescents should be cared for and educated before they become independent, legally responsible and democratically active citizens.[668] King notes a concern for national efficiency on the political right, in which children would carry forward particular national values as part of a conservative political ideology of maintaining the status quo.[669] Holocaust remembrance provided young people with a template to feel, process and respond to emotions in socially and politically appropriate ways.

Performing and rejecting remembrance in France

Shame, and its antithesis, pride, are particularly connected to historical memory. Emotion builds a shared understanding of history, particularly as emotional responses can be both public and performative. Geoffrey White describes national memory as 'emotional remembering', as acts and rituals of remembrance traverse the personal and the national, the individual and the collective.[670] Emotion involves the audience in the narration of the past, and images, symbols and texts carry emotive signals and cues. These emotions vary between pride, shame, guilt, anger, sadness, grief, shock and joy, but in every case emotion is central in establishing *shared* historical memory. At times when schools serve as places of remembrance for histories of war, violence, and injustice, history education attempts to produce particular emotional responses.

In France, commemorative practices in Holocaust education were often more formal than in England. Ceremonies in which young people performed their remembrance through poetry,

[668] King, 'Future Citizens', pp. 389–411.
[669] King, 'Future Citizens', pp. 401, 408.
[670] G. White, 'Emotional Remembering: The Pragmatics of National Memory', *Ethos*, 4, (2008), pp. 505-6.

speeches, art and music commonly took place in the company of local and regional politicians and representatives of the Republic. Whilst annual commemorative ceremonies took place in England, those which involved young people were most often organised by the Church of England and invited a school or class group to attend as a standalone event. In England, commemorative activities were purposefully multidirectional, and teachers encouraged their students to remember the Holocaust in order to understand a more recent injustice, be it another genocide or a contemporary human rights issue such as the 2015 Syrian Refugee crisis. In France, commemorative activities were usually undertaken to honour and preserve the memory of local Holocaust victims and rescuers. Formal remembrance was encouraged in schools through services and ceremonies where young people themselves took centre stage.[671]

From 2008, annual study trips to Auschwitz were organised in partnership with the *Mémorial de la Shoah*. Designed for students in general, vocational, and technical *lycées*, these study trips formed part of multidisciplinary educational projects, following which students created memorials, artwork, web-documentaries, films or musical performances. Prior to the study tour, each class began a project of local documentary research to reinforce their knowledge, and to develop a local connection to the history. Following the visit to Auschwitz, the pupils worked with their teachers to reflect on and redress the history, both from the perspective of their emotions and their acquired knowledge. In Aubagne, a deprived town situated just outside of Marseille, the Lycée Gustave Eiffel honoured the memory of Auguste Chabrol, a local man who saved the lives of a Jewish family during the Second World War. Chabrol, a former seminarian and cabinet maker, became friends with his neighbour Edgar Zmiro, a

[671] F. Schneider, 'À l'école de la Shoah. De l'enseignement de l'histoire à la pédagogie de la mémoire', *Les Cahiers de la Shoah*, 1/8 (2005), pp. 57-58; Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 'Une journée de commémoration à l'école', https://www.education.gouv.fr/27-janvier-journee-de-la-memoire-des-genocides-et-de-la-prevention-des-crimes-contre-l-humanite-11057 (11 November 2019).

Jewish Parisian merchant from Algeria, who had settled in Aubagne after fleeing the German occupation of Paris in 1940 with his family. After the family were denounced to the Gestapo in 1943, Chabrol helped Zmiro's family escape and hid Zmiro in a workbench in his workshop for the remainder of the war.[672]



Figure 7.1, students at Lycée Gustave Eiffel commemorating Auguste Chabrol, 2018.

Following the pupils' visit to the Shoah Memorial in Paris and the former camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland, the students created a walking tour of Aubagne, tracing the steps of Chabrol and Zmiro, and commemorated the *Juste parmi les Nations* in a formal ceremony at the school, collectively writing and delivering a speech in honour of Chabrol:

> Nous sommes les lycéens de Gustave Eiffel, nous sommes votre avenir.
> Nous sommes aussi unis.
> Nous sommes différents et solidaires.
> Nous sommes le reflet de la diversité.
> Nous sommes la liberté, nous sommes l'égalité, nous sommes la fraternité.

[672] Justes parmi les Nations, 'Auguste Chabrol', http://www.ajpn.org/juste-Auguste-Chabrol-545.html (11 November 2019).

> Et surtout, nous sommes tous ensemble.
> Ensemble et unis grâce au geste héroïque d'un Homme qui, face à un système inhumain, mettra en péril sa vie, faisant de nous ses Héritiers.[673]
>
> [We are high school students of Gustave Eiffel, we are your future.
> We are also united.
> We are different and united.
> We are a reflection of diversity.
> We are liberty, we are equality, we are fraternity.
> And most importantly, we are all together.
> Together and united through the heroic gesture of a man who, in the face of an inhuman system, jeopardised his life, making us his heirs.]

The speech was praised by the Rectorat for transmitting 'the importance of a pedagogy which is part of [*histoire-géographie's*] 'duty of memory' but most certainly is part of the construction of their citizenship.'[674] The duty of memory did not only involve pupils acquiring knowledge but also responding emotionally and personally to that knowledge, as an important moment in recognising their own and others' humanity in the pursuit of adulthood. It contrasted with teachers' need to divorce their own emotions from history teaching in France.[675]

By using *nous* to start their speech, the pupils recognised themselves as part of Chabrol's story and wider memory of the Shoah, both as individuals who had emotionally connected with Chabrol and Zmiro, and as young people, united, despite their diversity, in the values of the Republic and as a symbol of hope for the future of France. Paul Connerton helpfully theorised that participants in commemorative events embody these events.[676] According to Connerton, all commemorative ceremonies are a performance rather than just a symbolic

[673] Académie d'Aix-Marseille, 'Commémoration du 10eme anniversaire de la remise de la Médaille des Justes' https://www.pedagogie.ac-aix-marseille.fr/jcms/c_10580533/fr/commemoration-du-10-eme-anniversaire-de-la-remise-de-la-medaille-des-justes (11 November 2019).
[674] 'Commémoration du 10eme anniversaire de la remise de la Médaille des Justes'.
[675] Audiger and Motta, 'The strange concept of affective education', pp. 132–144.
[676] Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, p. 61.

representation, where participants embody a direct continuity with the past.[677] In this case, the pupils were able to embody their connection with the past through their local research and memory walks which retraced Chabrol and Zmiro's movements. For the audience, they embodied the connection between the past and the future, through their youth, presumed innocence and potential. Though the speech expressed the pupils' passion and agency, its purpose was for the adults observing rather than the young people participating, by presenting youths united in their diversity and 'learning' from the mistakes of older generations. The role of the adolescent in these ceremonies was to produce emotion in adults. Through this performance, and the emotional attachment to an individual's story (in this case Chabrol's), communities were reminded of their local identities, which in that moment override tensions relating to other racial, national or religious identities. As such, these rituals reinforced a shared history by supposing that time can be made to stand still.

Whilst the Aubagne ceremony took place with high school students, several teachers believed the end of *collège* was the most appropriate age for this process. According to Malik, 'c'est surtout en troisième classe... ils ont quatorze ans, quinze ans et c'est le bon âge pour apprendre [de la Shoah].'[678] [it's definitely in third year ... they're fourteen, fifteen and it's the right age to learn (about the Shoah)]. For Malik and others, it related to the intrinsic connection between the memory of the Shoah and citizenship. As was common in most interviews, Malik considered his pupils as adolescents, undergoing a period of tense transition between childhood and adulthood. At fourteen, he believed that adolescents were in the midst of their identity development, with the ability to confidently hold consistent opinions and beliefs, but at the risk of disengagement from school and society. In French media, concerns about *les « jeunes »* were rampant. Newspapers subliminally designated

[677] Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, p. 63.
[678] Interview with Malik.

'dangerous' or 'anxious' youths, often from immigrant communities, by using quotation marks, categorising the 'young' with the 'other'.[679] Whilst Malik's Algerian background and his own difficulties in the education system perhaps limited his racialisation of his pupils of African or Muslim heritage, essentialist concerns about adolescents and post-adolescents in the media reinforced the notion that teenage youths journeyed through a difficult passage before hopefully transitioning into 'good' citizens. Similar media discourses in England treated youths with disdain, caricatured by David Cameron's 'hug a hoodie' campaign in 2006.[680] In English classrooms, teachers also believed year nine (age fourteen) to be the most appropriate age to learn about the Holocaust. It was the final opportunity for school children to learn about the Holocaust before history became optional at the GCSE level, though this was lowered to year eight in schools who expanded the GCSE course to three years. Teachers were particularly concerned about pupils' maturity, as Kimberly illustrated: 'we now have a condensed Key Stage Three curriculum so we have to teach it in year eight. It should really be in year nine when they are more mature.'[681] The focus on maturity was replicated in Emma's lessons, who remarked,

> Actually, I was really impressed. It was a year nine group and their maturity… I did say start it is a sensitive subject and we need to deal with it in a mature way but I really felt that they did handle it really well.[682]

English teachers did not view their pupils' social and emotional ages as fixed, but as part of a developmental and individual progression towards adulthood, bearing similarities with Clementine Beauvais' history of children's psychological ages in the early twentieth-

[679] W. Guehria, 'La jeunesse n'est pas qu'un mot', *Insaniyat* / 37, إنسانيات, (2007), pp. 137-146; P. Garcia, 'Jeunes et minorités ethniques dans la presse européenne: Les médias et les émeutes parisiennes de 2005', *Global Media Journal*, 4/11 (2011), p. 77; T. Guénolé, *Les Jeunes De Banlieue Mangent-ils Les Enfants ?* (Lormont, 2015).
[680] J. Aldridge and S. Cross, 'Young People Today: News Media, Policy and Youth Justice', *Journal of Children and Media*, 2/3 (2008), pp. 211-2.
[681] Interview with Kimberly.
[682] Interview with Emma.

century.[683] Emma guided her pupils to act beyond her perceptions of their chronological age, celebrating their achievements when they responded maturely. Class groups who were less mature were often provided with different resources to meet their social and emotional abilities. In Katy's lesson, this prohibited her use of violent and emotive images, commenting, 'one class was giggly and sensitive and highly strung. They didn't get the same lesson with the same images as the other two who were really mature.'[684] It revealed how teachers' trust and judgements of 'psychological age' influenced their lesson planning, compared to Emma's lesson where the Holocaust provided an opportunity for her pupils to display their maturity and have moral discussions 'like adults' on sensitive topics and 'difficult' histories. It contrasted with France where *le troisième* was regarded as the best age to address histories of injustice that could inform young people's opinions about politics, power, identity and their future rights and duties as a citizen. Across both countries, the moral and emotive history of the Holocaust became a prime tool for these teachers.

