



The
Historical Association
The voice for history

The Holocaust and Other Genocides

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TEACHING HISTORY

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The Historical Association
59a Kennington Park Road
London SE11 4JH
Telephone: 020 7735 3901
Fax: 020 7582 4989

PRESIDENT Professor Jackie Eales
DEPUTY PRESIDENT Chris Culpin
HONORARY TREASURER Richard Walker
HONORARY SECRETARY Dr Trevor James
CHIEF EXECUTIVE Rebecca Sullivan

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EDITED BY

Arthur Chapman, Institute of Education, University of London
Paul Salmons, Institute of Education, University of London
Christine Counsell, University of Cambridge Faculty of Education
Katharine Burn, Department of Education, University of Oxford
Michael Fordham, University of Cambridge, Faculty of Education

CONSULTING EDITORS

Rachel Foster, Comberton Village College, Cambridgeshire
Alison Kitson, Institute of Education, University of London

PUBLISHER Rebecca Sullivan

DESIGN & LAYOUT Martin Hoare

COVER DESIGN Reid Smith reid.smith@btopenworld.com

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The Holocaust and Other Genocides

The Holocaust, it has been said, is the paradigmatic genocide.¹ While atrocity and mass murder are common in human history, the term 'genocide' did not exist before the Second World War and the Nazi crimes have become a lens through which we perceive crimes against humanity today. Many pupils naturally make links between the Holocaust and other mass atrocities and many teachers wish to help them relate their learning to the contemporary world. However, there are significant obstacles to doing this effectively – a lack of research on most other genocides, still less on the comparative level, and a subsequent dearth of reliable educational materials designed for such a study in the classroom.

It is to tackle such challenges that the Institute of Education (IOE) at the University of London – with the generous support of the Claims Conference – established the IOE Beacon Schools in Holocaust Education programme to work intensively and collaboratively with a small number of schools at the leading edge of teaching and learning about the Holocaust and, in so doing, to make a genuine contribution to the field, designing new approaches and classroom materials and disseminating this new thinking to other schools.² This special edition of *Teaching History*, which is being distributed to every school in the country, provides an opportunity to celebrate and share some of that work, and we hope that it will contribute to further innovation in teaching and learning about the Holocaust and other genocides.

Why do we teach about the Holocaust and about other genocides? Although, the Holocaust has been a compulsory part of the English National Curriculum since 1991, curriculum documents say little about *why* pupils should learn about the Holocaust. Tamsin Leyman and Richard Harris used the opportunity presented by the recent National Curriculum review to explore this issue with pupils. They report how students responded to the challenge and argue that asking students to think about why they are learning has beneficial effects, not least on students' thinking about the Holocaust's significance.

Why genocides occur is a perplexing and complex question. Darius Jackson and

Leanne Judson each explore aspects of this issue. Jackson reports a teaching strategy designed to help pupils explore the roots of genocide through an exploration of change and continuity in antisemitism. Judson reports a strategy designed to help students to think about, and evaluate explanations for, perpetration. Together, both articles provide fruitful indications of ways in which we can engage pupils in reflection and debate.

'Never again' is the clarion call of much Holocaust education. The danger, however, is that it can become merely a pious wish. How can we help pupils to reflect on genocide prevention? Alison Stephen reports the development of a scheme of work and a cross-curricular Global Awareness Day that aimed to help students compare genocides and reflect on genocide prevention, and evaluates the collaborative learning that these projects stimulated. Elisabeth Kellaway, Thomas Spillane and Terry Haydn report teaching strategies focused on what came after the Holocaust: on events in Rwanda, on warning signs and steps to genocide and on genocidal language. They encouraged students to apply their learning to the present – in Chechnya – with beneficial effects on student engagement and understanding.

Mark Gudgel's article focuses on Rwanda – on the country and its history and on the events of 1994, emphatically arguing against the mistake of reducing the former to the latter. Teachers have to learn in order to teach. Gudgel's article emerges from a process of learning about Rwanda through personal scholarship and direct experience of the country and its people: Gudgel shares this knowledge and pedagogic reflections and makes a powerful case for exploring Rwanda and its history with pupils.

Like Stephen's article, James Woodcock's focuses on a whole-school approach to genocide in the context of Holocaust

Memorial Day (HMD). Building on his earlier work, Woodcock discusses interdisciplinarity and how it can add value to learning about the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide by attending to the distinctive contributions of subject disciplines. The HMD event that Woodcock reports and evaluates drew on disciplinary perspectives from history, law and music. Woodcock reflects on the importance of interdisciplinary learning conversations between staff and on the role of external experts in the success of the event. It is common practice to invite survivors of the Holocaust to speak about their experiences to pupils in schools and colleges. Systematic reflection on the value of working with survivors is rarer, however. Andrew Preston reports how his school has worked with Martin Stern, a Holocaust survivor, and reflects on how to make best use of the opportunities and challenges associated with bringing an authentic voice into the classroom. Preston's article is not simply about 'voice' but is itself multi-vocal. Preston offers a teacher's perspective and Stern the perspective of a survivor with extensive experience of speaking in schools. Madeleine Payne Heneghan adds the important perspective of a student listening to a survivor.

REFERENCES

¹ Bauer, Y. (2001), *Rethinking the Holocaust*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

² For further information on the Claims Conference see www.claimscon.org/. For further information about the IOE Beacon Schools in Holocaust Education programme and how your school can apply to become part of this programme, please email holocaust@ioe.ac.uk

Arthur Chapman
Christine Counsell
Katharine Burn
Michael Fordham
Editors

Paul Salmons
Guest Editor



HA Secondary News

Dear members

The theme of curriculum reform is hard to avoid. With the ink barely dry on the final draft of the revised National Curriculum, another consultation was announced – or rather (confusingly!), *two* consultations. Their focus is A-level reform, with the DfE seeking feedback on draft requirements for *content*, and Ofqual seeking views on revised *assessment* objectives. The Historical Association will use the consultation to reiterate members' concerns about the separation of AS and A2, but you may also have particular views about the balance of the assessment objectives and the way in which the parameters are being set to try to ensure genuine breadth of study (as well as depth). The HA website provides links to both consultations, which close on 20 December and 17 January, respectively.

The fact that the A-level changes in history are classed as relatively minor means that new courses are meant to be available for first teaching in September 2015. The more substantial changes expected at GCSE have been put back to 2016, which seemed to promise more time for the exam boards to develop, pilot and refine new specifications, and for publishers to provide new resources where they are needed. Sadly, although the consultation closed in mid-August, we have yet to see a revised draft of the new criteria. Not only is the window for careful development work shrinking rapidly, we find ourselves yet again reviewing and debating each stage of the curriculum in isolation, making it unnecessarily difficult to plan for sustained progression.

Heads of department and curriculum planners are unsurprisingly anxious to see the final shape of new the GCSE before planning any changes at Key Stage 3, and all of us are wondering just how we are going to measure and report on students' progress. Several recent

HA forums have brought teachers together to begin sharing their ideas, while the supplement that accompanies this issue of *Teaching History* offers a helpful overview of progression across Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 as well as directing readers back to earlier models of 'assessment without levels' that could perhaps be combined with other kinds of check on the development of substantive knowledge.

This year's survey, which was published in November, attracted some surprising headlines that the DfE was quick to dismiss. While we are delighted that the proportion of young people taking history GCSE has risen so dramatically in recent years, the fact remains that there has also been a dramatic increase in the proportion of respondents who report that their school turns *some* students away from history after the age of 14, most often on the grounds that they are unlikely to achieve a grade C. The HA is deeply concerned about this restriction of students' choices – arguing that all young people have the right to explore the forces that have shaped the world in which they are growing up, and to locate their own lifespan within a much longer trajectory. New progress measures (announced in October and due to be reported as part of the school performance tables from 2016) mean that alongside existing measures, scores will also be calculated in terms of *progress* (from Key Stage 2 SATS results) across a student's eight best subjects. This may give you new arguments to use if you find yourself fighting for a student's right to go on studying history!

As we reach the end of the autumn term I often advise my PGCE students to think creatively about the year ahead, spotting the opportunities that forthcoming anniversaries may present for exploring the issue of historical significance, raising questions about why and how we choose to remember

the past. The advice is obviously unnecessary this year – with questions of how we should commemorate and what exactly we should learn about (and from) the First World War already being keenly debated in the media. A special edition of *Teaching History* will explore the issue next year, presenting a range of thoughtful and innovative teaching approaches linked to the anniversary. But profound political developments (and a very different kind of connection between Britain and Germany) 200 years earlier will also take centre stage as we commemorate the accession – by parliamentary invitation – of the first Hanoverian monarch. With the referendum on Scottish independence scheduled for September provoking revived interest in the 1707 Acts of Union, 2014 just might be the year that sees the long-neglected eighteenth century make a comeback!

This special edition of *Teaching History* is sadly the last for which Arthur Chapman will act as managing editor. He has been a key part of the editorial team for seven years and the journal has been enormously enriched by his passion, intellectual rigour and tremendous hard work. He has played an invaluable role, not least in the links he has forged between different communities, strengthening collaboration between history educators in different countries and between history teachers and academic historians. We are delighted that he will be taking forward that work by continuing to act as editor for the regular *Polychronicon* feature. Thank you Arthur for all that you have done for the journal – and for the rich contribution that you will continue to make!



Best wishes
Katharine Burn
Chair, HA Secondary Committee

Connecting the dots:

helping Year 9 to debate the purposes of Holocaust and genocide education

Why do we teach about the Holocaust and about other genocides? The Holocaust has been a compulsory part of the English National Curriculum since 1991; however, curriculum documents say little about why pupils should learn about the Holocaust or about what they should learn. Tamsin Leyman and Richard Harris decided to use the opportunity presented by the recent National Curriculum review to explore these issues with pupils, some of whom had studied other genocides and some of whom had not. Their article reports how students responded to the challenge in the context of learning about the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide and argues that asking students to think about why and how they are learning about these topics has beneficial effects, not least on students' thinking about the significance of the Holocaust.

Introduction

Having taught and worked with history teachers over numerous years, it is evident, despite what some politicians would have us believe, that the general overall quality of the history education profession is extremely high. The inventiveness of history teachers and history educators is a major strength; the ability of individuals and groups to devise engaging and imaginative teaching ideas is often extraordinary, while the capacity to respond to initiatives in an intellectually rigorous manner often ensures high-quality pedagogy and debate within the community, as is evidenced by debates in these pages and at events such as the annual Historical Association and Schools' History Project conferences. Another attribute of the history education community is a collective desire to look for ways to improve the quality of history education, and there are times when, as a community, we are faced by challenging questions and issues.

One such challenge is the question 'Why?' Most teachers are probably fairly comfortable answering the question, 'Why should we teach history?', particularly when students come to make choices about GCSE and A-level subjects, yet questions about why we teach particular historical topics, or take a particular slant on those topics, can be more problematic. Clearly the degree of challenge raised by such questions will vary from topic to topic; for example most teachers will probably be able to make a strong case for teaching the Norman Conquest or the First World War, but deciding which particular content to include or which particular perspective to examine is trickier. Should the Norman Conquest focus on why the Normans successfully invaded, or on the consequences of the Conquest? Should we look at trench life in the First World War, or focus on how the war was different from previous conflicts? Should there be a focus on technology in the war or on the way in which the war brought about social change? Such questions become more pressing given the limiting timetable constraints faced in many schools. We cannot teach everything and we have to make choices.

These questions can become even more problematic with particular topics such as the Holocaust and the teaching of genocide. Most teachers would probably not have a problem arguing that these are important topics to study, but what we want pupils to gain from studying them is a much more difficult question to answer. Are we simply educating students *about* the Holocaust, or are we educating students *to help prevent* possible future atrocities? Are we engaged in straightforward historical analysis of the past, examining what happened and how, or are we engaged in moral education or anti-racist education?

These are very important questions to answer and shape what we choose to focus on, how we teach and what we wish to achieve when teaching. These questions are often hotly contested, as the differing views expressed by Illingworth and Kinloch earlier in these pages show.¹ Research by the University of London's Institute of Education (IOE) in 2009 also revealed wide variation in the ways that teachers thought about the purposes of teaching the Holocaust.² And it is not clear that the revised National Curriculum will help clarify matters for the history teacher who expressed deep confusion about what was expected:

What does the Government want us to be teaching every child in this country [about the Holocaust]? ... What aspects are they wanting us to teach? What is the focus? ... What is the outcome they want us to have with the students that

Tamsin Leyman and Richard Harris

Tamsin Leyman is Head of Humanities at Testwood Sports College (11-16 mixed comprehensive), Hampshire, an IOE Beacon School in Holocaust Education. Richard Harris is Lecturer in History Education at the University of Reading, and an IOE Associate.

*we're teaching? ... Learning from the past or what we can learn in the future? ... Or is it that they just want us to teach the facts, the figures?*³

Clearly there is a serious debate here and the issues are complicated. Indeed, when we embarked on developing this project together, as part of the IOE's Beacon Schools in Holocaust education programme, with its focus on relating the Holocaust to other genocides, one of the issues which vexed us most was the aims of teaching the Holocaust. In the end, after lengthy discussion we decided this complexity could be turned into a virtue and we decided to focus our teaching on precisely this issue.

Previous research has shown that students often do not know why they study history or particular aspects of history.⁴ This issue has been a focus of long-standing work with students at Testwood School, through which we have tried to engage our students with some of the bigger debates about the nature of history and its place in the curriculum. It became obvious to us that, despite the complexity of the material and issues, we should engage students with debates about why they should learn about the Holocaust and other genocides. It would help them to 'connect the dots'.

Should we teach about the Holocaust?

When the National Curriculum for History was first being designed the place of the Holocaust in the curriculum was vigorously debated and it was not included in the 1989 interim report of the History Working Group. Despite these early recommendations, the Holocaust was part of the first National Curriculum, and has remained a compulsory part of secondary history education ever since. In the 2008 revised National Curriculum for History, it was stated that children should be taught about:

*The changing nature of conflict and cooperation between countries and peoples and its lasting impact on national, ethnic, racial, cultural or religious issues, including the nature and impact of the two world wars and the Holocaust, and the role of European and international institutions in resolving conflicts.*⁵

However, at a time when what should and should not be taught in the history classroom, and how it should be taught, is once again in the spotlight, the purpose of Holocaust education in schools will continue to be debated. When the curriculum review was first announced in 2011, Lord Baker, the architect of the first National Curriculum, said that he did not believe British schools should teach about the Holocaust.⁶ Nonetheless, the Holocaust remains key in the new National Curriculum for September 2014: under the heading 'challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world 1901 to the present day' studying 'the Holocaust' is clearly identified as a core focus and, among history teachers, the Holocaust's place in the curriculum is not really in doubt.⁷ Research conducted by the IOE in 2009 found that 85 per cent of respondents who taught the Holocaust felt it should be compulsory content.⁸ The problem, then, is not whether the Holocaust should be taught in schools but why it should be taught and how. Recent research by Lucy Russell,

whose findings were confirmed also in subsequent national research conducted by the IOE, highlights a wide variance in rationales for teaching about the Holocaust, which tend, nevertheless, to focus on moral and social aims: 'six out of the ten history teachers I interviewed talked about the moral lessons of the Holocaust being of *primary* importance.'⁹ Although both the current and 2014 National Curriculum makes teaching the Holocaust compulsory, there are no clear guidelines on why and how to teach it or on what to teach and, to problematise this further, academies, free schools and independent schools do not have to follow the National Curriculum, so they can disregard Holocaust education altogether. In addition, there is no compulsory requirement to teach any genocide other than the Holocaust. As a result, learners' experience of Holocaust education can be very variable and it is unlikely they will investigate any other genocides beyond the Holocaust in any depth. The continuance of genocides since the Holocaust may for some raise questions about why the Holocaust is still compulsory content on the National Curriculum. Responding to these issues, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) assembled a group of international educators who published a paper to help teachers to relate the Holocaust to other genocides and crimes against humanity.¹⁰ It states that:

*A clear and well-informed understanding of the Holocaust, the paradigmatic genocide, may help educators and students understand other genocides, mass atrocities, and human rights violations.*¹¹

Why should we teach the Holocaust and other genocides to Year 9?

These issues of what to teach, why teach it and how to approach teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides are problematic. In the last academic year we had the privilege of being involved with the IOE's Beacon Schools programme as a colleague in a participating school (Tamsin Leyman) and as an IOE Associate, working with a number of schools (Richard Harris). Together, we worked to develop a local network of schools, centred on Testwood School, focused on creating teaching and learning materials on the Holocaust and other genocides and, in particular, on the legacy of genocide. Our work aimed to keep a very strong focus on purpose – on exploring why we teach the Holocaust and other genocides. As history teachers we are all clear that knowing things is important, but why we should learn about particular things is often overlooked. Even when that discussion happens at departmental level, when designing new schemes of work or considering new topics to teach, it is rare for the discussion to be shared with students. This was something we were keen to address in the teaching and learning materials we were developing in our local network.

In order to develop these lessons, we had to be clear, as a department, about why we believed that the Holocaust and other genocides should be taught and about their importance in the curriculum. Yehuda Bauer has argued that the Holocaust was an unprecedented event.¹² While examples of atrocities and mass murder resonate throughout history the Holocaust is without precedent, in terms of the motivations

Figure 1: Why relate the Holocaust to other genocides and crimes against humanity? Points drawn from the IHRA Education Working Group paper on the Holocaust and other genocides.

- 1 As the Holocaust led to the creation of the term 'genocide' we can use it as a starting point and the foundation for studying other genocides.
- 2 In identifying key similarities and differences between the Holocaust and other genocides we can give students the opportunity to better understand the particular historical significance of the Holocaust, and how study of the Holocaust might contribute to our understanding of other genocidal events.
- 3 In comparing the Holocaust to other genocides and crimes against humanity, common patterns and processes in the development of genocidal situations appear. Through the understanding of a genocidal process and in identifying stages and warning signs in this process, a contribution can hopefully be made to prevent future genocides.
- 4 It could help students understand the significance of the Holocaust in the development of international law and to understand attempts made by the international community to respond to genocide in the modern world.
- 5 To compare the Holocaust to other genocides could help our students to be aware of the potential danger of other genocides and crimes against humanity in the world today. This may strengthen an awareness of their own roles and responsibilities in the global community.
- 6 To compare the Holocaust to other genocides may help to overcome the lack of recognition of other genocides.
- 7 Knowledge of the Holocaust may also be helpful in considering how to come to terms with the past in other societies after genocide, how communities can respond to genocide, and how survivors can attempt to live with their experiences.

and intentions of the perpetrators, and represented a continent-wide attempt to murder every last Jewish man, woman and child and a potential global ambition to kill all Jews everywhere that they could be found. Having said that, teaching it in schools presents numerous challenges and difficulties. The lack of a carefully thought-through historical rationale for teaching the Holocaust can account for the variance in teaching noted by both Russell and the IOE. It may also be the reason why some use it to teach moral lessons rather than as a rigorous historical inquiry. This has led to some, such as Geoffrey Short, to suggest that 'it is debatable whether covering the Holocaust superficially is preferable to not covering it at all.'¹³ Although we might sympathise with Short's view, as teachers we have a responsibility to work within the limitations we face and to find ways to allow students time fully to investigate the complexities of

the events. The Holocaust holds an important and central place in our collective memory and young people are exposed to a wealth of Holocaust imagery and motifs in the mass media, so they must be able to evaluate the range of claims and interpretations made about the Holocaust. This was the central argument of Paul Salmons' article in *Teaching History* 141, where he argues that it is 'essential for young people's educational literacy that they understand this central event of our time and are able to evaluate critically the diverse claims made about it.'¹⁴ So as a department we agreed that the events could not be ignored in the secondary classroom.

Just as important as wrestling with why to teach the Holocaust and other genocides, was considering how we should approach teaching these difficult issues. Nicholas Kinloch argues that the Holocaust should be taught from an objective, historical standpoint:

*We should teach the Shoah in schools. But I do not think that history teachers will do so effectively until we have removed it from its quasi-mystical associations and clarified our own objectives.'*¹⁵

While we accepted the argument that it was important to focus on the Holocaust as history and to focus on the events, we also felt that taking an exclusively historical approach would deprive students of opportunities to consider the topic in its full complexity. McLaughlin makes the point that as the education process is inextricably linked to moral, social, cultural or spiritual considerations, it follows that school history teaching must also fulfil this role in some way.¹⁶ Equally Haydn and Salmons agree that history can never be entirely divorced from the moral issues, the latter arguing that our historical enquiry questions are often a function of our moral concerns.¹⁷ It was clear to us, therefore, that while an historical approach was essential and whilst it was important that students develop a complex understanding of the Holocaust's historical context, it was also important to address moral and ethical questions that are inseparable from the historical study of the Holocaust. However, we were very clear that we would not use Holocaust education to teach unduly simplistic lessons like 'racism is bad' or to teach about the dangers of intolerance, and that we must take a historical approach, for as Haydn states, 'we need to ask the usual range of questions which the discipline of history requires.'¹⁸ An historical study of the Holocaust can reveal surprising and disturbing details that can challenge students' preconceptions. It helps them see beyond the notion that perpetrators were inhuman monsters, the notion that rescuers were simply brave and heroic and the notion that bystanders were simply cowardly or uncaring.¹⁹ As Salmons argues:

*Many of the 'big historical questions' we want our students to investigate are a function of the moral questions that continue to trouble academic historians, as they search for the meaning of human action and inaction during the Holocaust.'*²⁰

Our aim in teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides was not just simply that the students should know 'more stuff'. We felt strongly that students must be given the opportunity to consider the universal implications of the Holocaust and, as Gregory states:

Figure 2: The starter task from the first lesson

STARTER:
The History curriculum is currently under review.
It could be completely changed.

If you were to advise the Curriculum review board, which **5 events / people / changes** would you put into the **National Curriculum** as topics that must be taught by every school?

It is not enough to inform about the Holocaust; our task is to educate young people about it... to encourage an understanding of how it came about and what its significance was and, importantly, might be to us at the present time.²¹

Therefore, for us, it was not just enough to educate about the Holocaust. We felt that if we did not use this opportunity to make the link with other genocides we were missing an opportunity to explore one key aspect of the contemporary significance of the Holocaust. We found the recommendations of the IHRA very helpful in developing our rationale further (Figure 1).

Developing the enquiry

The aim of the first new enquiry that we developed was to help students consider whether the Holocaust should be taught in English schools, and how it could be approached. We framed the issue as an aspect of the broader questions raised by the National Curriculum review (Figure 2). The lesson began by asking students what five events, people or changes they thought should be included in a revised National Curriculum for History. Students were challenged to provide arguments for these events, people or changes beyond 'it was important' or 'it's interesting'.

Lord Baker's article in the *Daily Telegraph* from November 2011, stating that the Holocaust should not be taught, provided the stimulus for this lesson: students were introduced to Lord Baker's statement that the Holocaust

should not be taught in English schools, but not the article or Baker's reasoning. They were asked to come up with reasons why he might suggest this. Students had already carried out an extensive investigation into the development of persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe. Students were asked to come up with a number of arguments for not teaching the topic, ranging from it creating negative stereotypes of Germans or of Jewish people as simply victims, to it not being relevant to English schoolchildren. Students were then given cards with arguments against teaching the Holocaust, which they organised on to a continuum of strong to weak arguments. The continuum aimed to help them start to evaluate these arguments, and many students naturally started to challenge them at this point. Before taking the discussion any further, the students were also given some time to consider how they thought we should approach a debate about sensitive and controversial topics like this. Students were able to identify the importance of listening to and trying to understand the views of others. Bearing these points in mind, students then evaluated Baker's arguments as presented in the *Daily Telegraph* article, considering whether he was arguing effectively and sensitively.

We then moved into the real thrust of the lesson, to challenge Lord Baker's arguments. Again, students were asked to come up with their own ideas about why it might be argued that the Holocaust should be taught in English schools. The enquiry was taught twice. The first time was with a class that had not done any work on other genocides at this point. Some of the reasons they gave for teaching the Holocaust were vague statements about 'never again', reflecting their lack of

Figure 3: Instructions for students in the emailing task

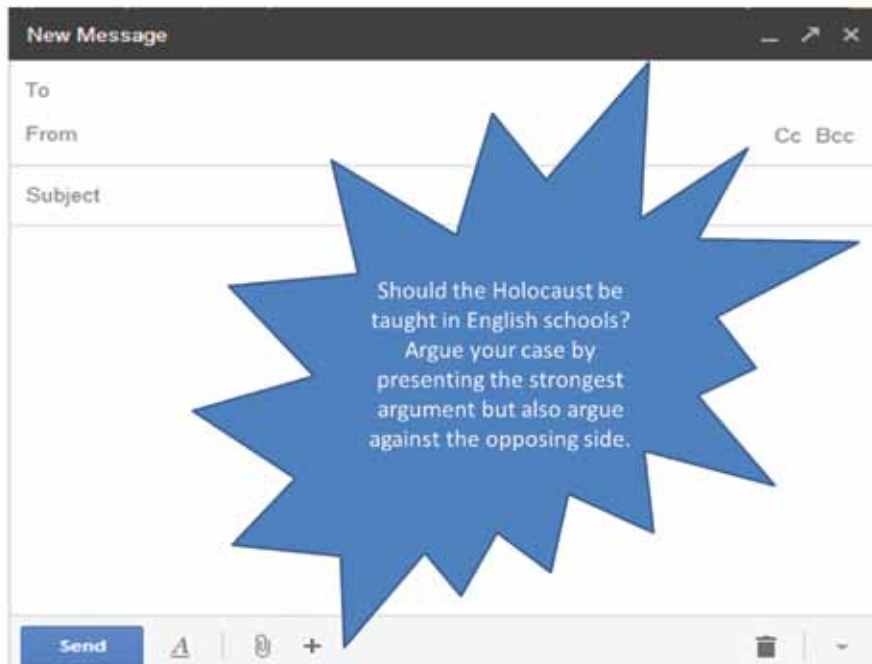
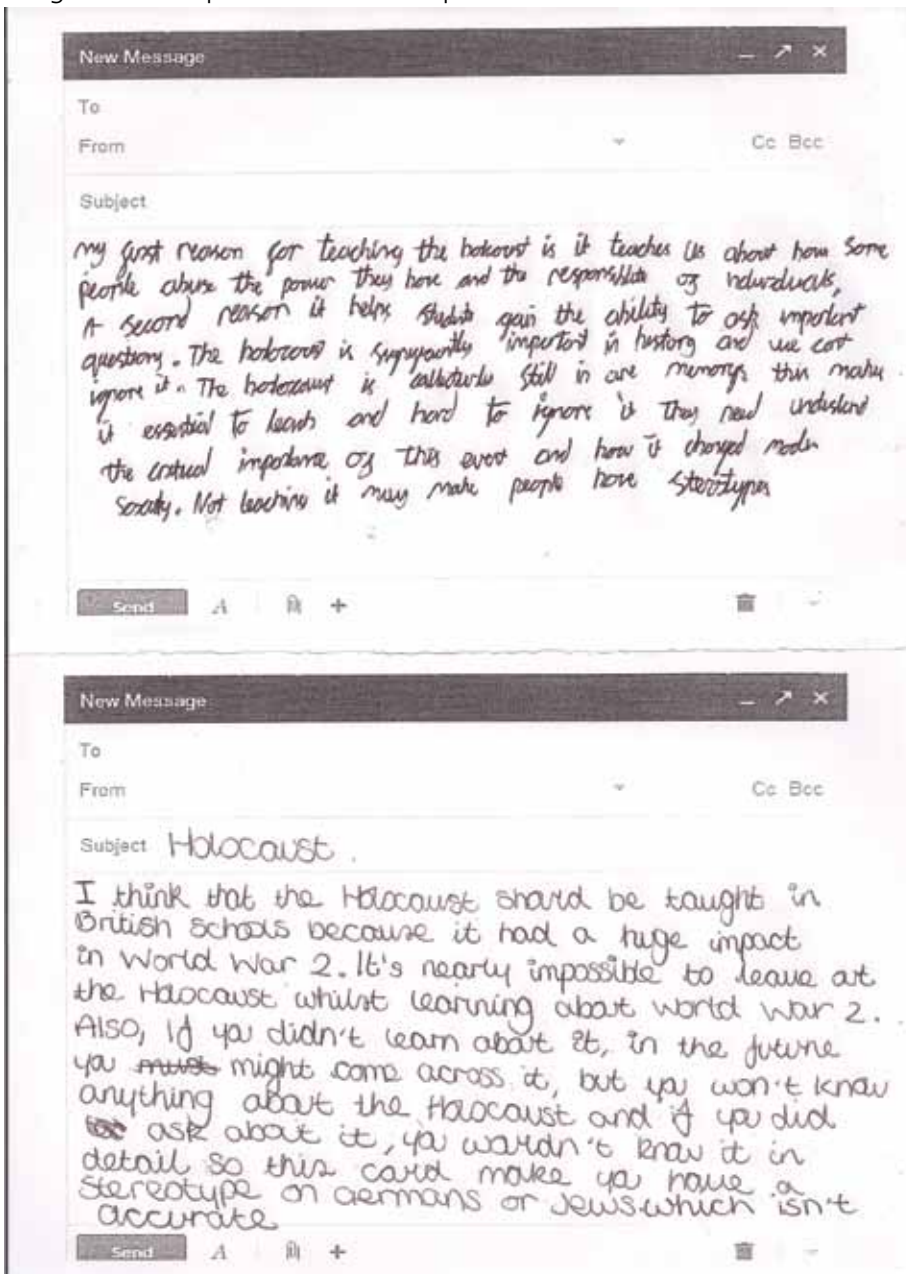


Figure 4: Examples of students' responses



understanding of other genocides. We decided to explore how the enquiry would work with a second group, who had been taught a few lessons on other genocides and the Rwandan genocide in particular. This second group's responses were much sharper and they were able to 'connect the dots' and to show better understanding. The concern is sometimes expressed that teaching other genocides may diminish the significance of the Holocaust; however, we found that the opposite was the case. Students were encouraged to make careful comparisons and we emphasised the fact that we are not comparing suffering. Students were able to consider the issue of genocide prevention and showed better understanding of why people commit genocide. They suggested that looking at the Holocaust could help us see the complexity in the perpetrators' motivations and how this could be applied to countries where there are early warning signs which indicate the danger of mass killing or genocide. Students in the first group suggested studying the Holocaust is important in terms of looking at choices people make, but were less clear about why this is important. Both groups suggested that studying the Holocaust is important as it is part of our collective memory; the Holocaust is a topic for films, TV shows and books like *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* and students felt if they were not taught it at school then they would only have a very simplistic understanding. Having come up with their own ideas, students then examined the views of historians and education experts on why the Holocaust should be taught.²² Some were very pleased to see their own ideas reflected in reasons provided by these experts.

