

Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools in England: A study of practice, perspectives and challenges

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Declaration

I, Andrew Marc Davis, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I dedicate this thesis and my research to a Holocaust survivor who holds a very special place in my heart. Mr Leslie Kleinman BEM z'l, who passed away in 2021, was a truly inspirational man and a wonderful educator who taught countless young people and adults from around the world about the Holocaust. His passion and drive to tell his story has been a leading motivation for me to educate the next generation about the atrocities that happened to our people during the Holocaust. Leslie is missed by his family, friends, his communities in Southend and Elstree & Borehamwood, and those who were privileged to work with him are committed to continuing his work.

My thesis has been undertaken over 7 years as a part-time doctoral researcher. The long and sometimes challenging experience would not have been possible without the constant encouragement, advice and support of my supervisors. I have deep gratitude to Professor Stuart Foster and Ruth-Anne Lenga for always being there at the end of the phone or email, for their guidance and expertise, and for motivating me to keep going with my research.

I am grateful also to Dr Helena Miller of the LSJS who supervised my Masters dissertation. That dissertation was the foundation and impetus for my PhD research, and Helena has remained a supportive friend and mentor with whom I can talk through ideas and ask for guidance.

Whilst completing this research I have also worked fulltime as a senior leader in Yavneh College. I would like to thank all of my colleagues at school for their ongoing support and encouragement, especially from teachers within the Jewish Studies department. In particular, thank you to our Executive Headteacher Spencer Lewis for his support

for this work, his willingness to help me find time when needed to complete this research, and for his friendship and mentorship throughout my career. I am grateful to Spencer also for encouraging and teaching me to guide educational journeys to Poland, which was a main factor that influenced my decision to conduct this research.

My thirst for education is down to the importance placed on education by my mother who has dedicated her life to teaching and has been my role model for entering this vocation. I am so grateful to her for her support and guidance, and for modelling what excellence in teaching looks like.

The Talmud states: 'Much have I learned from my teachers, even more have I learned from my colleagues, but from my students I have learned more than from anyone else' (Ta'anit 4a Epstein, 1967). Over the course of this study I have been privileged to be able to discuss my work with former and current students. I have been able to hear their insights and interest in my work and I have been able to ask them their opinions on certain matters. However, their interest in my progress has spurred me on and given me inspiration even when I had felt lost in my work. I hope that this research will have a positive impact on not only my students, but also other students across Jewish schools.

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Abstract

In 2009, the Institute of Education published the first empirical study into teaching the Holocaust in England's secondary schools. However, no specific research has been undertaken on Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England. My study examines provision of teaching about the Holocaust in such schools, exploring teachers' aims, pedagogical approaches and distinctive challenges in the Jewish school context.

The research for this study used a three-phased approach:

1. Interviews with school leaders and desk-based research on the context in which schools operated. This provided a landscape of types of Jewish schools in England and information about whether and how they taught about the Holocaust.
2. The sample narrowed to only those in which the Holocaust was taught. Data was initially gathered via an online survey of teachers to collect more detailed information. Follow-up interviews were also conducted.
3. The sample was narrowed to a good cross-section of four schools. In-depth teacher interviews were conducted in each school with two members of staff who taught about the Holocaust. Interviews explored differences and complexities uncovered in previous phases and illuminated issues raised by my research questions.

This study provides insights into the Jewish secondary schools' landscape and explains how ethos and practice affected curriculum priorities. It revealed that not all Jewish schools teach about the Holocaust and differences exist between schools that do. Most students in Jewish schools received more Holocaust education than their peers in non-Jewish schools. A distinctive feature in most schools was Year 12 educational journeys to Poland, typically seen as the culmination of the schools' Holocaust education.

This study concludes by highlighting elements of impressive practice of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England. It offers recommendations for how Holocaust education may be improved and how exemplary practice may be shared across all schools.

Impact

The thesis has an impact both within and outside academia. It has particular significance on educational policy and practice, specifically within the fields of Holocaust education and Jewish education. The research explores similarities and differences between educational priorities in mainstream schools¹ and in Jewish schools; explains the need for a nuanced approach to how the Holocaust is taught in a Jewish setting; and demonstrates the need for targeted pedagogical resources and CPD for teachers of the Holocaust in Jewish schools. This thesis also highlights the importance placed on Jewish schools' educational journeys to Poland by teachers, school leaders and the community at large. This study allows schools and educational tour providers opportunities to consider how these journeys fit within the larger landscape of Holocaust education. It also provides international Jewish organisations involved in educational tourism to Poland opportunities to consider how these journeys can contribute to the wider Holocaust education that students receive. The recommendations set out in the final chapter are of particular importance for improving educational practice.

The results of this study contribute to the academic fields of both Holocaust education and Jewish education as it contains new and original research into a specialist area of Holocaust education in a Jewish context. It gives academics an insight into Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England and provides opportunities to compare findings with non-Jewish schools. It also provides the field with opportunities to make comparisons with Holocaust education in Jewish schools in other parts of the world. The research contains unique empirical data that will be of interest to scholars and students in this field.

¹ Drawing on the findings of Pettigrew *et al.*, (2009).