A couple of French teachers rejected the practice of Holocaust remembrance with young people in schools because of its emotiveness. The defeat and occupation of the French Republic by Nazi Germany engendered feelings of shame and embarrassment, feelings which were sometimes avoided or rejected in the defence of national honour. In 2000, French teacher Jean-Louis Berger was convicted for Holocaust denial, and in 2014 a maths teacher was imprisoned for questioning that the genocide occurred, but these cases were rare.[685] In comparison, there were no reports of cases involving teachers in England who have denied or

[683] C. Beauvais, 'Ages and ages: the multiplication of children's 'ages' in early twentieth-century child psychology', *History of Education*, 3/45 (2016), pp. 304-318; Tisdall, *A Progressive Education*, pp. 9, 40.
[684] Interview with Katy.
[685] 'L'enseignant négationniste condamné. Il devra verser une amende et risque la radiation définitive', *Libération*, (16 May 2000) ; 'Négationnisme: Vincent Reynouard condamné à deux mois de prison', *Le Point*, (7 May 2015).

minimised the Holocaust. No participating teacher disputed the history of the Holocaust, but a very small number rejected the imposition of Holocaust remembrance in schools. For example, Frédéric, a history teacher in Marseille, believed that the Holocaust was taught too often. He objected to teaching the Shoah as he was apprehensive about the emotional burden of its memory. He was aware that his students had broached the topic already, before they met him, in primary school and in *collège* in the *troisième*. He commented:

> Je pense que même si j'étais élève une forme de lassitude vis à vis cette... c'est à dire de ces injonctions au devoir de mémoire. C'est pesant. Pesant pour les élèves à se souvenir. Ça peut-être un peu provoquent. Je sais ce que j'ai dit c'est très important, bien sûr. Mais, ça suscite aussi des choses comme de ce qu'on appelle des conflits de mémoires. C'est à dire, on enseigne trop à la mémoire du génocide juif, le mémoire de l'esclavage et le mémoire de la colonisation. Et c'est une concurrence des mémoires. Chaque groupe voudrait que... s*on* histoire sociale qu'elle soit enseignée.[686]
>
> [I think that even if I was a student, I would feel weary of this... that is to say of this requirement of the duty of memory. It's burdensome. Burdensome for students to remember... It can be a bit provocative. I know that I said it's very important, of course. But it also gives rise to things like so-called memory conflicts. That is to say, we teach the memory of the Jewish genocide, the memory of slavery and the memory of colonisation too much. And it's a competition of memories. Each group wants…*its* social history to be taught.]

Frédéric rejected the imposition of dut(ies) of memory in the classroom. The requirement to remember risked evoking guilt and shame which could transpire into resentment, sometimes referred to by scholars as secondary antisemitism when connected to Holocaust memory.[687] It posed questions about when or if it would ever be appropriate to forget.[688] Frédéric's stance was based on his realisation that memory caused emotion and thus conflict in his classroom, considering that his pupils wanted to learn about histories that related to their own identity.

[686] Interview with Frédéric, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 29 June 2018.
[687] L. Rensmann, 'Guilt, Resentment, and Post-Holocaust Democracy: The Frankfurt School's Analysis of "Secondary Antisemitism" in the Group Experiment and Beyond', *Antisemitism Studies*, 1/1 (2017), pp. 4-37.
[688] See H. Rousso, 'Le double fardeau : Vichy et l'Algérie Oubli ou ressentiment' in *Face au Passé. Essais sur la mémoire contemporaine* (Paris, 2016), pp. 117-142.

Historian Omer Bartov has suggested that, 'even though everyone wants to demonstrate their recognition of the genocide of the Jews, such recognition comes at the price of others' desire to acknowledge "their own" genocide.'[689] As these were often histories of injustice (that also implicated the French state), the topics all came with challenges and sensitivities when negotiating content, graphic material and pupils' potential responses. It was not his pupils' antisemitism that caused Frédéric to question the place of the Shoah in the curriculum, but his students' other identities which they brought in the classroom, demanding to be recognised. He felt that their discovery of historical injustice, through community and family conversation and occasionally awakened by their lessons on the Holocaust, placed new burdens on school students already in the process of considering and negotiating their own identity.[690]

Frédéric described the emotional toil of learning about genocide, as well as slavery and colonialism, as burdensome. It triggered emotions from sadness, to guilt and anger, among a group of adolescents. Though teaching about war and empire had been a central component of the French education system since its conception, the recent turn towards histories of human rights abuses asked the student to empathise with stories of victimhood, rather than the victories of the nation. The commemoration of soldiers killed during the First World War introduced empathy for victims into the classroom. However, remembering men who had died for a 'purpose', and for their nation, evoked a pride that was absent in lessons on atrocities and abuses. By remembering, the young and innocent generations could absolve France of their guilt. This emotional undertaking of France's history was generally welcomed and encouraged by teachers, but teachers such as Frédéric assumed this responsibility with

[689] J-M. Chaumont, *La concurrence des victimes* (Paris, 2010), pp. 9-10, 239.
[690] O. Bartov, 'Recentering the Holocaust (Again)', in A. Boum and A. Abrevaya Sten (eds.), *The Holocaust and North Africa* (Stanford, 2019), p. 209.

unease, fearful of the impact of the emotion on his pupils, and on social cohesion in his class and in France.

The shock factor: graphic images and colour

In a mid Lincolnshire grammar school, I interviewed members of the history department together. Jack was the newest qualified teacher to join the department straight from completing his training year. He was a young and enthusiastic teacher from a neighbouring town, who was still experimenting with his lesson resources and historical approaches. When teaching histories of war and violence, delivering shock was of prime importance to Jack. For instance, he suggested:

> A lot of videos [that] were in black and white now they are being reproduced in colour. That's actually helping them emphasise a lot more because it's in colour, you know they don't see it as a sort of old documentary, the fact that it is in colour.[691]

Jack was discussing films such as *World War II In HD Colour*, a thirteen-episode documentary series that recounted the major events of World War II, which joined a series of colourised remakes that were aired on The History Channel, The Military Channel and subscription platforms such as Netflix. In 2018, *They Shall Not Grow Old* was released on the centenary of the end of the First World War, in an effort to be more evocative and bring the audience closer to British soldiers' actual experiences.[692] Though by 2018 no major films or documentaries on the Holocaust had yet been colourised, a number of photographs were colourised by digital artists such as Marina Amaral.[693] Like the young girl's red coat in the otherwise black and white *Schindler's List*, many of the images used children as their

[691] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.
[692] *They shall never grow old*, P. Jackson (dir.), (Film, 2018).
[693] M. Amaral, 'Faces of Auschwitz', https://facesofauschwitz.com/ (20 July 2020).

subjects. The ambition of each project was to revive memory as it became increasingly abstract and remote, by making the images ‘more real’.



Figure 7.2 Czesława Kwoka colourised photograph, Faces of Auschwitz project, 2018

Caroline and Steve both taught with Jack. Caroline had been teaching since the start of the 2000s, after a career in retail, and Steve had taught since 1986 after completing his PGCE at the Institute of Education in London. Caroline and Steve disagreed about the need for colour for students to feel and empathise, but both film and emotion was central to their lessons on the Holocaust.

> Caroline: I don't know, I still use stuff in black and white. I still use a lot of the photographs, the stills. It makes it more real, I think. I think that helps the students.
>
> Steve: I think *The Pianist* is a good example of that. It's kind of shocking and technicolour and all of that stuff. But I think there's something to be said for the actual original untampered stuff… I find them quite moved by the liberation scenes in particular... that can be quite powerful and that, Dimbleby's radio broadcast.

> Caroline: Yes I even used just some of that sometimes, just audio resources, because I think you need his raw emotion in that I think too.[694]

Their emphasis was on 'powerful' resources that produced shock and sorrow. For Steve, *The Pianist* served this purpose, as a colour cinematic representation of the Warsaw Ghetto.[695] These lessons attempted to emotionally disturb their students in order to explain the Holocaust's historic importance. Lesson plans uploaded by teachers onto the *Times Education Supplement* digital sharing platform in 2010 included similar tasks, asking pupils to view YouTube video clips of liberation footage with the instruction 'you will see shocking images but to understand the full horrors of what happened do not look away'. After watching the video, pupils were asked to discuss 'how did [the images] make you feel?' and 'what was the most shocking thing you saw?'.[696]

Caroline suggested that she showed increasingly graphic material to her pupils until they showed sorrow or anger.