The final challenge was for the students to use the thinking that they had developed to help them write a convincing argument in favour of or against teaching about the Holocaust (Figure 3). Richard Harris was the addressee for student emails, as an 'external' expert and as someone who helped to write the 2008 National Curriculum. Students were told that they were free to argue either for or against the inclusion of the Holocaust in the curriculum, although, in fact, none of the students took Lord Baker's view. We felt that it was important to allow them freedom to support either view, to avoid this becoming little more than an exercise in rhetorical argument in which students marshalled evidence for a view merely for the sake of it. To focus the students' ideas in the email to Richard, they had to keep their answer to under 200 words. I also encouraged them to address some of the reasons given to not teach the Holocaust, and to give counter-arguments. They used the connective grid on building explanations developed by Hampshire teacher Paul Barrett to help them develop their arguments.²³

Figure 5: PowerPoint slide introducing the testimony of Rwandan survivors

Salafina

Cecille Mugeni

Marie Jeanne

Read through your survivor's story.

What do their experiences tell you?

How does this help our understanding of the impact of the Rwandan genocide?

Why is survivor testimony important?

Elie

Myriam Abdelaziz

Marie Louise

The student responses indicated that the work we had done at Testwood, on helping students to understand the purpose of studying history generally and in engaging them with the debates about its nature and place in the curriculum, had been largely successful (Figure 4). We think that it is unlikely that they would have been able to develop their arguments about the Holocaust as effectively without the preparatory work on considering the case for history more generally.

In the second lesson they went on to consider how the Holocaust should be taught – to consider what content to include and what sorts of approaches are appropriate and helpful in the investigation. They had 20 images showing various aspects of the Holocaust from which they had to select eight which would form the basis of an investigation. The images covered Jewish life before the Second World War, Hitler's rise to power and the early stages of persecution, the development of persecution of both Jewish and non-Jewish groups between 1939 and 1941, ghettos, killing centres, resistance, liberation and aftermath.

We made a conscious decision not to use horrific imagery as we felt that the use of images of this kind does not

show respect for the victims and can cause distress or embarrassment among students. They also had to consider the problem of what evidence should be used, discussing the problems of using perpetrator evidence, which forms the largest basis of evidence about the Holocaust, versus evidence from the victims or from other witnesses. We wanted students to be aware that much of the source material relating to the Holocaust was produced by the Nazis and their collaborators – a simple web search would find written documents, photographs and even film clips produced by the perpetrators. The aim was to get students to consider that if the past is only seen through the eyes of the perpetrators then we risk seeing the victims only as the Nazis saw them, perpetuating their dehumanisation. This developed issues raised in the first lesson, as many of the reasons given not to teach the Holocaust were more about poor teaching of the topic, such as a lack of time or not giving sufficient complex context, rather than valid reasons not to teach it at all. Having done a lot of work with students this year on the concept of what 'our' history is and how it relates to their lives it was pleasing to see students dismiss the idea that we should not study the Holocaust because it was not relevant to them.

Developing an enquiry into the legacy of other genocides

The second new enquiry that we developed looked at the legacy of the Rwandan genocide, and why this should be taught in secondary schools. Students had already studied the causes and nature of the genocide in Rwanda, and completed the enquiry into why the Holocaust should be taught. So at the start of this lesson students were challenged to explore the question, 'Why should the Rwandan genocide be included in the school curriculum?' The ideas that students proposed in response to this question were to be re-visited at the end of the lesson. As the lesson progressed, pupils were reminded of what Rwanda had been like before the genocide, before they examined information on cards about the legacy of the genocide. Students were encouraged to identify possible categories to sort the cards into, and after discussion we settled on economic impact, political impact, social impact and justice for survivors. This gave them more understanding of how Rwanda was changed by genocide. They were then asked to consider what they thought might be missing from this information, in the light of their investigation into the Holocaust. They quickly identified the lack of survivor testimony. In pairs, students then looked at the testimony of one of five survivors and shared the survivor experiences they had examined with the class.

Their challenge then was to plan a proposal for a documentary on 'Rwanda: 20 years on' for the twentieth anniversary next year. They had to consider three key questions: Who are you aiming your documentary at? What do you want your viewers to know? What do you want your documentary to do? In their planning they also had to address what the focus would be for the documentary – one particular aspect or an overview, what key information they would include and what survivor testimony they would use. There was a wide variance in the documentary designs the students created. Many chose to focus on the legacy of the genocide, possibly a reflection of the emphasis we had placed on legacy in the preceding lessons. Several went away and did additional research on the survivor or survivors they had elected to focus on. Many students were particularly interested in the impact of the genocide on children and how it would affect future generations.

Finally we returned to the students' ideas that had been collected at the start of the lesson on why they thought the Rwandan genocide should be taught. They were able to refine their original thoughts from the beginning of the lesson, where they had made some general, simplistic statements about why Rwanda should be taught. Instead, students were more specific in their reasoning for teaching the Rwandan genocide, suggesting that it is important to teach the genocide as most survivors are still seeking justice, or because of the sheer number of people killed in a very short time-span. Some considered the reaction, or lack of it, from the international community and the long-term legacy on the country, particularly as survivors and perpetrators have to live side-by-side. Students were able to draw comparisons to the legacy of the Holocaust, and why these topics should be taught in English schools. By making these comparisons, students' understanding of both the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide was developed.

Conclusion

We feel that the work carried out in these lessons has had several benefits. Too often the choice of historical topics in schools is a 'closed book' to students, a secret that teachers keep to themselves. We found that engaging students with debates about what should be studied and why, helped them understand the complexity of the past better, that it helped them to better appreciate what they are taught and so enhance their understanding of the value of history and the way in which it can have an impact on their lives. We also feel that it helps to build contextual understanding since in order to articulate reasons for studying a topic students have to explore that topic in a broader framework. Learning about other genocides also enabled our Year 9 students to sharpen their understanding of the historical significance of the Holocaust. Through careful and sensitive comparisons of genocides and other crimes against humanity 13- and 14-year-old students can start to make sense of the nature and consequences of human action and inaction, those 'big historical questions' Salmons refers to.²⁴ Rather than diminishing the historical significance of the Holocaust, teaching other genocides actually strengthens it, as students are able to make links and comparisons, and see the value of this in terms of genocide prevention.

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'But I still don't get why the Jews':

using cause and change to answer pupils' demand for an overview of antisemitism

Research by the Centre for Holocaust Education has suggested that students need and want more help with building an overview of the historical roots of antisemitism and that they often lack knowledge of Jewish life prior to the Holocaust. Darius Jackson has attended to these problems with a lesson that examines the context of antisemitism in two contrasting settings: medieval England and Nazi-occupied Poland. After building their own analysis of the causes of antisemitism in both contexts, pupils then situate this within an overall question about historical change, looking at patterns of change and continuity across the causes of both events. The model can be expanded to embrace other historical events and situations.

Darius Jackson

Darius Jackson is Professional Tutor in Holocaust Education, Centre for Holocaust Education, Institute of Education, University of London.

Introduction

In this article I present a series of activities for a lesson with three interlocking goals. The lesson was designed, first, to deepen students' knowledge of the historical context of antisemitism, second, to teach them to shape their own arguments about the causes of antisemitism and, third, to show them how to think about how far and in what ways antisemitism changed over time and across different settings. The lesson is therefore designed to build substantive knowledge of more than one historical situation, separated in time and space, and also to use two second-order concepts – cause and change – to help pupils to shape and re-shape that knowledge analytically. The causation work is, in some ways, servant to the work on change, with the change focus being on how causes of a recurring phenomenon varied over time. It thus reverses Jenner's interplay of change and cause, by making change into the overall focus.¹ This lesson is designed for pupils in Year 9 or above who would be studying Nazi Germany and who would already have studied medieval history lower down the school.

There were three inspirations for this lesson: first, the controversy surrounding the AQA GCSE RE question in the summer of 2012, 'Explain briefly why some people are prejudiced against Jews'. Many comments on this question suggested that explaining an idea was tantamount to justifying it. If this were the case, then any attempt to explain, historically, the existence of antisemitism could be accused of rationalising it.² The second inspiration was the re-release of the Imperial War Museum's classic DVD *The Way We Used To Live*. Included in the re-release is a twelve-minute film, *The Roots of Antisemitism*.³ In this short film, the history of antisemitism is presented. The activities in my lesson are explicitly designed to build upon that intense short film. Although the DVD is useful, however, the lesson and activities are designed to work without it and provide a model applicable to other issues and topics in history. Third, and most important, was research carried out by the Centre for Holocaust Education, at the Institute of Education, University of London. The research was into the nature of Holocaust education, when, how, where and why it is taught in English state schools. It used an on-line questionnaire, with 2,108 respondents, and 68 interviews in 24 schools to explore the issues. This research showed that when teaching about the Holocaust, Jewish life prior to the Holocaust is often overlooked.⁴ Other research, such as that by Short, has highlighted the risk that the Holocaust be seen as a result of religious rather than racial prejudice.⁵ The research team at the Centre for Holocaust Education monitor the feedback we get from teachers on our courses, and this, along with anecdotal evidence from teachers, suggested that students wanted an overview to explain the historical roots of antisemitism. Consequently this lesson provides a framework to help pupils understand the factors that led to the Holocaust, placing these in an historical context and helping pupils to construct that analysis in a rigorous, historical way by using questions shaped by major historical concepts – cause and change – and doing so over long time-scales.

This last point is important. The events of the Holocaust took place during a specific phase of World War II. Focusing on the immediate context, however, can lead to pupils ignoring the longer historical context. This leaves them unable to construct an informed, historical answer to the question, 'Why were the Jews murdered?' This lesson aims to balance the relative importance of long-term factors and specific local contexts in deepening pupils' understanding of the causes of antisemitism.

Figure 1: Factors that affected antisemitism for use in Stage I of the lesson

Ghettos	Social Darwinism	Jews segregated
Jews forced to live in the Pale	ignorance of the Jewish faith	Jews marginalised
Jews being blamed for communism because some Russian communist leaders were Jewish	overwhelming majority of people in Europe being Christian, so Jews deemed unusual and different	right-wing Germans blaming Jews for losing the Great War, even though German Jews had fought and died for their country
Russian Tsar (Emperor) in the late nineteenth century seeing the Jews as 'the enemies within'	Jews accused of murdering children in order to use their blood in making bread for the Passover	
Jews blamed for the Black Death	early Christians blaming Jews for the killing of Christ	Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion
rebellion against the Romans in the second century CE	Jews being forced to do unpopular jobs	Jews not being allowed to eat any blood or blood product
Jews seen as a race rather than a religion	the fact that Jews could convert to Christianity, and thereby stop being Jewish	the fact that if Jews changed their religion they did not stop being Jewish
Tax collecting	accusations of magic	money-lending
Nazis claiming that Aryans and Jews were in conflict all the time		Jewish people settling across Europe and the Middle East in small communities
Jewish migration to Poland in order to be safe	80% of Jewish people living in Poland	Russia taking over Poland in 1815
nineteenth-century argument that humans were divided into races	the fact that Jews did not give up being Jewish once they had gained rights in the nineteenth century	some people thinking that Jews secretly controlled the world economy and governments

The lesson

The lesson is driven by two second-order concepts, cause and change. Each of these has a long tradition in the history education community in the UK, with history teachers exploring and debating their role as frameworks for argument and analysis.⁶ The lessons also explicitly teach key substantive concepts, such as Social Darwinism and antisemitism. Rogers argues that pupils' recurring encounter with such concepts is both engine and measure of their growing knowledge.⁷ The lesson would therefore fit in but also need to be tailored by history teachers to whatever pattern of prior teaching using both substantive and second-order concepts that they had adopted before.

The first concept is causality. Across the course of the lesson, pupils will have opportunity to build on their existing work on the nature of causes and how they combine. As with virtually all published work by history teachers on causation, it is based on an assumption of multi-causality. Isolating 'the' cause is impossible in history for '... causation in history does not involve simple cause-effect relationships; instead there are many actions and events that occur over time which may play a role in producing historical events.'⁸ Heavily influenced by E.H.Carr, most school history has attempted to introduce students to bundles of causes and then to allow pupils to connect, combine and prioritise.⁹ Such approaches

have been extensively refined by teachers such as Woodcock who challenged the over-use of routine, special causation language such as 'factor', 'reason' and so on, and argued for explicitly teaching pupils further language that would nuance the complex ways in which different causes enable or facilitate events.¹⁰ Not dissimilar to the argument of Bhaskar, the philosopher of science, Woodcock, the history teacher, has reservations about explaining an event as if it were possible to isolate it like some form of laboratory experiment. Context and complexity are inescapable.¹¹

The second main concept is 'change and continuity'. The students have to weigh up the changes within the ideas of antisemites over time. Again, pupils' prior work on change and continuity could be drawn upon. Students are likely to have examined, for example, how monarchy or stability in government changed over time, as illustrated in a wide range of published work by history teachers from McDougall to Fordham.¹²

The substantive concepts are many. Antisemitism at the heart of the lesson, but others such as segregation, prejudice and discrimination present throughout. Students' understanding of these concepts cannot be taken for granted. I have found that it is important to devote time to ensuring that each of these concepts – each one a cultural category that amounts to a way of seeing a phenomenon in history – are properly

understood by making pupils explore them carefully. Certain kinds of events, situations and developments 'fit' these concepts; while others fit less well. Haenen and Schrijnemakers have shown how thinking carefully about the boundaries of such concepts can be one and the same process as deepening knowledge.¹³

Stage 1

I designed this part of the lesson to give the pupils an overall, shared conception of the causes of antisemitism. The central task is categorisation. This is a concept-forming task, encouraging pupils to crystallise, from a wide range of material, a core issue or central factor that needs to be summed up in a single noun or nominal group. The Imperial War Museum's DVD provides a hook at the start of the lesson, but it is by no means essential. Students work in small groups to sort some pre-prepared factors (see Figure 1) into categories. The advantage of small groups here is not only that they are '...likely to lead to a better group product' but, given the complex array of factors, with careful teacher direction, one pupil's knowledge can be used address another's gaps or questions.¹⁴ The set of factors is not exhaustive. Blank factor cards are provided for pupils to write on so that they can make additions wherever their prior or new knowledge generates factors they deem to be important yet missing.

As with any categorisation exercise in a causation enquiry, the necessary level of support can vary according to pupil need.¹⁵ While some pupils will be able to develop their own categories, other groups of pupils will need guidance, perhaps by being given one or two possible, larger concepts into which their groups and clusters could fit. Generally three categories emerge and they usually revolve around money or wealth, power and beliefs. The last category often subdivides into general beliefs as opposed to specific myths about Jews. Where factors are relevant to two categories, this can be a good moment to encourage the pupils to resolve the issue themselves. When I have allowed the categories to develop from the sorting activity discussion, I have often found that there is an initial sense of uncertainty. If I firmly encourage pupils to embrace that uncertainty, however, and stick at the task, that uncertain phase can be profitable in yielding much more thought about the best possible wording for categories. In the feedback, my advice is to make sure that you get pupils to reflect on the way that *non-religious* factors often affect what appears to be a *religious* phenomenon. Help them, moreover, to see that they have developed an understanding of antisemitism as a general phenomenon. It is worth taking time to help them reflect on *how* they have shaped the concept of antisemitism through their historical analysis. During this stage of the lesson, they have carried out part of a causal analysis – grouping and classifying factors – and they have built their understanding of several substantive concepts, both the more specific ones embedded within the cards and the more general ones used to group them. Seeing how one substantive concept fits into another is one way of exploring the boundaries of each.

Stage 2

This is where the pupils refocus their thoughts in order to create historically-specific conceptions of the factors that lead to antisemitism. In this section, the focus remains on causation but also prepares the way for an analysis of change.

Figure 2: 'Keys' for explaining medieval antisemitism



Through this activity they will start to see that antisemitism itself changes over time, but the primary analytic lens remains causation. I achieve this by using case studies to show that events differ in the range or type of causes that led to them. To keep it to one lesson, I generally choose just two events. I get the pupils to compare the causes of the Clifford's Tower massacre in England in 1190 with the causes of the events at Treblinka in Nazi-occupied Poland in 1942. The Clifford's Tower massacre took place in the city of York in England. Richard I had recently been crowned. He made no secret of his intention to go on a Crusade and there were rumours that he had called for all Jews in England to be killed. This inspired anti-Jewish sentiment. In York, a man called Richard de Malbis, who owed money to a Jewish man, Aaron of Lincoln, instigated the attack. The Jews took sanctuary in Clifford's Tower but they were soon besieged and eventually killed by the sheriff's men. These two events, separated by over eight centuries and quite different cultural, political and social circumstances, lead to a fruitful comparison.

Many other events or situations would similarly allow for a comparison of events and a comparison of causes. It would be possible to build into such a comparison other events such

Figure 3: 'Keys' for explaining Nazi antisemitism



as those that occurred in Seville in 1391,¹⁶ Uman in 1768¹⁷ or the Christmas Pogrom in Warsaw 1881.¹⁸ My choice of medieval England and Nazi Germany arises from the fact that it is easier to tease out certain differences between these two periods. While in Nazi Germany a racist ideology was the driving force, there was a strongly religious dimension to medieval antisemitism. There are elements of continuity, but my intent is to show that antisemitisms are not identical; they change over time.

Still working in groups, the pupils use 'keys' as a metaphor for naming the causal factors that 'unlocked' antisemitism. Each group gets a diagram with an old-looking lock and three elderly-looking keys (Figure 2). Having only three keys encourages pupils to synthesise information and, in so doing, to make decisions about the relative importance of the various factors in each situation.¹⁹ First the pupils select from their collection of factors those that are relevant to antisemitism in the Middle Ages. This allows them to highlight the nature of medieval antisemitism so that

they can later compare it with Nazi antisemitism. As they are constructing their own interpretations of the roots of medieval antisemitism, they need to try out different ideas. In their groups they make links, wherever they consider there to be one, between the different causes. Thus they explore how these causes might combine. Slowly, through this activity, they decide what their 'key' labels are. There are three important rules to this activity:

- Labels must be written as full sentences. This ensures that they are developing ideas and arguments rather than snatches and rough ideas not properly thought through. In my experience, making pupils write a sentence makes them take more care. At first I was happy for short phrases to be used to explain the causes. It became apparent, however, that this was the point at which pupils began to *combine* causes and to construct their own interpretations. I therefore tend to advise teachers to demand sentences that synthesise groups of causes. It is an important stage in the embedding and formation of substantive concepts and in causal reasoning, so it is worth investing time in making pupils do it thoughtfully and carefully.
- Pupils are not allowed to use the same wording as that on the cards that they have just sorted. This makes them formulate their own explanations.
- They are allowed to introduce other information to support their arguments.

From running this in a number of contexts the most commonly emerging labels tend to be these:

- Religion: either how the Jews were an isolated minority in an overwhelmingly Christian Europe and/or Christians blaming Jews for killing Christ.
- Isolation: Jews being in small isolated communities speckled throughout Europe and therefore an easy target for persecution.
- Marginalisation and ignorance: how Jews were marginalised socially or geographically leading to ignorance of their religious beliefs. This is sometimes turned on its head, with marginalisation growing from ignorance.
- Jews being blamed for a variety of misfortunes and disasters, such as the Black Death, infanticide, magic.
- Jews being forced to do unpopular jobs.

The last two are sometimes related to the way that Jews were marginalised socially. Because Jews were segregated, it was easy to believe wild stories such as the myths that spread both in Seville and in York. Sometimes students put the argument about unpopular jobs the other way around: it was the jobs that led to Jewish marginalisation. One Year 10 girl reversed this, however, by using her knowledge from geography lessons to comment that migrant workers today still end up doing the 'dirty jobs'.

The activity is then repeated for the second case study, Nazi antisemitism. Each group has a sheet with a more modern lock and keys (Figure 3). Once again, slowly from the discussion certain factors emerge as being more important

Figure 4: Woodcock's criteria for student success in causal explanation activities

- ➔ pertinent selection and deployment of evidence and examples;
- ➔ sorting and categorising evidence and ideas into broader themes and factors;
- ➔ informed and logical explanation of how a particular point answers the question;
- ➔ drawing causal links between events and themes;
- ➔ deciding upon a hierarchy of causes;
- ➔ sustaining an argument which is consistent, persuasive and logical;
- ➔ addressing alternative views and interpretations of events or particular pieces of evidence.

Woodcock J. (2011) 'Causal explanation' in Davies I. (ed.) *Debates in History Teaching*, London: Routledge, p.125

than others. The following usually become the important 'keys':

- Racism: Jews being seen as a separate race; students sometimes link this to imperialism.
- Social Darwinism: always linked to the growth of racism.
- Jews being blamed for specific German problems such as losing WWI or the Treaty of Versailles. Anti-communism is occasionally put in this grouping.
- The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and how Jews were blamed for capitalism, communism and the state of the world in general.
- The Nazis having control over a large Jewish population as a result of the conquest of Eastern Europe.

Drawing on both historians and history teachers' work, Woodcock extracts seven criteria (Figure 4) to assess the success of pupils working on causality. In Stage 1 and Stage 2 pupils will have had opportunity to address each of these, although teachers may wish to emphasise one or more of them as specific objectives.²⁰

Stage 3

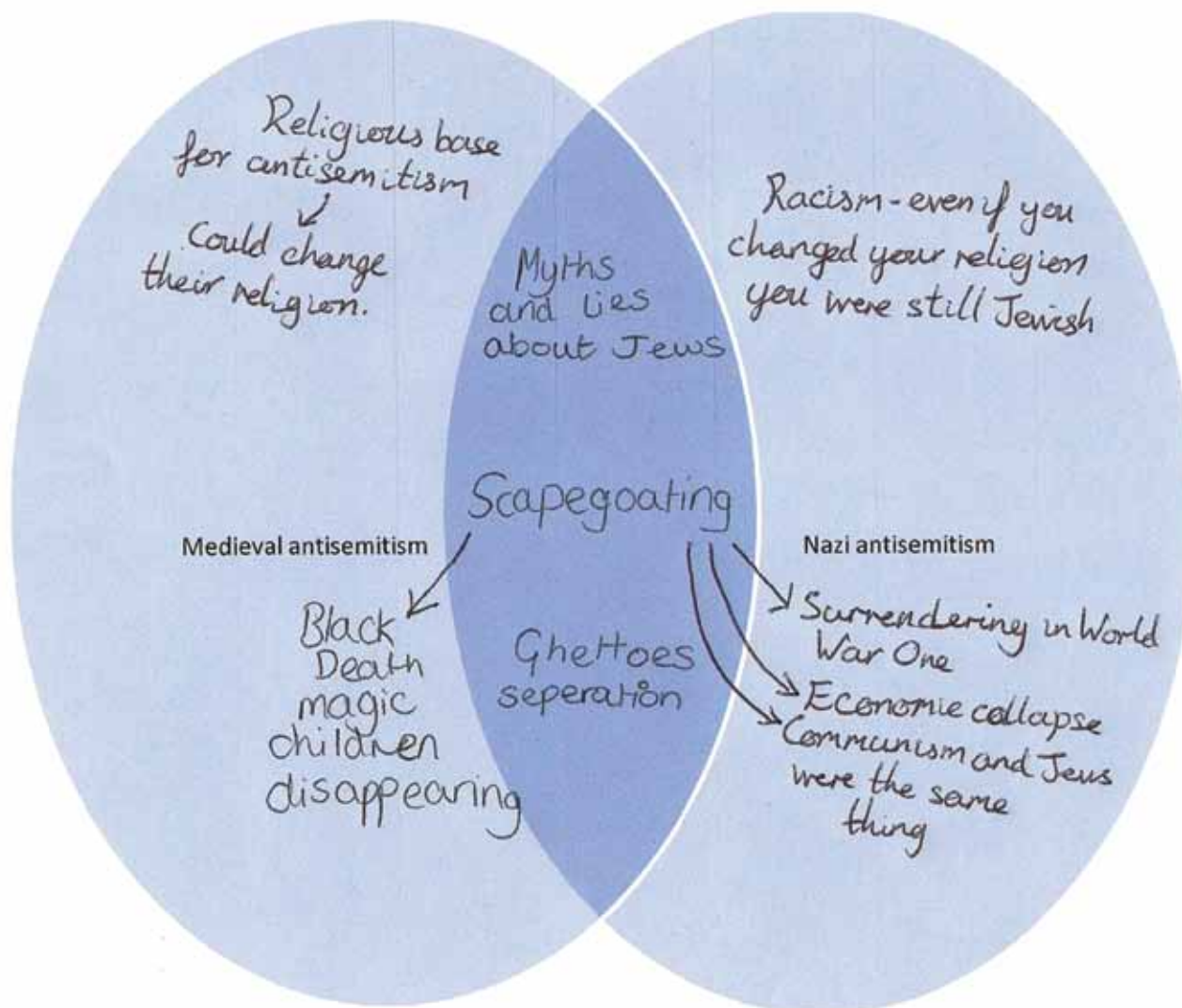
The conceptual framework changes with this activity. Instead of analysing causality, we now shift to continuity and change in the history of antisemitism. The pupils explore how antisemitism both changed and stayed the same. Counsell argues that it is important to work out what we want pupils to *do* when we ask them to examine 'continuity and change'. The historical problems that change and continuity throw up do not suggest *types* of argument as neatly as those thrown up by causation, but clearly there is no one fixed account of continuity and change so something must be problematised and explored.²¹ By focusing on a deceptively simple, concrete activity – listing key features of specific types of antisemitism – I found that I was able to move students

into the complex and abstract question, 'What is different about antisemitism at these times?' This question requires an argument characterising both *extent* and *nature* of change. Foster, basing her approach on the work of academic historians, reminds us that pupils need to attend to continuity and change occurring simultaneously.²² My activity is designed to highlight continuities in antisemitism between the medieval and Nazi periods so that pupils can build hypotheses concerning both their nature and their extent. Foster also suggests that the writing of academic historians frequently problematises both 'direction' and 'significance' of change. My activity creates opportunity for the first and possibly for the second by highlighting the transition from a religious to a racially-motivated antisemitism and by exploring different manifestations of antisemitism, which, together, could be characterised as showing a number of possible 'directions' of change.

These notions are initially presented very simply, using a Venn diagram, where one circle represents the factors specific to medieval antisemitism and the other to Nazi antisemitism. The overlap will contain features that are common to both (Figure 5). This can be done by getting pupils to write their ideas in the circles but as this is a complex issue it can be easier and more productive of valid argument to run this as a whole-class feedback so the teacher leads the questioning. Thus the teacher can ensure that pupils are using adequate information accurately and appropriately, that they are thinking rigorously about continuity and change in antisemitism and that they are teasing out its possible configurations. It is useful for a teacher to model the emergence of such a conceptual framework, for example, by 'thinking out loud' about their own decision-making as an exemplar. In that way, pupils can see how historians consider alternative possibilities and weigh them up before reaching a claim about continuity or change.

Three big issues usually become apparent quite quickly, driving the discussion and allowing the teacher to press

Figure 5: Venn diagram for comparing causes of antisemitism



Venn Diagram filled in by Freya and Inga

pupils to nuance each more carefully and to insist on appropriate factual support:

- religion as a factor in the Middle Ages;
- racism as a factor in the Nazi period;
- scapegoating as common to both.

This difference between a religious and a racial base for antisemitism has significant implications. A medieval Jew who converted to Christianity would no longer be persecuted. Under the Nazi racial definition of a Jew, any religious conversion made no difference at all. This helps pupils to understand that the Holocaust was not about religious persecution; it was racially motivated. It was an attempted genocide.

It is in the discussion of scapegoating that the understanding of the complexities of change and continuity come to the fore. In both medieval and Nazi versions of antisemitism, when Jews were scapegoated the difference was what they blamed for. In the Middle Ages, antisemites blamed Jews for the Black Death, child-murdering and magic. In the twentieth century,

Jews were blamed for a variety of modern ills. This can be broadened out into wider features of twentieth-century antisemitism. Preston points out the role of antisemitism in modern Spain, for example:

*Spanish antisemitism without Jews was not about Real Jews but about an abstract construction of a perceived threat...given a burning contemporary relevance by the fear of revolution... all those belonging to left-wing parties were the stooges of the Jews...urbanism to industrialism to liberalism and capitalism all ideologies associated with Jews and Freemasons.*²³

This leads us to the final, more substantive point of the whole lesson and one that it is important to reinforce at the end. It is a point that draws together the pupils' learning of substantive knowledge and their use of second-order conceptual frameworks. Fear of the Jews both in medieval York and in Nazi Europe was based on the fantasies of the perpetrators, not on anything Jews actually did. To understand antisemitism it is important to examine the context in which it appeared.

I would like to thank the Imperial War Museum (IWM) for the opportunity to try out these ideas and for generously providing what seems to be a never-ending supply of their DVD. I recommend that readers contact the IWM for a copy of the DVD. I would also like to thank my colleagues at the Centre for Holocaust Education and the teachers and students who have given me feedback on these activities.

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- ¹⁷ Uman was a well-fortified city in central Ukraine, garrisoned by Polish troops. There had been numerous Ukrainian rebellions against the Poles (1734, 1750 and 1768). The Jewish community were seen by the rebels as Polish colonisers. When rebellious Cossacks captured the city, the Polish commander betrayed the Jews in exchange for clemency towards the city's Polish Catholic settlers.
- ¹⁸ In a crush at a Christmas church service, 29 people died. Jews were blamed for causing the panic and for picking pockets during the service. This triggered a three-day pogrom in which two people were killed, 24 injured and over a thousand made homeless. The Russian authorities called in troops to put down the pogrom. There is an historiographical debate about the role of the Russian authorities in initiating the pogrom but growing tension between Polish Jewish and Catholic communities may have been a deeper cause.
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'It made my brain hurt, but in a good way':

helping Year 9 learn to make and to evaluate explanations for the Holocaust

Why genocides occur is a perplexing and complex question. Leanne Judson reports a strategy designed to help students think about perpetration and evaluate and propose explanations for perpetrators' actions. Students in a mixed ability class were given explanations of differing levels of complexity to evaluate, drawing on a wide range of complex materials about perpetrators as 'real' people rather than simply 'monsters'. Students were also provided with explicit guidance to help them scaffold their arguments, in explanation or in evaluation of explanations. Results were positive, in terms of the quality of pupil work and in motivating pupils to take pride in their work.

Leanne Judson

Leanne Judson is a history teacher and Head of Humanities at Broadgreen International School (11-18 mixed comprehensive) Liverpool, an IOE Beacon School in Holocaust education.