Findings from this study also contribute to the Jewish community. There are many Jewish organisations that focus on Jewish education and Holocaust education in Jewish schools. This thesis provides those organisations with a knowledge-base of what is happening within Jewish schools in England relating to Holocaust education. It provides information about what current CPD and teaching and learning resources exist and are being used. This information will help those organisations to consider the impact of what is already available and what further support or work may be required. This thesis also makes some recommendations about how Jewish community leadership could work collaboratively to improve this education for students across all Jewish schools.

As highlighted throughout the thesis, the concept of Jewish identity is one that teachers referred to as an underpinning aim of teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools. Within the academic field of Holocaust education this factor is unique within Jewish schools. The thesis enables academics and practitioners to have a broader and deeper understanding of how Holocaust education in Jewish schools informs and is informed by Jewish identity, particularly across different sects and strands of Judaism. Promotion of Jewish identity is also part of a larger aim of Jewish education and this thesis shows how Holocaust education may be used as a tool to promote and achieve that aim.

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Glossary of Jewish Words/Phrases

Aggudah: (Hebrew, lit, 'organisation') Refers to the American umbrella organisation of strictly orthodox communities.

Am Yisrael: Hebrew, lit, 'The Jewish People' – a term often used by orthodox Jews.

Ashkenazi Jews: Jews whose lineage originates from central or eastern Europe.

Bais Yaakov: (Hebrew, lit, House of Jacob). It is the name of an international strictly orthodox girls high school movement.

Bar Mitzvah: (Hebrew, lit, son of the commandment). A rite of passage whereby a Jewish boy reaches 13-year-old and is recognised as a Jewish adult.

Chinuch: Hebrew, lit, education.

Chol: (Hebrew, lit, ordinary) secular curriculum – i.e. curriculum subjects other than Jewish Studies.

Churban: (Hebrew, lit, destruction). This word was originally used to refer to the destruction of the Jewish Temples in Jerusalem. It is also used by some strictly orthodox Jews to refer to the Holocaust.

Dor: Hebrew, lit, Generation.

Dugma: (Hebrew, lit, 'example') A Jewish concept of setting a good example by the way of a person's actions and deeds.

Frum: (Yiddish, lit, 'religious', 'pious'), a word that describes Jewish religious devotion or an individual who is devout.

Gemara: Critical explanation or interpretation on the Mishna (see below). These teachings were redacted in the Babylonian Talmud around the 6th Century.

Halachically Jewish: (Halacha lit, law). The status of being recognised as Jewish according to orthodox Judaism.

Hareidi: (Hebrew), term used to refer to strictly orthodox Jews

Hassidic: (Hebrew), term referring to a denomination within strictly orthodox Judaism.

Ivrit: Modern Hebrew.

JS: Acronym of Jewish Studies.

Kashrut: Jewish dietary laws.

Kehillo/a: (Hebrew) community.

Klal Yisroel: (Hebrew) A synonym for the Jewish people.

Kippot: (Hebrew) Head covering worn by Jewish men and also women in some Liberal communities.

Kodesh: (Hebrew, lit, holy), a word used to refer to Jewish education.

Madrich: Youth leader/councillor/teacher/guide.

March of the Living (MOTL): A international programme that take groups of Jews on visits to Poland to educate about the Holocaust.

Mikra: Another word used to refer to the Tanach (Old Testament)

Mishna: Redacted by Rabbi Yehudah HaNassi in 200 CE this is the oldest collection and codification of Jewish oral laws by a number of post biblical scholars.

Mitzvot: (Hebrew pl) word for commandments.

NAJOS: Acronym for National organisation for Jewish Orthodox Schools.

PaJeS: Acronym for Partnership for Jewish Schools – an organisation that oversees the quality and provision for Jewish schools In England.

Pikuach: (Hebrew - Pikuach nefesh is the principle in Jewish law that the preservation of human life overrides virtually any other religious rule). In relation to education, it is the term used to refers to Section 48 inspection service for Jewish schools.

Rabbanim/Rabbeinu: (Heb) Plural of Rabbi.

Rashi: An 11th century Biblical and Talmudic commentator.

Rebbetzin: The honorary title give to the wife of a Rabbi.

Shabbat/Shabbos: Heb/Yiddish. The Jewish Sabbath, from sunset on Friday until nightfall on Saturday.

Shoah: (Hebrew lit destruction) The Holocaust.

Shul: (Yiddish) Synagogue.

Tenach: (Hebrew) Name for the Jewish sacred literature.

Tikkun Olam: (Hebrew, lit, 'world repair'). Refers to social action/responsibility.

Torah: (Hebrew, lit, Pentateuch). Sometimes refers to as the Tenach (Old Testament)

Tosafot: (Hebrew, lit, 'additions') commentators' discussions of the Talmud and Rashi's explanations on it.

Tzitsit/Tzitzit: Religious fringed garment worn by religiously practicing Jewish men and increasingly by women in liberal Jewish communities. The tallith has 613 fringes known as 'tzitzits' which represent the 613 commandments or mitzvot that Jews have to follow.

Yad Vashem: The World's Holocaust Research Centre, in Jerusalem, Israel.

Yeshivos/t (Hebrew, pl, lit 'sitting'): Talmudic academies.