> I think it takes a lot more to shock students than I actually thought it would. For me, I expect a lot of the boys would, even at fourteen years old, would play video games where they shoot people and things like that, so I think it's the emotional side of it that comes through, it hits them. Watching Auschwitz come up and finding out there's a brothel… we saw a bit where there was a guy who was, the ethics of it, he was systematically raping this girl, he'd earned tokens, and he was now raping this girl. And he was saying it's the first night he'd been with this girl in ages, in about two- and a bit years or something, he'd earnt these tokens… I think the starting point is a lot more, I think it's harder to get that reaction from them.[697]

Caroline believed her lessons had to strike a balance between being 'hard-hitting enough that [the Holocaust] is going to be important' and not terrifying her pupils 'and leave them with nightmares and things.'[698] She had developed concern that the violence contained in films like

[694] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.
[695] *The Pianist*, R. Polanski (dir.), (Film, 2002).
[696] S. Carroll, 'Holocaust' (PowerPoint, 2008), in author's possession.
[697] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.
[698] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.

The Pianist no longer immediately shocked her pupils. Caroline believed that they were saddened by the story of Polish Jewish musician Władysław Szpilman who lost contact with his family after they are deported to Auschwitz from Warsaw Ghetto, forcing Szpilman to hide in the ruins of Warsaw in order to survive. However, they did not experience surprise, anger, disbelief or shock from viewing the traumatic images. In contrast to Frédéric, who worried that his Marseillaise pupils were excessively sensitised to the emotional burdens of history, Caroline believed that her pupils had become desensitised to the violence of the Holocaust in recent years, and thus had to increase the 'shock-value' of her examples to provoke the intended reaction. Whilst her pupils were moved by stories and narrative, she increased the display of violence in order to generate similar feelings of shock as in previous years. Consequently, Caroline supplemented her lessons with excerpts of the BBC documentary *Auschwitz*, which covered prostitution and rape in Auschwitz concentration camp. The discussion of rape, still a taboo in society and within Holocaust testimonies, discomforted her pupils enough to produce a reaction, from which she could prompt a conversation about morality and ethics in Holocaust settings, and perhaps satisfy herself that her pupils had been sufficiently moved by the horror of the Holocaust.

Steve maintained his preference for the film *The Pianist* throughout the interview. He described it as 'the central thing we use with them' to teach the Holocaust, but in recent years Steve was forced to alter his teaching practices. He explained:

> We got in trouble with it a few years ago by parents who complained, […] despite saying they weren't shocked by it... We'd always shown them it and we have never had any bother with it and then about three years ago, two girls kinda broke down and had all the histrionics about it and went home and complained that they had looked at this film. And then the parents wrote in and there were awkward meetings with the

> head. You know, why are you showing this? This film is a fifteen [certificate], they are not fifteen.[699]

Steve was frustrated at the two girls whose behaviour he perceived as melodramatic and designed to attract attention. They did not respond as Steve had desired, but were over-emotional, and had utilised the film to complain about the department. Steve wanted his students to feel shocked but dismissed the suggestion that the film could have traumatised the two girls, or that his pupils should be considered too young to watch the film. From then onwards, the department sent a letter to parents in advance of the screening, announcing its fifteen certificate and offering parents and pupils an 'opt out' if they did not wish to see the film. He commented, 'ever since we have done that there have been one or two every year that have said no, I don't want our son or daughter to watch it.'[700] The act of not viewing a film itself created a form of historical memory. It designated the horrors of the Holocaust as too violent, too disturbing and too upsetting to be watched. It thus amplified the status of the history into something unknowable, unthinkable and indescribable and into the realms of the imagination.

By the mid 2000s, the impulse or compulsion to shock and move school pupils was never more present than in lessons on the Holocaust. The production of emotion was the end goal for many teachers. Feeling and empathy mattered when teaching other histories. After all, everyone's connection to the past is mediated through some form of narrative and representation. When remembering the First World War in England, it was hoped that pupils may feel a sense of sorrow and loss. When remembering the Home Front during the Second World War, pupils were guided towards pride in the national fortitude and spirit. In lessons on the slave trade, pupils were directed towards the feelings of anger and dismay at the racial injustices. Yet, as

[699] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.
[700] Interview with Caroline, Jack, Neil and Steve.

teachers learnt about the Holocaust through communicative memory - via stories, testimonies, documentaries and cinema, produced by or featuring witnesses and victims – their connection to this past was more emotional than it was academic. The testimony of survivors and the popularity of cultural representations ensured that the Holocaust existed as a living memory that rendered the history subject to the 'ethics of care'.[701] It was important that their pupils in England felt concern, took an interest and understood the importance of the Holocaust, and ultimately professed to care.

From historical to affective empathy: emotion in England when teaching the Holocaust

In English schools the ability to comprehend others' emotions was distinguished as a skill to be developed through the practice of history. Though the role of empathy to teach history was contentious in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was uncritically accepted as a suitable feature of Holocaust education in the 2000s. According to Susan Lazoni's history of empathy, the term empathy first appeared in Germany (*Einfühling*) in 1908 to describe the projection of emotion into shapes and objects when creating modernist artworks, but was quickly applied to psychotherapy, politics, psychology and social work as a theory to understand emotions and behaviours.[702] Debates have pursued as to whether it is a talent or a skill and whether empathy is moral or psychological in its nature, but it was nevertheless propelled as an 'aspirational' emotion worth assessing and cultivating as psychiatry and developmental psychology rose in favourability in the post-war period.[703] Crucially, by the mid 1960s, fostering empathy became an intercultural project to increase tolerance and reduce racial

[701] The concept originates in Carol Gilligan's seminal text, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, 1982). See also M. Slote, *The ethics of care and empathy* (New York, 2007), pp. 10-15.
[702] S. Lazoni, *Empathy: A History* (New Haven, 2018), pp. 2-3
[703] J. Capshew. *Psychologists on the March: Science, Practice and Professional Identity in America 1929-1969* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 159-162.

tensions.[704] Empathy has also been deployed in historical research. Using the term 'imagination' in place of 'empathy', the historical philosopher Robin Collingwood wrote in 1946 about the significance of imagination when reconstructing history, summarising his view that, 'all causality begins in the minds of agents.'[705] With the rapid growth of social history in the 1960s and 1970s, historical empathy – or imagination – was deemed a necessary and worthy methodology to create narrative explanation for the 'irretrievable past' when there were gaps in the historical record or archive.[706]

Contemporary researchers distinguish between affective or emotional empathy - whereby the learner experiences feelings of compassion and concern in response to others - and cognitive empathy: understanding the perspective, thoughts and feelings of others.[707] This built upon child development literature which argued that young children were incapable of feeling and displaying the different forms of empathy, a theory that was popularised in the post-war period by psychologists including Sigmund Freud and educational psychologist Jean Piaget.[708] Historical empathy applies the cognitive approach to the past, in an approach which guides learners to understand the perspective of historical protagonists. To develop historical empathy in history education, a pupil may be asked to consider the actors' feelings, fears, and motivations in order to better understand their perspective and lived experience.[709] Though historical empathy is by no means limited to English educators, and indeed has been a subject

[704] Lazoni, *Empathy: A History*, p. 13.
[705] R. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), p. 215.
[706] P. Hirst, 'Liberal education and the nature of knowledge', in P. Hirst (ed), *Knowledge and the Curriculum* (London, 1974), pp. 30-53; J. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 33.
[707] F. de Waal, 'Putting the altruism back into altruism: The evolution of empathy', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 59 (2008), pp. 1–22.
[708] Piaget believed that secondary school-age children were capable of empathy, but teachers did not always reflect this. See J. Piaget, *The moral judgment of the child* (New York, 1965); See also S. Freud, *Civilization and its discontents* (New York, 1958);
[709] Lee and Ashby, 'Children's concepts of empathy and understanding in history', pp. 62-88.

of considerable educational research and scholarship in Germany, Cyprus and the United States of America among other countries in the last ten years,[710] nowhere has empathy been such a longstanding feature of history teaching, as an enabling condition for historical understanding, than in England.[711] In France, the role of cognitive and affective empathy in education was largely debated in relation to primary school education, but absent in debates about teaching history in the *collège* and *lycée*.

In formal history curricula, empathy was identified in the 1970s as a useful skill or prism from which to investigate the past in England. It was believed that pupils lacked the 'historical imagination' to reach the past via source-based study and less academic adolescents (or working class pupils) were believed to only be capable of focusing on the immediate and concrete. Thus child-centred educationalists promoted empathy as a tool for understanding the past, by applying the pupil's identity as a minor to the construction of the past.[712] Imagining a child in a Victorian workhouse or indeed, a Jewish child in Berlin in 1938, became a useful tool to understand the past through identification. Though this approach was popular among a number of LEAs in the 1960s, an increasing number of teachers across the country developed an interest in a skills-based approach to history in the 1980s, rejecting traditional and scholarly engagements with history and thus separating the discipline of history education from its academic namesake. Historical empathy became a central component of 'New History' projects, funded by the Schools Council from 1972. In

[710] See M. Zembylas, 'The "Crisis of Pity" and the Radicalization of Solidarity: Toward Critical Pedagogies of Compassion', *Educational Studies*, 49/6 (2013), pp. 504-521; M. Zembylas, L. Loukaidis, and P. Antoniou, 'Teachers' pedagogical perspectives of the Holocaust in a conflict-affected society: the appropriation of Holocaust Education in Greek-Cypriot secondary schools'. *Holocaust Studies* (2019), pp. 1-25.
[711] For example D. Shemilt, 'Beauty and the Philosopher: Empathy in History and Classroom', in A. Dickinson, P. Lee, and P. Rogers (eds), *Learning History* (London, 1984), pp. 39–84.; Lee and Ashby, 'Children's concepts of empathy and understanding in history', pp. 62-88; A. Low-Beer, 'Empathy and History', *Teaching History*, 55 (1989) pp. 8-12;
[712] Woolley, 'Experiencing the history National Curriculum 1991–2011', p. 213.

1980, historical empathy became a significant feature of the Schools History Project curriculum, asking students to develop self-knowledge and awareness by considering others' beliefs, values and attitudes: '[to stand], as it were, for a moment in the boots of General Custer or the footsteps of Sitting Bull.'[713] The pupil may be asked to consider the actors' feelings, fears, and motivations in order to better understand their perspective and lived experience.