Introduction

My Year 9s love talking – as I am sure all 13–14-year-old pupils do. Their ability to verbalise their thoughts and discuss their learning, thought processes and understanding was and remains very strong. Their thinking process, their ability to question the past, was a definite strength, further boosted by their ability to question each other. However, they have struggled to match their ability to talk to their ability to communicate their opinions effectively on paper. Their written explanations have lacked depth and developed reasoning. Typically they were quick to express opinions but they were full of 'hot air', lacking reference to evidence to support their views. This is something that needed tackling, particularly in preparation for the demands of GCSE and given the level of extended writing and analysis needed to achieve the higher grades. They also lacked pride in their work and would rather not be publicly highlighted as achieving – particularly true for many of the boys in the class – for fear of being called a 'swot'. I wanted them to be proud of the work they produced because of the level of thinking that had to go into it and the level of skill required to communicate their findings and I decided to use the unit of work described below as an opportunity to help them develop their writing.

As a unit within the Scheme of Learning on the twentieth century, Year 9 had been learning about the Holocaust. The Holocaust scheme is based on lesson ideas and materials that I gained on the Institute of Education (IOE)'s free professional development course in Holocaust education.¹ It began with an activity called *Authentic Encounters* that examines a little wooden toy that belonged to Barney Greenman, a two-year-old child murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau.² It is designed both to identify pupils' prior knowledge and to generate the questions about the Holocaust that pupils themselves want answering. This generated intense discussion among my Year 9, who demanded to know the answers to a whole range of key historical questions: 'Why didn't people say they weren't Jewish?' 'Who decided where people should go?' 'What happened to those who survived?' 'Why did it happen – did no one try to stop it?' 'Did Hitler and his minions have psychological disorders?' The rest of my scheme then aimed to address as many questions generated by the pupils as possible. Again, the IOE resources proved valuable here – Year 9 explored the diversity and vibrancy of pre-war Jewish life; they created a 'big and messy' timeline closely examining key dates and turning points in Nazi policy and how they affected real individuals from across the victim groups; they investigated the effectiveness of Jewish resistance using six case studies; and also investigated another of their key questions 'Why the Jews?'³

But one enquiry that had not yet been addressed through these lessons was the recurring question 'Who would do this?' I wanted all pupils to investigate the role of the perpetrators in the Holocaust and to focus on the frequently recurring question 'Why had the Holocaust happened?' My starting point was an IOE resource entitled

Figure 1: A 'Dear Teacher' letter written by a Holocaust survivor⁴

Dear Teacher,

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness:

Gas chambers built by learned engineers;
Children poisoned by educated physicians;
Infants killed by trained nurses;
Women and babies shot and burned by High School and College graduates.

So I am suspicious of education. My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.

Being Human?: Understanding the perpetrators, collaborators, bystanders and rescuers which explores the actions and decisions of perpetrators, collaborators, bystanders and rescuers in the Holocaust. I found these resources to be excellent in many ways but I was concerned that the topic would need further differentiation to meet the needs of my pupils.

As Salmons argues in the pedagogical notes to *Being Human?* our pupils bring to the classroom strong opinions about the people involved in the Holocaust:

It appears that even before they have studied this history many young people already have a fairly strong idea of why these people acted as they did. There is a tendency to fall back on stereotypical notions of 'evil, mad Nazis' (those 'monsters' again), on 'brave, heroic and saintly' rescuers, and 'cowardly' or 'indifferent' bystanders. While this provides a comfortable explanation (and even a useable one, if we only want the Holocaust to serve as a moral fable), it is of course a gross oversimplification and even a distortion of a complex past.⁵

One of our challenges, according to Salmons, is to address these preconceptions and then have students test them against the evidence of actual case studies. I wanted my pupils to be able to test the validity of their views and then be able to communicate their findings effectively. I wanted to stretch and challenge my class in a number of ways. First, I wanted to develop pupils' literacy skills and the written quality of their explanations by asking them to read some challenging texts, to discuss their ideas orally and to develop them into explanations on paper. Second, I wanted to develop their historical thinking and their ability to reason and to argue. I will focus in what follows on teaching these lessons to one Year 9 class of 28 mixed-ability pupils. Their attitude to learning was generally good and they were keen to learn. Verbally they were confident and could respond to and challenge other pupils' responses to topics, just not so keen always to write down their ideas to fully communicate their understanding, which had, in some cases, limited their

academic progress in relation to the targets they had been set based on data on their earlier school performance. The pupils enjoyed history lessons; the majority of the class had already chosen to take GCSE history in the following academic year.

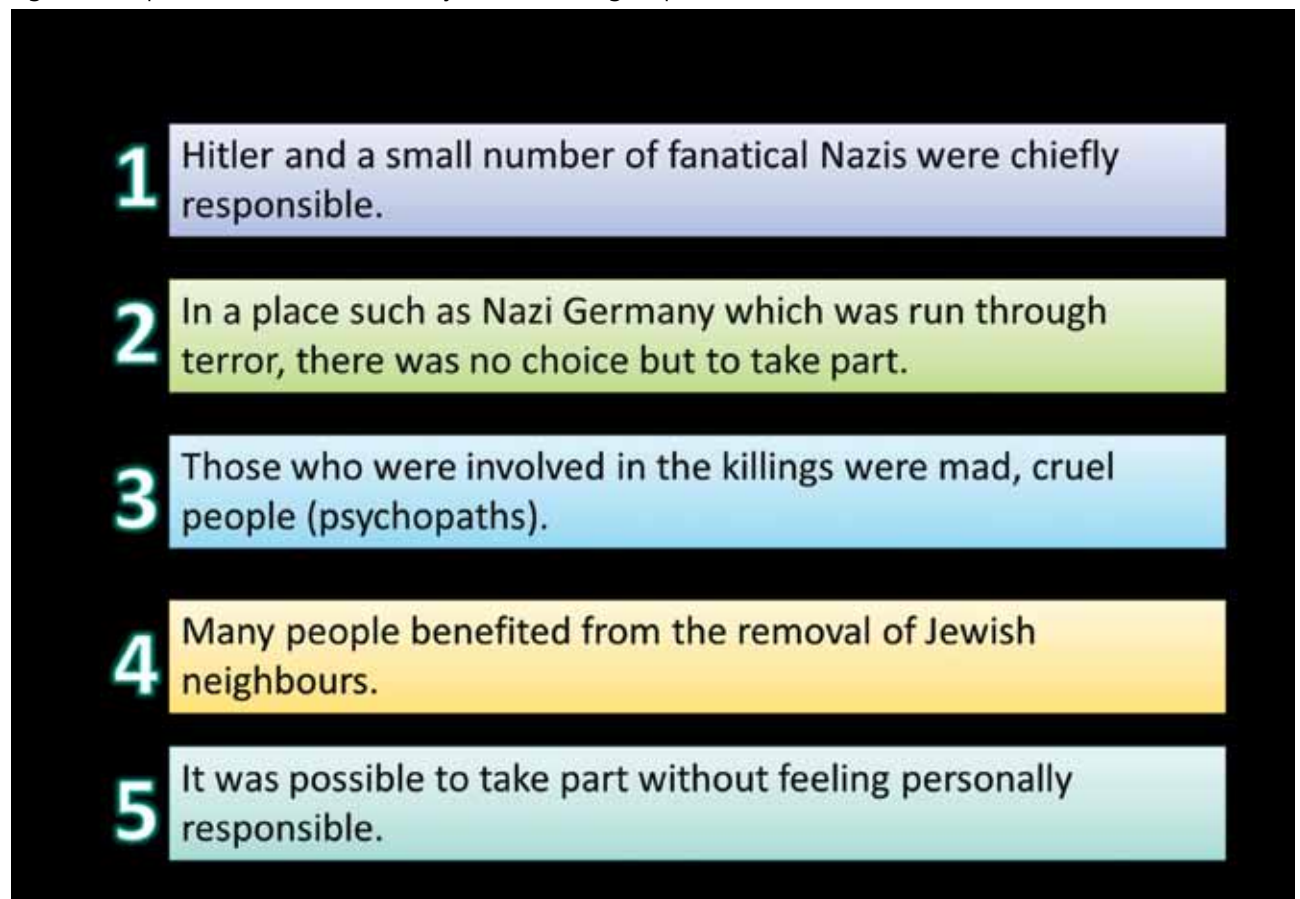
'Educated Eichmanns'

The lessons focusing on this enquiry were taught over two hours, with an additional hour provided for pupils to complete writing and re-drafting their answers.

The first lesson began with a 'Dear Teacher' open letter on the aims of education written by a Holocaust survivor, which was on the board as pupils arrived in the classroom (Figure 1). Pupils were asked to read it and note down any questions they had or words they did not understand. Clarification of specific terms was discussed and a brief question and answer session followed. Pupils were asked what the message of the letter was, why it was written and a further question why was it focusing on education. They suggested ideas such as: 'Nurses are not supposed to kill'; 'Did the engineers know what the gas chambers were for?'; 'Doctors are supposed to make you better'. Some pupils asked what was an 'educated Eichmann', and 'who was Eichmann?'

Pupils were then given a brief biography of Adolf Eichmann which explained who he was and his role in the Nazi state, highlighting that his was a desk job. Pupils were also told of his escape to South America, his subsequent kidnapping by Israeli intelligence agents, and his trial in Jerusalem. In trying to understand what kind of a man he was, pupils considered two quotations about Eichmann, one from the prosecution lawyer at his trial, Gideon Hausner, who said that Eichmann had a 'satanic personality' that he was a 'new kind of killer – the kind that exercises his bloody craft from behind a desk'⁶ Another quotation was from Hannah Arendt, who said that Eichmann was an unexceptional character whose willingness to unthinkingly carry out the policies of his superiors demonstrated 'the banality of evil.' Eichmann, claimed Arendt, 'did his duty... he not only obeyed orders, he also obeyed the law.'⁷

Figure 2: Explanations to be tested by the student groups



How to reconcile such radically different depictions of the same man? Pupils were asked to consider these quotes as a pair – what could they infer about Eichmann? Did they want to accept either view? On what basis could they choose? They were then given a quote from British historian, Professor David Cesarani: ‘[Eichmann was] not insane...nor was he a robotic receiver of orders.’⁸

One question was then placed on the board – ‘If [as Cesarani maintains] Eichmann could have made other choices, what does that tell us about the other people involved in the Holocaust?’

Pupils were then given three minutes to generate their own theories explaining why they thought people participated in the Holocaust. All pairs then fed back and their theories were written up on a flipchart sheet. Pupils suggested theories such as ‘people were so scared of being punished that they had to take part’; ‘some people are just evil’; ‘the general public did not know what was going on’.

Five explanations had been pre-selected for the pupils to test – apart from a slight change of wording the explanations were the same as the ideas generated by the pupils. The class had been pre-selected into groups to match the difficulty of the explanation to be tested. Explanation 5, ‘It was possible to take part without feeling personally responsible’, in my opinion and based on my knowledge of the class, would be harder to test using the evidence than explanation 1, ‘Hitler and a small number of fanatical Nazis were chiefly responsible.’ Six groups had been pre-generated despite there being only five explanations: the final group were given the challenge of creating their own explanation based on the evidence they were to be given.

Once pupils had manoeuvred themselves into their groups, each was given an evidence pack and informed that this was part one of two lessons on this area. The evidence pack was drawn from the *Being Human?* lesson activity and case studies of perpetrators, bystanders, collaborators and rescuers mentioned earlier.⁹ Each group was given half of the evidence (there are 37 case studies) except for Group 6 who had access to all of it. They were also given a large sheet of paper with the explanation that they were investigating written on it. They were all asked ‘how far is the explanation supported by the evidence you have?’ The class were then set to their task, reading the case studies and making notes on their findings as a group on their sheets.

I sat at the back of the classroom and watched and listened as they began on their task. The classroom was silent to begin with (a rarity!) and then gradually began to buzz with discussion and sharing of findings. The engagement level was high as pupils were absorbed in the details of the IOE case studies but also supported by the need to focus their findings – some were even suggesting and swapping case studies with different groups as they felt they would support a different explanation. I spoke to each group and made some suggestions of other case studies that they might look at to support or refute their findings, for example, the case of Police Battalion 101 when questioning whether people had a choice; Anton Slupetzky as a the case of a local businessman benefiting economically by supplying canisters of gas to Mauthausen concentration camp; Theresa Stangl, the loving wife of the commandant of a death camp, to explore the complicity of those who helped the perpetrators feel that despite their ‘work’ they remained ‘normal’ members of society.

The reading and collating of evidence lasted for 35 minutes. Drawing the first lesson to a close, each group was asked to

Figure 3: An outline structure for an extended answer



discuss ‘On a scale of 1-10, how far do you agree with the explanation you have been testing?’ Discussion time was allocated and then each group was asked in turn to explain their judgement and reasoning behind it before packing up for the day.

Taking it further

The following lesson – a week later – focused on the write-up of each pupils’ findings. The structure of this was linked to the 12 (now 15) mark questions on AQA Modern World Paper 2.¹⁰

A brief discussion of what an outstanding piece of work would include followed, to draw out the need for a developed argument, considering alternative hypotheses (Figure 3) and supported by evidence. An outline writing frame was also provided to help pupils structure their answers and pupils were set to their work (Figure 4). A mark scheme was also shared based on the AQA exam focusing on the need to support opinions with specific factual evidence to prove their explanations or argue against them. As Group 6 had a slightly different task, they were asked how they could adapt the structure to suit their piece of work, instead of arguing for and against and then concluding. They decided on a criterion of a successful response between them before beginning to write. The group decided that instead of arguing for and against a statement, they would organise their response into factors to support their conclusion, with each factor providing evidential support to back up their theory.

Pupils wrote their responses for around 45 minutes. They were able to refer specifically to quotes from the case studies and they also had the ‘big ideas’ flipchart sheets that they

had created earlier to help to structure their responses. Any pupils who had completed their answer were asked to swap, read, reflect and discuss each other’s work and its quality in terms of the GCSE mark scheme. Again to close the lesson, pupils were asked to assess how much they agreed with the explanation they had been given, and whether they agreed with a different explanation more than the one they had been investigating. Given my pupils’ ability to talk, this generated debate and quite animated discussion as pupils argued their cases, providing specific examples to prove their cases without being prompted. At this point it was a struggle to get the majority of the pupils out of the classroom – they wanted to stay and discuss their views – I would have gladly continued the conversation had another class not been waiting patiently to come in!

‘It made my brain hurt, but in a good way’

This series of lessons produced the highest level of work of the year for the class. The vast majority of pupils, who previously had lacked depth in their written responses, now produced work worthy of a high-level GCSE grade. The quality of their explanation was much stronger than they had previously managed; pupils were referring to specific examples to support the case they were arguing, in some cases linking examples to corroborate their point. I had been impressed with the independence that the pupils had shown in the initial activity of researching the evidence and supporting others in their findings; rather than questioning me, they attacked questions or discrepancies between themselves and they shared ideas and discussed the case studies in groups to decide whether they supported or refuted their explanation. The quality of questions that the pupils generated in assessing

Figure 4: An extended answer writing frame

“Hitler and a small number of fanatical Nazis were chiefly responsible for the Holocaust.”

Do you agree?

Replace the quote with the explanation you were testing

A	<p><i>“There is an argument that Hitler and a small number of fanatical Nazis were chiefly responsible for the Holocaust...”</i></p> <p>Facts + specific examples to support this theory with explanation in detail and depth</p>	<div style="background-color: #8bc34a; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; color: white; font-size: 0.8em;"> for example therefore consequently </div>
B	<p><i>“However, in some ways this interpretation is not completely true...”</i></p> <p>Facts + explanations of 2/3 other examples to support your ideas. Explained in depth</p>	<div style="background-color: #8bc34a; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; color: white; font-size: 0.8em;"> because as a result furthermore </div>
C	<p><i>“In conclusion...”</i></p> <p>You should make a decision – how much do you think this quote is true?</p> <p>A little, partly, very, significantly? Then justify your choice in detail. Convince the reader of your point of view.</p>	<div style="background-color: #8bc34a; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; color: white; font-size: 0.8em;"> because this meant that... thus therefore </div>

the evidence enhanced their learning as they then focused on finding answers to the questions they had created. Most pupils were comparing and contrasting case studies and in some cases beginning to compare contexts of their own accord in trying to refine the evidence for or against the explanations that they were considering.

In particular, Group 6, who had to create their own explanation, excelled at the task. They were challenged from the outset and thrived in the trust that they could figure this out for themselves. This group came to the conclusion that the Holocaust happened because ‘the Nazis believed that they had the power and the authority to do as they wished without ever having to face the consequences of their actions.’

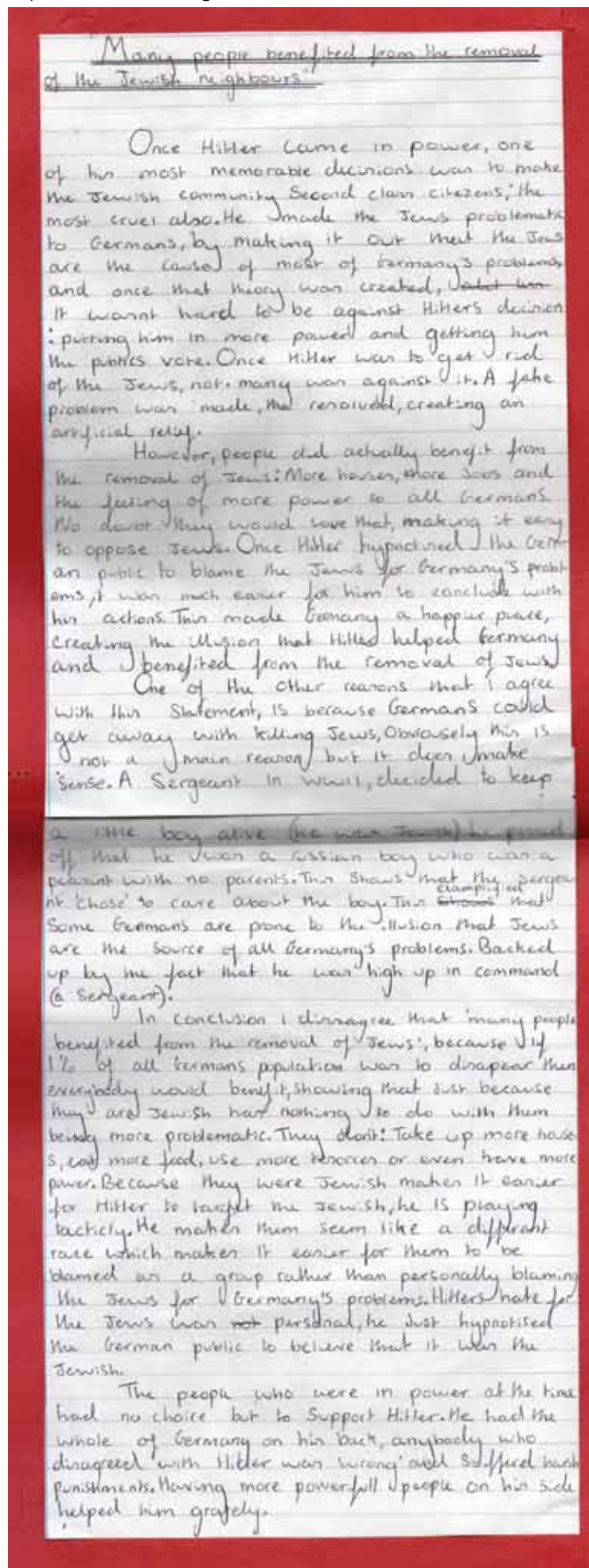
When surveyed at the end of the school year on which lessons in history they had felt the most challenged, 94 per cent of the class cited the lessons on perpetrator, bystander and rescuer behaviour. When I followed this up, pupils felt challenged by the independence they were given, with the stress on them to investigate the case studies and consider their own arguments without being guided at each stage of the process. Furthermore, 100 per cent of the pupils surveyed cited the explanations work as their highest level of achievement in history for the year and the work that they were most proud of. The pupils said they were interested in the topic but when I spoke to them personally, they commented that they could not say they enjoyed studying it because they felt that ‘enjoyed’ would be the wrong word to use for studying the Holocaust – more that they were focused on finding the answers to their own questions, and that is what they enjoyed. Pupils were motivated by the subject content, but also by the level of independence and trust placed in them to attack a high-level challenge. Interestingly, some pupils

then changed their GCSE option to history after this series of lessons! Some responses in the survey included ‘It made my brain hurt, but in a good way’; ‘I could see how much better my work was’; ‘At first I thought it was really hard to write down what I meant, but when Miss reminded me to use the people to prove my point, it was easier to explain how I wanted it to sound’; ‘It was difficult to get your head around, but the more you read, the more it made sense, even though the reading was hard.’

Rather than reducing the amount of written material, I found that challenging pupils, not only with a range of materials to sort through but also by the amount of written material contained in each case study, provided a literacy challenge, yet one that all pupils worked at – even the reluctant readers. They were engaged with the material as they had been engaged by the topic – they were, after all, answering questions that they had generated themselves right at the start of the topic. The nature of the topic – of the motives of perpetrators, resisters, bystanders – engaged the pupils. They were incensed in some cases, with real anger at humanity – one pupil in particular was infuriated by a letter from Elenore Gusenbaur living in Mauthausen, who wrote to the commandant of the camp to acknowledge the actions in the camp, but to ‘request that it be arranged that such inhuman deeds will cease or else be conducted out of sight’ and wanted to question the role of local communities further in response to this.¹¹ As each case study revealed nuance and complexity rather than the simple moral lessons so common in much Holocaust education, so the pupils continued to generate their own new lines of enquiry.

On reflection, not all pupils could access all of the written materials: in some cases the text was quite difficult,

Figure 5: An example of pupil work: an assessment of Explanation 5 (see Figure 2)



particularly for the lower ability spectrum of the class and they needed further literacy support to ensure equality of access. However, much of this support came from other pupils within the same group – defining and explaining words, using me as a reference point for the context of the words. In future I would pre-organise the evidence packs, ensuring that although there were challenging pieces in each set, the pack of evidence for Group 1 would be more accessible to their levels of literacy – redrafting some case studies myself to ensure clarity of understanding. Also, as the group without an explanation worked so well with the challenge, I would stretch this element further and open it up to more pupils to stretch the more able further.

In the next academic year, more curriculum time is being given to Year 9 – this will be an ideal opportunity to refine their reasoning skills further, opening up a debate on one explanation to focus their speaking and listening skills and draw on a range of counter-arguments, or using an on-line forum to allow pupils to further their questioning and continue to explore their explanations and counter-arguments outside of the classroom, as many wanted to continue to discuss their views after the lesson had ended. Furthermore, I intend to provide pupils with the opportunity formally to assess each other, acting as a critical friend to challenge unsupported comments, to reflect and provide specific feedback, to demonstrate understanding of the skills in more depth.

I was, however, proud of the work that the pupils had produced, so much so that I demonstrated the outcomes of the lessons to the next cohort of IOE Beacon Schools when they met for their residential seminar in London, in July 2013. Pupils' work is currently on display in the history corridor – further evidence of the pupils' response and satisfaction with their work: not one asked me to remove their name from their work – as they have before – so that they could show staff, heads of year and their parents on Open Evening just what they had achieved. That was the biggest achievement for me.

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Figure 6: An example of pupil work: an assessment of Explanation 1 (see Figure 2)

Hitler and a small number of
fanatical Nazis were
chiefly responsible for
the Holocaust. Do you agree?

The argument of this question is one that runs deep through the motives and causes of the Holocaust. I would agree because Hitler (a fanatical Nazi) had the power to withdraw the idea of such a thing but to imply and portray this as a good, honest movement is all the support the public needs to be sure that what the leader seeks is what they seek which, in turn, brings me round to propaganda spread throughout fanatical leaders to the Nazis smallest fanatical contributor (Otto Wolf), eluding people, coursing their path to the "correct" way (hating the Jewish and "ridding" the land of the "scourge")

However this is not entirely true as the people themselves contradict my previous statements; not everyone fell under the grasp of the Fuhrer, a sum of civilians were actually not aware of the Holocaust (still ignorant and keeping the Holocaust going but, not intending to) few were actually anti-Nazi but could not show their dedication to their cause otherwise they would be quickly dealt with. Although there are a minority of people who were either unaware or anti-Nazi, there were those who did what the Nazi did without being a Nazi (Max Taubner, an accordion player who killed Jews without being told) but, I raise this because although they had killed many Jews they did not actually contribute to the actual Holocaust.

In conclusion my overall opinion is that I do agree with the statement as Hitler had created a metaphoric bomb but the people themselves set it off, if it wasn't for the support of Nazis and civilians alike, the Holocaust wouldn't of had been able to continue, although the minority were either anti-Nazi or unaware, that's all they were, a minority, against a country an army against a person, who would win? The Nazis and their supporters were in charge because they had been left to dwell for too long, the country couldn't survive now without them otherwise it would collapse! They had now created their own destruction, the war crimes committed ensured now mercy.

IOE national research into pupils' thinking about the Holocaust

Rebecca Hale

A new research project promises to have a significant impact not only on our teaching about the Holocaust but also on our understanding of how young people make sense of the past. Surveying up to 10,000 secondary students across the country and conducting a range of thematic and case studies in schools, the findings will be of international importance, the first time a research project on Holocaust education on this scale has been attempted anywhere in the world.

Why does research-informed practice matter?

Basing its work directly on research allows the IOE to be uniquely responsive to the actual issues, challenges and opportunities faced by teachers and students in the classroom. Following national research into teachers' experience of and attitudes to Holocaust education, the IOE established the world's first research-informed pathway of professional development to meet teachers' needs at all stages of their careers, from ITE days, through free CPD programmes for in-service teachers, to a Masterslevel course and the establishment of Beacon Schools.¹ Funders the Pears Foundation and the Department for Education recognise that it is essential to further develop and enrich this work by listening to students themselves, through large-

scale and in-depth research into young people's thinking.

What is the aim of this research?

The principal aim of this new phase of research is to explore secondary school students' knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust. However, we are also interested in examining how knowledge/ understanding is related to other issues, such as students' attitudes towards out-groups or their beliefs in a 'just world'. Additionally, the researchers want to examine attitudes to learning about the Holocaust and have sought to frame this by investigating students' attitudes towards the purpose of education more generally.

Why is this research being done?

Despite a huge amount of teaching about the Holocaust – not only in the UK but in schools, museums, and memorials around the world – there still has been no large scale attempt to explore what young people actually make of this complex and emotionally-challenging subject; how they learn; or what progression might look like. There is a dearth of research that examines students' consciousness of the Holocaust before they are formally taught about it, and what they know and

understand about the Holocaust after they learn about it in school.

Given the prominence of the Holocaust in National Curriculum history (and that it is often taught in other subjects such as religious education and citizenship), and given that the IOE research with teachers highlighted a diversity of approaches to Holocaust education, it is essential that students' perceptions in this area are explored.² This will improve the evidential base for developing and disseminating careful, thoughtful and age-appropriate teaching about the Holocaust, as well as having important implications for the wider teaching of history and other subjects.

How is the research being carried out?

There are two major strands to the research: a large scale survey to be completed by up to 10,000 secondary school students from across England, and a series of in depth case studies and thematic studies. The survey includes a number of questions to measure students' knowledge about the Holocaust, as well as a number of scales (some pre-existing, and some developed by the IOE research team) to tap into students' attitudes. The thematic and case studies collectively will provide an essential qualitative dimension to the research. Techniques

such as classroom based observations and interviews will explore the dynamic and multifaceted ways in which students' knowledge and understanding about the Holocaust are formed.

How will the results be used to inform classroom practice?

The findings of this research will be widely disseminated to teachers, academics and policy makers. The findings will tell us what students know about the Holocaust, the prevalent sources of information that inform young people's thinking, and will reveal patterns in their knowledge, for example, common preconceptions, myths, or areas of confusion and inaccuracy. The research will give teachers crucial insight into students' Holocaust consciousness, and enable them to anticipate (and prepare for) potential questions, attitudes and misconceptions held by students.

The findings will allow the IOE's teaching team to build upon the CPD (Figure 1), teaching and learning materials that they already offer free of charge to teachers across the country, and to develop new resources and approaches from a hitherto unprecedented evidential base, empirical evidence that will provide a far richer understanding of what students think about the Holocaust, their questions, and how they make sense and meaning of this complex past.

What stage is the research at?

The survey was launched in November 2013, following extensive piloting work spanning several months. The pilot studies principally focused on survey development, and ensuring that the subscales we used were reliable. The pilot studies also provided the opportunity to assess data collection techniques, and highlighted the suitability of using an online questionnaire wherever possible. The survey will be completed by students until July 2014. A number of exploratory focus groups have already taken place alongside an extended period of classroom observation in the summer term 2013. The main thematic and case studies will take place from January 2014 until December 2014,

Figure 1: The IOE's research-informed CPD, offered free of charge to teachers across the country

Day 1 Workshops

Authentic Encounters: classroom approaches

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Dr Rebecca Hale is a member of the Institute of Education's (IOE) research team exploring young people's understanding about the Holocaust.

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- ¹ Pettigrew, A., Foster, S., Howson, J., Salmons, P. (2009) Teaching about the Holocaust in English Schools. An empirical study of national trends, perspectives and practices, London: Centre for Holocaust Education, Institute of Education, University of London. For information about the IOE's teacher development programmes, free educational materials, and the IOE Beacon School in Holocaust Education, please visit www.ioe.ac.uk/holocaust.
- ² Pettigrew, A., et al, op cit.

Patterns of genocide:

can we educate Year 9 in genocide prevention?

Alison Stephen, who has wrestled for many years with the challenges of teaching emotional and controversial history within a multi-ethnic school setting, relished the opportunity to link her school's teaching of the Holocaust with a comparative study of other genocides. As she reports, her aim was not create a hierarchy of suffering or significance but to expand her students' knowledge and understanding and to equip them with a framework within which to analyse patterns of similarity and difference. Her article offers an invaluable guide to the processes of planning, both by alerting readers to the rich and varied resources available on-line, and by illustrating the power of collaboration – within a school setting, between a school and its local community, and across the wider history education community. The account that she presents of a short scheme of work in history and of a Year 9 'Global Awareness Day' reveals how history departments can contribute powerfully to multi-disciplinary initiatives while respecting the distinctive insights offered by a historical perspective.

Alison Stephen

Alison Stephen is Head of History at Abraham Moss Community School (co-educational 3-16 comprehensive school), Manchester, an IOE Beacon School in Holocaust Education.

Introduction

Easter 2013. In a North Manchester café, lunch is shared by Naomi and Kaltrina. Apparently worlds apart, one Jew, one Muslim, a large age gap, one an experienced senior educator in Manchester, one a student at Oxford University. What brings them together? Shared experience at Abraham Moss Community School, where both of them told their stories to students, Naomi as the daughter of a Holocaust survivor, Kaltrina as a child refugee from Kosovo. This friendship is one of the positive outcomes of work we began in school this year, as part of the Institute of Education (IOE) Beacon Schools Holocaust Education programme.

I have been fortunate to take part in the Beacon Schools programme over the last academic year. While I have taught about the Holocaust for many years, using many different approaches, the training, particularly on the full week spent at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington DC in July 2012, helped me to relate the Holocaust to other genocides in my teaching. This was something I had previously achieved only in a patchy fashion.¹

What were our aims?