Yeshiva High Schools: A type of school found in America and Israel whose student body are from religiously observant modern orthodox communities.

Yid: (Yiddish) A Jewish person. It is often used as an offensive slang term.

Yiddishkeit: (Yiddish) Refers to a traditional Ashkenazi Judaism, Jewish life or Jewish practice.

Yom HaShoah: (Hebrew, lit, 'Day of Destruction') Refers to Holocaust Memorial Day marked by Jews across the world.

Zakheim: (Hebrew/Yiddish. Lit, 'They are of the holy seed'), Refers to the great rabbis of previous generations.

Glossary of Educational Words/Terms/Phrases

A-Level: The traditional national qualifications studied by many English students between the ages of 16 & 18 which are often used as entrance criteria for university. Typically, students study 3 different A-Level subjects.

Agreed Syllabus: Religious Education in England does not have a nationally agreed curriculum for study. Instead, each local authority (municipality) has an 'Agreed Syllabus' that is studied in non-faith state schools.

GCSE: General Certificate of Secondary Education. The traditional national qualifications studies by most 14 -16 year olds in England. Students study a range of subjects and are examined in each subject as a stand alone qualification.

Independent School: (Also known as Private School) A school that does not receive its funding from the government and therefore has less government controls over the education that is provided. However, there are certain basic curriculum and safeguarding requirements that the government tasks OFSTED to oversee are fulfilled.

IoE: The Institute of Education. Formerly a college that was part of the University of London. Now, part of UCL.

Key Stage: The English education system divides school years into 'Key Stages' to oversee their curriculum. Key Stage 3 is Years 7 – 9 (ages 11 – 14), Key Stage 4, Years 10 & 11 (ages 15 – 16) and Key Stage 5, Years 12 & 13 (ages 17 – 18).

HMD: Holocaust Memorial Day.

National Curriculum: A set of subjects and standards that the government set for students to learn in state schools in England.

OFSTED: The Office for Standards in Education. The government watchdog with responsibility for inspecting schools in England.

RE / RS: Religious Education or Religious Studies.

State School: A school that receives its funding from the government and parents therefore do not pay fees for their child to attend.

UCL: University College London.

Year Group: (e.g., Year 9) The academic year that a student is currently placed in. (Similar to the American 8th Grade). However, in England, pupils begin school in Reception (age 4/5) and complete school in Year 13 (age 18).

Chapter 1 - Introduction and Overview

1.1 Rationale

'Ensuring that the memory and the lessons of the Holocaust are never forgotten lies at the heart of Britain's values as a nation' (Britain's Promise to Remember: The Prime Minister's Holocaust Commission Report, 2015, p.9).

Many critics and commentators argue that the case for Holocaust education is clear and strong: (Berke and Saltzman, 1996; Adorno, 1998; Hector, 2000; Imperial War Museum, 2000; Feldman, 2009; Clements, 2010; Pearce, 2014). The UK government emphasised this position in its 2015 Commission Report and it has been supported in both the teacher and student communities.² Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, there has been a significant amount of research undertaken into Holocaust education within the UK. There is, however, a significant gap in the field. This relates to an understanding of how the teaching of the Holocaust is conducted in Jewish schools in England.

I have worked in Jewish schools in England full time for the past sixteen years. During this time I trained as a Religious Studies secondary school teacher and have specialised in teaching Jewish Studies in two different Jewish schools. During my teaching career, I have been promoted from a trainee teacher to Head of Department, Assistant Headteacher and am currently Deputy Headteacher of my school. I have also participated in CPD both relating to pedagogy and subject knowledge. As part of this CPD, I have completed two fellowships at the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Studies and an MA in Jewish Education. For my MA dissertation (Davis, 2012) I chose to research 'What would be an ideal Holocaust curriculum for pupils in my school?' The findings from my research influenced my

² See (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009)

decision to conduct this doctoral research.³ As such, my professional experiences as a teacher and Holocaust educator within the Jewish education system in England gave me a solid foundation on which to design, build and complete this research. Nevertheless, as a researcher and someone who has been involved in teaching and Holocaust education for 16 years, I am very aware that my experience and perspectives inevitably influenced aspects of this study. For example, it shaped my ontological and epistemological positions, my perspective as an 'insider researcher' and my methodological considerations. These issues are more fully detailed in Chapter 3.

This research project examines: the provision of teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools in England; the aims of teaching this subject; and the distinctive challenges of teaching this history in the Jewish school context. It will do this by looking at the wider issues that underpin Jewish education and how the Holocaust fits into these as well as exploring what is included and excluded from Holocaust education within Jewish schools. The research also explores specific topics and pedagogic methodologies used to teach the Holocaust and additionally focus on the salience of study visits as an important and common educational practice.

1.2 Importance of the research

There are many types of Jewish schools that exist within England, mainly based on denominational beliefs and practice. Owing to the deep complexities relating to the aims of Jewish education and religious ideas about what young people need to learn, the place and value of Holocaust education within the curriculum is not agreed by all educators and stakeholders. Schools make very different choices when it comes to curriculum priorities. Some schools dedicate more time to Jewish studies, allowing limited time for core and foundation subjects. Other schools, however, extend their

³ See Chapter 3.1 for further discussion.

school day in order to teach the full complement of National Curriculum subjects together with a Jewish Studies programme that they feel is appropriate to their students. It is within this complex context that the status and quality of Holocaust education within Jewish schools is examined within this research.