Battles around the purpose and utility of empathy in history education were waged between 1985 and the early 1990s, leading to the dismissal and resignation of a small number of teachers across the country.[714] Though history teachers argued about the benefits and limitation of a traditional, chronological history compared to a skills-based, thematic approach, the debates came to a head on the topic of Modern History. These histories were too emotional, political and close to home for some teachers to risk pupils identifying with the 'wrong' historical protagonists. Of note was a Certificate of School Education (CSE) history question released in 1986 by the South Western Examinations Board that asked pupils to imagine that they supported Hitler in 1938 and describe how his policy for 'dealing with Germany's enemies inside the country' made them enthusiastic. Though the question drew heavy criticism from the local Avon division of the NUT, the question itself was designed by history teachers and reportedly drew no complaints from pupils or schools.[715] Most examples were less scandalous, for example asking the pupil to imagine the daily life of a Viking or

[713] Schools Council, *Explorations in Teaching SCP: History 13-16* (Leeds, 1980), pp. 6-7.
[714] S. Deuchar, 'Making Sense of the Past', *Times Educational Supplement*, (29 January 1988); 'New History – a good Theory in need of better practice?', *Times Educational Supplement*, (19 February 1988); 'Heavy history', *Times Educational Supplement*, (26 February 1988); I. Smith, 'History head vows to continue rejected course', *Times Educational Supplement*, (3 March 1989); J. Sutcliffe, 'GCSE History rebels to picket job interviews', *Times Educational Supplement*, (5 May 1989).
[715] J. Meikle, 'CSE Hitler question angers union', *Times Educational Supplement*, (27 June 1986).

Norman, but critics of 'New History' complained that history had moved from the pursuit of truth to the pursuit of viewpoints.[716]

Ian Dawson, a history teacher who contributed to the Schools History Project reflected on the demise of the historical approach in his interview for the History in Education research project:

> Empathy, empathy just had too much political baggage. Every historian engages with what we used to call empathy because you cannot explain anything… And that's what empathy is, understanding thinking and motive. It isn't sympathy, it isn't taking the side of, it's not imagined.[717]

Though contributors to the professional journal *Teaching History* wrote favourable articles about the use of historical fiction, drama, imagination and feeling in the late 1980s through to the mid 1990s; the terminology of 'empathy' disappeared thereafter.[718] By 1985, empathy was an assessed skill in the newly created GCSE History examination, and though the National Curriculum for history avoided the term 'empathy', it instigated a skills-based curriculum that asked students to consider a multiplicity of perspectives when evaluating historical sources. Ian suggested that empathetic approaches continued in history. He commented, 'if you're going to explain anything in history you have to have insights into the thoughts and attitudes of people at the time, we just don't use the word empathy now.'[719] This was demonstrably the case for Holocaust education in England which benefitted from the 'empathic turn' in the 1980s and 1990s, as the empathic focus transitioned from a cognitive

[716] Deuchar, 'Making Sense of the Past'.
[717] Interview with Ian Dawson, conducted by Dr Nicola Sheldon, Institute of Historical Research, London, 9 June 2009.
[718] Low-Beer, 'Empathy and History', pp. 8-12; Mills, 'Fiction, Empathy and Teaching History', pp. 7-9.
[719] Interview with Ian Dawson.

focus on perspective (including that of the perpetrator) to an emotional lens looking at the victim's thoughts, feeling and behaviour.

Some teachers maintained their commitment to discovering and investigating individuals' perspectives during historical events. Guy de la Bedoyaire and his wife Rosemary both taught history in Lincolnshire and prided themselves on being 'traditional' in their teaching methods. They lamented the 'current obsession with grades and league tables' which they believed had consumed their school leadership since its academisation in the early 2010s and distracted from the true goals of building historical cognisance and interest in the past; a frustration that led to their early retirement in the mid 2010s. Whilst Rosemary had taught history since she graduated from the London Institute of Education in the mid 1980s, Guy worked for the BBC for most of 1981 to 1999 whilst publishing predominantly on Roman Britain including for Yale University Press. From 1998 to 2013, he worked for Channel 4's TV archaeology series *Time Team* as a Roman expert, and it was only in 2007 that Guy retrained as a history teacher when he started working with his wife in a Lincolnshire grammar school. Planning teaching content together, and utilising Guy's passion and access for media and archaeology, they managed to prioritise the development of cognitive historical empathy throughout their teaching career. With confidence in their methodology and with rare access to multimedia resources, they unusually considered not only Jewish and victim perspectives on the Holocaust, but also various German responses and emotional reckoning at the end of the war.

Whilst history education had evolved to focus on the victim's experience since the introduction of formal remembrance activities in 2001, Guy and Rosemary maintained a focus on the causes of the Holocaust in parallel to the rise of Hitler historiography that

became popular in the 1970s and was thereafter translated into GCSE examination courses. For example, Guy believed that:

> it's much too monochrome to suggest that this was something that these terribly ghastly evil people suddenly came up with this idea, because the ghastly truth about the Nazis is an awful lot of, well some of what they did was actually very appealing to ordinary Germans.[720]

His objective was not to sympathise with the German population, but to understand their perspective, fears, hopes, excitement and hardship. As such, both Guy and Rosemary used Nora Waln's autobiography *Reaching for the Stars*, published in 1939.[721] Waln was a Quaker and a popular American journalist in the 1930s–1950s, and she was among the first to report on the force of Nazism. Guy explained why he used her book:

> This fascinating book shows you how it was possible to be a German because she made this observation how ordinary German people were beguiled by the stability and security and order that the Nazis provided and you only gradually became aware of the simmering horror, the intolerance. So she came up with this phrase…, well she comes out with this phrase I suppose that the Germans use, that you had to "speak through a flower"… Not a phrase we use in English.[722]

Guy knew of the book because of his background in television production as a BBC sound engineer as Waln's life had been dramatized for a *History File* documentary. The series was first broadcast in 1985, covering historical topics from the 'Partition of India', 'Hungary:1956', 'Divided Ireland' to 'Pompeii'. In 1997, *History File* created five twenty-five minute programmes on Nazi Germany for students aged fourteen to seventeen, which were aired annually until 2011. Guy took the video tapes, dubbed them onto DVD and

[720] Interview with Guy and Rosemary, conducted by H. Mann, Sleaford, 4 July 2017.
[721] N. Waln, *Reaching for the Stars* (London, 1939).
[722] Interview with Guy and Rosemary.

converted them all to MP4 files for use in his lessons, finding that these programmes 'were all an instant star'.[723]

> One of these films featured this woman Nora Waln played by an actress talking about her experience and they found that programme particularly compelling. So, when I was able to show them the book as well, that it was all for real, that it wasn't made up.[724]

The show encouraged an empathetic response, aiming to place students into the shoes of witnesses and victims at the time and to consider what choices they might have made in comparable circumstances. Waln's autobiography wasn't the only story to be dramatized by *History File*. Guy and Rosemary utilised all relevant clippings where actors read from the diaries of Nazi victims and witnesses, including an unnamed doctor who wrote his diary as a form of protest.[725]

According to both Guy and Rosemary, his pupils found the programme on Waln to be 'particularly compelling'. After the documentary, Guy would show them his original copy of her book to underscore that, 'it was all for real, that it wasn't made up'.[726] They were not the only history teachers who hoped to make history 'real' through their teaching, but Guy was particularly passionate about conveying the 'realness' of history through material objects. They were both heavily influenced by Guy's background in archaeology and throughout his life, Guy had amassed a collection of Third Reich artefacts including: a Yellow Star; an iron Swastika; a copy of *Mein Kampf*; a racial declaration sheet; the Nazi propaganda book *Deutsche Erwache* and an original copy of Waln's autobiography. Guy hoped his pupils could trace the human histories reflected in the object and establish a physical connection with the history in question, by touching and feeling its materiality. The object was not just

[723] Interview with Guy and Rosemary.
[724] Interview with Guy and Rosemary.
[725] Interview with Guy and Rosemary.
[726] Interview with Guy and Rosemary.

there to be interpreted as a historical source, but was a container of memories that might influence thoughts and feelings and sense of time and place.

Guy and Rosemary's cognitive approach to empathy was more common in the 1980s and early 1990s than the affective empathy approach that replaced it after the millennium. They were not the only history teachers to place emphasis on the 'Other's' feelings rather than the pupil's, but their approach reflected the diversity of pedagogy in the teaching profession. They were both influenced by their own practice of history, through their university education, Rosemary's teacher training and Guy's historical research and public history via the BBC. Reinforced by Guy's success in other practices of history, they had both developed a strong and irrefutable belief in the purpose of history that centred on historical discovery and wonder, something that could be channelled by the practice of historical empathy.