My overall aim was for students to learn about the Holocaust and other genocides, exploring the relationships and the similarities and differences between them. The intention was not to create a hierarchy of suffering or significance, nor to trivialise the Holocaust, but to give students knowledge and understanding of events, together with a framework within which to analyse patterns of genocide. This would build on their conceptual understanding of change and continuity, of cause and consequence, and of diversity, in turn allowing them to consider whether and how genocide can be prevented.

Mindful of the debate concerning the role of moral and historical objectives in Holocaust education, I wanted to enable students to draw their own lessons, allowing time to discuss and reflect upon critical issues.² In addition to introducing a new history scheme of work, we decided to hold a full day of learning about genocides and related issues, for Year 9. This 'Global Awareness Day' would help not only to alleviate the pressure on teaching time but also to encourage students to link past and present and to explore human rights issues, personal choices and their own role as global citizens.

The opportunity for a whole day of learning led us to think carefully about our rationale. Addressing social, moral, spiritual and cultural (SMSC) aspects of education helped me to justify the use of a full day to our Senior Leadership Team and other heads of department, as well as to one particularly able student, who was genuinely worried about missing a maths lesson on that day. I had to point out to her that she might only have one chance in her life to meet a survivor of the Bosnian genocide.

Whereas, in recent years, all departments in the school have been required to plan learning within a cross-curricular themed week, the humanities department was keen this time to use our own disciplinary frameworks, as well as subject knowledge, to promote wider learning. For example, the theme of personal choices is linked with citizenship and PSHE, but we carefully grounded learning in actual historical situations. As Professor David Cesarani has written, 'Eichmann was a thinking person who consistently made choices.'³ A historical situation where positive choices were made can be found in southern France, where the people of Le Chambon and the

Figure 1: The Abraham Moss scheme of work 'Can genocide be prevented? What can we learn from studying genocides in the past?'

Lesson number	Rationale	Activities
1. How was survival possible?	Start with the personal to ease students into the process of analysis of wider events.	<p>Students generate questions from photographs of people. The photographs were selected carefully to avoid use of images of atrocities, because they might discredit the victims. The horror of events can be related without recourse to graphic imagery by allowing survivors to tell their stories.</p> <p>Students read and analyse an individual story. They identify key points in the story, and in the wider events in that country.</p> <p>They then plot factors leading to survival in a Venn diagram, which is used as a comparative tool when they hear about the other survivors from classmates.</p> <p>They consider emerging patterns.</p>
2. How is it helpful to analyse patterns of genocide?	Introduction to the four-stage model, and to the interventions that might be made to prevent genocides.	<p>Students examine symbols for warning signs, and discuss events for which there are warning signs today. Analogies with a volcano about to erupt and a friend about to lose his temper are used to illustrate the four stages.</p> <p>They then sort cards on one of the genocides under four headings: warning signs, acts of violence, interventions, legacy. Students then plot photos of the survivors, maps and key events in each genocide on a class display on the wall. This highlights the similar patterns.</p> <p>Against the definition of genocide in the Geneva Convention, they decide whether each of the conflicts, including Kosovo, could be classed as a genocide.</p> <p>Review learning against questions posed last lesson.</p>
3. Can genocide be prevented?	Understanding of the role of international organisations and citizens.	<p>Students listen to survivor testimony about the role of the UN and other organisations. They study NATO action in Kosovo, and how this averted deaths on the scale of Bosnia or other conflicts. They look at suggestions from Hillary Clinton about US actions, and alternative suggestions about interventions from James Waller's book <i>Becoming Evil: how ordinary people commit genocide and mass killing</i>.⁴</p> <p>In groups, students adopt the role of UN advisers to study a timeline of events in one of the cases of mass violence. They have to decide what kind of intervention would be advisable and at what point.</p> <p>In a conference at the end of the lesson, they have to persuade class members of the action they counsel.</p>
4 and 5: How should we remember genocides?	Time for reflection. Use of creative skills as well as understanding. Linking past & present.	Students match photos of memorials with written descriptions of their purposes. Having discussed the purposes, and possible forms of memorialisation, they design their own memorial to genocide

neighbouring villages sheltered up to 3,500 Jewish people and maybe 1,500 others, during the war. This is an unusual example of rescue as it involved the people of a whole region in southern France. The villagers' replies to the question posed later about why they did it, were summarised, 'How could you call us "good?" We were doing what had to be done. Who else could help them?'⁵

The balance of moral and historical purposes in Holocaust education was debated in the previous issue of *Teaching History* dedicated to this subject.⁶ In that issue, Alice Pettigrew reported on teachers' differing views about the relative importance of social and presentist aims compared to purely historical objectives, drawing on evidence from an IOE survey conducted in 2009.⁷ While many teachers spoke

Figure 2: Planning for a card sort comparing genocides

	Warning signs	Acts of violence	Responses	Legacy
Holocaust (1940s)	Dictatorship Antisemitism War Ghettos	Murder by gas in death camps – 6 million Jewish people	Little was done. 32 countries met at the Evian Conference 1938, and did little.	Refugee crisis State of Israel created 1948 Destruction of European Jewry Universal Declaration on Human Rights 1948 Genocide Convention 1948
Rwanda (1994)	Ethnic divisions stirred up under Belgian rule Economic problems Anti-Tutsi propaganda RPF formed – killed President Habyarimana	Murder of 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus in 100 days Rape	UN & international community withdrew UN invoked genocide convention 1994	Complicated re-integration in Rwanda Knock-on effects in the Democratic Republic of Congo
Bosnia (1992-95)	Serb nationalism and increasing control under Milosevic. Wars of independence in neighbouring countries.	Policy of 'ethnic cleansing' – massacres of 8,000 Muslim men and boys at Srebrenica	UN failed to protect its 'safe areas', handing over Bosniaks to killers	Refugees Serbs continued aggression in Kosovo
Kosovo (1996-99)	Serb nationalism and increasing control under Milosevic. Wars of independence in neighbouring countries.	Destruction of villages and ethnic cleansing, murder of at least 600 and deportation of 750,000 Albanians	NATO airstrikes began March 1999 – helped end the war	Refugees
Darfur (2003-05)	Conflict between African farmers & nomadic Arab tribes, favoured by government. Rebel groups take up arms against government.	Janjaweed militia destroyed 400 villages. Up to 400,000 deaths. Rape.	Massive humanitarian response, but interrupted by violence. International Criminal Court investigations	2.7 million refugees Problems spilled into Chad

of their hope to facilitate 'understanding diversity', the exact meaning they attributed to diversity was not made clear. Our understanding of diversity at Abraham Moss goes beyond the study of diverse cultures within a 'community cohesion' perspective. Historical diversity is not simply an aspect of the past to find out about, but also a tool with which to analyse the past.⁸ I wanted our comparison of genocides to lead to the study of different forms of propaganda as a precursor to genocide, and to the exploration of diverse reactions in a genocidal situation, and of different interventions. This would involve analysis of diverse responses and reactions during any one genocide, as well as analysis of similarities and differences between genocides, with a wider focus on change and continuity. Examples of similar warning signs might be the use of propaganda to label Jewish people or Tutsis. Students could also find similarities and differences between the contexts for genocides: World War Two, for example, provided the context for the Holocaust; the Bosnian genocide took place during the wars in the former Yugoslavia; and the Darfur genocide followed civil war in Sudan. Another similarity to be explored would be failed responses from the international community, such as the withdrawal of UN troops from Rwanda and their failure to protect the 'safe area'

of Srebrenica in Bosnia. In terms of the differences, students might investigate why the UN has only invoked the genocide Convention of 1948 on one occasion, for Rwanda in October 1994. They could be asked, 'Why did Winston Churchill fail to insist upon Allied bombing of Auschwitz to save Jewish lives in 1944, but Tony Blair insist upon NATO air strikes on Kosovo in 1999?' This might involve comparison of military capacity, of the reliability of evidence of genocidal activities available to the governments at the time, of any requests from the victim groups for interventions, and of the motivations of the two prime ministers.⁹ Another important difference may have been their knowledge of – and ability to appeal to – the example of previous genocides.

Holocaust education is particularly interesting in our school context. The school has a multi-ethnic population and around 63 different home languages are spoken. Over 85 per cent of the students are Muslim. There are currently no Jewish students and our students rarely have any connections with the Jewish community situated nearby, sometimes perceiving the visible Chassidic population as archetypal of all Jewish people.¹⁰ The diverse composition of our classrooms requires a sensitive approach to teaching the

Figure 3: Students plot refugees' journeys on 3D maps of Sudan (Global Awareness Day)



Holocaust. We believe this to be an extremely important part of the history curriculum, and have also raised the profile of the Holocaust during Holocaust Memorial Week for many years, through assemblies and PSHE lessons. Our approach involves examination of the history of antisemitism and of European Jewish communities before the Holocaust. This may help counter any local prejudices, and also helps explain the sense of persecution and fear which is expressed by some local Jewish people today. We also consider it important to examine the role of different forms of Jewish resistance to the Holocaust, as well as positive interactions with non-Jewish communities. This helps to negate the impression of Jewish people as passive victims. Indeed, our students are often quick to empathise with Jewish victims. They often draw comparisons between antisemitism and any prejudice they might have experienced. While there are some parallels with racism today, I am keen for them to recognise the limitations of such parallels and to appreciate the specific nature of European antisemitism, with its deep-seated historical roots, boosted by socio-economic conditions at the time.

One of the challenges in teaching about the Holocaust at our school is the tendency of students to ask questions about Jewish people today, about the actions of the Israeli state and the US 'war on terror'. While our approach welcomes student-

led questions, there is a danger of being distracted from the focus. As history teachers, we stress that it is critical to refer to evidence, rather than hearsay. Last year we planned a short scheme of work, jointly with the citizenship department, focused on finding evidence to counter Holocaust denial. We wanted to tackle this issue, because students will find all kinds of theories on the internet, and need to refine the skills to assess them for themselves. This year, following the Beacon Schools approach, I felt better equipped to draw all aspects of learning together. Making the link with other genocides allowed us to look at the experience of Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo, and of Africans in Rwanda and Darfur, with which some students felt more connection. In turn, the acknowledgement of their own concerns might facilitate more openness on the part of our students in exploring the history of the Holocaust.

In order to develop a common rationale and to address any questions from staff, I held a training/discussion session with all the colleagues involved in Global Awareness Day, who are teachers of history, RE, geography, PSHE, citizenship, English and media studies. We discussed responses to possible student questions, as well as language issues. We agreed on formal definitions of the Holocaust and of genocide. Following the practice of our RE department, we agreed,

Figure 4: Success criteria shared with students and used to assess their work

Success Criteria – levels of understanding

Demonstrate understanding of the events shown and present a thoughtful and sensitive view of shared humanity/global citizenship.

Explain why these events are important and why/how people should remember.

Tell me the importance of what you have learned.

Describe aspects of your learning.

for example, to use the term 'Jewish people' rather than 'the Jews' in our discourse. Although this is a departure from academic practice, we have heard the word 'Jew' used as a term of abuse locally, and wanted to personalise the people in our stories. Furthermore, as Kay Andrews points out, use of the term 'the Jews' appears to imply a homogeneous group.¹¹ We have explained this reasoning to students in order to help open their minds to the complexities of the topic. We also discussed the balance between democratic dialogue with students, the need to fulfil specific learning objectives and the danger of students expressing offensive or racist views. Students would be welcome to express views, but anything which might offend others would be challenged, and the intentions behind it would be questioned. Some questions would be deferred to later lessons; for example, anything connected with Israel and Palestine was dealt with in a later short sequence of lessons on the Arab-Israeli conflict. In fact, while some of the expected questions did arise, there were no instances of expression of racist or antisemitic views.¹²

Planning the history scheme of work

Within history itself, I also created a short scheme of work for Year 9 on comparing genocides, which I began planning during my week in Washington, D.C. This followed on from a five-lesson scheme of work on the Holocaust itself, based on the approaches and resources used in the professional

development programme offered by the IOE.¹³ The link between our study of the Holocaust and the comparison with other genocides was a lesson on human rights, in which students explored the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the impact of its articles. They then found out about human rights violations across the world. My colleague had originally developed this lesson, but we now adapted it in order to link the declaration more closely with responses to the Holocaust and the evolution of the UN Genocide Convention which was signed later the same year. Here I was able to draw on my own increased knowledge of the issues in order to make learning more meaningful for students.

Planning the scheme of work presented a variety of challenges, not least in selection of content. I was aware of the fine balance and necessary interplay to be achieved between building substantive knowledge and analysing patterns of genocide. Too much information to handle might become confusing, while deficiencies in knowledge might lead to unhistorical approaches, with a tendency to categorise all mass atrocities as genocide. We decided to focus on genocides in Rwanda, Bosnia and Darfur, using Kosovo as a comparison, since arguably genocide was prevented there by NATO intervention. Kosovo would be an interesting case study, given that we have a substantial number of students from Kosovo. I was slightly uncomfortable with teaching about these genocides with no other context about the countries or peoples. However, time constraints would not allow us to take a broader approach this year. This may be something we seek to address in future years.

In developing the resources I had to read widely. Again, the experience of sharing with colleagues in the IOE Beacon Schools programme was invaluable here, both through discussions during the Washington visit, and through an IOE online forum after our return. As the legacies of recent genocides are not yet fully understood, I found it difficult to establish exactly what had happened in each area, and especially what interventions and legal proceedings had taken place. I found it hard to keep up with unfolding events, for example as the International Criminal Court is still pursuing its investigations into events in Sudan, and there have been ongoing legal investigations in the Netherlands into the role of Dutch peacekeeping forces in Bosnia. The most helpful resource was from a guidebook, now available on the web, entitled 'Holocaust and other Genocides', which as IOE Beacon Schools we were invited by the authors to review and comment upon.¹⁴ The USHMM website also hosts a wealth of resources.¹⁵

My enquiry question was 'Can genocide be prevented: what can we learn from studying genocides in the past?' I chose three characters, Norah Bagarinka from Rwanda, Niemat Ahmadi from Darfur, and Hasan Nuhanovic from Bosnia, whose stories can be found in oral form on the USHMM website. Each one has since taken up positive action against genocide. We also chose the story of Esther Brunstein from the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust website, and that of an ex-student from Kosovo, Qendrim Gjata.¹⁶ We have drawn on Qendrim's story many times in the context of teaching about refugees, since he left the school in 2007. We used an adapted version of Stanton's eight-stage model of genocide, tracing warning signs, acts of violence, interventions and legacy. On a simplistic level,

Figure 5: An example of a student's ideas for his memorial

Name:

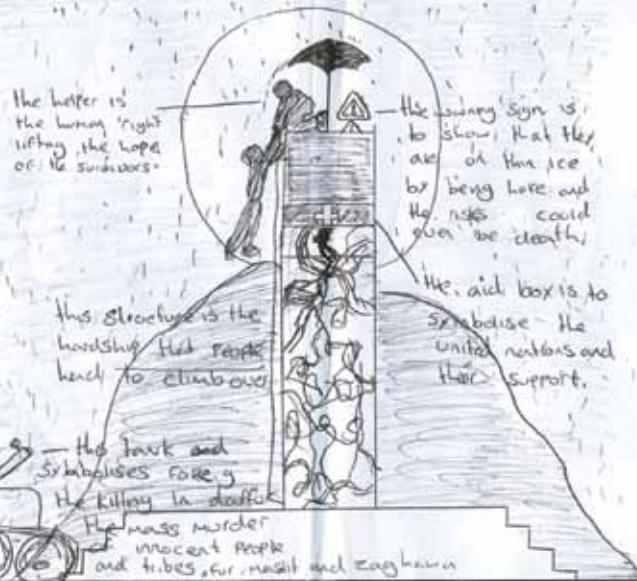
How should future generations remember genocide?

Size: the size of the tank should be 2m and the rest 6m.

Inscriptions: description of the (the statue) Such as date and what it symbolises.

Materials: it has to be metal, firstly because it's strong and stable and secondly because metal is always attached or attached to a magnet and this statue is attached to genocides all over the globe Past or Present.

The chosen genocide and people / events to remember: well there are now genocides but I will be focusing on the one that happened in Darfur, If you are unaware of what horrible actions that were taking place I will tell you the Janjaweed came in on horse-back with weapons slaughtering the innocent from women to children.



Location: I would like it to be in the central base of a city for e.g if it was Manchester, I would place it in town, so it can remind more people of what has happened and what is going on

The meaning behind the design is how everyone including children are trying to survive a fight for survival. the gas rising from the surface is a warning sign. as are the box and the tank, all these are related to show that many people had climbed over an obstacle in their life. It shows that all the people are fighting to survive, even though they may know the risk they still try to continue to fight back in any way possible. It could also be the obstacles that is getting in the way for aid and people in need in Darfur 2.7 million people have fled their homes. 7000 African union troops trying to protect them.

we could compare these four stages to examples of everyday conflict in school, and thought that it would be less complex than Stanton's model for students to deal with.¹⁷ My plan for the five lessons can be found in Figure 1.

Our school population includes a large number of students who have English as an additional language and/or special needs. Overall levels of literacy are below average. All classes in Year 9 were mixed ability, typically reflecting a very wide spectrum, ranging from several young people working below National Curriculum level 3 up to those working at level 7. All of my resources were therefore differentiated, with two or three levels of challenge. The card sort referred to in lesson 2 was the most difficult resource to prepare, because of the need to select and present key points from complex stories in a few sentences, and I took advice from my Beacon Schools Associate, Arthur Chapman, about which particular points to select or omit. I decided to include pictures to replace some of the words for one of the sets of cards about the Holocaust, using symbols such as the swastika, with which students might already be familiar. This helped a few students to access the cognitive challenge of sequencing and sorting rather than stumbling with the reading. Figure 2 shows the basis of my planning for the card sort, with the main aspects of each genocide arranged as four stages.

Global Awareness Day

The day was launched with an assembly about genocide, during which I shared the story of Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term 'genocide' and campaigned tirelessly for its adoption into criminal law, weaving in an overview of genocide through his questions as a young Polish lawyer about the injustice experienced by Armenian survivors, and his personal experience of tragedy with the loss of 49 family members in the Holocaust. This was linked with human rights in other areas. We also used photographs of victims and survivors of different genocides from Armenia to the present day as initial stimulus material. Keen to find positive stories, I did not want to detract from the horrific experiences of victims, nor to present too sanguine a picture of the extent of rescue. I used the USHMM DVD *Voices of Rescue* and also referred to the 'Missing Pages' website which provides a photo documentary about Albanians who helped Jewish people in danger during the Holocaust.¹⁸ They did so because of the Albanian code of 'Besa', which implies a form of honour, involving active caring for others regardless of their background. These were very positive examples to counter negative stereotypes of Muslims presented as enemies of Christians or Jews in the modern world. The danger that students would leave with an unrealistic view of the role of rescuers was countered by study in the history

classroom of perpetrators and bystanders. In the assembly, as in the scheme of work, I used a photograph of a milk churn, from the Oyneg Shabes–Ringelblum Archive, which was clandestinely compiled between 1940 and 1943 to document the story of Polish Jews, and later uncovered from the ruins of the former Warsaw ghetto.¹⁹ I had seen the milk churn at USHMM, and taken the photo from the website; I thought of it as a symbol of Jewish control and action, while most of Poland and Europe took little action to help.

After the assembly, students attended two workshops from a range of ten, which involved making protest banners, debating whether the rest of the world should take up armed intervention in Syria, creating video appeals from NGOs, making 3D maps of Darfur and plotting refugee journeys, investigating why people are migrating in Sudan, analysing stories written by survivors, watching and planning film scripts on this topic, and looking at the legacy of the Holocaust. The workshop on legacy drew on ideas developed by the IOE on the void left by the European Jewish communities, and followed the approach that Kay Andrews had shared with us by presenting photos of the local high street in Cheetham Hill, with shadows where all the Asian shops, mosque and community buildings presently stand.²⁰ This helped students to visualise events far outside their experience. Figure 3 shows students at work.

Some workshops were led by visitors, Kaltrina Gjata, an ex-pupil, who was a child refugee from Kosovo, and Sanja Bilic from Bosnia. We also invited Arthur Chapman as an expert to help answer students' questions, and Naomi Jahoda, who works in our building as Manchester Local Authority's North Area Partnership Co-ordinator, and is the daughter of a Holocaust survivor. Students related well to these people, their evaluations suggesting that working with them was one of the most positive experiences of the day.

To help students draw links between historical events and the world today, we wanted to involve our Year 10 GCSE citizenship students as peer leaders. Two of these students attended each workshop to support the younger students, and then share the learning in order to design an assembly at the end of the day. This involved sharing photos and videos, reviewing the activities and exploring suggestions about positive actions that might be taken. At the end of the day they also gave out leaflets about ongoing campaigns in which students might like to participate. Their presentation was very well received by Year 9 students, and provided a little light relief through its interactive activities.

How did we measure progress?

A further challenge was how to evaluate our teaching, and assess students' knowledge and understanding. Within the history department we decided not to assess their achievement using National Curriculum levels. We wanted the learning to be exploratory. Learning outcomes comprised verbal communication and group conclusions about similarities and differences, as well as diagrams, and short pieces of writing on possible interventions and their effects. Too much written work can mean less learning time when under pressure to complete a packed scheme of work. We were therefore keen to use a non-written final learning outcome, and opted for a

memorial design. We adapted a version we had used before to allow a student response to any or all of the genocides they had learned about. This was an opportunity for them to draw together the different aspects of their learning, commenting on the patterns of genocide, and reflecting on warning signs for genocide and whether it can be prevented, with reference back to our original enquiry question. At the start of the lesson, students looked at a range of Holocaust memorials, matching photos with descriptions of their purpose. This year, I added in some extra challenge for the most able students, who were asked to consider the controversy surrounding the stumbling stones memorial in Cologne, and the Harburg memorial against fascism. The Harburg memorial is interactive, offering an invitation to members of the public to write their ideas on it, which has led to some neo-Nazi messages. The research that I had read about the purposes of different memorials, including a study of memorials to genocide in Bosnia Herzegovina, prompted discussion over whether we should study interpretations of history through memorialisation, but we decided that this strayed too far from our original brief.²¹ With Darius Jackson from the IOE, I developed success criteria for this piece of work, which are set out in Figure 4. The levels that we identified all required some knowledge and understanding of historical events, with the highest level showing wider awareness of global issues. Figure 5 presents one example of a student's response, which shows a high level of thinking about different aspects of genocide and genocide prevention, with reference to historical events.

What were the wider benefits of this approach?

First, we now have a local network of history teachers that I established as part of the IOE Beacon Schools programme. I have shared my scheme of work on genocides with them, and they have adapted it in different ways for their own students. We intend to keep the network running as a useful forum within which to share good practice on wider issues in the future. IOE staff came to our school in July to deliver the first of the professional development day courses to members of the network and other local teachers.

Second, my colleague, together with Naomi Jahoda, has established a 'linking communities' project with King David High School, our local Jewish school, whereby a group of students from each school have worked together on a shared understanding of their own cultures and of the Holocaust. We began this to coincide with Holocaust Memorial Day in January 2013. The students have attended workshops together, and are planning to deliver assemblies in both schools, with input from the local Second and Third Generation Group.²² We raised some eyebrows by our arrival together on one coach at the local commemorative event for Holocaust Memorial Day. Students and staff at King David have expressed an interest in finding out about other genocides, and welcomed offers from two of our students to tell their family stories as refugees from Kosovo. Their next planned venture is a joint visit to a mosque.

Evaluation

As we worked through the lessons on genocide, I did find, as I had expected, that many students became a little confused

about what had happened where, and did not retain sufficient knowledge to make the analysis for which I had hoped. I therefore took a little longer than planned over the scheme of work, adding in simple tasks for starters and plenaries, including reinforcement of vocabulary through matching exercises, labelling countries on a world map, and connecting particular victim groups with the relevant conflict. Although keen to avoid 'dumbing down' serious issues, I felt that these activities were necessary to consolidate learning.

On the whole students responded well to the challenges, both in the history classroom and in the global awareness workshops. They produced high-quality work in terms of the levels of thinking involved, although I might have liked to have more tangible work to show for it. I would like to allow longer to complete the final piece of work on the memorial design, with closer guidance provided on how this might reflect their understanding of the similarities and differences between genocides. Evidence that students had considered genocide prevention was found in work where students took on the role of history experts tasked with advising the UN about warning signs for genocide, and suggesting interventions. In questionnaires nearly all students said they had gained a better understanding of the world today, could make links between past and present on issues about genocide and related events, and knew how they could take action to contribute to efforts to prevent this. One student described the experience as 'a great day to inform children of the voice and power that they have to change the world for the better'. When students selected their GCSE courses, some time after this scheme of work was completed, the choice of history was higher than usual, with half of all students opting to continue with the subject. In their questionnaires, some said that this scheme of work influenced their choice.

An unintended consequence was that the learning about genocides facilitated understanding about the Arab-Israeli conflict and also the events of 9/11 and its aftermath later in the year. This was possibly because students had a better understanding of the role and limitations of the UN and other organisations, as well as specific knowledge about the Jewish experience of the Holocaust.

It is extremely difficult to assess whether student understanding matches our aims. In their chapter on Holocaust education and citizenship, Short and Reed found gaps in student understanding, which was assessed one year after the initial learning.²³ However, if we were to measure students' knowledge of any subject one year on, without deliberate revision, we might find that their memories of causes and specific facts might have faded. Students are more likely to remember general impressions, and possible moral lessons about genocides, rather than specific details. I remain a little concerned that while most students showed an understanding of the term genocide, they might tend to equate any horrific events, past or present, with this label. Given more time, I would have liked to encourage them to test events against different definitions, and possibly to spend time looking at the Genocide Watch or Aegis websites.²⁴ A guided web search would have given them more opportunity to explore past and current events for themselves, and to find out what actions are being taken across the world to prevent genocide. I would like to develop further their ability to draw

comparisons between the genocides we learned about, and to study others on their own, with a sharper conceptual focus on similarity and difference. At a higher level, they might be able to look at the limitations of different comparative models. Despite the concerns expressed above, I found this project inspiring and challenging. For myself as an experienced teacher, the learning curve was steep, yet it was a pleasure to see students engage with a topic through which they learned about the past, showing empathy with other individuals and also developing a sense of their own power as global citizens. For once, a positive addition to the curriculum, chosen by the school and not forced upon us by the DfE.

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'Never again'?

Helping Year 9 think about what happened after the Holocaust and learning lessons from genocides

'Never again' is the clarion call of much Holocaust and genocide education. There is a danger, however, that it can become an empty, if pious, wish. How can we help pupils reflect seriously on genocide prevention?

Elisabeth Kelleway, Thomas Spillane and Terry Haydn report teaching strategies that focused students' attention on what came after the Holocaust, on events in Rwanda, on warning signs and steps to genocide and on the nature of genocidal language. They encouraged students to apply their learning about the past to the present – in Chechnya – with beneficial effects on student engagement and understanding.

Elisabeth Kelleway, Thomas Spillane and Terry Haydn

Elisabeth Kelleway is Head of History and Head of Year 12 at Hellesdon High School, (11-18 mixed comprehensive), Norwich, an IOE Beacon School in Holocaust Education. Thomas Spillane is Head of Year 10 and Teacher of History at Hellesdon High School, and Terry Haydn is Curriculum Tutor for the Secondary History PGCE Course at the University of East Anglia, and an IOE Associate.

Context of the Project

This article emerged from our involvement in the Institute of Education's Beacon Schools in Holocaust Education programme, which works closely with schools to improve the quality of Holocaust education in the UK. Elisabeth Kelleway and Thomas Spillane took on lead roles to develop the project in the school and to extend it to other schools in the Eastern Region. As part of the project Thomas attended a 'Day One' Continuing Professional Development (CPD) training day run by the Institute of Education (IOE) and held in Norwich and then a five day conference at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington DC in July 2012. The focus of the conference was the Holocaust and the ways in which it can be related to subsequent genocides and crimes against humanity, in order to develop young people's understanding of these issues. Some of the ideas brought back by Thomas were shared with the history department in September 2012. We had decided to adopt the issue of 'Warning Signs of Genocide' as our focus. It was decided to run a whole day In Service Education and Training (INSET) event in January for the history and religious studies departments. At this event all five members of the history department agreed to deliver a lesson to a selected Year 9 class in the Summer Term as part of our involvement in the IOE Beacon Schools programme. The religious studies department planned to deliver its teaching of genocide concurrently.

As part of the INSET, colleagues accessed some of the excellent resources produced by the IOE, which are available to delegates who have undertaken the CPD training. Thomas was also able to share *A Good Man in Hell*, a DVD issued at the Washington conference. The film focuses on an interview with General Roméo Dallaire about his experiences during the genocide in Rwanda, which was used as the basis for our two lessons on 'Warning Signs of Genocide'. Staff undertook individual research for their lessons using the templates provided on the IOE's website. Thomas and Elisabeth worked together to devise two new lessons on 'Warning Signs of Genocide' to complement the resources.

To develop the delivery of Holocaust education at Hellesdon High School, the history department decided to use the school's training room to film all lessons taught as part of this project. Staff evaluated their lessons individually and as a group in feedback at departmental meetings. The recordings were edited and selected activities were analysed at meetings to look for strengths and where tasks should be refined and adapted to meet the needs of students. This 'lesson study' approach to refining practice was in itself an interesting and useful part of the project.¹

One of the aims of the IOE's programme was for each Beacon School to develop a network of schools. To this end Hellesdon High School hosted a CPD day run by the IOE in July 2013. Colleagues from 10 schools across the Eastern Region attended. This was also an opportunity for the Hellesdon history department to widen our school's involvement in the project to include our drama and geography departments.

Figure 1: Gregory H. Stanton's eight stages of genocide²

Stage 1	CLASSIFICATION: All cultures have categories to distinguish people into 'us and them' by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality.
Stage 2	SYMBOLISATION: We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people 'Jews' or 'Gypsies', or distinguish them by colours or dress; and apply the symbols to members of groups.
Stage 3	DEHUMANISATION: One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanisation overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder.
Stage 4	ORGANISATION: Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility (e.g. the Janjaweed in Darfur.) Sometimes organization is informal (e.g. Hindu mobs led by local RSS militants) or decentralised (e.g. terrorist groups).
Stage 5	POLARISATION: Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarising propaganda. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the centre.
Stage 6	PREPARATION: Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. Their property is expropriated. They are often segregated into ghettos, deported into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved.
Stage 7	EXTERMINATION begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called 'genocide.' It is 'extermination' to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing.
Stage 8	DENIAL is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims.