For the Jewish community, the Holocaust is considered the unprecedented tragedy of the modern era that changed the Jewish world forever. Many believe that Jewish schools have a distinct role in teaching this subject. The Holocaust is part of the collective story of all Jewish people and many students learning in Jewish schools may well have a family history and direct link to this tragic past. Schools, therefore, often consider that they have a responsibility not only to teach this subject but to teach it robustly, comprehensively and with sensitivity. In 2009, the Institute of Education (IoE) was commissioned to carry out research in order to investigate how the Holocaust is taught in state secondary schools in England. This research comprised: 'an online survey which was completed by 2,108 respondents and follow-up interviews with 68 teachers in 24 different schools throughout England' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 5). This research was ground-breaking in terms of the contribution that it made to the field of knowledge surrounding how the Holocaust was taught in England. However, the researchers did not focus specifically on Jewish schools and, in fact, no Jewish schools were included in the second phase of more in-depth interviews. Coupled with this, very limited research has been undertaken into what provision exists and what issues and perspectives underpin practice in Jewish schools. Accordingly, this research aims to fill this void and provide a better understanding both to the academic and Jewish worlds in terms of how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools in England. At various points in this thesis I discuss education in the UK when referencing literature that talks about the UK as a whole. However, my thesis focuses on educational provision in England and when discussing my research and findings I focus on that country alone.

1.3 Aims of this Research

- To provide an empirical portrait of how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish secondary schools in England.
- To examine the aims and approaches to teaching about the Holocaust in a range of Jewish secondary schools in England.
- To identify challenges and opportunities encountered or perceived by leaders and teachers when teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools.
- To draw preliminary comparisons between Jewish and wider contexts in terms of teaching the Holocaust in secondary schools in England.
- To provide recommendations for future provision of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England.

1.4 Research questions

- What is the current landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England?
- What factors influence the extent and nature of the provision of Holocaust Education in Jewish secondary schools in England?
- What are the distinctive features, challenges, and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared to schools within the wider secular context?

1.5 Overview of Research Phases and Methods

I designed a phased approach to my research, based around 3 distinct components:

1.5.1 Phase I

Focus: During this phase of my research, I collected information about Jewish schools in England that have students of secondary age on roll in order to provide an insight

and baseline “map” of the Jewish schools in England. I specifically focussed on the educational context of these schools and attempted to gain an understanding of what factors influenced their curriculum decisions. I identified the differences between these schools including: how many hours a week they devoted to Jewish and secular studies; their broader aims and denominational backgrounds; if they entered students for national examinations and the length of the school week. As part of this initial research, I established whether the Holocaust was taught within the school's curriculum and if so in which subjects, as well as if the school ran educational journeys that included learning about the Holocaust.

Method: I began this phase of my investigation by undertaking documentary research. This included looking at OFSTED and Section 48 Faith Inspection reports and school websites for all the Jewish schools in England, reviewing DFE documentation and exam board specifications. In addition, I conducted primary research in the form of telephone interviews with school leaders in as many Jewish secondary schools in England as were willing to participate.

1.5.2 Phase II

Focus: Based on the knowledge established in Phase I of this research, I narrowed the sample of schools down to nine schools. These schools were self-selective, as out of all of the Jewish schools in England with secondary pupils on roll, who were willing to participate in my research, these were the only schools that actually taught about the Holocaust.⁴ I used the second phase of this research to find out more detailed information about how the Holocaust was taught, including a focus on pedagogic practices, teachers' priorities and in which subjects the Holocaust was taught across the 9 schools in the sample. I also gathered more detailed information about

⁴ This is explained in more detail in Chapter 4 – The Phase 1 Framework.

educational journeys used to teach about the Holocaust, including the aims and itineraries for these study visits.

Method: Phase II of my research was mainly focussed on primary research. This research took the form of a teacher survey that I conducted using an online survey tool, Opinio. The survey was carefully designed to ask probing questions around teaching practice, pedagogy, curriculum decisions and educational journeys to Poland. I also carried out some follow-up interviews with respondents or leaders of schools. These helped to provide further clarification on points made in the teacher surveys. In some cases, I also carried out follow-up surveys with four operators in order to gain a better understanding of some of the teacher comments relating to journeys to Poland. Whilst the main research focus in this phase was primary research, I did also conduct some further secondary research. This included further scrutiny of literature and analysis of schools' schemes of work as well as comparing teacher responses to those of senior leaders gathered in Phase I.

1.5.3 Phase III

Focus: The main Phase III research focus was to explore further some of the areas of Holocaust education where I felt I still had gaps in my knowledge across the sample schools. By analysing what I had found in Phases I and II, I was able to reflect further on what questions I needed to ask at interview to enrich the empirical data. During the third phase of my research, I narrowed the sample of schools further to 4 schools in London. These schools were selected based on previous findings in order to provide a range of schools in terms of ethos and practice to further examine the philosophy, practice and perspectives of Holocaust education. I believed that in Phase III I needed to focus more on the aims of teaching the Holocaust together with both the challenges and opportunities related to teaching about the Holocaust and the factors that influence educational provision.