In the 2010s, empathy developed a new popularity, not only in educational settings but in society as a whole, leading a number of social commentators to decree an 'age of empathy', encouraged by Fran de Waal's bestselling and much discussed book of the same title.[727] To empathise with the plight of the poor, or those worst affected by the governmental policy of austerity under David Cameron and George Osborne's administration, acquired new political capital. This pattern was repeated and championed in the United States of America when Barack Obama criticised the country's 'empathy deficit', a theme he repeated throughout his presidency.[728] The 'ethical currency of empathy' has been used to describe the use of empathy to motivate and manipulate individuals to address other's suffering, abuse and hardship.[729] As a result, discussions of empathy also centred on Holocaust education. For

[727] F. De Waal, *Age of Empathy* (New York, 2009).
[728] C. Pedwell, *Affective Relations: the transnational politics of empathy* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 44.
[729] S. Oliver, 'The Aesthethics of Empathy: Bakhtin and the Return to Self as Ethical Act', in A. Assman and I. Detmers (eds.), *Empathy and its Limits* (Basingstoke, 2016), pp. 167-8.

example, Özyürek's study of Holocaust education among Turkish Muslim youth in Germany found that teachers believed being able to empathise with others' suffering became associated with compassion, respect for others and responsible citizenship.[730]

Empathy in Holocaust education in English schools transitioned from developing *feeling as others* to *feeling for others*, in response to the growing currency of empathy in which displaying emotion in response to others' suffering had significant social and political value.[731] Just as Monique Scheer argues that emotions should be considered as a practice of the self – as something that we *manifest* as well as *have* – we should view empathy 'as a practical engagement with the world'.[732] As a conscious act, practicing empathy signalled teachers' and pupils' values, and the events and people they cared about. Teachers could be assured that their pupils had engaged empathetically if they *displayed* emotion. As such, affective empathy whereby teachers *produce* emotion replaced the cognitive aspect of historical empathy. Though affective empathy, in which the learner feels 'for others', could be practised in response to nearly any historical event, Juliane Brauer points out that, 'developing empathy with certain persons is thus rather difficult; for instance, with people who are rarely discussed in public discourse.'[733] When teaching the Holocaust, an event firmly centred in British and global collective memory, gateways to empathy were readily available.

Many teachers embraced the opportunity to discuss feelings and perspectives. As a result of widening scholarship on forms of Jewish resistance, and an increased interest in Jewish

[730] E. Özyürek, 'Rethinking empathy: emotions triggered by the Holocaust among Muslim-minority in Germany', *Anthropological Theory*, 18/4 (2018), pp. 456-477.
[731] Assman and Detmers, *Empathy and its Limits*, p. 7.
[732] M. Sheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)?', *History and Theory*, 51 (2012), p. 195.
[733] J. Brauer, 'Empathy as an emotional practice in historical pedagogy', *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica*,17/4 (2016), p. 36.

diaries, testimony, and other first-person accounts, Jewish choices, motivations, emotion and selfhood were all accessible and reasonable historical enquiries. Teachers were able to use first-hand accounts and recreations of individuals' stories to understand different Jewish perspectives and emotional responses. For example, Deborah Cunningham's study of historical empathy in the early 2000s found that teachers embraced emotion when studying the Holocaust.[734] She focused on Ms Hayes, a teacher, who used the students' own feelings to engage them in the history of the Holocaust.

> She presented her students with a list of rules restricting the freedoms of Jews in Nazi Germany and asked them which they would find most difficult if they were Jewish children at the time. She then switched the question to focus upon how the students as themselves would feel if they happened to be living then – 'Because you're too distanced from it if you're thinking "What would this person in a museum think about this?" It's "What would I find hard?"'[735]

Empathy was used as a gateway for pupils to understand the effect of political legislation that was very distant from their everyday experiences but could relate to their enjoyment and participation in a variety of social activities. It was believed that a child's love for swimming and sport could allow them to imagine the impact of Nazi legislation prohibiting Jews from using recreational and public spaces. The emotional effect of the lesson was important to Ms Hayes she as wanted her students to *care* about the history.

Producing emotion to develop empathy was not an approach that Ms Hayes employed in all her lessons. The importance of the Holocaust necessitated an emotional response, in the hope that it might change attitudes and behaviour. Other histories were treated more objectively, whereas some topics were 'too sensitive or potentially embarrassing'. Ms Hayes avoided asking her students 'How would you feel?' if the lesson was on poverty, religion or 'the

[734] D. Cunningham, 'Empathy without illusions', *Teaching History*, 114 (2014), p. 26.
[735] Cunningham, 'Empathy without illusions', p. 26.

family links problems' by which she meant single-parent families or working mums.[736] Emotional engagement was dangerous if the topic was too close to home where the response elicited may be too strong or too personal. The Holocaust was a useful topic to explore empathy and emotion precisely because of its distance; a distance that was exaggerated by national narratives that framed the Holocaust as something foreign and 'non-British'.

In both Lincolnshire and in Leeds/Bradford many teachers continued to develop the skill of empathy and vocalised their belief that empathy held particular importance in Holocaust education for local and national cohesion between individuals and communities of different faiths, cultures and ethnicities. As empathy was understood as an attribute that can be measured and compared, on national, group and individual levels, children needed to be taught empathy and learn behavioural responses to their emotions to become socially functioning adults.[737] Empathy towards victims of the Holocaust signalled virtue, as countries compared themselves to an image of Nazi Germany, particularly as empathy was considered to be in deficit in Germany during and after the Nazi period.[738] Perceived as a skill by history teachers, they hoped they could extrapolate the empathy felt during their lessons on the Holocaust to other 'suffering' groups such as refugees, victims of other genocides, or those affected by racism, Islamophobia or other discrimination. The persecuted Jew stood in for ''the' 'Other'', but by imagining ''the' 'Other'' as a victim with limited agency and little reference to cultural or religious difference, the empathetic demands placed on the child were actually fairly limited. The school pupil needed to empathise with a fellow human's or child's suffering, but not with the concept of difference, be it cultural or religious. Empathy in

[736] Cunningham, 'Empathy without illusions', p. 28.
[737] R. Dymond, 'A scale for the measurement of empathic ability', *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 13/2 (1947), pp. 127–133; R. Norman and W. Leiding, 'The relationship between measures of individual and mass empathy', *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 20/1 (1956), pp. 79–82.
[738] A. Parkinson, *An Emotional State: The Politics of Emotion in Postwar West German Culture* (Ann Arbor, 2015), pp. 113-4.

Holocaust education was restricted by the principles of a universalised humanism in which difference was eroded.

In the 2010s, educational researchers pushed back against sentimental forms of empathy in Holocaust education. As anxieties grew about the death of the final generation of Holocaust witnesses, Holocaust educators questioned the viability of emotive approaches which require an empathetic relationship with an individual's story. This was driven in part by empirical studies which attempted to measure the impact and effect of Holocaust education. Michalinos Zemblyas for example differentiated between *pity* to refer to passive and sentimental empathy, and *compassion* in reference to empathetic feelings accompanied with action.[739] British educators at the CfHE feared that the focus on emotion in Holocaust education superseded the importance placed on knowledge, historical truth, and historical empathy in which the learner investigates the perspective of historical actors. For example, in response to concerns about teachers' knowledge and objectives when teaching the Holocaust, the CfHE developed the resource 'Being Human?' It attempted to blur definitions of perpetrators, bystanders, victims and rescuers by providing case studies of ordinary people's choices, thus developing and refining pupils' historical empathy for a range of protagonists.[740] The resource purposefully avoided the emotional cues often present in Holocaust remembrance activities and attempted instead to use cognitive empathy to enable historical understanding. The resource fitted into a larger resource collection that attempted to address misconceptions about the Holocaust, often generated as a result of collective memory, which could only be accessed by teachers after attending training sessions. They did not only provide teachers with alternative resources, but also guided their interpretation and use of them. The

[739] M. Zembylas, 'The "Crisis of Pity" and the Radicalization of Solidarity: Toward Critical Pedagogies of Compassion', Educational Studies, 49/6 (2013), pp. 504-521.
[740] P. Salmons, *Being Human? Perpetrators, Collaborators, Bystanders and Rescuers*, (London, 2009).

programme was incredibly popular, training over 12,000 teachers between 2009 and 2019, 100 percent of whom rated the training as excellent or good. The training was a standard part of many initial teacher training courses, potentially transforming the future of Holocaust education in England for the foreseeable future.

Empathy in the 'ghetto'

In France, the victims of the Holocaust were not only European, but French. Therefore, the distance between the learner and the historical actor was much shorter in France, with most learners sharing a nationality and citizenship with French victims of the Shoah, if not other characteristics and identities. In England, Holocaust victims could be termed 'distant others who suffer' to borrow from Chouliaraki's analysis of 'pity politics'.[741] The spatial and symbolic distance between the learner and the Holocaust sufferer was greater, subconsciously reinforcing a level of Western privilege that 'others' the victim,[742] and generating a politics of compassion that has been described as colonial.[743] Though the colonial gaze certainly existed in France, particularly affecting historical memory of Africa and defining 'the Other', the Holocaust represented French atrocities and crimes committed within the metropole, and the duty to care was accompanied with a duty to know, remember and accept French and European culpability. The temporary display of emotion was not enough. Instead, the memory of the Holocaust had to be felt, embodied and, at times, performed.

The development of emotion was underscored in ZEPs: schools in deprived districts with significant numbers of *issus d'immigration* and a history of academic underachievement.

[741] L. Chouliaraki, 'Watching 11 September: The Politics of Pity', *Discourse and Society,* 15 (2004) pp. 185-198.
[742] Zembylas, 'The "Crisis of Pity" and the Radicalization of Solidarity', p. 504.
[743] M. Blakenhol, 'Silence and the politics of compassion. Commemorating slavery in the Netherlands', *Social Anthroplogy*, 24/3 (2016), pp. 278-293.

Camille, a teacher in her late twenties, taught in a *collège* in the *quartiers populaires* in the fourteenth arrondissement of Marseille, bordered by the Ricard and Pernod pastis factories, an area often described as deprived and crime-ridden, giving Marseille its dangerous reputation. She explained her school and neighbourhood,

> C'est pas très mixte ici. Globalement il y a - il n'a rien à redire - 95% de musulmans. Il y a quelques gitans qui sont du coup évangélistes. Il y a deux ou trois athées. Mais globalement il y a... le problème des quartiers difficiles... j'exagère un peu mais c'est un peu un ghetto.[744]
>
> [It's not very mixed here. Overall there is - it's nothing to complain about - 95% are Muslims. There are some gypsies who are in fact evangelicals. There are two or three atheists. But overall there is... the problem of difficult neighbourhoods... I exaggerate a bit but it's rather a ghetto.]