The work of the IOE Beacon Schools programme in the UK and the USHMM's work on connecting the Holocaust to other genocides reflects continuing concern to improve the quality and effectiveness of Holocaust education, in part because of evidence to suggest that this is still a problematic issue in history education, and also in view of the challenges presented by the growing distance between the Holocaust and the present.³ With reference to Holocaust education in Germany, Rathenow has pointed out that:

The question of how the Holocaust should be taught is asked again and again partly because of its growing distance from the present. Holocaust education is running out of eyewitnesses from the Nazi era. Victims and culprits, helpers and supporters, accomplices and contemporaries are dying out. So, we have no direct link to the past. There is also, unfortunately, a growing emphasis on methods that trivialise the subject matter, such as ticking boxes on clipboards.⁴

Rose Tremain points to the danger that with history 'people think it's all safely in the past' and as a result 'are dismissive of it, and think it doesn't matter.'⁵ It is possible – although, of course, ill-advised – to teach the Holocaust as an unproblematic and straightforward event and, at its worst, it can be reduced to a simplistic narrative in which a wicked

man called Hitler, who lived in Germany a long time ago, built concentration camps where the Jews were rounded up and gassed before he eventually lost the Second World War and killed himself, after which many of those responsible for helping him were brought to trial and punished.

Never again?

Given constraints on curriculum time, there are hard choices to make in determining what should be covered in teaching the Holocaust and other important events in history.⁶ It is not just a question of considering what content to include and what parameters to set in terms of the chronology and time-span of the focus of the lessons. How far (if at all) should we trace antisemitism back before Hitler's access to power, and consider what happened *after* the liberation of the camps and the fall from power of Hitler and the Nazis? There are also the challenges of deciding which questions are worth asking about the Holocaust, and of deciding which learning outcomes to aim to achieve. Our involvement in the USHMM seminar, and the IOE's programme led us to believe that in spite of the pressures on curriculum time, we should try to devote at least some attention to what happened *after* the Holocaust.

The phrase 'Never again,' has become associated with the Holocaust, expressing the fervently held belief of survivors

Figure 2: Barbara Harff's risk indicators for genocide⁷

A genocide becomes probable in contexts where the following factors are present:

- **prior genocides and politicides:** a dichotomous indicator of whether a genocide or politicide has occurred in the country since 1945;
- **political upheaval:** the magnitude of political upheaval (ethnic and revolutionary wars plus regime crises) in the country during the previous 15 years, excluding the magnitude of prior genocides (in more recent versions of the model, this has been updated to 'degree of state-led discrimination', as being a more significant factor);
- **ethnic character** of the ruling elite: a dichotomous indicator of whether the ruling elite represents a minority communal group, such as the Tigrean-dominated regime of Ethiopia;
- **ideological character of the ruling elite:** a belief system that identifies some overriding purpose or principle that justifies efforts to restrict, persecute, or eliminate certain categories of people;
- **type of regime:** autocratic regimes are more likely to engage in severe repression of oppositional groups;
- degree of **trade openness** (export + imports as % of GDP): openness to trade indicates state and elite willingness to maintain the rule of law and fair practices in the economic sphere. Risks are highest in countries with the lowest openness scores.

that people should know about the Holocaust and know that it was wrong, and that this knowledge should help prevent similar events happening in future.⁸ One question which might be asked about the Holocaust is the extent to which the hopes of the survivors have been realised or confounded by subsequent events. We decided to make this question the focus of a two-lesson enquiry.

Influences on our approach to the lessons

Our work was influenced in part by the work of James Waller, who had delivered two of the sessions at the USHMM seminar.⁹ Working in the field of history and social

psychology, Waller argues that of the 'big questions' relating to the Holocaust, and other twentieth-century genocides, 'the most urgent is how ordinary people commit genocide and mass killing.'¹⁰

Estimating that at least 60 million people have been victims of genocide and mass killing over the past century and citing acts of 'near-complete annihilation' committed against the Herero, the Armenians and the Jews, and mass killings in Indonesia, Burundi, Cambodia, East Timor, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, Waller argues that although there may be other obstacles, groups who want to carry out mass killings 'are never hindered by a lack of willing executioners' and that 'this is the one constant on which they can depend.'¹¹ Waller warns of the complacency and lack of understanding which might result from what he terms 'the mad Nazi' thesis: the idea that the Holocaust was a product of 'a few evil and psychopathic people' (see also Edwards and O' Dowd's report on a UK history class's apparent sense of ease with the 'Hitler was a nutter' school of thought).¹² By deploying survivor testimony from the Rwandan genocide, Waller provides a clear explanation of the ways in which conformity to peer pressure, diffusion of responsibility, and de-individualisation of victims helped perpetrators to initiate, sustain and cope with involvement in genocide and mass killing. This leads to the uncomfortable conclusion that 'people tend to do evil because of where they are rather than who they are', with the caveat that among the many people who were in some way involved in genocides were 'some who refused to kill, and some who stopped killing.'¹³ Waller's work seemed to offer the opportunity to disturb some of the simplistic assumptions and misconceptions which some students hold about the Holocaust.¹⁴

Another key influence on our work was our increased awareness of recent international efforts to prevent genocides. The USHMM seminar developed our awareness of recent initiatives in the area of risk assessment and prevention, in relation to genocides and mass killings. These included Gregory Stanton's 'eight stages of genocide' model (Figure 1), and Barbara Harff's risk assessment model for 'genocide and politicide' (Figure 2).

Stanton, president of the organisation 'Genocide Watch', argues that genocides tend to develop in eight stages that are predictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive action can avert the escalation towards genocide, although the process is not necessarily linear, 'Logically later stages must be preceded by earlier stages... But all stages continue to operate throughout the process.'¹⁵

Harff's genocide risk assessment model emerged in response to President Bill Clinton's policy initiative on genocide early warning and prevention launched in 1998. Harff was invited 'to design and carry out a study that would... establish a workable and theoretically sound data-based system for risk assessment and early warning of genocidal violence.'¹⁶ Figure 2 presents a summary of the seven (differentially weighted) factors which Harff claims provide insights into the likelihood of states becoming susceptible to genocide and mass killing.¹⁷

In light of Stanton and Harff's work, we refined our focus in order to address the extent to which genocides both during

and after the Second World War conformed to their models of ‘warning signs’.

The lessons

Two lessons which focused on the idea of ‘warning signs’ of genocide were developed and piloted with pupils. The lessons were filmed in the school’s ‘lesson study’ classroom, so that they could subsequently be analysed and evaluated by all members of the department.

Our underlying substantive goal was to help pupils to understand that in spite of the hopes of the survivors of the Holocaust that such things should never happen again, mass killings and crimes against humanity on a major scale did in fact take place after the Holocaust, and that the problem of mass killings and crimes against humanity was not ‘all in the past’, and is, or should be, a current concern.

Lesson 1, Warning signs: ‘Genocide is a cheese sandwich’

Following the INSET day the department spent some time working on the warning signs of genocide. Elisabeth decided to focus on ‘dangerous words’, in this instance: laundry, cleansing and culture. We wanted to introduce pupils to the idea that the meaning of particular words can assume different significance when used in different contexts, and that the use of language played a part in genocides. As one example of this, in *Becoming Evil*, Waller notes the way that Rwandan radio broadcasts consistently described Tutsis as ‘cockroaches’, in much the same way that Jews were commonly compared to ‘rats’ or ‘vermin’ in Nazi Germany. The title of the lesson was taken from an interview with General Roméo Dallaire featured in the DVD *A Good Man in Hell*. A transcript of part of the interview was provided for pupils (Figure 3), and the pupils watched a section of the interview from the DVD.

‘Genocide is a cheese sandwich’ was on the board when students entered the classroom. This prompted some perplexed comments – as we intended it would.

Next, students were given the words ‘laundry’, ‘cleansing’ and ‘culture’ and asked to write a definition and draw a picture for each. They produced drawings of things like washing machines and facial cleansers. ‘Culture’ proved more difficult for students to define but they thought about art and music and a way of life.

Once the students had fed back their ideas we used images to consider how words can be used with a different purpose in a different context. Starting with ‘laundry’ we focused on the painting ‘Human Laundry, Belsen’ by Doris Zinkeisen (Figure 4). This painting, which is part of the Imperial War Museum’s collection, was painted in 1945 by former society painter Doris Zinkeisen who was a war artist who visited Belsen after it was liberated.¹⁸ We thought about why Zinkeisen gave the painting its title and used a letter written by her at the time to shed more light on her experience.¹⁹ We contrasted the use of the word ‘laundry’ with the students’

Figure 3: Extract from the DVD, *A Good Man in Hell*, and commentary by Jerry Fowler, Director of USHMM’s Committee on Conscience

General Roméo Dallaire:

‘Genocide, genocide, genocide. Cheese sandwich, cheese sandwich, cheese sandwich. Who gives a shit? Crimes against humanity? Where is humanity? Who is humanity? You? Me? Did you see a crime committed against you? Hey, just a million Rwandans.’

‘Did you ever hear about the Genocide Convention?’ (General Roméo Dallaire asks journalist Philip Gourevitch) who says that he has. ‘That convention is good for wrapping a cheese sandwich.’

Later in the DVD, Jerry Fowler, Director of USHMM’s Committee on Conscience, asks: ‘I think the question we all have to ask ourselves is whether we want to live in a world where that man is right or where that man is wrong. Right or wrong?’

original ideas and drawings. We were aware of the possible dangers of ‘shocking’ pupils with upsetting images, but felt that the exploration of language that Zinkeisen’s work made possible offered a way into getting pupils to think of the meaning of some ‘everyday words’ in the context of the Holocaust and subsequent genocides.

In keeping with the overarching aim of getting pupils to think about ‘warning signs’ of genocide, links were then made to the Rwandan genocide and the ways in which language was used to engender hatred for outsider groups, using resources and materials from the USHMM website.²⁰ We considered ‘cleansing’ and how it was used to such dangerous effect as part of the ‘ethnic cleansing’ in Bosnia. Students studied a sequence of events which took place during the Bosnian crisis and tried to identify when the language used to describe the situation became dangerous.

Finally we looked at ‘culture’ or ‘Kultur’ using a photograph taken by Elisabeth’s grandfather who as a Royal Engineer went to Belsen after it was liberated (Figure 5). The sign featured in the photograph was erected outside the camp and reported that ‘10,000 unburied dead were found here. Another 13,000 have since died. All of them victims of the German New Order in Europe and an example of Nazi Kultur’. This provided a starting point to discuss what Nazi ‘Kultur’ meant and how it compared to the previous ideas of the class. We examined the word in the context of the Holocaust to assess how something which the class had

Figure 4: Doris Zinkeisen, 'Human Laundry', Belsen, 1945, oil on canvas © Imperial War Museum (ART LD 5468)



understood to be about music and art could actually be implicated in mass murder.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of the pupils were unaware of the basic events of the Rwandan genocide, although previous lessons had shown that most of them had some prior knowledge of the Holocaust. The last part of the lesson explored their views on why the Rwandan genocide was less well known than the Holocaust, given that it was much more recent.

To draw the lesson together we considered how seemingly innocent words such as 'cleansing' and 'culture' could disguise something much more sinister. Students considered Jerry Fowler's statement (Figure 3) and thought about what could be done to make people care more about genocide than they do about a cheese sandwich. In the context of the phrase 'Never again' there was also some reinforcement of the point that genocides, mass killings and crimes against humanity have occurred since the Nazis' fall from power.

Lesson Two: Rwanda, Bosnia and Stanton's model of 'stages' of genocide

The lesson started with the students working in groups looking at the Rwandan and Bosnian genocides. Gregory Stanton's idea of 'stages of genocide' was suggested to pupils, to consider in the context of these genocides. For each stage, there were cards for what happened in Rwanda and what happened in Bosnia. The students had to look at both genocides and decide on a title for each stage. The outcome of this was surprisingly close to the language used by Stanton for his descriptors of each stage. As a result of this activity students were beginning to understand that for there to be genocide a country is likely to go through 'stages', rather than genocide emerging suddenly and 'out of nowhere', and questions such as 'Does this mean that we can predict genocide at a really early stage then?' showed that they were starting to engage with the subject content.

Figure 5: A photograph taken outside Belsen by G. Nicholls in 1945



The next activity had four different parts. First, the idea was to compare the Rwandan genocide and the Bosnian genocide and to complete a table based on the eight stages, documenting a summary of what happened at each stage in both genocides. This was to test out their original or developing ideas that genocide follows a certain pattern. Second they were asked to write their thoughts individually about what intervention could happen, what effect they think this would have and at what stage other nations should intervene. This provided some interesting answers which ranged from 'sending the army over to sort them out' to 'send aid and medical supplies to the injured and build a safe haven for those at risk'. The general consensus was that intervention should occur at stage seven, 'extermination'. There were also feelings though that the situation should be monitored from stage four and the perpetrators should be 'educated'. The next task was to read a 'case study' of Chechnya and to fill in a worksheet based on what has happened there that could be considered to go into Stanton's eight stages of genocide model. Finally, the students were asked to give their opinions about what stage they believed Chechnya to be in and whether there was a reason for us to worry. These final two tasks helped to consolidate their knowledge of the stages of genocide, but it also enabled them to demonstrate their understanding and apply it to a different context.

This final part of the lesson had involved revealing the titles that Stanton used, and seeing how close they were

to the students' own models. Then we searched the www.genocidewatch.org website to discover which nations were at risk and what stages they were at. The students were very keen to see if they had assessed the situation in Chechnya properly and displayed a sense of pride that they had used their own ideas and stages to correctly identify Chechnya being at stage five, 'Polarisation'. The class responded that they felt as if they had done some good because they understood more and believed that they could educate others.

The final thing was to explain the homework. The students were asked to devise an art-work, a poem, a sculpture, or a song, in commemoration of the victims of genocide, which would raise awareness of post-Holocaust mass killings and crimes against humanity, which could be displayed digitally in our 'virtual museum' or physically in one of the classrooms or display cupboards. The idea behind this was that students felt empowered as a result of their knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust and other genocides and believed that if they could educate others through their remembrance piece then it would help to reduce apathy and move people to action. The idea of 'agency' – that pupils understand that, to at least some degree, people contribute to the making of history – is something that we felt our students ought to understand. In the context of the 'Never again?' question, we also wanted them to understand that the issue of genocide did not disappear from history with the death of Hitler.

Conclusions

Of course, it is important that pupils should gain a sound grasp of the main events involved in the Holocaust between 1933 and 1945, but in the same way that tracing back the antecedents of antisemitism before Hitler came to power can avoid the dangers of suggesting simple answers to complex history, so tracing the history of genocide, mass killings and crimes against humanity *after* the Holocaust can help pupils to understand that many of the issues and problems which gave rise to the Holocaust are still relevant to world affairs and social policy today.²¹ Salmons warns of the danger of trivialising the Holocaust by using it as a rhetorical device in campaigns ranging from anti-abortion to vegetarianism; but he has also argued that, through careful comparison with other crimes against humanity, the study of the Holocaust may help us to discern warning signs that contribute to education for genocide prevention.²² Some of the factors which contributed to the escalating persecution of the Jews between 1933 and 1941 – for example, eugenic theory, and the demonisation of ‘outsider groups’ – can be found in contemporary societies. One way of persuading pupils that the questions posed by the Holocaust are relevant to their lives in the twenty-first century is to reflect on whether there are some ‘symptoms’ of contemporary society and culture which indicate that we may be in some respects ‘in stage I’ of Stanton’s classification of the stages to genocide. It would be interesting, for example, to find out how many pupils leave school understanding the phrase, ‘Playing the race card’? As former Secretary of State for Education, Sir Keith Joseph argued, one of the main objectives for the study of history in schools is ‘to enable pupils to gain some understanding of human activity in the past *and its implications for the present*’²³ (our italics). The benefits arising from our involvement in the IOE’s Beacon Schools in Holocaust Education programme have been significant. It has made us reappraise the way we teach the Holocaust and we found the excellent resources produced by IOE extremely helpful and powerful. Students have responded very positively to the activities which we tried out and we feel that it has made them think about the Holocaust and its legacies in a more meaningful way. The materials which enable pupils to study the role of some of the individuals involved in genocides have had a particularly powerful impact.²⁴ The pedagogical guidance and educational principles provided in the IOE’s materials and INSET were also invaluable.²⁵ The prospect of working together with a network of schools to develop and refine activities further is an exciting one.

We believe that most history teachers feel a sense of responsibility when they teach the Holocaust: responsibility to their subject, to the gravity of the topic and to the memory of its victims. Our involvement in the USHMM seminar and IOE’s Beacon Schools initiative, and the lessons which we piloted as a result of our participation, have led us to feel that if we fail to convince pupils that some of the questions and issues which gave rise to the Holocaust are questions and issues which are still relevant to ‘the challenges of our times’, and that the Holocaust was not just something that happened about 50 years ago which has nothing much to do with them, then we will have failed to do justice to the Holocaust, and to its victims. Peter Morgan makes the point that although we are far from reaching a professional

consensus on exactly what students should learn from the study of the Holocaust, deepening and broadening our students’ historical engagement with the Holocaust is an aim which would command the support of most history teachers.²⁶ Getting our students to consider the question of ‘Never again?’ can be one way in which we can do this.

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New, Novice or Nervous?



The *quick* guide to the 'no-quick-fix'

This page is for those **new** to the published writings of history teachers. Every problem you wrestle with, other teachers have wrestled with too. Quick fixes don't exist. But if you discover others' writing, you'll soon find – and want to join – something better: an international conversation in which others have explored, debated and tackled *your* problems. *This edition's NNN problem is:*

What makes a *good* enquiry question?

You can see the value of a carefully crafted enquiry question in securing both rigour and engagement. You already use enquiry questions to plan short, structured sequences of lessons that culminate in a substantial concluding activity to assess and reinforce pupils' learning. And yet...

Sometimes your enquiries seem less like an open-ended journey of exploration and more like an intellectual cul-de-sac. Pupils, far from being curious and intrepid explorers of the past, are behaving more like reluctant conscripts. The enquiry question, rather than capturing and sustaining their imaginations, seems to *bore* them. When you introduce the final outcome activity you find yourself looking out at a sea of blank faces, some uninterested, others clueless. Your enquiry has fallen flat.

How could others' work help?

What makes a *good* enquiry question? While curricula and specifications come and go, this is a question that never ceases to be relevant. Teachers over many years have reflected on the fundamental principles that underpin the crafting of an enquiry question.

A good place to start is **Riley (2000) in TH 99**. Riley's work showed how carefully-crafted enquiry questions, carefully positioned across Key Stage 3, can capture pupils' interest, secure rigorous substantive knowledge *and* conceptual understanding, and yield meaningful assessment through a substantial and enjoyable outcome activity.

Riley and Byrom (2003) in TH 112 built upon Riley's earlier work. They set the challenge of designing a good enquiry question within the wider context of the challenges faced by history departments in knitting together individual enquiries into coherent medium-term plans. In particular, they were concerned with how enquiries can be used to develop broad and coherent knowledge.

Now take a look at **Burn, McCrory, and Fordham (2013) in TH 150**. Tackling head on the view that the demands of GCSE require a 'content-coverage' approach, they argue that the same principles underpin effective teaching for students of *all* ages. In doing so, they show how enquiry questions can be used to build secure subject knowledge and to help pupils deploy it more effectively to explain, analyse and argue.

To see a teacher wrestling with the *process* of constructing an enquiry question, read **Fordham (2012) in TH 147**. By making explicit the process by which he developed and subsequently revised and refined a single enquiry question, Fordham models the kinds of professional thinking that underpin the crafting of a successful enquiry.

Meanwhile, inspired by Riley, **Hier (2001) in TH 103** sought to develop a genuinely collaborative approach to planning enquiries. Central to the department's approach was the use of peer review to stimulate debate

within the history department about the coherence, validity and wording of enquiry questions.

While these articles reflect explicitly on the principles underpinning the crafting of a good enquiry question, simply open any edition of *Teaching History* to find other teachers grappling with the same challenges in their own planning. So join in and start wrestling your way to that winning question.



A short 20 years:

meeting the challenges facing teachers who bring Rwanda into the classroom

As the twentieth anniversary of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda approaches, Mark Gudgel argues that we should face the challenges posed by teaching about Rwanda. Drawing on his experience as a history teacher in the US, his experience researching and supporting others' classrooms in the US and UK, his training in Holocaust education and his knowledge and experience of Rwanda, Gudgel identifies some of the most common challenges facing teachers. He offers practical advice, some principles for continued development of suitable approaches and his personal reflections on the importance of bringing Rwanda's history into the classroom.

Mark Gudgel

Mark Gudgel is a teacher of English at Lincoln Southwest High School in Lincoln, Nebraska, USA. He first travelled to Rwanda in 2008. A teacher fellow in Holocaust education of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and of the Imperial War Museum, Gudgel spent the spring of 2013 as a Fulbright scholar at the University of London's Institute of Education (IOE), working with IOE Beacon Schools and studying language used to teach about the Holocaust in secondary UK classrooms.

Introduction

In 1994, an estimated one million people were murdered between 6 April and 17 July in the small African state of Rwanda. Almost instantaneously, on the assassination of President Habyarimana, roadblocks were erected, armed militias dispatched and the killing of the Tutsi minority began. Many victims were murdered by people they knew, and most of them with machetes and other agricultural hand-tools. While the international community observed and was aware from the start, meaningful state-sponsored intervention did not occur. In the aftermath of the killing, a new nation was formed, a diaspora repatriated, bodies buried in mass graves and a way forward sought. Only afterward, when too late for action to save another life, was the collective consciousness of the world engaged.

By all accounts, 1994 was a busy year. The frontman for the Seattle grunge band Nirvana, Kurt Cobain, took his own life one day prior to the outbreak of violence in Rwanda. In June, the police chase and ensuing murder trial of actor and athlete O.J. Simpson commanded the attention of the media. Shortly thereafter, the World Cup began, ending with yet another victory for Brazil. More directly related, perhaps, was Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List*, the Holocaust-era story of a Nazi-turned-rescuer. Yet few seemed to make connection between 1940s Europe and present-day Rwanda. While a film about the Holocaust was being celebrated for its importance, hundreds of thousands of people were being murdered in a genocide that employed different methods and affected different people, but was undeniably reminiscent of the Holocaust in Europe.

After the Holocaust, western states sought moral justification for fighting the war through having 'liberated' the infamous German *lager* system. Yet the release of Jewish and other prisoners from Germany's camps was the happy bi-product of an Allied victory, and was certainly not what motivated war with Germany in the first place. Perhaps the complexity of this history and the somewhat convoluted narrative associated with it, coupled with a genuine sense of shame, horror, or even disbelief, might begin to explain why Holocaust education was slow to be taken up in the United Kingdom, in the United States and in other nations.

In addition to the passage of time, another factor that contributed to an increase in Holocaust education was an increase in available materials. *The Diary of a Young Girl* by Anne Frank was first released in 1947. Over time, more and more survivor testimonies, documentaries and other resources became available, fostering a greater discourse and making it possible for the subject to find its way into the classroom. And as the twentieth anniversary of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda fast approaches, it seems likely that a similar surge in texts, films, articles and more is likely to further its popularity as a topic for teaching.¹

However, while Holocaust education remains an ever-evolving field, it has been my experience that similar education focused on genocide in Rwanda is rarely given the same level of consideration. My own interest in the subject was born in 2005, when a high-school classmate who knew that I had recently begun teaching English at Southwest High School in Lincoln, Nebraska,

encouraged me to view the recently released *Hotel Rwanda*. Although I have come to learn that the film itself is largely a work of fiction, it affected me deeply at the time, perhaps most potently by bringing to my attention the fact that, while I remembered much about 1994, from Cobain's suicide to the gifts I received for my thirteenth birthday (not least, Billy Joel's *Piano Man* on Compact Disc), I was entirely unaware that the lives of a million of my fellow human beings had been cut short in an act of genocide. This realisation spawned in me an indignation, and it quickly became a mission of mine as an educator to ensure that my students would never leave school as ignorant of their world as I had been. From that point, I began teaching courses on the Holocaust, making 1994 a part of the focus, and I travelled to Rwanda. I also started working with various educational institutions whose focus was on genocide. I co-founded a non-profit organisation, the Educators' Institute for Human Rights, that works with teachers in Rwanda and other nations affected by genocide.

It is almost 20 years since 1994. As the anniversary approaches, students and teachers alike seem likely to take deeper and deeper interest into the *Mille Collines* – the Land of a Thousand Hills – and it becomes all the more important that educators are prepared to face the unique challenges posed in teaching about Rwanda. This article will attempt to identify a number of the most common and perhaps significant obstacles, most of which I have encountered in my own classroom in the United States, and to offer practical advice about how to begin to move past them and help students to understand and appreciate the nation and people I have grown to love.

Establishing a rationale for education about Rwanda

The question 'Why?' is important whenever a teacher introduces any topic into their classroom, but it can be even more important to think through when the issue is as potentially harrowing as genocide. Rwanda is rarely more than a mention in standard textbooks, and is unlikely to be a part of mandatory curricula outside of the nation itself. With an increased emphasis on core subjects and successful completion of standardised assessments, teachers wishing to introduce topics or curriculum that are deemed 'non-essential' must be prepared to rationalise and support their decisions. The question, then, of 'for what purpose?' becomes an important one.

The manner in which Rwanda is introduced to students will be determined by various factors. The most likely places to find it at present might be in subjects such as history or citizenship. Yet teachers might select Rwanda as a vehicle to arrive at very different objectives. A history teacher in England, for example, in the context of the 2014 National Curriculum for history, might draw upon the concepts specified in the 'Aims' of that curriculum to tackle a study in causation (asking 'Why...?') or, using the concepts of change and continuity, require pupils to characterise speed, nature or extent of change over time (asking 'How rapidly...? What kind of change...? What patterns of continuity...?'). Under that curriculum's stated aims, it would also be appropriate to answer challenging questions about differing interpretations

Figure 1: Rwanda's location in Africa. Students in England may find it helpful to hear that Rwanda is roughly the size of Wales.



Figure 2: Rwanda and neighbouring countries in 1994



and accounts.² Many further options for types of historical question are encouraged by that curriculum and common in the history education communities in England. The requirements or options will be different again in other countries, and different in other disciplines. Any of these aims could easily be tied into a lesson or unit on Rwanda. In each instance, however, the need to address the question of 'why Rwanda?' remains.

Lessons on Rwanda are frequently linked to the Holocaust, a subject which has long been part of the National Curriculum in England and is encouraged on a state-by-state basis in the US, in a variety of ways.³ Helping young people make meaningful connections between the 1994 genocide of the

Tutsi in Rwanda and the Shoah can be done with great efficacy. There are numerous legitimate parallels worth examining, from the use of propaganda to world response to justice in the aftermath, each of which can lead to students better understanding both events. What cannot and should not be compared, however, are the human elements. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum advises teachers to 'avoid comparisons of pain' in teaching about such events, and while students are inclined to ask of genocides simple questions such as 'Which one was worse?' there is no profit in comparing death by machete to death by Zyklon B inhalation from within the confines of a carpeted, climate-controlled classroom.⁴

There are many reasons to focus on Rwanda, many approaches that will help students to access and understand it and much that can be learned by studying the tiny country, her history and the people who live there. As an example, a study of society or politics in a citizenship lesson would reveal that Rwanda is the only nation in the world with a majority female parliament, a parliament which is democratically elected and in which the population of females continues to grow with each election, reaching 64 per cent after the most recent voting.⁵ Another aspect of Rwandan society that students often find interesting is the concept of *Umuganda*, a Kinyarwandan word that means 'contribution'. On the last Saturday of every month, three hours in the morning are set aside for people to donate time to the community in whatever fashion they are best equipped, from planting or harvesting crops to cleaning the community.

Specifically in relation to the genocide of the Tutsi and the killing of moderate Hutus, Rwanda's tumultuous postcolonial history provides an example through which to examine Dr Gregory Stanton's Eight Stages of Genocide.⁶ The general issue of international responses to genocide, the actions and motivations of global superpowers and the role of the United Nations can be meaningfully explored through the lens of 1994. And a student exploring criminal justice in a citizenship lesson would discover a unique, somewhat controversial, yet arguably effective traditional system of justice, known as *Gacaca* trials, in which a whole community – or what is left of it – may hold court in the open air, enabling them to face the accused, to give evidence, with the aim of promoting truth and – ultimately – reconciliation.

In all of these ways and many more, Rwanda is original and complex. Rwanda offers students an opportunity to gain knowledge and insights relevant to many disciplines or school subjects. In each instance, a professional educator familiar with their discipline and their curriculum can find ways to meaningfully intertwine a study of Rwanda with a variety of curricular areas. But it should not be assumed that the connections between particular curricular areas are obvious to students, nor should it be expected that the lessons to be learned are somehow inherent, that the meaning of these events cannot be missed. Rather, teachers must assist their students to examine Rwanda thoughtfully, through a lens of genuine inquiry rooted in the aims and questions of particular disciplines and, from their observations, determine the knowledge and insights that they hope students will gain. And while there is nothing problematical about linking the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda with the Holocaust or contrasting Rwanda with other nations

past or present, students must ultimately come to see the *Mille Collines*, its people, and its genocide, as both important and significant in their own right.

Whatever motivates the inclusion of the topic of Rwanda in the classroom, from the 1994 genocide, to culture, society, government, reconciliation or other aspects entirely, teachers are charged with the task of identifying how it fits into their discipline, their school subject, their curriculum and their aims and objectives. While ultimately the rationale will vary from subject to subject and from teacher to teacher, it is clear that the topic lends itself to producing and examining diverse answers to the question 'why?'

Developing a broader historical context

Rwanda is not a genocide. Rather, Rwanda is a nation, a culture, a society, a people. These seemingly obvious truths regularly slip through the cracks of western understanding when it comes to the tiny African jewel. While scholars and educators would never even consider defining the Jewish people – and thousands of years of history, culture and tradition – merely by the depths of their persecution in the Shoah, this has become commonplace with Rwanda.⁷ Teachers must not allow students to define Rwanda, the nation, and all of her culture, society, geography, economy, history and people, by their worst one hundred days. Moreover, in order truly to understand what happened between 6 April and 17 July in 1994, one must have a solid understanding of the context and events that enabled hatred and mistrust to be manifested in genocide.

First and foremost, it must be understood that the continent of Africa and all its thousands of kingdoms, societies and cultures did not magically spring into being upon the arrival of Europeans who, in addition to 'guns, germs, and steel', were also in possession of sophisticated written language skills.⁸ Like the continent on which it sits, Rwanda has existed geographically for millions of years. People have lived there for the past several thousand. The creation of artificial boundaries to separate the newly obtained colonies did immense and irreparable damage to societies all over Africa. The effects are still felt and seen across the continent today.