Method: I decided to conduct face to face interviews with two senior members of staff from each of my sample schools. Based on my findings from Phase II, that educational journeys to Poland played such a pivotal role in Holocaust education across the Jewish schools, I determined it was important that at least one of the members of staff interviewed in each school was responsible for organising their educational journey to Poland. My intention in choosing this cross-section of staff was to paint a rich and detailed portrait of how the Holocaust is taught in the respective schools and thereby provide a mechanism to address my overarching research questions.

1.6 Structure of the Study

Chapter 2 contains a detailed overview and critique of the literature within the field. Chapter 3 addresses my methodological approaches and the rationale behind key decisions. It also explains the ethical issues I considered and explores my position as an insider researcher. Chapter 4 focuses on the first phase of my research in terms of how it was carried out and features an analysis of my findings. One of my findings from Phase I was the unique educational differences in strictly orthodox schools. Chapter 5, therefore, explains these differences and the educational approaches and priorities within these schools in relation to education in general and Holocaust education in particular. Chapter 6 outlines the second phase of my research. I chose to split the analysis of this phase of my research into Chapters 6 and 7, with Chapter 7 specifically focussing on educational journeys to Poland. Chapter 8 presents the framework and analysis of findings of Phase III. Chapter 9 draws together core findings and presents conclusions, recommendations and considers the implications of my study.

1.7 Jewish Schools and the Holocaust: Context

1.7.1 Background to Jewish Schools in England

Jewish schools have existed in England since the re-admission of Jews into the country in 1656 (Romain, 1985). According to Miller (2001, p. 502), the primary academic authority on the history of Jewish schooling in the UK, the expansion of Jewish schools occurred as an alternative to common educational practice in which most schools in England centred on Christian beliefs. Many Jewish parents, especially those from the immigrant community, wanted their children to be educated in schools that did not promote Christianity. The 'Jews Free School' was established in 1732 as part of the Great Synagogue of London, and was the first formal Jewish secondary school in England that had a curriculum based on both secular and Jewish subjects⁵ (Black, 1998, p. 14).

Even though a range of Jewish schools existed by the nineteenth century, many parents chose to send their children either to non-denominational or to Church of England schools. This tendency created concerns within the Jewish community about the type of religious education that children would receive in those schools and the affect upon their Jewish education and identity. The Education Act 1870 provided new opportunities for Jewish schools because it approved funding for faith schools. Furthermore, the Act also set out two other legislative changes that provided alternative schools for Jewish children. Firstly, it approved the establishment of 'Board Schools',⁶ which were non-denominational schools that had to teach religion, but 'No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school' (O'Grady and Jackson, 2007, p. 183). Board Schools became a compromise option for Jewish parents who were uncomfortable with their children being taught Christian dogma but did not want to send their children to a Jewish school. Miller explains that large parts of the Jewish

⁵ The Jewish Free School, known today as JFS, is the largest Jewish school in Europe with 1,966 pupils on roll and is still run according to these principles.

⁶ It is interesting to note, that Board Schools in this format only lasted for 32 years.

community were in favour of these schools as they were new and modern, and also because 'the Jewish community could not sustain financial support of a school system of its own' (Miller, 2001, pp. 502–503). Secondly, the 1870 Act included a clause, which remains valid today, giving parents the right to withdraw their child from religious instruction in school. That resulted in many Jewish parents feeling comfortable sending their children to non-Jewish schools.

The issue of parents choosing to send their children to non-Jewish schools was of great concern to Jewish leaders in terms of children being 'at risk of losing their heritage and identity, through compulsory study of Christianity' (Miller, 2014, p. 98). Therefore, as Alderman (1999) explains, a concerted effort was made by Jewish leaders to open more Jewish schools. Those schools helped to absorb and acclimatise many of the Jewish immigrants who arrived in Britain during and after the First World War⁷ and were seen by some sectors of the native-born Anglo-Jewish community as an embarrassment due to their poor English and lack of British etiquette:

[The immigrant children] were ignorant even of the elements of sound; until they had been Anglicized or humanized it was difficult to tell what was their moral condition, and many of them scarcely knew their own names . . . Their parents were the refuse population of the worst parts of Europe, whose first object in sending the children to school was to get them out of the way (Gartner, 1973, p. 8).

The acclimatisation and absorption process became a central aim of Jewish schools. Miller (2014, p. 99) suggests that following the Second World War, approximately 80% of Jewish children were receiving a Jewish education; but only 20% were taught in Jewish schools. The remaining 60% received their Jewish education in after-school or weekend synagogue classes for a few hours per week. The decrease in number of Jewish children attending Jewish schools, outside of the strictly orthodox community, continued until the late 1960s when uptake of places in Jewish schools was at an all-

⁷ As a result of the First World War, there were 100,000 Jewish refugees who emigrated to England.

time low. The fact that parents chose to send their children to synagogue classes demonstrates that they still valued Jewish education. Therefore, it is important to consider why in the late 1940s to the 1960s parents chose not to send their children to Jewish schools. The first reason is advanced by Mendelsson (2011) and Alderman (1999), who discuss the impact of the Second World War on the Jewish community. At the outbreak of war, the majority of the Jewish schools in London were located in the East End. Most children were evacuated from London, which resulted in the fragmentation of families and communities and, in turn, the closure of many schools. The Jewish community was slow to re-establish Jewish schools after the war, resulting in an insufficient number of places. Miller (2001) also argues that the second key factor which explains why parents chose not to send their children to Jewish schools was because in the 1950s and 1960s the UK Jewish population focused its efforts on ensuring social mobility and economic stability through academic success. During this time grammar schools were viewed as the most highly rated schools in the country and there were no Jewish grammar schools.