By 'ghetto', Camille did not only mean that her pupils lived in an impoverished neighbourhood inhabited largely by minorities and immigrants, but that her pupils were cut off from other cultures and religions. Whilst her students did not use the word ghetto, they were proud of the *cité* [housing estate] or *quartier* [neighbourhood] that they came from. Camille elaborated, 'les quartiers nord, ça c'est presque une nationalité.' [the neighbourhoods in the north, it is pretty much a nationality.]

Unusually, Camille used cinema to teach the Holocaust from 2014. The film *Les Héritiers* (2014) appealed to Camille as she could relate to the challenges faced by the teacher and the class. The film relayed concerns about Muslim pupils' limited empathy with Jewish victims. It followed a reluctant group of students at Lycée Léon Blum through their participation in the CNRD.[745] The Lycée Leon Blum had a large immigrant population with a significant Muslim community from the Magbreb and sub-Saharan Africa. The area is also home to a sizeable Jewish community mainly of Tunisian and Moroccan origin. The *Concours National*

[744] Interview with Camille, conducted by H. Mann, Marseille, 21 June 2018.
[745] *Les Héritiers*, M. Mention-Schaar (dir.), (Film, 2014).

took the theme of Nazi camps, but the project was initially rejected by the students questioning, 'we've had enough hearing about the Shoah,' and 'Madame, why does everyone always talk about the Jews?'. However, the students were persuaded after visiting the Mémorial de la Shoah and meeting the Holocaust survivor Leon Zyguel. The film struck a chord with Camille, hoping to convince her Muslim-majority class of the importance of the Shoah.

> En fait c'est l'histoire d'une classe de second ensemble qui m'a beaucoup fait pleurer... Petit à petit les élèves s'aperçoivent que c'est important, ici ils se plongent dedans. Ils font la rencontre, entre guillemets, la plainte de ces enfants qui sont morts etc.... Ils s'investissent... je trouve, en plus, des élèves qui sont, qui ressemblent beaucoup aux miens parce que c'est des élèves des quartiers un peu difficiles qui... Qui ne sont pas forcément scolaires etc. Donc ils se retrouvent beaucoup dans les expressions, dans leurs relations entre eux etc... Immédiatement ils s'identifient assez à ces jeunes et du groupe, bah, le reste, c'est une identification un peu facile.[746]
>
> [In fact, it's the story of a second year class that made me cry a lot… Little by little, the pupils realise that it is important. Then they immerse themselves in it. They hear, in quotation marks, the cry of these dead children etc... They get involved... I find, as well, these pupils who are, who look very much like mine because they're pupils from quite a difficult neighbourhood, who are not necessarily that academic etc. So they communicate with each other using a lot of expressions, in their relations between them and so on... Immediately they identify quite a lot with these young people and the group, well, the rest, it's easier for them to identify.]

Alongside the stories and encounters with the Holocaust, the film touched on themes that were pertinent to young Muslim pupils. It confronted the politicised questions of identity and *laïcité* that arose in classrooms in neighbourhoods like Camille's when teaching the Holocaust, as the students tried to navigate their French, Muslim and African identities. Should they be allowed to wear the hijab to school? Should Muslim girls dress modestly, or does this too break *laique* relegations? Can you separate your religious and national identities? And, if they become too French, or empathise too much with Jewish victimhood, are they betraying their Muslim heritage? These responses to learning about the Holocaust,

[746] Interview with Camille.

displayed both in the film and in Camille's classroom, were questions filled with emotion: with hurt, anger, confusion and pride. In the film, and in Camille's lesson, their own frustrations and fears about their inclusion and rejection from French society were not passed over when shown the magnitude of the crimes and suffering endured during the Holocaust. Camille's lesson avoided comparing forms of persecution and a competition of victimhood by purposefully providing a space for questions and dialogue about discrimination today.

Camille believed that her pupils emotionally engaged with the Parisian teenagers. According to Camille, that provided a pathway for them to listen to and empathise with the experiences of Jewish youths during the Shoah, following the model presented by the teenage protagonists in the film. As identified by the historian of emotion, Ute Frevert, 'we can imagine certain situations better than others. This is why we feel socially inclined to sympathise more with those people with whom we can identify, than with others who live in different worlds.'[747] Camille judged the success of her lesson via the emotional response of her pupils.

> C'est un ancien déporté qui vient témoigner de ce qu'il a vécu. En plus ça choque souvent mes élèves parce qu'il raconte qu'il avait quinze ans. Ils ont quinze ans, les élèves. Donc ils se perçoivent vraiment s'allumer dans la réalité de ce qui s'est passé et donc... Ce ancien déporté qui raconte... très simplement mais avec beaucoup d'émotion ce qui est arrivé. Et en fait souvent, quand je, parce que souvent j'arrête l'extrait à ce moment-là, souvent, mes élèves, ils me disent même pour attendre deux minutes avant de rendre la lumière parce que bah en fait ils ne veulent pas voir pas qui pleurent. Mais mes émotions. {Camille begins to cry}.[748]
>
> [There is a former deportee who comes to testify about what he lived through. It often shocks my students because he says he was fifteen years old. They are fifteen years old. So they really see themselves in the reality of what happened and so... This former deportee who tells... very simply but with great emotion what happened. And in fact often, when I, because I often stop the excerpt at that time, often, my students, they even tell me to wait two minutes before switching on the light because, actually, they do not want to see who are crying. But my emotions. {Camille begins to cry}]

[747] U. Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest, 2011), p. 197.
[748] Interview with Camille.

She wanted her pupils to ultimately be able to identify with the Jewish survivor and sympathise with his story about his own youth. As a result, the production of emotion was at the centre of her lessons, asking the learner to not only imagine the emotions and motivations of the person from the past, but also consider how they themselves would feel in the same situation. The process was pertinent to teachers such as Camille, as identifying with national histories was necessary if her pupils were to engender a sense of belonging. As Camille succeeded in moving her pupils emotionally, she was not only connecting them to a significant historical event and their fellow Jewish citizens, but to shared French memory and heritage. By doing so, she was able to perform the clichéd character of the noble, brave and naïve '*prof de banlieue*' as portrayed in *Les Héritiers*, and 'save' her students by minimising the 'gap' between French culture and values and those of her students.[749]

Conclusion

Teachers' societal anxieties urged them to move and disturb their pupils emotionally in the hope of radically affecting the younger generation's behaviours and attitudes. Youth may then correct the mistakes of the past or learn from history so as not to repeat it, to borrow from George Santayana's much repeated axiom.[750] The demands of Holocaust memory thus differed in their intensity and objectives in England and France, responding to the acknowledged failures and triumphs of the nation. In England, the rallying call 'don't be a bystander' appeared in materials and resources produced by educational charities such as the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust from 2007. Yet the pressure to care and to empathise or sympathise with the victim or the 'Other' was ubiquitous in teachers' lessons. The pupil's

[749] K. Wesselhoeft, 'On the 'front lines' of the classroom: moral education and Muslim students in French state schools', *Oxford Review of Education*, 43/5 (2017), p. 629.
[750] G. Santayana, 'Reason in Common Sense', *The Life of Reason* (Cambridge, 2011).

objective was to feel and reflect, but not to act. The vague (and erroneous) memory of the British government organising the rescue of 10,000 children from Nazi Germany and Occupied lands no doubt encouraged a curious combination of sympathy and apathy. French memory, at least since 1995, called upon the young to acknowledge its perpetrators and the fragility of Republican values. By producing emotion, it was hoped that youth would recognise this past, believe it, and use its memory to create a compassionate defence against antisemitism and fascism. Authentic and embodied emotional experiences and formal, political remembrance ceremonies where young people could perform their *care* for the subject and their allegiance to the values of the Republic became key foci of Holocaust education. In the *quartiers nord*, the production of emotion was more urgent and poignant for the teacher as it represented their inclusion of disaffected *issus d'immigration* in shared 'French' memory and values. Unlike in England where history teachers grappled with the ethics of care, in France there existed a duty of care that could be publicly performed and later enacted at the *bureau de vote*.

Conclusion

This thesis has considered how teachers taught the Holocaust in four localities with different patterns of immigration, employment and religious compositions. It has explored the political, social and cultural dynamics of Holocaust memory in educational settings over a thirty year period, considering how teachers have related a twentieth century genocide to their perceptions of their pupils' needs, not least considering the discrimination faced by Muslim communities in both countries. Teachers, their lives, their experiences and, crucially, their memories, are at the centre of this thesis. As loci of various historical, cultural, intergenerational and local memories, history teachers provide a gateway to examine the dynamics and substance of collective memory. Their oral histories provide a rich compendium of influences and pressures on their choice of resource and narrative when teaching the Holocaust, as well as a complex and sometimes contradictory array of mnemonic sources and stimuli, which differ between locality, nation and generation.

Whilst the field of memory studies has focused on the interrelationship between the past and the present, history education is often concerned with creating a bridge between the past and the future. Even the slogan 'never again' has been directed at preventing future genocides, or acknowledging those in the recent past, rather than addressing genocides occurring in the present. Though teachers' lessons were unavoidably concerned with their present day anxieties and concerns, teachers aimed to create future citizens. This objective was vaguer among history teachers in England than in France, even during the period 2002 to 2011 when citizenship education was included as part of the National Curriculum, as teachers were unclear about what it meant to be a British citizen. Once citizenship education was reframed as the promotion of British values from 2008, some were uncomfortable with pursuing what they perceived to be British nationalism. In France, *histoire-géographie* teachers were

specifically designated to teach *l'éducation civique*, to promote the values of the Republic and to form citizens. Teachers' purpose when teaching the Holocaust was to transmit a set of citizenly behaviours and attitudes. This centred around the universal call for tolerance in both countries but often included specific actions in France: to vote for non-extremist political candidates, to partake in the national *devoir de mémoire*, and in some contexts to protest and resist racism and prejudice.