The history of the kingdom of Rwanda dates back hundreds if not thousands of years. The official web page of the government of Rwanda states:

*For centuries, Rwanda existed as a centralized monarchy under a succession of Tutsi kings from one clan, who ruled through cattle chiefs, land chiefs and military chiefs. The king was supreme but the rest of the population, Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa, lived in symbiotic harmony.*⁹

In this account, the emphasis is placed on the ability of diverse peoples, specifically Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, to coexist and interact peacefully. In fact, intermarriage among groups was common, and identity in these groups was less than static; for example, a Hutu person who obtained enough cattle could, reportedly, become a Tutsi. The peaceful nature of the groups living in Rwanda prior to the colonial period stands in stark contrast to the better-known 1994 genocide.

Figure 3: A timeline depicting key events in the history of Rwanda, from the colonial era to the present day

A timeline depicting key events in the history of Rwanda, from the colonial era to the present day

1885 Inter-European negotiations conclude with Rwanda given to Germany at the Conference of Berlin	1961 influential Rwandans convene in Gitarama, monarchy dismissed, republic declared, PARMEHUTU leader Gregoire Kayibanda placed in charge	1994 Between 6 April and 17 July, the newly-formed government led by Hutu extremists, along with <i>Interhamwe</i> militias, set out to systematically annihilate the Tutsi people of Rwanda. Nearly one million people are murdered.
1894 German explorer Count von Gotzen arrives in Rwanda	1962 Rwanda formally gains independence from Belgium, Gregoire Kayibanda officially named president	1995 International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda (ICTR) established
1899 Ruanda-Urundi (Rwanda and Burundi) become part of German East Africa	1973 President Kayibanda overthrown by General Juvenal Habyarimana	2000 – (April) Paul Kagame elected President by Rwandan Parliament
1916 defeated by Germans in WWI, Belgian forces occupy Rwanda	1978 Juvenal elected president under new constitution	2001 – (October) Gacaca courts are established
1919 Treaty of Versailles establishes League of Nations, strips Germany of colonies including German East Africa	1979 Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (RANU) is formed of Tutsi exiles in Uganda	2008 – (August) Mucyo Commission Report accuses the French of active role in genocide; (October) English replaces French as lingua franca
1923 Rwanda ceded to Belgium via League of Nations	1986 RANU fights alongside National Resistance Army in Uganda, overthrows Milton Obote, installs Yoweri Museveni as President	2011 Rwanda Genocide Teachers' Association (RGTA) is founded as a professional organisation for educators who teach about genocide in Rwanda
1933 Belgium issues racial identity cards to Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa	1987 RANU becomes the Rwandan Patriotic Front, or RPF	2012 – (June) Gacaca court system shut down
1957 Hutu Manifesto is written, and the PARMEHUTU (Party for the Emancipation of the Hutu) is formed	1990 – (October) civil war between RPF and Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR), Rwanda's standing army, begins	2013 Approaching the twentieth anniversary of the genocide in 1994, Rwanda commands the world's attention and respect with a rapidly growing economy and progressive society as a model of post-genocidal growth and prosperity
1959 Hutu Uprising in Rwanda, now-President Paul Kagame and family narrowly escape death with assistance of King Rudahigwa's chauffeur	1993 President Habyarimana signs power-sharing agreement with RPF leaders in Arusha, Tanzania. United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) arrives to monitor peace	
1960 Belgian officials call for elections in Rwanda to formalise power shift; Hutu radicals win 70% of the vote		

The first Europeans to arrive in this region of East Africa were Germans. Rwanda became a German colony in 1899 and was absorbed into *Deutsch Ostafrika* or German East Africa, which also included Burundi and Tanganyika (modern Tanzania). During the First World War, the Belgians managed to occupy some German colonial territory, including much of German East Africa. In 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles forced punitive measures on Germany, these included the ceding of the Germans' colonial holdings. While Tanganyika was given to the British, Rwanda and Burundi became part of the Belgian colonial empire.

For students to understand events such as the genocide in Rwanda, violent atrocities in Idi Amin's Uganda, genocide in Darfur, the 'Blackhawk Down' incident in Somalia, Charles Taylor's crimes in Liberia, and many other complex and often violent aspects of African history, it is imperative that they first examine the period before colonisation and 'the scramble for Africa', and then examine the *impact* of the arrival of Europeans. As Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie put it in her TED Talk, 'The Danger of a Single Story':

*Start the story with the failure of the African state and not with the colonial creation of the African state and you have an entirely different story.*¹⁰

Yet the legacy of conquest by European states is insufficient to explain why genocide took place in Rwanda in 1994. The Belgians, strongly influenced by the faux-science of eugenics, assigned ethnic identity cards to the people of Rwanda in 1933, the same year Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany. It is well known that eugenics led to the mass murder of the disabled in the Nazis' so-called 'Euthanasia' programme, codenamed Aktion T-4, but it is less widely known that it had an immense impact on nations such as Rwanda as well. The minority, who were judged through measurements to bear a greater similarity to Europeans and thus to be racially superior, were deemed 'Tutsi,' while the remainder, approximately 85 per cent, were made 'Hutu.' What had once denoted social status had been transformed overnight into a fixed racial hierarchy, with privilege in all spheres of society, from employment to education, being granted to the Tutsi minority.

This connection with events in Europe invites reflection and, in the context of certain historical enquiries, could be valuable for students to explore. Eugenics was not a 'Nazi idea' but rather originated in England in the nineteenth century and by the twentieth century was influencing policy in many parts of Europe and the United States. The two genocides – the Holocaust and Rwanda – though separated by decades and occurring in different continents, thus have common points of reference in Western thought. The exporting of European cultural values (and prejudices) to Africa could be said to have had a significant impact on Rwanda.

In 1959, the majority Hutu, who under Belgian rule had been mistreated and oppressed, rose up and drove many Tutsi out of the country. Within a few years, the Belgians had disappeared, Rwanda was independent and the Hutu were in control. In the years that followed, Tutsis exiled from Rwanda staged a number of attacks from neighbouring countries, hoping to remove the Hutu government of President Gregoire

Kayibanda. These attacks often led to large-scale killings of Tutsis within Rwanda. When Kayibanda was deposed in 1973 by his Defence Minister, Juvenal Habyarimana, who would remain in power until his assassination in April of 1994, anti-Tutsi policies persisted, and a series of quotas were put in place to limit Tutsi involvement in all public spheres.

In 1990, a group of Tutsis in exile who called themselves the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) fought southward from Uganda and engaged Habyarimana's forces, the *Forces Armées Rwandaises* (FAR) in a civil war. It was the brokering of a peace agreement to end this civil war that brought the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) into the picture in 1993. They remained to monitor the peace agreement.

On the night of 6 April, 1994, genocide was *sparked* by the assassination of President Juvenal Habyarimana, as well as President Cyprien Ntaryamira of neighbouring Burundi. This was not, however, what *caused* the genocide to take place. In reality, preparations had been in the works for many months, as weapons were imported and cached, militias trained and propaganda from both RTLM (radio) and *Kangura*, a newspaper perhaps reminiscent of Julius Streicher's *Der Sturmer* in its exceedingly narrow and hateful focus, had incited prejudice and violence on a wide scale. Upon the assassination of the president, roadblocks went up around Kigali, barring escape for the victims. The Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, considered a 'moderate Hutu', was murdered along with the ten Belgian UN Peacekeepers who were protecting her, and an interim government consisting of military officials complicit with the genocide was put in place. The response of Belgium, whose forces made up more than half of UNAMIR, to the slaying of its soldiers, was to call for full withdrawal. Although General Dallaire refused the legal order to pull out, he was eventually left with a token force of volunteers, a tenth the size of his original command. Over the next hundred days, chaos reigned in Rwanda and the civil war continued alongside the slaughter of a million civilians.

On 4 July, the RPF took control of Kigali and, on 17 July, they secured the rest of the nation, ending the genocide. In the months following, thousands of Tutsi exiles were repatriated to Rwanda from neighboring nations. The killing had ended. The uncharted task of rebuilding a nation, however, was just beginning.

Of course, as with the history of any nation, there is no limit to how deeply it can be examined, and time is rarely in abundance. Establishing the fact that there was a pre-colonial Rwandan kingdom, the impact of colonisation, and the practices that led to a great rift amongst the different groups of people, eventually leading to civil war, will provide students with the necessary overview for understanding how and why horrific violence broke out in 1994. Ultimately, students must begin to understand Rwandan history as that of a nation as complex and storied as their own, rather than a stereotypical eruption of extreme violence on the dark continent so far away.

A game of numbers

One benefit of the gradual and unhurried approach to the implementation of Holocaust education around the world

was that, in many instances, things were better sorted by the time they reached the classroom. One example of this might be the figure ‘9 million’, which is attributed to the number of dead in an early French film entitled *Night and Fog*.¹¹ By the time teaching about the Holocaust became commonplace in the classroom, the figures used in texts and by teachers reflected more modern scholarship. Yet for the classroom teacher, shocking statistics are not an effective teaching tool. Students cannot relate to the victims of genocide by counting pennies or paperclips, but they can begin to understand by recognising that they share humanity itself with the victims of genocide, that they have more in common than to divide them and that like themselves, the victims were once part of the present, not merely part of history.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum encourages those teaching about the Holocaust to ‘translate statistics into people’, suggesting:

*...show that individual people – grandparents, parents, and children – are behind the statistics and emphasize the diversity of personal experiences within the larger historical narrative.*¹²

This is important practical advice for teachers. It may be made easier, however, by the fact that there is no *credible* debate around the number of Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The number six million is firmly established and widely accepted. While the principle of emphasising individuals is sound and certainly applies to Rwanda as well, the question of how many died in 1994 is far from laid to rest.

In the case of Rwanda, a heated debate has come about over time, and continues both to inspire discussion and to create turbulence. The official survey conducted in Rwanda in 1996 broke the victims down as having lived in one of 11 prefectures, and then again by commune. Adding the number of victims in each commune, and then adding the total number of victims in each prefecture, ultimately the Rwandans arrived at the number 1,364,020.¹³ ‘The account of victims does not include those who died after because of HIV or those who were thrown in the Nyabarongo River, Kivu lake, and other rivers...’ notes Aloys Mahwa, the Executive Director of the Interdisciplinary Genocide Studies Commission located in Kigali.¹⁴ Neither, however, does it include those who might have been thought dead in 1996 but who have since been repatriated, though this number is likely very low and understandably difficult to estimate.

In Rwanda today, when speaking of the genocide, official publications, newspapers, teachers, scholars, politicians and citizens alike all generally use the figure ‘one million’. This figure will appear in *The New Times*, Rwanda’s daily English-language newspaper, and will be heard on television as well as the radio. The web page of the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre states, ‘In 100 days, more than 1,000,000 people were murdered.’¹⁵ The official website of the Government of Rwanda states similarly:

*On 1 October 1990, the RPF launched an armed liberation struggle ... and ended the genocide of more than one million Batutsi and massacres of moderate Bahutu who opposed the genocide.*¹⁶

Figure 4: A banner at Ntarama, a community in which a massacre took place inside a church, reads, ‘If you knew me, and you knew yourself, you would not have killed me.’ (Photo taken in 2008)



Figure 5: At Murambi, a school and the site of a massacre in the south of Rwanda, a sign indicates where French soldiers from Operation Turquoise set up a volleyball court above a mass grave. (Photo taken in 2011)



Of course, the round figure of a million is imprecise, and not necessarily held by everyone, but it reflects a common understanding. In short, the people of Rwanda share a general agreement about how many of their own dead they were forced to bury in the months and years that succeeded the end of genocide in 1994.

Outside of Rwanda, however, a very different picture is often painted. Since shortly after the genocide in the mid-1990s, Western sources ranging from textbooks to institutions have often utilised the number 800,000 in reference to the number of victims in 1994. These sources range from the BBC to the United Nations, and use the number 800,000 without

Teachers must not allow students to define Rwanda, the nation, and all of her culture, society, geography, economy, history and people, by their worst one hundred days.

any explanation of their deviation from the figure used in Rwanda.¹⁷ Similarly, most history textbooks designed for the secondary classroom use the number 800,000 as well, and offer no insight into the discrepancy.

The Survivors Fund, or SURE, a UK-based charity, states:

*An estimated 800,000 to 1 million Tutsis and some moderate Hutus were slaughtered in the Rwandan genocide. A recent report has estimated the number to be close to 2 million.*¹⁸

The report that SURF refers to was released in 2008 and published in *The New Times*. It was conducted by AERG, the Student Genocide Survivor's Association, and includes data from more than 390 memorials surveyed.¹⁹

Though the estimate of two million is undoubtedly too high, others are wont to err in the other direction and an alarming trend has arisen. While David Irving and others have become infamous for questioning the number slain in the Holocaust, the assignment of the more diminutive number '500,000' has been likened by some to genocide denial in Rwanda.²⁰ In this instance, however, the 'deniers' are even more prominent than the un-credentialed historian Irving. In an 17 August 2010 press release, the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), an official part of the U.S. Military, stated, 'More than 500,000 Rwandans, mostly ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus, were killed in Rwanda's 1994 genocide.'²¹ Other prominent news organisations using a number half that of what Rwandans claim to be true, include the *New York Times* and, in many instances, the Associated Press.²²

Of course, to students in a media centre gathering data about Rwanda, any of these sources could easily appear credible, and go unquestioned. Instead of unequivocally accepting the statements made by any source, it is a valuable exercise for students to access a variety of sources, attempt to synthesise them, and come to some conclusions through dialogue and investigation. Teachers need to assist students first to work through the evidence on their own in a scholarly fashion,

and second, to move beyond statistics to look at the lives of the people, individual human beings all, who make up the immense numbers – regardless of which statistic is being used.

The bloody end

A degree of ambiguity around how the genocide ended has begun to emerge, in spite of the fact that there is no controversy about the matter so far as historical evidence is concerned. Most textbook passages do not go into enough depth to examine the RPF, and therefore cannot credit the cessation of the genocide to their military victory, made final on 17 July 1994. Yet in the simplest terms, this is precisely what happened; the RPF under Paul Kagame invaded Rwanda from the North, driving the killers southward and into Zaire, ending the genocide (see timeline in Figure 3). Students, however, are often left without a firm grasp of how the genocide concluded, and this in turn may lead them to make false assumptions. While many in western states, not least the UK and the US, encourage students to view

the role of their respective nations in regard to the Holocaust as that of 'liberators,' little opportunity exists for such ideology in regard to the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda, as the vast majority of expats and foreigners were successfully evacuated within a few days of the onset of the massacres in Kigali.

One element likely to cause confusion for students is the presence of the French military in Rwanda in 1994. 'Operation Turquoise' was the name given to a French military operation that eventually occupied the southern province of Rwanda during and after the genocide. It may seem logical to students to assume that, if a Western nation occupied parts of Rwanda in 1994, then this action must have led successfully to the end of genocide. In the case of Rwanda, however, this would be far from accurate.

The role of the French in 1994 is still widely debated. The French military did train and supply the FAR (Rwandan Armed Forces) prior to 1994, and many members of the FAR, including high-ranking military officials, became very involved in the killing. In 2008, the Mucyo Commission Report was released in Rwanda, formally condemning the French – all the way up to then-President Francois Mitterand, much of his cabinet, and many high-ranking French military personnel – for their role in the genocide.²³ In *The French Betrayal of Rwanda*, Krosiak writes:

*The French government still insists, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that it bears no responsibility for the genocide in Rwanda.*²⁴

Furthermore, the manner in which the narrative unfolds in many history textbooks leaves much to be desired, often being too brief to tell the story, and in many instances guilty of blatant inaccuracies. Prentice Hall's *America, Pathways to the Present*, offers a brief explanation of the 1994 genocide, and concludes with the line, 'Finally, in June, a French-led UN force moved in to stop the bloodshed.'²⁵ The passage ends there. Yet the presence of French forces is controversial to say the least, as highlighted in 2008 in the Mucyo Commission Report. Writes

Martin Meredith in *The Fate of Africa*, ‘Many prominent genocidaires, including Colonel Bagosora, passed through the French “safe haven” but the French made no attempt to arrest them.’ Said one French soldier, ‘This is not what we were led to believe. We were told the Tutsis were killing Hutus.’²⁶ Whether the intent of Operation Turquoise was indeed to stop the bloodshed, or whether instead they had a more sinister purpose of assisting the *genocidaires* they had trained for years to escape into Zaire (today the Democratic Republic of Congo), the message of the textbook passage is clearly to credit the French with ending the 1994 genocide, an idea that cannot be supported by evidence and which most credible scholars, especially those in Rwanda, would find offensive to say the least. Yet if this message can find its way into a widely-distributed secondary school textbook in the United States, then students run a major risk of ingesting misinformation if not carefully guided by knowledgeable instructors.

Selecting resources for teaching about Rwanda

Perhaps one of the greatest barriers that stands in the way of educators who aim to successfully teach their students about the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi is a general lack of resources. This is not to suggest that there are no resources available but, rather, to spotlight the shortage and to illuminate the problematical nature of some of the most popular ones. But while the resources available may be limited in some respects, there are certainly enough good ones to enable teachers to address the topic accurately using materials that possess integrity and authenticity.

Compared with the Holocaust, few survivor testimonies are available from Rwanda. This, of course, will change over time, as more survivors find the courage and energy to put their experiences in writing. Progress is currently also hindered by the fact that, for most Rwandans, English is a third language after Kinyarwanda and French. The relatively recent promotion of English to the national language, however, and the efforts of many to help tell these important stories, is leading to the release of more and more survivor testimonies which will undoubtedly find their way into the classroom over time.²⁷

Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties is the fact that the best known film about Rwanda, *Hotel Rwanda*, and the book on which it is based, *An Ordinary Man* by Paul Rusesabagina, have since been revealed to be grossly inaccurate, often referred to now as myths.²⁸ When first released, both film and book were widely acclaimed and widely used, and brought an important spotlight on an event that seemed to be rapidly fading from memory. However, over time, it came to be understood that the movie, filmed largely in South Africa without the supervision of any eye witnesses save for Rusesabagina himself, told a story that was largely falsified and that made a hero out of a man who is sometimes today regarded as more of an opportunist. On this point, many Rwandans are quietly indignant. Ndahiro and Rutazibwa, in their co-authored *Hotel Rwanda, Or the Tutsi Genocide as Seen by Hollywood*, explain their problem with admirable candor:

We refuse to allow the entertainment industry, the machine for making money out of the misfortunes of

Figure 6: Today Rwanda is expanding its infrastructure to accommodate growing industries while her citizens attempt to model how to emerge from the hell of genocide (Photo taken in 2011)



*humanity that is the Hollywood film business, to impose on the minds of an unfortunately ill-informed public stereotypes that may guarantee the commercial success of a work of fiction, but distort and even deliberately pervert the truth about the genocide of the Rwandan Batutsi.*²⁹

Journalist and scholar of the genocide Melvern expresses similar sentiments:

*It is not only survivor testimony that could call Rusesabagina's version of events into question – although this may be damning enough, for he is accused of extorting money from hotel guests for rooms and for food. The cheques he accepted for rent were cashed in Gitarama, where the interim government had established its premises.*³⁰

The suggestion here is that Rusesabagina was in league with the interim government, a government led by men who would later be convicted of the crime of genocide in tribunals held in neighboring Tanzania. The consensus seems to be that while the story is engaging and uplifting, it is not true; it simplifies and falsifies a complex history and while fiction often makes enjoyable cinema, such a fairy tale will do more harm than good to understanding in a classroom.

This problem, however, does not leave the secondary teacher without excellent films with which to supplement lessons about Rwanda's genocide. Two movies filmed in Rwanda and with at least partial Rwandan casts include *Sometimes in April* and *Shake Hands with the Devil*.³¹ These two films are generally regarded by the Rwandan people and educational communities as more true to the circumstances of 1994. In addition, an excellent documentary offering context and an overview of the genocide entitled *Ghosts of Rwanda* is available from PBS, and has a very useful accompanying web page that can be found at pbs.org as well.³²

The books and survivor testimonies that are available range greatly in regard to quality, accessibility and content. Teachers seeking to use the testimony of survivors will find numerous short essays available on the website of the Kigali Genocide Memorial.³³ For younger audiences as well as English language learners, the UN has produced a graphic novel entitled *Let's Unite* which can be downloaded free of charge from their web page, while numerous organisations from SURF to the USC Shoah Foundation to the USHMM offer lesson plans, testimony, podcasts and other resources, materials and ideas.³⁴

Conclusion

I no longer use *Hotel Rwanda* when I teach my students about 1994. Sometimes I use other films, though in truth I favour lugging my coffee pot into my classroom, grinding some Rwandan beans brought fresh from my last trip, and sharing a cup of coffee and a conversation about the Rwanda I know, the Rwanda I have grown to love, Rwanda as it is today. Of course, we eventually come around to the conversation of genocide and how it happened, but not before taking the necessary time to appreciate the country, its beautiful people, and the culture they call their own. Only once we begin to value Rwanda and its people for all they are, can we begin to discuss and meaningfully comprehend the tragic losses of 20 years ago.

Whether the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi can find a place as a stand-alone study in the secondary classroom, or whether it is inextricably bound to the Holocaust by common elements may yet be determined. Just as Holocaust education is taking time to evolve, employing trial and error, requiring great sensitivity and demanding bravery from teachers and students alike before becoming well developed and well nuanced in its curricular possibilities and in its pedagogy, so, too, will Western education in relation to Rwanda require such time and care. It may be helpful to understand what is being done today as the pioneering stages of an important movement, a movement that will evolve further over time, developing new approaches, reaching new conclusions and expanding in ways that today we cannot imagine. It is equally important to recognise the great complexity of the topic, and although it is unlikely that teachers in western states will ever teach about Rwanda outside the context of genocide, it is essential that these lessons do not begin or end in 1994.

Students often ask, 'Why didn't we do anything?' While typically born of justified indignation and a desire to be better, this is nevertheless the wrong question. 'We' (the West) did all kinds of things. France, Belgium and the United States put a combined force of nearly 2,000 soldiers on the ground within 72 hours of the onset of killing with the mission of evacuating tourists, journalists, and diplomats. Combined with a UNAMIR force of over 2,500, there was more than adequate manpower to stop the killing immediately. What there was not, however, was political will. Over the course of one hundred days, 'we' had numerous conversations, press conferences and meetings, and even approved large shipments of armoured personnel carriers to protect fleeing Tutsi from the *genocidaires*. They never arrived. Ultimately, the west, and the UN, did all kinds of things during this period of one hundred days, none of which was equal, whether alone or combined with other efforts, to stopping the bloodshed. In the end, had Paul Kagame's RPF not been victorious, it might be fair to conclude that the Tutsi people of Rwanda would be no more.

What was effective in saving lives, even if to a limited extent, were the heroic acts of bravery by caring individuals: Rwandans such as Damas Gisimba who saved children at his orphanage; foreigners such as Carl Wilkens and Phillipe Guillard who refused to abandon the people who had first taken them to the Land of a Thousand Hills and UN soldiers such as Romeo Dallaire and Mbaye Djiang who stayed on despite tremendous personal risk and outside pressure to abandon their mission and, in so doing, collectively saved the lives of thousands. It was individuals, not nations, who made some difference in Rwanda in 1994. Just as individuals swung machetes, individuals also saved lives. In the context of a secondary classroom, there is perhaps no more important message than this to convey to a class that is also made up of individual human beings.

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History, music and law:

commemorative cross-curricularity

James Woodcock continues his theme from *Teaching History* 138 about the difference between superficial, thematic cross-curricularity and much more rigorous interdisciplinarity.

His concern is to retain rather than compromise the integrity of the subject disciplines. Woodcock argues that interdisciplinary working adds value to learning only when the knowledge and the distinctive truth quests of each discipline are understood adequately by all partners. This makes management of cross-curricularity much more than a practical or administrative management task. It requires a depth of disciplinary appreciation in the senior curricular leaders and an ability to lead others in disciplinary conversation. Here Woodcock illustrates this argument in a short summary of an interaction between history, music and law, where each explored the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and each built on the others' disciplinary concerns while retaining their own disciplinary goals and standards.

James Woodcock

James Woodcock is Assistant Principal and History Teacher at Sawston Village College (11-16 comprehensive), Cambridgeshire.

Meaningful interdisciplinary working: what is involved?

It is hard for teachers to provide genuinely meaningful cross-curricular learning opportunities for pupils. There is challenge and risk. The challenge is to help pupils to explore links between subjects that generate deeper, more complex understandings, ones that raise new questions which perhaps would not have otherwise been considered. The risk is that we do our subjects a disservice, focusing on simplistic common denominators, adding nothing but a 'feel-good' factor.¹ In a fuller account of my former school's approaches to inter-disciplinary working, I argued that simplistic links driven only by content and not by the discipline – a set of practices, processes and concepts inhering in knowledge – can detract from progression within a subject.² As Monaghan showed, in his detailed construction of a strong link between English and history using classic literature, genuinely inter-disciplinary links, ones which deepen disciplinary knowledge by embracing the discipline's fuller purpose – that is, its fuller, distinctive role in seeking particular kinds of truth – are more likely to strengthen practice in both subjects, as well as adding something new.³

In so far as this is a pedagogical challenge, it can only be overcome by curricular thinking. That means disciplinary thinking and, because two or more subjects must come together, inter-disciplinary working. It therefore requires careful planning and teaching, with colleagues working in partnership, collaboratively, working to understand one another's disciplinary standpoints, not latching on to a superficial 'theme' and trying to garner some superficial overlap or random content opportunities. There are also logistical challenges. Which pupils can be involved? When can these opportunities be provided? What resources do we have to allow them to take place? To overcome these latter challenges requires commitments from the school, stemming from a recognition of the genuine, distinctive value that such projects can offer. Staff need to be clear about how the project will lead to learning that goes beyond that which might otherwise be possible.

This article is a case study of one of our efforts at Sawston Village College to provide such meaningful, sustainable cross-curricular opportunities for our pupils. This article focuses on one particular project linking history, music and law but similar events have taken place over a number of years, informed by the same underlying principles.

Starting with history: participating in and exploring commemoration

Over the last few years we have participated in the Cambridge Holocaust Memorial Day commemoration and its related symposium organised by the Keystage Arts and Heritage Company.⁴ The commemoration service is a civic event, typically held at the Guildhall in Cambridge city centre, featuring prominent public figures, community groups and many local schools. Each year's commemoration follows the national Holocaust Memorial Day theme. At the Cambridge event, pupils present their response to that theme, typically through a form of performing art, including dance, music, poetry and creative writing.

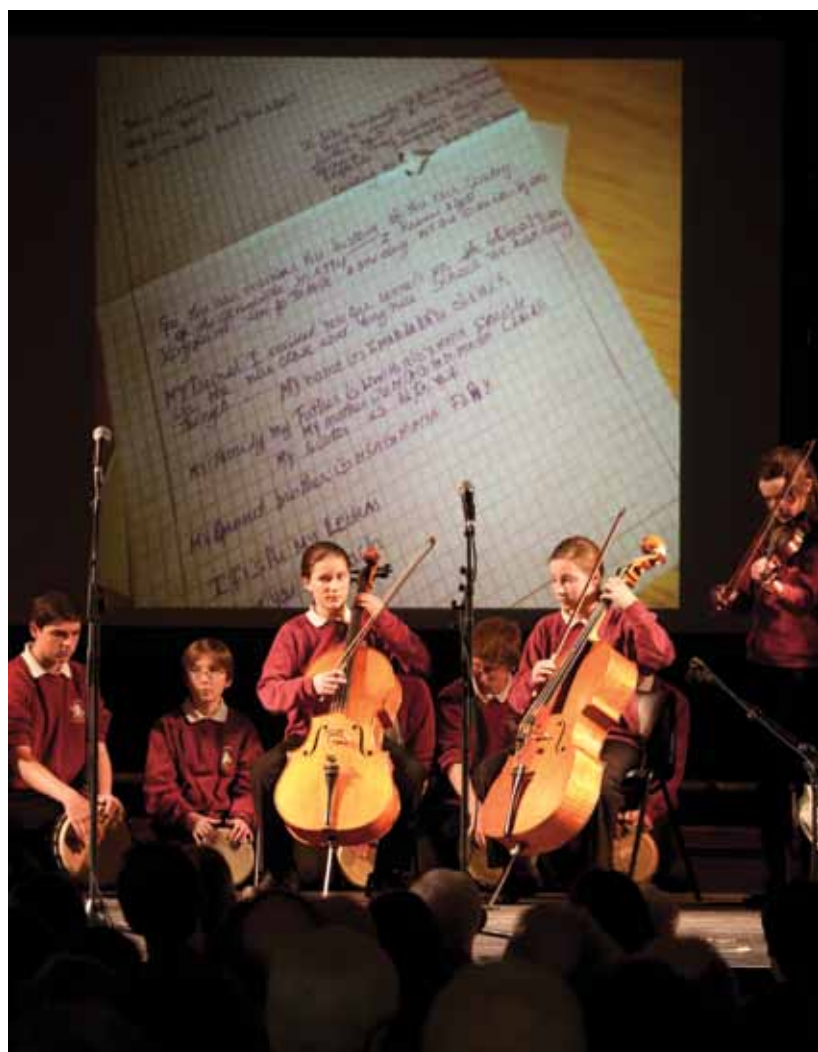
The symposium precedes that event. It has become an opportunity for Sawston pupils to engage with legal and moral issues surrounding the genocides and large-scale killings of



recent history, such as in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. With a partner school in Rwanda, Sawston pupils have a unique means of beginning to examine the impact of genocide through personal contacts.

The opportunities for rich learning in this project are manifold, but there are clear risks. For example, would our chosen commemorative performance appear facile in the light of such grave events? Would pupils fall into simplistic moral, perhaps anachronistic, judgements? How do we carefully navigate the specificity of both the Holocaust and other genocides, when making comparisons between them? Do comparisons between the Holocaust and Rwanda deepen pupils' understanding of genocide or lead to oversimplistic equivalencies divorced from their own historical contexts? When we initially participated in the commemoration and symposium, one of our first decisions was for pupils not to attend these events without additional, dedicated prior teaching. Participating pupils ranged from Year 8 through to Year 11. Not all had yet studied the Holocaust and few knew much about the Rwandan genocide. Even those who had studied the Holocaust necessarily had a limited knowledge, based on one enquiry in Year 9. One or two pupils had, through personal interest, some vague knowledge of international law, which would be the focus of the symposium, but most pupils had a very limited understanding of how the law works.

We took the decision to be open with pupils and explicitly to explore with them the debate and controversies surrounding any comparative study involving the Holocaust. History teachers in our local history teaching communities are well versed in such debates through the work, for example,



of Nicolas Kinloch.⁵ In this way, as well as ensuring that pupils had a firm grounding in factual knowledge, we helped them to draw their own provisional conclusions about whether studying the Rwandan genocide and Holocaust in parallel was appropriate and to understand some of the complex considerations involved in drawing any such comparisons.⁶ We encouraged them to reflect on how far such comparisons could be enlightening or limiting. At this stage, the learning was purely, necessarily historical.