In 1967 Rabbi Dr Immanuel Jacobovits was installed as Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth. Rabbi Jacobovits came to the UK from America where he had seen a renaissance in the provision of Jewish schools, and he was very concerned about the situation in the UK. As a result of those concerns, he founded the Jewish Educational Development Trust (JEDT) in 1971 to focus on expanding both the provision and quality of UK Jewish education. As Jacobovits asserted:⁸

Every year our schools are turning away hundreds of applicants, for whom they have no places, simply because the community defaults on its duty to provide full-time Jewish education...To ensure Anglo-Jewry's continuity... we must double our present capacity in the next ten to fifteen years (Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg, 2002, p. 11).

⁸ See Foreword to 'Let my people know – proposals for the development of Jewish education' in (Jacobovits, 1977)

Valins et al explain that some people were critical of the JEDT and questioned whether it would be effective. However, as Lord Sacks stated, '[the JEDT] raised the profile of Jewish education, built two schools and raised funds for a variety of educational projects, including some in the field of teacher-training' (Sacks, 1994, p. 57).

Mendelsson (2011) further argues that parents began to give Jewish schools more consideration following the demise of the grammar schools in the 1970s, as they viewed Jewish schools as partially selective in comparison with comprehensive schools. However, those who were in the financial position to be able to send their children to private schools viewed that option as preferential to Jewish schools. That continued to be the case until the publication of Sacks (1994), which highlighted that Jewish schools in England were still not of the academic rigour that was to be found in many non-Jewish schools. Sacks asserted the need for the community to invest further to prevent future assimilation. This resulted in the United Synagogue increasing their education department, investing money in teacher training and the opening of two more Jewish schools in London. Following that investment, Jewish schools began to attain higher results in line with many private schools and started to become schools of choice for many Jewish families. From that point onwards, parents placed greater emphasis on sending their children to schools with a Jewish ethos.

The twenty-first century has seen an increase in the number of Jewish schools in England and the percentage of Jewish children in the Jewish community attending these schools. As Kohn has demonstrated, 'Today, more than 60 per cent of Jewish children in the UK are educated in Jewish schools, the majority of them within the state system, as compared to less than 20 per cent in the early 1950s' (Kohn, 2011, p. 39). Miller (2014, p. 100) argues that this is because Jewish leaders continued to promote the importance of Jewish education in ensuring Jewish continuity. However, she

concedes that some parents also choose to send their children to Jewish schools owing to the 'security and protection' that they feel is received in a Jewish school. Miller and Pomson (2014, p. 4) further comment that even in the twenty-first century, a high level of household income is one of the only significant predictors of not sending a child to a Jewish secondary school in England where one is available geographically. This demonstrates that, even today, some parents still believe that private education in a high performing non-Jewish school is preferable to that delivered within a Jewish school.

1.7.2 Types of Jewish Schools

There are different types of Jewish schools in England, and the Board of Deputies of British Jews (BoD) conducts research into these schools. The BoD's data is based on the Department for Education (DfE) lists of educational institutions⁹ combined with the BoD's working knowledge of the Jewish community as well as the schools' own ethos statements.

The BoD has accepted four definitions to categorise UK Jewish schools: (i) strictly orthodox, (ii) mainstream, (iii) pluralist and (iv) special needs. The schools then self-select into which category they fit, and I have adopted those definitions within my research. To further clarify the distinction between these four categories, Valins et al. has helpfully offered the following definitions, which I also employed throughout this study:

Strictly Orthodox

The majority of these schools are private, fee-paying institutions, taking in students who are halachically Jewish and who are fully Sabbath-observant. The particular Hasidic or other affiliation of the sponsoring community typically determines the schools' religious and practical ethos. Hence, there are a large number of schools representing particular Hasidic groupings. All have the development of a Torah-inspired way of life as their number one priority. Zionism is not generally an aspect in these schools. Many of these schools are also in financially deprived areas.

Mainstream [Central Orthodox]

⁹ See 'Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics' (Department for Education, 2013b)

Children are taught according to a traditional Orthodox ethos, which varies according to the values and backgrounds of students' families. Most schools insist on *halachic* entrance criteria, and others require a demonstration of Orthodox religious practice. Schools may be mixed or single-sex and most are in the state sector. Male students are usually expected to wear *kippot* and *tzitsit*. Zionism and a 'love of Israel' are key aspects in many of these schools (Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg, 2002, pp. 33–34).