French teachers born in the post-war period placed the protection of the Republic and defence of its values at the heart of their professional mission, notably through their pupils' democratic participation. Younger teachers' temporal distance from the Vichy regime meant that, whilst they shared the same political opposition to Vichy fascism, they did not express the same level of shame about the past as their older colleagues. While older colleagues participated in the process of historical justice, teaching about the Shoah in France for the first time in the 1990s, teachers entering the profession after this process felt less *duty* to atone for a past that had already been addressed. Older teachers were indicative of what Henry Rousso labelled 'the Vichy syndrome', describing the era in 1994 as a *passé qui ne passe pas* [past that does not pass].[751] In reference to education, Rousso and Conan concluded that teaching about Vichy and genocide was like an island: you couldn't historicise the event for the risk of relativizing the history and 'becoming a Nolte', in reference to the German historian at the centre of the 1986 *Historikerstreit.*[752] As such, in France, the event was trapped within a framework in which it could only respectably be taught as a historical subject infused with moral and civic instruction. In contrast, the emotional and geographical distance of the Holocaust in England meant that teachers had a choice on how they approached the subject, some choosing to historicise the event whilst others opted for a moral

[751] H. Rousso and E. Conan, *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas*, (Paris, 1994).
[752] Rousso and Conan, *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas*, p. 191.

discussion. No participating teachers in England considered themselves to be 'agents' in the process of historical justice, though several taught about the Holocaust with an agenda to tackle contemporary social injustices.

As media witnesses to the trials of Barbie, Papon and other Vichy criminals in the late-1980s and early-1990s, older teachers in France shared Chirac's sentiments in his 1995 acknowledgement of French culpability and responsibility to the past. Over twenty-years later, they remained driven by a strongly-felt and impassioned *devoir de mémoire* when teaching about the Shoah to French youths. In stark contrast to their younger and English counterparts, they believed that they bore the responsibility of atoning for the Vichy past in their role as teachers through the act of educating new and unblemished generations. Were younger teachers in France therefore able to able to historicise the past in a way that was inaccessible to their older colleagues? A small number expressed concerns about the burden of memory, as a duty forever placed on the shoulders of the young. Most agreed that the history's importance lay in its ability to transmit lessons about antisemitism, xenophobia and active citizenship to their pupil, upholding its moral and civic purpose. Unlike their older colleagues however, becoming a citizen was more about the practicalities of living peacefully together in diverse communities than it was about the protecting the Republic from another Vichy.

In keeping with the Ministry of Education and the Mémorial de la Shoah, teachers in France used the term *memoire* as opposed to *histoire* when it came to teaching the Shoah. As described by Rousso, 'memoire' had become a catch-all term to teach about histories that involved identity claims, and when the history could be used as a device to repair the legacy

of the past in the present.[753] Participating teachers in England rarely utilised memory as a tool of repair or redress. Though the British government had apologised in the past, on behalf of the state, for historic atrocities, these moments were of less cultural and symbolic status, and were largely forgotten by the general public, teachers included. For example, Foreign Secretary William Hague expressed 'sincere regret' in 2013 following a Mau Mau reparation case against the former British Empire in the high court. This apology did not create a 'duty of memory' and the history and the apology were rarely, if ever, taught in schools. Unlike in France, apologies were not coupled with educational mandates and teachers did not partake in the process of reparations. President Emmanuel Macron is expected to apologise for France's role in the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda after ordering an investigative report on the 25th anniversary of the genocide in 2019, including provision for the genocide to be taught in *terminale.* Many teachers in England maintained a connection between history and the moral lessons it provided for the present day, embracing opportunities to make their teaching 'relevant'. They did not, however, regard themselves as active agents in the attainment of historical justice. When teaching to minimise racism or prejudice, it should be no surprise that English teachers eagerly used the example of the Holocaust, a history that had been documented, acknowledged, judicated and redressed elsewhere, with few national examples of their own that had negotiated the processes of historical justice.

To cast English teachers' intentions as uncritically patriotic would oversimplify their choices. After reviewing the edited collection *Britain and the Holocaust: remembering and representing war and genocide,* Mark Hobbs, for example, stated that undergraduate history students will,

[753] H. Rousso, *Face au passé : Essai sur la mémoire contemporaine* (Paris, 2016), p. 12.

> no doubt as a result of the new changes to the history National Curriculum, feel that Britain "fought the Second World War to save the Jews of Europe", or that Britain and the British did "everything possible to save the Jews in Europe".[754]

Hobbs' presumption about students' knowledge was based on changes to the curriculum in 2013 which prescribed that teachers must teach the 'unique evil of the Holocaust', as part of a wider syllabus that intended to promote British national history.[755] Combined with a remembrance culture, which synthesised Second World War commemoration and Holocaust memory, Hobbs' statement indicated the adoption of a bizarrely patriotic narrative of the Holocaust in Britain. Hobbs' certainty about students' knowledge, however, oversimplified the mnemonic processes that they negotiated in the classroom. For most teachers, teaching about Britain's role detracted from the 'important parts' of the history that occurred across the Channel. There was a reluctance to force a British narrative on a history which they viewed as German or European, which could divert their students from the most valuable lessons from the Holocaust: to not become a perpetrator. For some teachers, this revealed an undercurrent of 'British exceptionalism' and a quiet celebration that Britain was on the 'right side of history'. For many others, their primary motivation to teach the Holocaust was to understand the transition from ordinary citizen to perpetrator, or from 'civilised' to genocide: a threat they recognised in British society. Narratives celebrating British rescue were notably absent from most teachers' lessons. Discussions about the role of the military in defeating the Nazis, in liberation and the decision against bombing the railway tracks to Auschwitz were more common in Lincolnshire, but in all localities teachers rarely talked about the Kindertransport. Those that did commonly taught about it once or twice, and later reverted to their 'standard' set of lessons on Nazi Germany. In juxtaposition to Hobbs' assumption,

[754] M. Hobbs, 'Britain and the Holocaust: remembering and representing war and genocide', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 34/1 (2016), p. 92.
[755] Department of Education, *The National Curriculum in England: Framework Document for Consultation* (London, 2013), p. 171.

teachers overall rejected the Coalition and Conservative governments use of Holocaust education and remembrance, as a symbol and reflection of 'British values'. The concept was too new, ill-defined and awkwardly patriotic for teachers to accept. They perceived nothing 'British' about the value system they attempted to transmit by teaching the Holocaust: its value derived from its universal importance for all humanity.

Teachers took their perspectives and experiences garnered from beyond and before their teaching careers into the classroom. The significance of family memory varied from teacher to teacher. In France, stories about their family's efforts in the French Resistance were proudly shared, whilst tales of collaboration were suppressed or remained silent in the family. When asked, a surprising number of teachers took the opportunity to talk about the First World War instead. These intergenerational memories did not fit Marianne Hirsch's definition of 'postmemory' - the relationship that the 'generation(s) after' bear to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before – even when the teacher's family memory was itself traumatic.[756] In my interviews, I addressed histories that may have included trauma and that the teacher was compelled to teach as part of the history curriculum. In these cases, traumatic family memories were characterised by silence and repression in the household, but unlike Hirsch's research on second-generation Holocaust survivors, their family's experiences were not 'transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right.'[757] Nevertheless, as Schützenberger notes, 'felt injustice' still managed to permeate between generations.[758] Instead, the National Curriculum served as a tool in England and France to explore and play out family histories that they may have otherwise continued to suppress. Some teachers therefore found the curriculum to be

[756] Hirsch, *Postmemory*, p. 5.
[757] Hirsch, *Postmemory*, p. 5.
[758] Schützenberger, *The ancestor syndrome*, p. 28.

useful and productive, allowing them to make sense of their own family past. As history teachers signalled who 'we' the nation are through a shared past, histories were occasionally broadened to include their own past into that definition. The desire for unity across all schools allowed teachers to celebrate 'positive' family pasts when it related to the history lesson at hand, enriching pupils understanding. If it risked conflict or conveyed feelings of shame, it was easy to hide or suppress under the auspices of 'neutrality'.

Alongside family, teachers drew upon their previous careers in the classroom. For instance, Guy and Rosemary in Lincolnshire shared French teachers' passion for real and material objects, as a consequence of Guy's career and passion for archaeology. Indeed, career played a significant role in shaping teachers' historical memory. In France, teachers rarely enjoyed a separate career before entering the teaching profession, with the exception of postgraduate historical research. In England, teachers often became teachers as a 'career change' or left the profession after a number of years. Teachers joined the profession after having children, or more casual work in bars, offices and supermarkets. Though they loved history, many of these teachers didn't consider themselves to be historians or 'academic', when compared to their French counterparts. In particular, several Lincolnshire teachers joined the profession following a career in the military. Their impressive knowledge of the Second World War – remembered in Britain as a 'good war' – permeated their memory of the Holocaust.

Studies of Holocaust memory often underestimate the role of class, race and geography. Though studies of museums and memorials are important, in both England and France these studies centre around London and Paris. Except for a small number of funded programmes, pupils in Marseille, Aix-en-Provence, Lincolnshire and Leeds/Bradford did not visit their capital cities to learn about the Holocaust. Instead, teachers mediated their resources alongside a plethora of cultural productions based on their interests and what they believed

would appeal to their school pupils. The teachers' and pupils' identities therefore mattered. Teachers often shared images and narratives that moved them emotionally and tried to recreate the same emotional response in their students. Film and images therefore played a central role, as teachers tried to compete with their perceptions of a digital youth culture. For some, this involved using colourised images of victims that made their presence *feel* real and immediate. Other teachers used cinema to the same end. More often in France, history needed to be authentic and organic. Using archival documents and hard evidence provided the most obvious route for pupils to 'reach' history. Perhaps motivated by the passing of the survivor generation, Holocaust educators in the 2010s fixated on 'authentic' encounters with the Holocaust. Visiting *lieux de mémoires* became the epitome of a Holocaust mnemonic 'experience'. Though sites such as Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum had been open since 1947, the end of the Cold War provided Western visitors the opportunity to visit. By the 2010s, the growth of the budget airline industry in Europe, and the Holocaust's centrality in Western memory culture, meant that visits to Auschwitz were increasingly popular in secondary schools. From 2012, the Camp des Milles internment camp, on the outskirts of Aix-en-Provence, provided a similar immersive mnemonic experience. Teachers used them to physically and emotionally disturb their pupils, converting the pupil into a witness themselves.