A different discipline: international law

A richer, broader understanding is the best way to guard against the many risks in working with such content – the risk of trivialisation, the risk of reaching quick judgements that confuse the different bases for judgement. Legal, historical and moral judgements are not the same, but they can inform each other. Without adequate knowledge and without understanding the different grounds and purposes of judgement in different domains, pupils easily slither into superficial or inappropriate comments. They need to learn about the kind of truth that any one human practice tries to seek. We wanted pupils to understand another way of talking about the Holocaust and other genocides, that which occurs in the context of international law. The next step in gaining richer, broader understanding therefore came through the symposium where legal frameworks could be introduced and explored.

Led by Seán Lang, of Anglia Ruskin University, and Mike Levy, of Keystage Arts and Heritage Company, the symposium introduced pupils to international law in the area of genocide. This was, first, an exploration of the historical origins of the legal framework behind the Nuremberg trials, the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the International Criminal Tribunals of Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Second, it provided pupils with a rare opportunity to consider the legal processes and complexities of defining crimes, identifying whether such crimes might have taken place and then bringing alleged perpetrators to justice. Through this work, pupils could place modern events and recent history into a wider historical framework. Moreover, having seen the challenges presented by the need for due legal process, pupils were much less likely to make simplistic moral judgements about the effectiveness of the legal processes.

Music extending history; history deepening musical exploration

The final stage of pupils' learning was in their preparation for the commemorative service. Rebecca Haworth, then a music teacher and our school's International Coordinator, led pupils in composing music that would provoke questions about the parallels between the Holocaust and other genocides. In the first year, she worked with pupils jointly to compose



an arrangement of Gorecki's Third Symphony, adapted to include central/eastern African drumming. The result was haunting and powerful, the juxtaposition of contrasting and complementary musical elements reflecting the ways

One of our first decisions was for pupils not to attend these events without additional, dedicated prior teaching.

in which these events perhaps had parallels but were also distinct. Pupils had already thought about parallels, historically. So their prior historical work both served and was extended by this exploration of musical accounts. In the following year, the same collaborative process saw Rebecca work with pupils to adapt Steve Reich's 'Different Trains', using words from letters written by children at our partner school in Rwanda. These letters hide moving, passing allusions to absent parents and siblings, their superficial innocence in some way mirroring the initially innocuous domestic train routes described in 'Different Trains.'⁷

Conclusions: what might a senior curriculum leader learn from all this?

What did we learn about cross-curricularity from these projects?

First, it confirmed to us the importance of careful curricular planning to ensure the retention, not the compromising, of the integrity of the relevant subject disciplines (in our case, history, music and law). Cross-curricular projects should present pupils with complexity and offer them new ways of looking at and thinking about that complexity, but those 'new ways' need to come from what the discipline distinctively offers, and not surface connection from its surface products only. This can only be secured by close collaboration between colleagues in all relevant disciplines and by each teacher being aware, at least to some degree, of the nature and requirements of each subject in this context. It requires thorough teaching beforehand, in each curricular area. But the planning involved is not just practical or even pedagogic. Just to say 'staff need time to plan' does not do justice to the

intellectual preparation required. Staff need time to talk in order to explore and understand the way in which distinctive disciplinary knowledge in one subject can serve another, and to make sense of one another's disciplinary considerations.

Second, it highlighted to us the value of working with expert third party organisations. The opportunities that groups such as Keystage Arts and Heritage Company can offer, with their connections and resources, exceed what we as a school can realistically provide independently. Over the years, pupils have had exclusive audiences with: a Holocaust survivor; BBC journalist and former MP, Martin Bell; and a UN prosecutor of Radovan Karadzic, the prosecutor answering pupils' questions live over Skype.

Third, related to this, these projects succeeded because the work pupils was doing was real; they did not have to suspend disbelief and imagine what they *might* do to commemorate these events. The UN prosecutor was mid-trial; Martin Bell had personally witnessed so much of what to pupils was modern history; the Rwandan letters were from pupils' own pen pals; and the commemorative performance was at a real, public event, part of a national day.

With thanks to:

Rebecca Haworth, now Head of Music at Harris Academy, Peckham, formerly Music Teacher and International Coordinator at Sawston Village College

Paul Nightingale, now Head of History at Swavesey Village College, formerly History Teacher at Sawston Village College

Dr Seán Lang, Senior Lecturer in History, Anglia Ruskin University

Lesley Ford and Mike Levy, Keystage Arts and Heritage Company, Cambridge

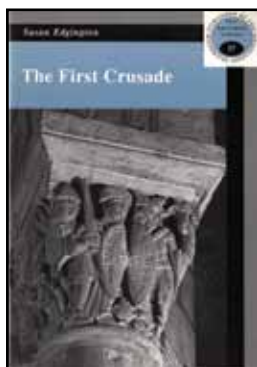
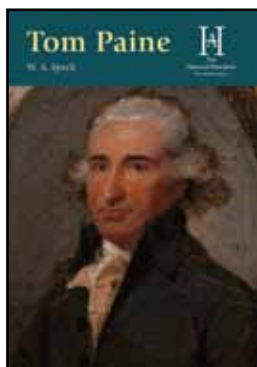
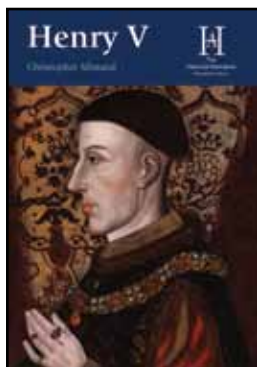
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Polgehroneon

Re-interpreting Liberation: the end of the Holocaust?

Dan Stone

In August 1945, Zalman Grinberg, a doctor from Kovno and spokesman for the Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany, addressed 1,700 Jewish survivors. 'What is the logic of destiny to let these individuals remain alive?!' he asked them:

We are free now, but we do not know what to begin [sic] with free but unhappy life. It seems to us, that for the time being mankind does not comprehend ... what we have experienced during this period of time. And it seems to us, neither shall we be understood in the future. We unlearned to laugh, we cannot cry any more, we do not comprehend our freedom yet, because we are still among our dead comrades.¹

Grinberg provides us with a sense of the state of Holocaust survivors in its immediate aftermath. For most, this was not a moment of celebration, despite the fact that they had dreamed of surviving and seeing Nazism defeated.

Histories of the Holocaust tend to end in 1945, as if the defeat of Nazism and the liberation of the camps closed this terrible chapter of European history.² Yet for many survivors liberation did not mean the end of their suffering. There are very few studies of the liberation process, yet there are many sources available, including military and government reports, soldiers' and survivors' testimonies, the records of relief organisations, films and photographs to help us understand it and there are good reasons why it deserves attention.³ These include: i) showing that liberation is part of the history of the Holocaust; ii) explaining how certain misunderstandings about the Holocaust arose, such as the notion that Belsen or Dachau were death camps, or that the liberation of Auschwitz was a key moment; iii) correcting the 'rosy' view of liberation which prevails despite the fact that the end of Nazi persecution did not mean an end to survivors' troubles or trauma; iv) reminding us that the 'happier' half of the twentieth century (the postwar years) did not mark a clean break from what had gone before, thus giving us a more balanced view of modern European history.

Survivors were often too ill to realise that they had been liberated, or were 'liberated' not in camps but in hiding or on death marches, as their guards simply melted away in the face of Allied advance. They were often bewildered, ill and hungry. Their joy at survival was immediately tempered by the realisation of profound loss: of homes, loved ones and, in many cases, homelands. Many suffered an intense

existential loneliness. Often it required years of 'illegal' travel and work, learning new languages and meeting new people before survivors began to lead anything like a normal life again. As Eva Roubíčková, who spent six weeks in the ghetto hospital in Theresienstadt recovering from typhoid before being discharged, writes:

Leaving Theresienstadt meant freedom for the first time in four years. I should have been elated. I was not. I was deeply unhappy, emotionally numb. Life seemed to have lost its meaning. I could not understand why I had survived. At first I hoped to find someone else from my family, but after meeting people coming from Poland and learning for the first time of the gas chambers and extermination camps, I realized I was alone and would never see my family again.⁴

Some survivors who tried to return to their homes in Eastern Europe were murdered and almost all found they were unwelcome. They ended up in Displaced Persons (DP) camps in the lands of the perpetrators. These camps, such as Belsen-Hohne or Landsberg, became new Jewish communities. With the establishment of the state of Israel most DPs left the camps, but not all Jewish survivors wanted to go to Israel, and while Balts and Ukrainians, including many Nazi collaborators, found their way easily into the UK, the US and Canada, the last Jews were left languishing until the mid-1950s.

The Red Army liberated Majdanek in August 1944, Auschwitz in January 1945 and Stutthof, Ravensbrück, Gross-Rosen and Theresienstadt in April-May 1945. Most of these camps had small numbers of inmates in them, as the Nazis had evacuated them on death marches. This is why conditions were so shocking in Belsen, Dachau and Buchenwald in early 1945: not because they were death camps but because survivors of the eastern camps had been dumped there in huge numbers. The British and Americans liberated Natzweiler-Struthof in November 1944, and then Dora, Buchenwald, Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Mauthausen and its terrible sub-camps in April-May 1945, as well as many smaller camps. Of about half a million Jews still alive before the start of the death marches, only some 200,000 survived to the liberation. About 90,000 were liberated in camps on German soil and of these about 20,000 died in the following weeks.

For the liberating soldiers, the experience was shattering. Images of corpses from Belsen have been seared into British

consciousness, as have similar images from Dachau in the US. Many of the soldiers were still teenagers; even after fighting their way across Europe they were unprepared for the Nazi camps. In Belsen, the first British soldiers to enter became the builders of a national collective memory. Lieutenant-Colonel M. W. Gonin wrote a devastating short report:

*Piles of corpses, naked and obscene, with a woman too weak to stand, propping herself against them as she cooked the food we had given her over an open fire; men and women crouching down just anywhere in the open, relieving themselves of the dysentery which was scouring their bowels; a woman standing stark naked washing herself with some issue soap in water from a tank in which the remains of a child floated.*⁵

The process of nursing the survivors back to health was a trying one and, despite the high death rates in the first weeks after liberation, must be reckoned as a remarkable logistical achievement.

Liberation then needs to be examined if we are to escape from the ‘wish-fulfilment’ narrative that it brought about an ‘end’ to the Holocaust. Historical research reveals that physical and psychological illness scarred survivors for life; liberators too remained emotionally troubled by what they had seen. Examining liberation explains why certain stereotypes about the Holocaust emerged and provides us with more accurate historical information. Above all, we see that liberation did not mean unalloyed joy but was inextricably mixed with sorrow and shock. This is perhaps best summed up by Marcus Smith, a US army doctor involved in the liberation and medical relief at Dachau:

*An incredible sight, a stench that is beyond experience. Horror-stricken, outraged, we react with disbelief. ‘Oh God!’ says Rosenbloom. Ferris silent, and so is Howcroft, his vocabulary inadequate to describe this circle of evil. I hear Hollis... say that even primitive, savage people give a decent burial to their own dead and the dead of their enemies. I shut my eyes. This cannot be the twentieth century, I think. I try to remember the redeeming attributes of man. None comes to mind.*⁶

Designing enquiries to help pupils think about interpretations of liberation

When did the Holocaust end? *Key Stage 3* (11-14-year-old) students could explore this issue by examining school textbooks and websites, such as Yad Vashem’s, whose narrative ends in 1947, or the Imperial War Museum’s, which refers to the period ‘from 1933 to 1945’.⁷ Students could be asked to debate the question of end points and to consider what the ‘end’ really means. When should we say that something has ‘ended’, with the processes that drove it, with its direct or with its indirect consequences? *A-level*

(16-19-year-old) students could pursue the same questions by looking at more sophisticated materials – such as the work of historians cited in this feature. In addition, they could be asked to explain *why* the Holocaust ends when it does and to explore *the role* that ‘liberation’ plays in different narratives: does it function as the ‘end’, as a ‘coda’ or as the beginning of another story?

The Editors

Further reading

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www.iwm.org.uk/exhibitions/iwm-london/the-holocaust-exhibition

This edition’s Polychronicon was compiled by Dan Stone, Professor of Modern History at Royal Holloway, University of London.

Polychronicon was a fourteenth-century chronicle that brought together much of the knowledge of its own age.

Our Polychronicon in *Teaching History* is a regular feature helping school history teachers to update their subject knowledge, with special emphasis on recent historiography and changing interpretation.



An authentic voice:

perspectives on the value of listening to survivors of genocide

It is common practice to invite survivors of the Holocaust to speak about their experiences to pupils in schools and colleges. Systematic reflection on the value of working with survivors of the Holocaust and other genocides and on how to make the most of doing so is rarer, however. In this article Andrew Preston reports how his school has worked with Martin Stern, a Holocaust survivor, and reflects on how to make best use of the opportunities and challenges associated with bringing an authentic voice into the classroom. Preston's article is not simply about 'voice', however: it is itself multivocal. Preston reflects on the issue from a teacher's perspective, Stern comments on it from the perspective of a survivor with extensive experience of speaking in schools and Madeleine Payne Heneghan offers a student's perspective of listening to a survivor in school.

Andrew Preston

Andrew Preston is Lead Teacher of Holocaust Education and teacher of history at English Martyrs Catholic School, a Catholic mixed secondary (11-18 comprehensive), Leicester, an IOE Beacon School in Holocaust Education.

Rationale

Why should a school invite a survivor of the Holocaust or a more recent genocide in to speak? And to whom? For many a school, Holocaust Memorial Day is marked every year on 27 January and it becomes an opportunity for Holocaust education and moral education, perhaps visited in citizenship or history. Assemblies on the Holocaust are given, and perhaps a speaker may be invited in who has first-hand experience of such terrible events. And thus Holocaust and genocide education for that year has been done, completed, and matters can return to more 'pressing' concerns such as exams, attendance, results and so on. Although such an approach may sadly be common, it does not do justice to the pupils, staff, survivor or the Holocaust. Granted, at least something is done – but so much more is possible.

As an Institute of Education (IOE) Beacon School in Holocaust education, over the past year we have developed a wide range of teaching and learning centred on the Holocaust and other genocides within both our own school and with partner schools in the region across a wide area of the curriculum. However, for the past few years a survivor has not been to speak about the events that we have been learning about. We have highly engaging lessons and resources around a wide range of themes centred primarily on the Holocaust, and while these are highly effective and promote extensive and thought-provoking lessons from the pupils – they still lack a first-hand 'link' to the past. Of course this could be seen as the same for all lessons, in particular in history – we do not have a direct line to William the Conqueror after all, so why do this with the Holocaust or more recent genocides? The importance of the Holocaust as a key area for study among all pupils has been discussed extensively and I will not revisit it here.¹ However, few historical events are directly challenged in the manner that deniers and revisionists have threatened the very memory of the Holocaust in recent decades, and in the few remaining years available to them it is imperative that the many survivor voices who still want to be heard are given an opportunity to speak: the last living witnesses of a crime which some want to deny ever happened.

In my previous school in Rugby I had begun to teach a new series of lessons about the Holocaust to Year 9 pupils, and for the first time with the Holocaust I faced a problem I did not know how to get around – one pupil simply could not believe what he was learning. It was not that he did not want to know or he chose to ignore it all and misbehave, but he simply couldn't comprehend the horrors and scale of what he was learning about – that human beings could do such a thing to each other – and therefore he closed it off in his head and refused to believe it. This is a huge danger in history and in education and one reason in particular why survivors who are willing to talk about their experiences are so vital – they are an authentic voice, providing a direct, physical and human connection to an otherwise abstract past encountered in the classroom. So, as a purely historical source of evidence their testimony is very important and valid, but I would further argue that pupils

Figure 1: Andrew Preston and Martin Stern following a staff INSET 8 October 2013



get a much more ‘real’ experience when they can connect their learning with a much more tangible part of the past and potentially can learn much from it, not just the history of that one survivor – their world suddenly has a direct connection to the past which they are learning about.² It is not just pupils who gain from the experience, though: through working with survivors my own learning about and approach to Holocaust education has been developed significantly, and so the educational benefits are valuable for all.

Beyond the personal story: learning from a survivor to develop Holocaust education

Finding a Holocaust survivor to come in to speak to pupils proved surprisingly easy. The Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) runs a free Outreach Programme whereby they send educators and survivors to schools.³ While it is slightly harder to contact survivors of more recent genocides directly, yet there are many survivors based in the UK who wish to share their stories. Charities such as the Aegis Trust and the Survivors Fund (SURF) are often able to put schools in touch with survivors, as is the Holocaust Centre, based in Nottingham, which works with survivors from Rwanda as well as the Holocaust.⁴ In my previous school SURF were

able to put us in touch with three survivors of Rwanda who were willing to come into the school and be interviewed by the pupils about their experiences.

HET put us in touch with a local Holocaust survivor, Martin Stern. At first the intention was for Martin to come in to school to speak to Year 9 pupils about his experiences – the sort of event which happens in classrooms across the country and which, in itself, can be immensely powerful. However, as soon as we began communication with Martin himself it became clear that a working relationship could be developed which would be much more beneficial than just a one-day visit.

Our first step was to invite Martin to a meeting between us and our partner schools in the city that we have established as part of the IOE Beacon Schools programme, to hear more about the teaching and learning about the Holocaust within our respective schools. At first this was simply a review meeting to explore what had been developed over the previous year, but it became an invaluable opportunity for the other schools to meet Martin as well. Martin was able to share his opinions about Holocaust education with the other schools and arrangements have been made for Martin to speak at their schools as well. To conclude the meeting, I formally invited Martin to become part of our

Figure 2: Martin Stern's story

Two young Dutch men walked into a nursery school in Amsterdam one day in 1944 and asked for Martin Stern. The teacher told them he hadn't come in that day. 'I put up my hand and said: "But I am here."' Stern, now a retired immunologist, is recalling that fateful moment as dusk gathers outside his sitting room in Leicester. 'The poor woman was trying to protect me. I'll never forget the look on her face as I was led away.' He was arrested, aged five, because his father was a Jew.

*Martin and his one-year-old sister Erica were taken to Westerbork transit camp in the Netherlands, where they were housed in wooden huts, each one crammed with as many as 800 people. 'The food consisted of vegetables unfit for sale. Old runner beans that hadn't been stringed were nicknamed "barbed wire" by the boys I was with because they were painful to eat.'*⁵

Martin was later put on to a train destined for Theresienstadt where he survived due to the care of a Dutch fellow prisoner, Catharina Casoeto de Jong.

Martin and his sister were still in Theresienstadt when it was liberated by the Red Army and, after returning to Amsterdam, Martin moved to England at the age of 12 to live with relatives.

Martin studied at Oxford and became an immunologist and a hospital doctor. Since retirement Martin has worked with the Holocaust Centre in Nottinghamshire and with the Holocaust Educational Trust, giving talks to primary and secondary schoolchildren and other groups, including university audiences. He has played an activist role in relation to the Rwandan and Darfur genocides and the persecution of Christians in Pakistan. He believes that education about genocides including the Holocaust needs to be part of the education of every human being, but that it needs to change to take advantage of the knowledge and research in related areas.⁶

IOE network of schools, in order that he could help develop our education about the Holocaust and other genocides, giving us valuable insights from his experience, and helping to develop new materials and projects. Thankfully, Martin graciously accepted – and was keen to have more of a role in Holocaust education and to develop a working relationship with our local cluster of partner schools. I believe many a survivor would want to take a more active role in such a process, and would be keen to be more involved than just going round school by school sharing their story, as valuable as this undoubtedly is.⁷

Speaking to pupils and staff

Martin shared his story (Figure 2) with the whole of Year 9 towards the end of last June. Martin divides his talk into four stages and it lasts approximately one-and-a-half hours (a potential challenge which will be explored later).

1. Martin's story, which makes up approximately half of the talk.
2. A brief section on genocides (starting with the twentieth century, and then extending further into the past).
3. Why human beings act this way and the psychology of normal humans:
 - a. Ordinary people commit horrific acts under some circumstances (e.g. the Milgram experiment).⁸
 - b. Why? Features of every normal human mind which can lead people to commit atrocities in particular circumstances.

4. Conclusion: we must know the history, but there is more – we need to reflect on what this means to us today.

At the end of each of the main stages we provided an opportunity for questions by the pupils, partly so that the talk would be broken up and partly to allow pupils time to think and reflect on Martin's talk. The lead teacher proves an important part of the event, directing questions and working with the survivor to ensure that the session runs smoothly and to time.

Survivors vary in their approach. Some focus purely on their own story, others may consider other genocides as well and offer their thoughts on this. It is essential that a school communicates with the survivor beforehand so that both the school and the survivor are clear on what the talk is about and the purpose of the event.

In the new school year Martin also shared his story with the whole staff in an afternoon In Service Education and Training (INSET) event. The purpose here was similar, to make living links with the past about which we teach. As a representative of an IOE Beacon School in Holocaust education, I felt the need to develop our working relationship from being essentially between just myself and Martin, and expand it to bring in the whole school, as well as our partner schools. As such, Martin will later in the year be doing a more specialised talk to A-level psychology students. He also arranged with the headteacher to come into the school to view lessons and see how students actually go about learning in schools, so

that we can develop our work together in making sure that survivor visits use the same teaching methodology (as far as is possible given the size / nature of the audience) that pupils might experience in the classroom, and hence make the experience more educationally rewarding. Obviously not all teachers (e.g. maths, food technology and so on) would perhaps be able to directly relate this into their everyday teaching, but even those teachers commented on the talk – one assistant headteacher stating that it reminded her of why she taught in the first place; another teacher said that the talk was emotionally and intellectually important. As teachers we should continue to learn and develop and this was an important part of that process.

Martin's views

In order to understand Martin's perspective on the value of working with schools as a survivor I interviewed Martin on 26 September 2013. The interview text is reproduced below.

Q – What do you think the value is of a survivor coming in and working with a school?

A – When I learnt medicine I had to plough my way through thick books, lots of them, and I learnt a lot from those. But the thing didn't really acquire any meaning until I was with a patient in front of me, and I learnt far more from the patients than from the books. You need the two together. So the value of having a survivor is that the pupils are seeing a real human being to whom this happened, and it conveys meaning in a way that the printed page, a film or a video simply can't.

Q – Often it seems that schools might invite a Holocaust survivor in for a day, perhaps as an act of remembrance for Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD), and spend a few hours on it, and essentially tick the Holocaust box for a year. In your opinion, is there a better way for schools to work with survivors?

A – First of all I absolutely agree with the implication in your question that it's doing a kind of standard activity and ticking a box. I've heard many of my fellow survivors speak, and a lot of them are absolutely terrific at it. So even as a box-ticking exercise it does have value. The problem about it is that it acts as a piece of drama that tends to grab people's attention and also displaces your attention from other things. And the reaction that has bothered me a great deal, and has in fact made me radically change the way that I speak to audiences as a survivor, is that we think we now know all about it, and of course it's a bad thing, it mustn't be allowed to happen again, and we can assume that we know what we can do to stop it happening again. And for lots of reasons, I think that assumption is wrong. And I now do a presentation which is designed to make people question the assumption that people are naturally good and that you can take it for granted that you know how to stop terrible things from happening.

Q – Developing on from that, what would you say the main challenges are from a schools perspective, and from your perspective, of a survivor working with schools?

A – From a school's perspective, in my view it's very important that Holocaust and genocide education should

Figure 3: Martin talking to the headteacher following his talk to staff on 8 October 2013



fit into the general scheme of education as an organic part. I believe that in the future every child, everywhere in the world, should as part of their education, have education of this sort. It may, and I hope it will, evolve so that in the future it may be substantially different to the way that it is now.

But nevertheless, we need education about how to live together without killing each other *en masse*. It seems very important to me that Holocaust education should not be seen as something that is stuck on or besides other education. I suppose if you organise bicycle safety for your school kids, that could be seen as an activity which really has got nothing to do with the broad sweep of education. It's just necessary to protect children's lives and you have to have it. It can be done outside the school, it was in my youth. Very laudable, but not part of the main education. I think the opposite is true of Holocaust and genocide education. It needs to be integrated. It needs to be understood, not as a separate, detachable module but as something that really runs through our lives and involves many aspects of education.

So I am in favour of Holocaust and genocide education including bits that are relevant to other subjects. And other subjects including bits that are relevant to Holocaust education.

Not a total blurring of boundaries because that would make the teaching inefficient and messy, but a cross-communication that shows they are not in water-tight compartments.

Q – You’ve mentioned the issue of the authenticity of the voice in the past, you speak yourself without any images at all, can you explain why you do that?

A – I was a teaching hospital doctor and my basic educational tool was a set of slides to which I would give a lecture. So using slides was something I was very familiar with: I used to talk at medical conferences and sit up all night refining the slides to make them communicate their message more quickly, more efficiently and more attractively. So I know quite a bit about how to do it. But yet, as you say, my presentation doesn’t use slides. That may change to some extent, but I did that very consciously and my initial reason was that I thought it was very important that people should have to listen to what I had to say, and not be distracted by a picture in the background and go off into a daydream.

The next influence which confirmed that direction was two very good academic friends, both of whom never use slides and believe passionately that a lecture is better off without slides. Both of these people are brilliant lecturers, and that’s partly because they are very intelligent people and very high quality academics, but not using slides compels you to think very carefully about your words. It’s not only the audience that can be distracted by your slides, the speaker can be too. They can rely on them as a reminder, and speak to the slides rather than what they really need to speak to. And I found it a useful discipline to speak without slides, in refining the words, reducing them, keeping things simple, not relying on a slide to explain something which is too complicated to be said by word of mouth. I try to make the word of mouth such that it can be understood in its own right without the help of slides. And I think that makes the words better.

There are limitations. In my medical work I had to present data which included a lot of very complicated numerical data, and there is no way it can be done without standard forms of graphics which everybody in the medical audience understands. It’s another language. So again in genocide education if you have to talk about numerical data, for example the number of people persecuted and killed in various genocides there are forms of graphical representation which can get over in a flash what it can take a very long time to do by word of mouth (if you can do it at all). So the data themselves may be too complicated to be presented without slides.

And somewhat related to that is the fact that I am now teaching about things in the mind which make people behave in a genocidal sort of way. And that means psychology, sociology and things like that. Mainly psychology in my case. And it means exposing audiences to a set of concepts which one has to assume are totally new to them. Not always, not all of them. But the assumption has to be that the listener has no prior idea of what you are going to be talking about. And I have been doing that without slides, and it has worked. But it has failed with some groups of pupils. Particularly the younger age groups in the sixth form, and particularly when I have tried to get too much in too short a time, and spoken for too long a time without a break. So my plan is to have some

slides, very simple slides and very small in number, to explain those concepts and provide a kind of visual anchor. But I am looking for very high-quality slides and that is delaying it. If you do use slides, they ought to be good.

Now I am not sure that my recipe would work for everybody. I do know Holocaust survivors who use slides very effectively. And frankly they are acting as a reminder for the speaker as well as for the audience. And if you can’t do it any other way then that way is better than not doing it at all, it’s a lot better. Also, a lot of Holocaust survivors use pictures, photographs of members of their families, photos of where they lived and what they did, and photographs relating to the Holocaust itself, maps and things like that. And they can be used effectively. Clearly every presenter needs to think about what is best for their style of presentation. Presentation technique has moved on a terrific lot in the time that I’ve been involved with it. And is still moving on. The best presentations, with or without slides, which you can watch on the internet for example, are of a tremendously high standard which you would not have got 20 or 30 years ago. And therefore I think that every presenter, however good, in the current situation of developing presentation technique, can learn to do it better. And I think we should all be doing that. It is often difficult for survivors because they tend to be elderly, and they may not be primarily interested in developing their presentation technique, but all the same if they did, then it could be helpful. I come back though to the statement that a lot of survivors do a very good job even if they don’t do it in the way which I think is ideal.

Q – At our last meeting you met teachers from our partner schools. I wondered if you had been in contact with them since or done any further work with them as a result of that?

A – No, I haven’t so far. And I would like to. I think what would be absolutely great would be to get a group of teachers together with an interest in Holocaust and genocide education. I would love to work with a group of teachers to see how we can support each other and get better at what we do. I have found (particularly now that I’ve changed the way that I work) instead of going to the school, doing the talk and going away, I try to interact very much more with the teachers. And I of course learn a lot in the process. A professional teacher knows a terrific lot that I don’t. I also find that there are people there with ideas, and I think that’s fantastic. I think that if we can make some of those ideas fly, that would be terrific. If you listen to the news there seems to be an awful lot of activity which is designed to improve education by shouting orders from the top. I am all too familiar with that in medicine. It demotivates people, it destroys initiative. We know that in democracy, millions of normal people can choose a better government than one genius. Not using the brain power of all these teachers, who presumably are not doing it [teaching] against their will, they’re doing it because they’re interested in it, they want to. They have some ideas. And not using those ideas is like the bank robbing itself as it were, it’s our most valuable asset and it has to be used.

Q – What are your thoughts on developing the relationship with schools, so that it goes beyond a one-off talk to pupils or staff, and trying to develop a better working relationship with that school?

A – Well again, going back to my medical work, I ran for a number of years a laboratory in hospitals. And we had to start it more or less from scratch and develop a whole lot of techniques that were used routinely elsewhere. And even when that was finished, we were still all the time introducing new activities in the place. I used to go and visit other departments in other cities, and I used to send my staff off to other labs to learn how to do things. And the extraordinary thing is that in some respects many of those places were worse than the lab I ran, and yet I don't think I ever failed to learn something positive, even from when visiting a place that was worse than mine. I think these days the idea of sitting in your own container, in this case a school, and regarding yourself as self-sufficient, won't do. My guess would be that you could not go and have a conversation with a Holocaust or genocide teacher in another school without learning something, even if they are totally new to it and you have far more experience. I think we're better together and I think it provides a stimulus for everyone and I think it's crazy we're not doing more of it already. I couldn't be more in favour.

Q – Finally, have you any further comments or thoughts?

A – Firstly there is the problem of the disappearance of Holocaust survivors. People are taking technical measures to solve that problem – audio recordings, visual recordings, even extremely high-tech 3D recordings or animations to have a Holocaust survivor after their death answering people's questions by use of extremely sophisticated computer technology. The fact is that we're going to be dead. It strikes me that genocides are not at an end. And you will be able to find other genocide survivors after we have left the scene. And I think in many cases in a lot of ways that will be vastly superior to all these technical measures. And that reflects back to why it would be useful to have a Holocaust survivor visiting a school. I don't believe that any sound or video recording, or piece of high-tech 3D electronic wizardry can replace the actual flesh and blood within a few yards of yourself, alive.

Obviously, people are very conscious of the fact that they need to develop Holocaust education so that it can proceed without live survivors. There is a side issue there of using descendants of Holocaust survivors. Some are involved. I personally am not a wild enthusiast about that. I don't think it is quite the same. I think other methods will prove necessary.