The Orthodox Jewish community across the world can be divided into numerous smaller niche communities. Broadly speaking, the biggest divisions are between the strictly orthodox, often referred to as the *hareidi* community and the mainstream (as or central orthodox) community. The main differences between these sections of the community are in relation to Jewish philosophy around the way a person should live their life. As a generalisation, Jews in the *hareidi* or strictly orthodox section of the community will adhere strictly to all elements of Jewish law, be more likely to withdraw from certain modern practices and be more segregated from the world at large. This, in turn, impacts on curriculum decisions within schools in this sector.¹⁰ Mainstream Judaism, however, is based around Jews who subscribe to orthodox Jewish practices and philosophy, but are more likely to be embracing of the modern world as well. Some Jews who would choose to send their children to mainstream Jewish schools, may not be fully observant in their religious practice, but still nominally ascribe to this sector of the community and would attend an orthodox synagogue when choosing to attend. According to research conducted by Jewish Policy Research (JPR) in 2016, there were 76,597 households in the UK who were members of a synagogue. 53% of all households were members of a central orthodox synagogue and 13% members of a strictly orthodox synagogue (Mashiah and Boyd, 2017, p. 4).

Pluralist

In 2002 there were no pluralist Jewish schools in England and therefore no criteria for Pluralist schools were provided by Valins, *et al.* The first Jewish pluralist secondary school – JCOSS - opened in England in 2010. Miller explains that 'The common features that make a school a Jewish pluralist school are that it will not only accept all types of Jewish children

¹⁰ See Chapter 5 – Education in Strictly Orthodox Schools.

as students, but that it will also cater for all those children in the ethos, the formal and informal curricula of the school' (Miller, 2014, p. 105).

Special Needs Schools

At the time of conducting my research, there were no specific secondary schools defined as Special Needs Schools. However, there were 2 'all through schools' who self-identified as Special Needs schools that had 13 pupils of age 11+ on roll between the two schools. I decided not to include these schools within my sample.

The 2013 data collected by the BoD indicates that there were 51 Jewish schools in England that teach secondary school age students. These schools are illustrated in

Table 1:

Table 1: Jewish Schools in England by denomination

| | Strictly Orthodox | Mainstream | Pluralist | Special Needs |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| Voluntary Aided | 3 | 3 | 1 | |
| Academies | 1 | 3 | | |
| Free School | | 1 | | |
| Independent | 36 | 1 | | 2 |

19 of the 'strictly orthodox' schools are 'all-through' schools; and have pupils from Reception to Year 11 on roll. It is worth noting the high level of independent schools within the strictly orthodox sector. One of the reasons for this is the autonomy that independent schools have over their curriculum, resulting in these schools being able to dedicate a greater percentage of the school week to Jewish Studies.

These different types of schools attract children from different religious backgrounds and their individual ethos and curriculum is tailored to the families that the school wishes to attract. That is one of the defining features of the various schools, because within each section of the community¹¹ there are sub-divisions in terms of beliefs and the associated schooling that parents desire for their children. The ethos of a school has an impact on the amount of time that leaders choose to dedicate to Jewish

¹¹ Strictly orthodox, mainstream, etc.

Studies. Another factor that affects curriculum decisions is whether the school is mandated to follow the National Curriculum.

According to the DfE 2013 data, 37% (n 4,271) of children of secondary school age in Jewish schools in England attend strictly orthodox schools, 5% (n 575) pluralist schools, the remaining 58% (n 6,655) attend mainstream schools. The largest mainstream school is the JFS School in Kenton, which in September 2021 had 2,057 students on roll. JFS dedicates 12.5% of its curriculum time to Jewish Studies. However, those students who wish to have more Jewish education are provided with additional opportunities through pre and post school lessons as well as lunch time extra-curricular Jewish Studies. There are other schools within the mainstream category that dedicate more of their curriculum time to Jewish Studies, of which Hasmonian High School in Hendon dedicates the most time to those subjects.¹²

To date, there has been minimal research undertaken into the different types of Jewish schools that exist in the UK and the percentage of curriculum time that they dedicate to Jewish Studies and to National Curriculum (NC) subjects. This was an area I chose to explore in relation to my research questions, but only as a peripheral study. My focus was confined to my overall aim of studying how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools. In this chapter I have provided an overview of my research framework. In the next chapter I explore further some key methodological issues required to address my research questions.

¹² According to their 2012 OFSTED report they dedicate almost a third of the school day to Jewish Studies. (OFSTED, 2012, p. 3)

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Savin-Baden and Howell Major explained that a good literature review 'should contain critical analysis of previous research studies, and sometimes non-research-based literature, on the topic of investigation' (2013, p. 112). Delamont, et al, explain that a literature review explores the main issues highlighted in research literature providing a 'snapshot' of 'the state of the art, and help to place the research student's own work firmly in its proper intellectual context' (1997, p. 66). A literature review shows the researcher's engagement with previous literature and how their study will develop ideas and highlight possible gaps in the field. As Kirk & Miller explain, 'For any observation (or measurement) to yield discovery, it must generate data that is (a) not already known and (b) identifiable as "new" by the theory already in place' (1986, p. 15).