Teachers responded to contemporary events and the development of historical memory cultures in each country. In the 1980s, educating about the Holocaust drew upon the anti-racism movement. Following a wave of race riots in 1981 in London, Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester, and a growth in far-right marches organised by the National Front and the BNP, the horrors of Auschwitz were used to promote the positives of multiculturalism and

create a universal message about the threat of prejudice.[759] In parts of Lincolnshire in the 2010s, lacking the diversity of London or Leeds/Bradford, where understanding about forms of racism had developed, this ill-defined objective persisted. In 1980s France, memory of the Shoah aimed to directly tackle antisemitism, owing in part to Jean-Marie Le Pen's success in the polls. Genocides in the 1990s in Rwanda and Bosnia awoke the threat that mass atrocity may be part of the human condition and established 'genocide education' in English classrooms. As such, teachers connected the Holocaust to Rwanda, Srebrenica, Darfur and Syria, with the expressed intension of making the Holocaust 'relevant'. It opened up a limited opportunity to acknowledge a historical injustice that may have otherwise struggled for space in a busy school curriculum.

In France, however, other genocides were framed within the political contexts of decolonisation and regime collapse and were taught separately from the Shoah. This shielded French teachers from having to teach another dark past in their national history by obfuscating the French military's collaborative role in Rwanda. It was a contested issue that teachers rarely raised in interviews, despite having been asked about how they taught about the genocide and its regular presence in recent years in the media and the popular magazine *L'histoire*. The two histories did not benefit from a multidirectional mnemonic solidarity, as defined by Rothberg.[760] Neither did teachers consider that the two histories competed for space in the school curriculum, but rather, led by the layout of curriculum, teachers simply did not connect the two histories together.[761] It illuminated the power of the term and concept of 'genocide' in English Holocaust memory, compared to France, where the mnemonic

[759] Auschwitz Education Group. *Auschwitz: Yesterday's Racism*.
[760] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, p. 19.
[761] Rousso, *Face au passé*, p. 12.

strength of the Shoah derived from its legacy for understanding French citizenship and French nationality.

The relationship between Holocaust memory and memory of empire was perhaps most controversial. The Shoah and the Algerian War of Independence were both taught as *mémoires* in the history curriculum. Both the history of the Shoah and of the War of Independence touched upon the concepts of citizenship and nationality but whilst teachers generally considered questions about French Jewish citizenship to be resolved, issues surrounding French Algerian citizenship were still very much alive.[762] The history required teachers to define who was French, who was not, and who was not 'entirely' French. In the creation of French citizenship, inculcating strong and inclusive 'Frenchness' was a key concern of teachers in Marseille where pupils regularly rejected their nationality in history classrooms. Despite the historic links between the two periods of French history, teachers never connected the atrocities committed by Vichy leaders in France to those in North Africa. Even Charlotte Delbo's poetry on Auschwitz, was taught unaccompanied by any reference to her protests during the struggle for Algerian independence. Keeping each history separate prevented complicating the history of the Shoah and its straightforward lessons about citizenship.

The mandatory position of Holocaust education in the English National Curriculum was often contrasted with the lack of education about the British Empire. Some argued that the memory of the Holocaust was used as a 'screen memory' for Empire in Britain, as is more commonly

[762] G. Boyer and V. Stacchetti, 'Enseigner la guerre d'Algérie à l'école : dépasser les enjeux de mémoires ?' in B. Falaize et al., *La France et L'Algérie : Leçons d'histoire*,(Lyon, 2007) pp. 241-250; A. Moumen, 'Comment enseigner la guerre d'Algérie?', *Nouvelobs*, (28 November 2018) https://www.nouvelobs.com/idees/20191128.OBS21679/comment-enseigner-la-guerre-d-algerie.html (1 May 2020).

alleged in the United States.[763] As Britain embarked to create a National Holocaust Memorial in 2015, calls were therefore made for greater acknowledgement of Britain's historical involvement in slavery, its colonial past and their legacies.[764] Overall, Empire was a silent history in their classrooms and the Holocaust was not used as a bridge to teach another, 'closer to home' difficult history. Nevertheless, the allegory of a 'screen memory' was too simplistic. Whilst some teachers in Lincolnshire did use the history to awkwardly confront the legacies of all racisms, teachers were keen to also teach about slavery and some were slowly including more critical teaching about empire in their lessons. Just as teachers lacked confidence when teaching the history of the Holocaust in the 1990s and 2000s, and therefore enhanced their lessons with established and 'safe' cultural productions such as *Schindler's List*, they lacked a cultural memory of empire to foreground their lessons. Teachers who expressed confidence in teaching the Holocaust were those who had undergone professional training. Some expressed curiosity and a willingness to undertake similar training to teach about the British Empire and teachers in Bradford had adapted their curricula to include some teaching on the Empire at Key Stage Three. Teachers were eager to design a curriculum that engaged their pupils, and this included courses on British India and Partition. Unlike in France however, where teachers were buoyed by a state-wide *devoir de mémoire*, teachers in England did not recognise themselves as agents in a wider process of reconciliation and historical justice.

Teaching the Holocaust 'correctly', or moreover, producing the appropriate emotional response, was a key concern of teachers in England and France. This responsibility appeared to weigh heavily on teachers' shoulders, and many confessed the hours they had invested

[763] P. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston, 1999), p. 15; Lawson, 'The Holocaust and Colonial Genocide at the Imperial War Museum', p. 163.
[764] McIntosh, Todd and Das, *Teaching, Migration, Belonging, and Empire in Secondary Schools*.

reflecting on how to teach the history and preparing appropriately for lessons. In England, this pressure built from the late 2000s, as collective memory reached its zenith and Holocaust survivors were reframed as role models for society. Encouraged by remembrance organisations, such as the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust and the HET, young people were imagined as their memory heirs, who could act as ambassadors and share their stories. Questions still surfaced about how much emotion was appropriate, as teachers considered the purpose of history education and the pedagogical place of shock and empathy in the classroom. In particular, teachers developed strong views in the 2010s about whether they should share graphic images or if they risked traumatising their pupils. These debates only occasionally surfaced in interviews in France. There, the production of shame, sorrow and regret was imperative in order to protect France's future from its past. The production of emotion was a central process in the *devoir de mémoire*. This process was extended to 'immigrant' populations whose ancestors paradoxically were least implicated in the crimes of the Shoah. Nevertheless, young immigrant populations' engagement with the memory of the Holocaust seemed to 'prove' their 'Frenchness' to teachers by displaying their rejection of antisemitism and adherence to French values. Teaching about the Shoah sometimes led to difficult questions about the Israel-Palestine conflict and in Marseille teachers portrayed their concern that their pupils *might* say something antisemitic. They wavered between defending theirpupils, often demonised in the French media, and their fears about the persistence of antisemitism in Muslim communities. By building empathy with the victims of the Holocaust, they circumvented having to address challenging questions of contemporary antisemitism and Islamophobia in France.

There were differences in how teachers in both countries thought about adolescence and childhood when teaching about the Holocaust. Educating about the Holocaust was as much about the future of humanity and the preservation of moral values, as it was about the

wellbeing of the child. When some teachers shared harrowing images to produce shock and transmit the horror of the Holocaust, the learner's comfort and wellbeing was arguably sacrificed for the protection of the future. Changing ideas about childhood, safeguarding and trauma, particularly in England in the 2010s, meant that most teachers were careful to negotiate a balance between shock, emotion and 'age-appropriateness' when teaching the Holocaust. Among teachers in both countries, there was an attempt to mediate the history of the Holocaust from perspectives and frameworks that they believed their pupils could comprehend. This manifested in teachers' attempts to bring their students 'closer' to the Holocaust by making it 'real'. In England, many teachers created 'prosthetic memory' of the Holocaust by sharing individuals' stories through embodied experiences, either through live testimony or cinema. They could connect pupils to the Holocaust through their emotions by creating an 'ethics of care'. In France, teachers put greater emphasis on 'authentic' and 'organic' encounters, reaching the Holocaust via local archival documents or uncomfortable physical experiences in sites of memory. It was imagined that the pupils' discomfort could create a mnemonic bond between the learner and the victim, turning the pupil into a witness and 'memory heir'.

Teaching the Holocaust was considered to be of value in England and France, as it imparted lessons on the values that 'we' stand for. That 'we' varied from teacher to teacher, depending on their relationship with the state, their family history and their commitment to national, European or global definitions of citizenship. The principal objective of Holocaust education was to transmit that it was wrong. This knowledge would hopefully inform the behaviours and attitudes of their pupils as they entered adulthood. Its civic and moral lessons rested in the balance with the requirements of the discipline of history. Teachers were hesitant to draw parallels with the contemporary and instead taught about other recent pasts or connected Holocaust education to the future. Though on balance teachers found national curricula

helpful, many teachers expressed scepticism about their respective Ministries of Education's interpretation of national identity. Their lessons strove to create an inclusive definition of nationality that worked for *their* classroom and *their* local neighbourhood. Teachers' understandings of racism and antisemitism were, however, limited by the diversity of their school's population. The 'irrelevance' of the legacies of the British Empire in parts of Lincolnshire, and in some schools in Aix-en-Provence, meant that the Holocaust remained the most apt and important history to learn from, even if the demands it set on French and British citizenship, to not be a perpetrator in genocide, were not particularly ambitious.

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