Another issue that was raised is that Holocaust survivors, in telling their story, will be presenting some information which may be historical, and which may not be right. They are not historians, I am not a professional historian. The other day I was checking over some of my own stuff and discovered a few errors in what I have been telling school pupils for years. Obviously, if you are a historian standing next to such a survivor telling their story, you might be reluctant to pull the survivor up sharp. You might feel it was disruptive and interrupted the flow of their story. You might feel that this is an awfully nice old person and you don't want to upset them. And indeed they might be upset. I certainly have seen Holocaust survivors getting upset rather easily when taken to task over what they have said. Holocaust survivors tend to be emotionally brittle. You as a teacher are usually confronted with a Holocaust survivor who you don't personally know. You don't know how brittle they are. So it is difficult.

On the other hand we should not be teaching pupils things that are wrong. One of the things about teaching history is teaching how to distinguish fact from fiction and how to take a critical attitude in a positive way. I think there is room for exposing Holocaust survivors themselves to input from historians, to refine the story they tell so that they don't knowingly perpetrate errors. I think there may be difficulties with that but it is an issue that teachers need to be conscious of. I think teachers ought to be able to approach a survivor in a way that isn't confrontational and likely to be traumatic for even an easily traumatised survivor. I think also pupils can be taught quite correctly that the account that they have heard is the account as the survivor believes it to be. There is no harm whatever in the context of a history lesson in teaching the limitations of eyewitness evidence. Every lawyer and psychologist knows about the problems of memory and the problems of evidence-giving. Certainly historians are conscious of it and I think that's part of learning history. So one needs to be aware of the problem, but I don't think one needs to have a nervous breakdown over it, it's part of life. The professionalism of the teachers should be able to handle the situation in a way that is appropriate and which leaves pupils well taught. Including taught critical attitudes.

A student's view

Madeleine Payne-Heneghan is a Year 11 pupil who has taken a keen interest in learning about the Holocaust in her lessons. She wrote and presented an insightful and emotional essay for Leicester's Holocaust Memorial Day on 27 January 2012, and was invited to listen to Martin alongside the whole of the Year 9 pupils when he gave his talk to them in June. She was asked to write her views on the talk and also to reflect on the value of the school inviting a Holocaust survivor into the school to talk to pupils. What follows are her thoughts in response to this:

When I first heard that Martin Stern would visit our school I decided to Google him. The story of his struggle was there, laid out in Arial black font, his own experience of childhood overshadowed by the events of 1940s Europe. In my research for an earlier work for Holocaust day I had read many accounts of such childhoods. My eyes widened as the details of a life lived in such tragedy had resulted in such a rounded individual as a local and well-noted Consultant Doctor at the Leicester Royal Infirmary Hospital. I began to build my own picture of what such a person might be like. When he walked in and began to speak I felt a picture being coloured in, not a pretty picture by any stretch of the imagination, but a picture that needed colour none the less. When one looks at the topic, the Holocaust is a very hard subject to study, and an even harder topic to give an opinion on.

When I sat in that room waiting for Martin Stern to start speaking my mind was wandering, like the minds of many Year 9s and other Year 10s in the room with me. My mind was wandering on to thoughts of visiting Berlin for the very first time the following day. Then, when Martin began to speak, the room went from a loud 'social event' to totally

mute. Every child in that room was completely silenced. The room was hot and humid, but nothing seemed to detract from that all-important story; the story of Martin Stern. We sat there, in awe of this man and his life, his story, surviving both Westerbork and Theresienstadt.

When I went to Auschwitz I struggled to find answers and a meaning for all this horror and wondered how a person could even go on with life after these events. One can move on with one step after another but just when you feel some distance from the event a creak in a door at night could bring you back to the memory of a life in hiding or a song sang to raise spirits can dampen them. Just like I took heart in the words of Eva Mozes, Martin Stern also inspired me.⁹ Surely, what can be closer to a superhero, to have overcome such a life and turned to help others, dedicating his own life to the selfless vocation of administering to the sick? Even then taking time to tell others of his experience in order to educate others about the Holocaust and how learning from it might save us from repeating it in any way.

When he came, I had a lot of questions, one being that if a person was subjected to such inhumane treatment, treated like they were completely worthless, is it this that would cause them to go to the help of others by taking up such a vocational job? I never did get to ask my questions as the more he spoke the more trivial they seemed and it felt like viewing a unique window into history that would soon close so I didn't want to waste time by speaking when I should be listening.

Since he came to talk to us, I have been lucky enough to visit Berlin as part of a school trip. When we were there we visited many different places, including the Reichstag, the Brandenburg Gate, the Treptower Park, and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. The memorial struck me the most prominently, and a sense of the scale seemed ridiculous. Each stole the same grey colour, some only just above the floor, others reaching meters into the air, it seemed distinctly haunting and surreal. Seventeen years in the making, from an outsider's point of view, they look relatively flat, but as soon as you go into the thick of the memorial, only then do you realise how deep the memorial runs, and I believe that is the case with all atrocities like the Holocaust. From an outsider's point of view, someone else can sort it out, it isn't so bad that it is worth one's time, and yet when you look at it properly you realise that this is everyone's opinion. For what you believe, it is better to stand alone with the hope of someone joining you, than to hope someone will stand in your place. And I feel this is very much the case for Martin Stern, an inspirational person, who has stood up for his beliefs, both back then and still to this day. Because he, like others, must see the importance of informing and inspiring the next generation.

Other students ask me why I look into this subject so much, and honestly I don't know if I have a sufficient answer, but I believe the answer is simply that it is compelling. I am compelled to listen, because the toll of apathy is too great. The Holocaust is a subject which people don't like to talk about, a horrific happening that needs to be aired. Spread across generations so everyone will know the price of ignorance, the cost of discrimination, and the value of each human soul. I

believe that by people such as Martin Stern visiting schools, it will help to educate younger generations and spread a vital message. To turn a blind eye is to be complicit in the brutality yourself. As a Year 11 I now find myself having to map out my own future and I feel that the opportunity to hear these experiences compels me towards careers in justice. It would not only be a great responsibility but also a great honour to give a voice to those without.

Conclusion

It should be clear that a school can do much more than simply invite a survivor from the Holocaust or another genocide in to share their story with pupils. Yes, this is valuable in and of itself, but a better working relationship can be established. It should not be as a one off event that simply teaches about the Holocaust or a particular genocide on its own – instead a survivor's testimony could be part of a much wider curriculum whereby the students have had the opportunity of studying the history of that genocide in depth and forging real links with it. Bialecka suggests that a survivor could come in to a school at the beginning of such a study, and then again at the end – and if a survivor would be willing to do this it might be useful; it is something that we have not as yet tried.¹⁰

As an IOE Beacon School we have found that the more we try to work with Martin, the better informed our teaching has become and the more it has developed from just one particular subject focus into a wider range of subjects and across age groups – what started off as an initial visit to talk to Year 9 pupils has become much wider to inform Holocaust education across the whole school, and indeed to our partner schools as well. This has given a much more solid position to Holocaust education across the school – it has helped teaching about the Holocaust move beyond the realm of the history and RE classrooms, and many more subjects are willing to engage with it. This has of course proven tremendously valuable in the learning opportunity for pupils. Martin's approach in particular, by focusing on both his story and then his thoughts on the human condition, has engendered a much more genuine learning experience, in that pupils actually engage with Martin and his ideas, as opposed to simply listening to him passively with the opportunity for limited questions at the end of the talk. Indeed, this is something that we are keen to develop. As such we are currently looking into the possibility of Martin coming in to the school and working with a select group of pupils both to help the pupils engage with the history of the Holocaust in more depth, and to help Martin develop his approach to delivering his story (as discussed in his interview). Of course, developing such a working relationship will depend on the survivor: each survivor will have a different experience, a different story and a different focus – not all will share Martin's approach – but if a survivor is willing to develop a working relationship with a school, it can prove immensely worthwhile for all concerned – the pupils, the teachers and the survivor.

Figure 4: Questions to consider when working with a Holocaust / genocide survivor

- *Does the visit / work fit into a wider scheme of learning about the Holocaust?* Do you want to use the survivor's account to engage pupils, to develop a personal interest and a link to the subject that can be built upon? Do you want to use it to raise questions that could then be explored in the rest of the sequence? Do you want to enable pupils to use prior learning to make connections with what they hear?
- *Is the visit a one off visit or part of a wider scheme of learning?* A single visit has great value, however, a survivor may be willing to work much more closely with a school and to work with various age groups on various topics.
- *Are the content and issues to be discussed age-appropriate?* Are pupils adequately prepared and mature enough for the emotional impact of the visit? A visit could be intellectually challenging and focus on issues beyond the survivor's story – for example the psychology of perpetrators. How will you prepare pupils to access the challenge?
- *How long will the visit last?* Most of the lessons that pupils' experience are multi-modal and involve a series of short tasks. Are pupils going to be able to sit and focus for a prolonged period of time? Perhaps there is scope for collaborative teaching in which a teacher takes a prominent role alongside a survivor and for the use of small group work and discussion? Of course, not all survivors would be willing or able to co-teach, but it is worth exploring, particularly if a longer term working relationship is being considered.
- *What if there are factual errors in a survivor's account?* At a recent conference on 'Future of Holocaust Education' a teacher gave an anecdotal account of working with a charming survivor who made historical blunders in their account, leaving the teacher in a quandary: they did not want to offend the survivor but they did not want to allow their pupils to be misinformed.¹¹ Teachers need to be prepared to handle situations like these in a sensitive and diplomatic manner, should they arise – for example, by following up after the visit is over. It could prove useful to meet the survivor before a visit and to hear their story in advance. Again, a longer term working relationship would make situations such as this easier to handle should they occur.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Not least in the pages of *Teaching History*, where two special editions have been devoted to it (*Teaching History 104* and *141*).
- ² For more guidance on using survivor testimony in addition to historical visits, see Bialecka, A., Olesky, K., Regard, F. and Trojanski, P. (eds) (2010) *European pack for visiting Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum: Guidelines for teachers and educators*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing. Available at: www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/remembrance/archives/Source/Publications_pdf/European_Pack_en.pdf.
- ³ See the Holocaust Educational Trust website for information at: www.het.org.uk/index.php/education-general/outreach-programme
- ⁴ The Aegis Trust can be contacted at: www.aegistrust.org/. SURF can be contacted at: <http://survivors-fund.org.uk/>. The Holocaust Centre, previously known as Beth Shalom, can be contacted at: <http://holocaustcentre.net/>⁵
- ⁵ Jeffries, S. (2010) 'Memories of the Holocaust: Martin Stern' in the *Guardian*, Wednesday 27 January 2010. Available at: www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/27/holocaust-memorial-day-martin-stern.
- ⁶ Martin and Erica's journey is available as a teaching resource produced by the Holocaust Educational Trust and the National Union of Teachers at: www.het.org.uk/index.php/component/hikashop/product/show/cid-4/name-martin-and-ericas-journey/category_pathway-0?Itemid=0. Martin can also be heard talking about his story to the Holocaust Educational Trust here: www.hmd.org.uk/resources/podcast/martin-stern
- ⁷ Survivors, like any category of people, are very varied. Some would not want this role or be suitable. But there are others who could be active in this way. There are also quite a few survivors who are retired teachers. From experience working with charities using older volunteers for committee work I know that one problem is how to identify and handle the point at which declining mental capacity means that a role ceases to be appropriate.
- ⁸ The Milgram experiment on obedience to authority figures was a series of social

- psychology experiments conducted by Yale University psychologist Stanley Milgram, which measured the willingness of study participants to obey an authority figure who instructed them to perform acts that conflicted with their personal conscience. The experiments began in July 1961, three months after the start of the trial of German Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem. Milgram devised his psychological study to answer the question popular at that particular time: 'Could it be that Eichmann and his million accomplices in the Holocaust were just following orders? Could we call them all accomplices?' Milgram summed up the experiment as follows; 'I set up a simple experiment at Yale University to test how much pain an ordinary citizen would inflict on another person simply because he was ordered to by an experimental scientist. Stark authority was pitted against the subjects' [participants'] strongest moral imperatives against hurting others, and, with the subjects' [participants'] ears ringing with the screams of the victims, authority won more often than not. The extreme willingness of adults to go to almost any lengths on the command of an authority constitutes the chief finding of the study and the fact most urgently demanding explanation. Ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process. Moreover, even when the destructive effects of their work become patently clear, and they are asked to carry out actions incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, relatively few people have the resources needed to resist authority.' See Milgram, S. (1974) *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View*, New York: Harper and Row.
- ⁹ Eva Mozes Kor is a survivor of the Holocaust who, with her twin sister Miriam, was subjected to human experimentation under Josef Mengele at Auschwitz. Both of her parents and two older sisters were killed at the camp; only she and Miriam survived.
 - ¹⁰ Bialecka et al., *op. cit.*
 - ¹¹ www.southampton.ac.uk/english/news/events/2013/07/29_holocaust_studies_conference.page

move me On

The problem page for history mentors

This feature of *Teaching History* is designed to build critical, informed debate about the character of teacher training, teacher education and professional development. It is also designed to offer practical help to all involved in training new history teachers. Each issue presents a situation in initial teacher education/training with an emphasis upon a particular, history-specific issue.

Mentors or others involved in the training of student history teachers are invited to be the agony aunts.

This issue's problem:

Susie Cook is struggling to sustain an emphasis on developing historical knowledge and understanding in teaching about genocide

Susie Cook worked for nearly ten years as a web designer before deciding to move into teaching. Once she had secured her place on the programme she spent several months working as a Teaching Assistant which has given her considerable confidence in working with young people. However, her subject knowledge in relation to many areas of the school's history curriculum is quite weak, partly because of the length of time since she has engaged seriously with historical study, and partly because of the almost exclusive focus of her degree on the early modern period of British and European history. This means she is struggling both with medieval history in Year 7 and with many of the topics taught in Year 9 and at GCSE.

Although Susie was advised in advance about the need to focus on subject knowledge development, her anxiety about weaknesses in this respect has prompted her to play to her existing strengths as a teacher – exploiting her familiarity with different uses of technology and her positive relationships with students to teach lively and engaging lessons – rather than focusing sufficiently carefully on those aspects of subject knowledge that she feels might catch her out. So, when she was asked to teach a Year 9 group that was moving on from a detailed study of the Holocaust to examine other 20th century genocides, she leapt at the chance to get the students undertaking internet-based research and developing plans for campaigns to promote and defend human rights, rather than identifying the key historical issues with which she really wanted them to engage. Some aspects of her teaching have been very positive, particularly the effective way in which she focuses students' attention on the question of who the author of any particular website material might be. However Susie's emphasis on students conducting their own research means that their investigations are spreading out in all directions and that she does not have sufficient knowledge or clarity about her aims to guide them in making effective selections or in developing a clear chronological overview of what actually happened. They are simply rushing to judgment about the lessons to be learned from successive genocides and the necessary action to be taken.

Key strengths (linked to relevant Teachers' Standards)

TS 1 You clearly had high expectations of the students' capacity to engage seriously with the issues raised by the study of genocide and high ambitions for what they could achieve across the series of lessons. Your emphasis on the importance and value to them of what they would be learning encouraged them to rise to the challenge and they were very willing to work with you.

TS2 : Your introduction to the process of research online showed an excellent awareness of students' tendencies to follow wherever Google leads – zooming in on any apparently relevant information on the first website to which they are directed! The example that you used was well chosen to highlight the problems of that approach and you planned the first group task very effectively to develop a set of principles and specific procedures to employ when following up the suggestions generated by any search engine. (That agreed list of principles is something that we might usefully come back to as a department in getting the students to think carefully about the provenance of any kind of historical account!)

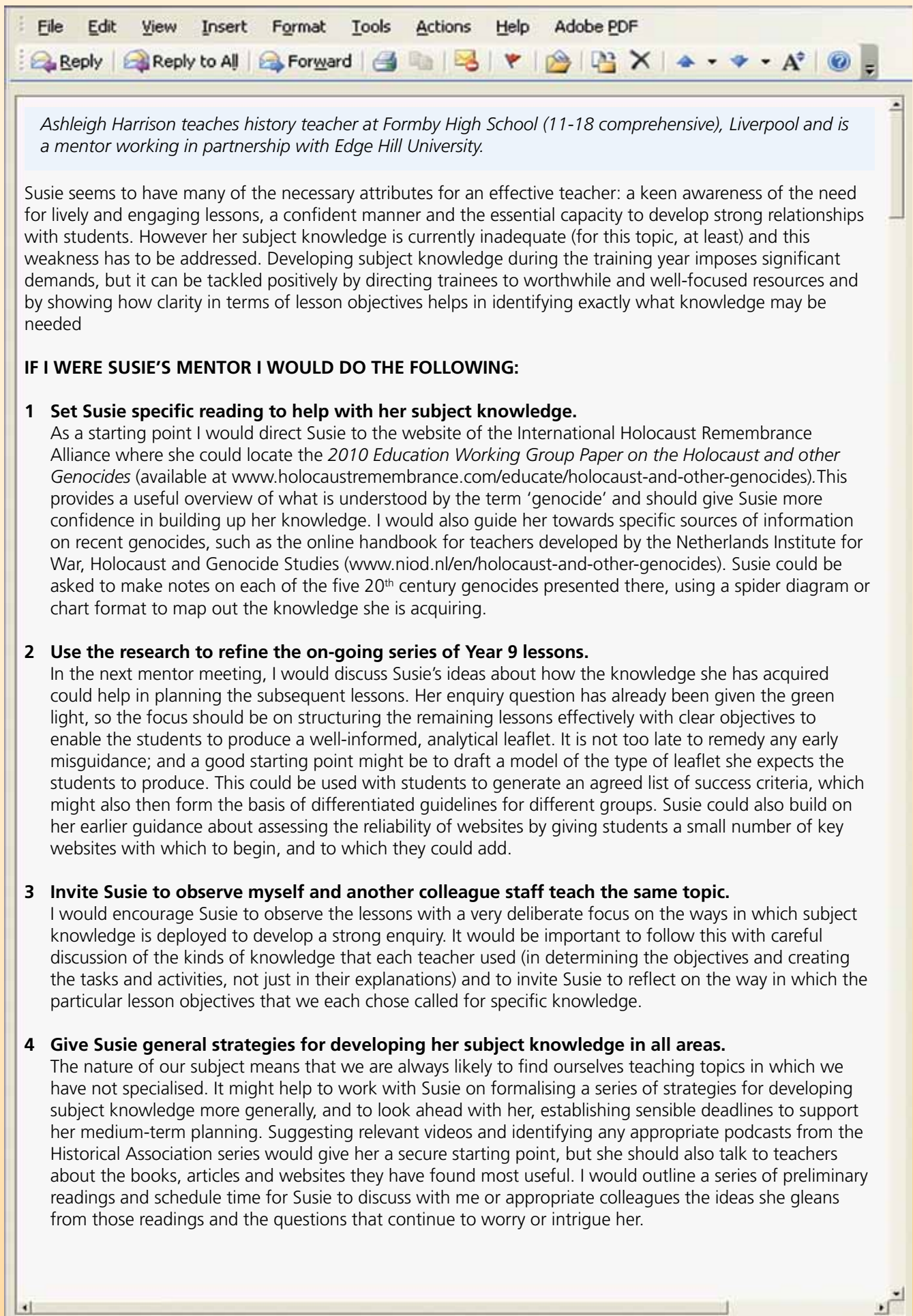
Aspects for development (linked to relevant Teachers' Standards)

TS3: Your own subject knowledge seemed to be letting you down somewhat by the end of the lesson. As we have discussed, tackling other 20th century genocides is a new departure for all of us, so I know you have struggled with developing appropriate subject knowledge for this topic in particular. Although we have been able to direct you to some useful websites, I am aware that the key information and clear overviews of the main historical issues are not available in textbooks. Given those challenges it would perhaps have been better to focus on one single genocide so that you could have developed your own knowledge more systematically rather than giving the students such a range of choices. By passing the responsibility for research over to them – without having developed sufficient knowledge yourself – I think you may be storing up problems for future lessons. Some of the challenges were becoming apparent at the end of this lesson as they began to lose focus and you had few very specific questions or suggestions to get them quickly back on track. At the very least you needed to be confident that they could readily find information at an appropriate level to complete those four main boxes. You should have been able to guide those who were struggling towards those sections of the grid which you knew could be filled in relatively easily. With some quick successes, you could then have encouraged them to tackle the bigger challenges where they needed to establish more contextual knowledge before making a judgment.

TS4: Your outline planning offered a good overall framework – the idea of hypotheses to test against the evidence in each case was excellent. But I think you had perhaps jumped from the big idea to the instructions without working out how feasible it would actually be in each case. Looking at one genocide first could have been a useful model for looking at others. Then before asking them to branch out you needed to have worked through each of them yourself to know if the questions could readily be answered.

Extract from the trainee's reflective journal

The priority arising from this week has to be developing my own subject knowledge, but I am really struggling with how to tackle this effectively. It was a big worry before I started the course, but I didn't find it such an issue with Year 7 – perhaps because the textbooks helped to package things up quite clearly for a beginner. But with Year 9 looking at 20th century genocides I feel that I have so many more choices and decisions to make myself. I have set aside time for reading – but it's difficult to focus on building my own knowledge systematically. I keep being distracted either by possible teaching ideas that I end up pursuing instead; or I get caught up in individual stories and then realise that I've not really got a secure framework in which to locate them. My immediate priority is to work out how to deal with Year 9 now that I've set them a research and design task that could lead off (like my own 'research' has!) in all sorts of directions. I suspect that after their frustrations this lesson, they'll either get more distracted or just focus in on designing a leaflet without much real substance. Longer term, I also think that I need to devise a much more systematic approach to building subject knowledge. I can't afford to find myself reading for two hours and end up with a patchwork of notes and lots of half-formed ideas.



Ashleigh Harrison teaches history teacher at Formby High School (11-18 comprehensive), Liverpool and is a mentor working in partnership with Edge Hill University.

Susie seems to have many of the necessary attributes for an effective teacher: a keen awareness of the need for lively and engaging lessons, a confident manner and the essential capacity to develop strong relationships with students. However her subject knowledge is currently inadequate (for this topic, at least) and this weakness has to be addressed. Developing subject knowledge during the training year imposes significant demands, but it can be tackled positively by directing trainees to worthwhile and well-focused resources and by showing how clarity in terms of lesson objectives helps in identifying exactly what knowledge may be needed

IF I WERE SUSIE'S MENTOR I WOULD DO THE FOLLOWING:

- 1 Set Susie specific reading to help with her subject knowledge.**

As a starting point I would direct Susie to the website of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance where she could locate the *2010 Education Working Group Paper on the Holocaust and other Genocides* (available at www.holocaustremembrance.com/educate/holocaust-and-other-genocides). This provides a useful overview of what is understood by the term 'genocide' and should give Susie more confidence in building up her knowledge. I would also guide her towards specific sources of information on recent genocides, such as the online handbook for teachers developed by the Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (www.niod.nl/en/holocaust-and-other-genocides). Susie could be asked to make notes on each of the five 20th century genocides presented there, using a spider diagram or chart format to map out the knowledge she is acquiring.
- 2 Use the research to refine the on-going series of Year 9 lessons.**

In the next mentor meeting, I would discuss Susie's ideas about how the knowledge she has acquired could help in planning the subsequent lessons. Her enquiry question has already been given the green light, so the focus should be on structuring the remaining lessons effectively with clear objectives to enable the students to produce a well-informed, analytical leaflet. It is not too late to remedy any early misguidance; and a good starting point might be to draft a model of the type of leaflet she expects the students to produce. This could be used with students to generate an agreed list of success criteria, which might also then form the basis of differentiated guidelines for different groups. Susie could also build on her earlier guidance about assessing the reliability of websites by giving students a small number of key websites with which to begin, and to which they could add.
- 3 Invite Susie to observe myself and another colleague staff teach the same topic.**

I would encourage Susie to observe the lessons with a very deliberate focus on the ways in which subject knowledge is deployed to develop a strong enquiry. It would be important to follow this with careful discussion of the kinds of knowledge that each teacher used (in determining the objectives and creating the tasks and activities, not just in their explanations) and to invite Susie to reflect on the way in which the particular lesson objectives that we each chose called for specific knowledge.
- 4 Give Susie general strategies for developing her subject knowledge in all areas.**

The nature of our subject means that we are always likely to find ourselves teaching topics in which we have not specialised. It might help to work with Susie on formalising a series of strategies for developing subject knowledge more generally, and to look ahead with her, establishing sensible deadlines to support her medium-term planning. Suggesting relevant videos and identifying any appropriate podcasts from the Historical Association series would give her a secure starting point, but she should also talk to teachers about the books, articles and websites they have found most useful. I would outline a series of preliminary readings and schedule time for Susie to discuss with me or appropriate colleagues the ideas she gleans from those readings and the questions that continue to worry or intrigue her.

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Reply Reply to All Forward

Ian Phillips is a Senior Lecturer in History Education and a tutor on the History PGCE programme at Edge Hill University, Ormskirk.

Susie's mentor faces two issues which are closely related: the obvious problem of trainee subject knowledge and the issue of conceptual focus. Susie's comment that text books 'package things up' is perhaps an unwitting acknowledgement that a clear conceptual focus really does help in structuring the development of subject knowledge. Her problems are compounded by a lack of clarity about her aims and purposes. Without that, the more reading and research that Susie undertakes, the more complicated the task becomes.

IF I WERE SUSIE'S MENTOR I WOULD DO THE FOLLOWING:

- 1 Stress the importance of clarity about the purpose of this sequence of lessons.**
A useful starting point is Paul Salmons' article in *Teaching History 141* which emphasises the importance of equipping students with sound historical understanding – in this case, knowledge of the Holocaust, but the point equally applies to other genocides. This is a real challenge given the weakness of Susie's own subject knowledge, but it is vital. While the students might go on to draw their own 'lessons', Susie's focus needs to be on giving them a secure basis in knowledge and understanding of what happened, how and why.
- 2 Highlight the need for a clear conceptual focus for the study.**
Perhaps this ought to be a comparative study – not one that focuses unduly on statistics, resulting in a catalogue of awfulness, but a focus which enables students to consider trends and patterns and thus to develop a more informed understanding. Looking specifically at 'similarity and difference' might provide that sharper focus and could help Susie to adopt a more structured approach to her own subject knowledge development. Other plausible options for a study of genocide might be historical significance or cause and consequence.
- 3 Explore what exactly might be involved in drawing comparisons.**
If Susie were focusing on similarity and difference then Nicholas Kinloch's article 'Parallel Catastrophes' in *Teaching History 104* would provide a number of thought-provoking ideas on the nature of different genocides and a possible framework for an effective comparative study. Kinloch's article cites a number of different historical examples of genocide and discusses how their comparison to the Holocaust has also been challenged. Examining these arguments might reveal how carefully the students will need to think about genocides, crimes against humanity and mass atrocities.
- 4 Identify specific sources of information and well-designed resources.**
Researching on the web is obviously problematic, but Susie is well aware of the issues relating to reliability. Directing her to specific sites such as that of the Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (www.niod.nl/en/holocaust-and-other-genocides) would be of immediate practical help. With her own knowledge more secure, Susie would be able to create better structured activities for students, and some of the Institute's resources could provide a useful starting point for their work. Rather than rushing them towards superficial judgments, Susie could encourage the students to explore the distinctions between different acts of genocide or crimes against humanity and enable them to develop the kind of informed historical understanding that Paul Salmons regards as essential to effective learning in this very challenging arena.

Next issue's problem:

Jo Priestley is having problems providing sufficient challenge for the higher attainers within his mixed ability groups. For details of Jo's mentor's problem, contact Martin Hoare at the Historical Association: email martin.hoare@history.org.uk

Responses are invited from mentors and trainers of trainee history teachers.

Responses for the December edition must be received by 31 January 2013.

Susie and Jo are both fictional characters. Thanks to Katharine Burn,

Department of Education, University of Oxford, for devising the Move Me On problem.



Mummy, Mummy, why should my education be more trivial?

Do be quiet dear, Mummy is trying to work out whether Ofsted inspectors want her to talk for 2 minutes or 5 minutes, and whether group work has to happen every 20 minutes, or just every lesson, or even every week, and now discovers that Ofsted is not bothered at all, and it was all a mistake. It really is most perplexing.

Do stop moaning Mummy and answer my question. I have a horrible feeling I'm being prepared for skills for the workplace through 'the language of the committee and the aspiration of middle management' and some chap says it would be much better if the Greeks came back and trivialised us all.

Ah, I think you might mean Martin Robinson's (2013) *Trivium 21c: preparing young people for the future with lessons from the past*. Nothing trivial there. Robinson is writing about the classical Trivium, the three philological arts of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric that began to emerge in Ancient Greece and evolved in medieval times into a pattern of education. He traces their roots in the tensions and relationships between the thinking of Aristotle, Plato and Socrates. Robinson teases out the implications for education of their distinctive quests for truth, the ways in which they sought truth. Taken together, we see balances and interplays between certainty and uncertainty, between firm knowledge of agreed practices or rules, and habits of questioning, challenge and argument.

Daddy says he always suspected the Ancient Greeks were alarming progressivists. Were they the real Blob?

And there Daddy falls into the trap that Robinson is trying to free us from, the seeming inability of education debates to escape from a traditional-progressivist dichotomy, the relentless measuring of one by the absence of the other, the never-ending counterblasts of 'knowledge' and 'skills'. Robinson explains that it was becoming a parent, and thinking about the education that he wanted for his daughter that set him on his journey: 'I did not want my daughter to become a "customer of education". I did not want to be regularly updated on what level she had reached, how globally aware she had become, or how good at teamwork she was. I wanted her to be able to talk about the things that matter; not to ignore the latest ideas, but to allow those ideas to emerge from an engagement with great works of culture, art, science...' (p.19).

It now sounds more 'trad' than 'prog'. This will confuse Daddy terribly.

You see? You can't escape from them either! But Robinson isn't arguing for a neat marriage nor a wishy washy compromise. By examining the structural relationships within the Trivium, and by exploring, historically, where and how its tensions became unproductive, he teases out its generative power for constructing a better model for education in the 21st Century. He argues that the three ways of the Trivium – knowing, questioning and community, or the focus on the 'I', the 'we' and the 'you' – could come together in a great education, one that shapes who we are, our ways of knowing, being and being together. What his book brings out are the dynamic internal relationships within the Trivium, its checks, balances and interplays. One art – properly understood and grounded in knowledge of antecedents – can challenge, test, refine or show the limits of others, while also renewing itself. Tradition is vital (he disagrees 'fundamentally' with Ken Robinson on this point), but logic and dialectic, taking various forms, can and should challenge tradition. Questioning is vital, and it doesn't come from nowhere; it comes from tradition, well, from Plato in fact, but there now you've got me going again and it's time for bed. Run along now...

Mummy, which would be the best present for Daddy for Christmas, Ockham's razor, Heidegger's hammer or Russell's teapot? Any ideas?