I began my review by looking at a range of books and book chapters. In so doing, I carefully scrutinised the bibliographies of key texts. Some were particularly detailed and instructive. For example, Schweber's books and articles on Holocaust education were very informative and here bibliographies richly detailed. From here, with the use of Google Scholar and the University library and repositories, I was also able to find many journal articles in this field. I started to collate my findings using Mendeley Software to organise notes and categorise literature by key words and themes as well as to cross-reference my literature (Bell, 2001). Over a period of time, as recommended by Hart (2003), I was able to critically engage with key literature in the field of Holocaust education to aid me in planning my proposed research. It is important to emphasise that developing my literature review was an iterative process that was ongoing throughout the years of my research. I recognised that as new books were published and others came to my attention it was imperative that I reflected on the ways in which these publications informed and shaped my study.

Following my extensive review of key literature, in relation to my research questions, I determined to analyse my review by dividing it into four sections; (i) Why teach about the Holocaust?, (ii) teaching the Holocaust in England, (iii) teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools, and (iv) literature relating to Jewish educational journeys to Poland. This process helped me to identify what research had already been conducted into these areas and where there were gaps, which in turn informed my research strategy. My critical engagement of the literature begins in this chapter, but continues throughout my thesis when discussing the findings from my primary research in relation to the literature.

2.2 Why Teach about the Holocaust?

I began my investigation of the current literature by exploring work relating to the wider field of Holocaust education in schools. Primo Levi explained; 'We cannot understand [the Holocaust] but we can and must understand from where it springs... because what happened could happen again' (1987, p. 396). Levi emphasised that Holocaust education must both disseminate information on what happened and be used to prevent future genocides. The importance of this is the same for all schools, irrespective of faith. Levi's consciousness regarding the importance and aim of Holocaust education is one that has been influenced by his personal experiences, specifically surviving the Holocaust. However, in the years following the Holocaust until the present day, not all stakeholders in Holocaust education have agreed with this rationale.

In the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, little education took place about the Holocaust within both Jewish and non-Jewish educational circles. Within the general world post-war education was focussed on the new world and re-building Europe, and the Jewish world was focussed on the infant State of Israel

and Zionism. In April 1966 Theodor Adorno, a German-Jewish philosopher, delivered a radio lecture entitled 'Education after Auschwitz' that introduced many philosophical and educational questions regarding teaching the Holocaust and its aims. Adorno was very clear about his main aim of teaching about the Holocaust: 'The premier demand upon all education is that Auschwitz not happen again' (1998, p. 2). Adorno argued that, irrespective of the educational environment and age of the learners, the world has a duty to ensure 'never again Auschwitz'. His argument was based on the importance of the world learning lessons from the atrocities that occurred in order to ensure that such genocides should never be allowed to happen to any group of people. In essence, Adorno's aim in relation to Holocaust education was based around learning from the past as a means of educating about how to prevent such atrocities in the future. In 1966 Adorno struggled to comprehend why so little thought had been given to the need for, let alone implementation of, Holocaust education. For him, Auschwitz, and everything it represented, was the antithesis of good education:

I cannot understand why it has been given so little concern until now. To justify it would be monstrous in the face of the monstrosity that took place. Yet the fact that one is so barely conscious of this demand and the questions it raises shows that the monstrosity has not penetrated people's minds deeply, itself... Every debate about the ideals of education is trivial and inconsequential compared to this single ideal: never again Auschwitz. It was the barbarism all education strives against. One speaks of the threat of a relapse into barbarism. But it is not a threat—Auschwitz was this relapse, and barbarism continues as long as the fundamental conditions that favoured that relapse continue largely unchanged. That is the whole horror. The societal pressure still bears down, although the danger remains invisible nowadays. It drives people toward the unspeakable, which culminated on a world-historical scale in Auschwitz (Adorno, 1998, p. 2).

Adorno viewed the state of global education in the post-Holocaust world as unacceptable, and he felt the need to speak out to try to change things. As Pearce explained: 'Adorno's intervention was driven by the failure to change educational practices and the expansion of a 'refined consciousness' in the post-war world'

(Pearce, 2014, p. 38). Adorno held a clear view, or consciousness, in terms of Holocaust education, but this was not the case for all Holocaust educators.

Post-Adorno, Holocaust education has become far more common with many schools, universities, museums, governments, and other organisations becoming involved in Holocaust education. However, as Pearce acknowledged, there still does not appear to be a common approach to this specific pedagogic practice:

A central problem is what the term is understood to mean. 'Holocaust' and 'education' are open to varying interpretations as it is, so conjoining the two unavoidably leads to a degree of complication. Christer Mattson notes we subsequently have a situation where Holocaust education stands for 'all kind of educational approaches' taking place across a range of ages and subjects (Pearce, 2014, p. 40).

While Adorno insisted that it is important to learn lessons from the Holocaust in order that it never be repeated, other educators and philosophers see other aims in Holocaust education. Pearce referred to Eckmann who stated:

The term Holocaust education does not indicate clearly whether it involves learning about history, literature, or moral issues, or learning about the Jews, or the Nazis, or other victims of Nazi politics. But it is used in recognition of a field and it has an institutional dimension even if the term does not explain exactly what it addresses (Eckmann, 2010, p. 8).

Eckmann argued that 'Holocaust Education' is now a vast field that includes many topics. Due to the numerous angles that educators and academics teach and research in relation to Holocaust Education, it is clear that there are numerous aims behind the different consciousness and narratives of 'Holocaust Education'. Some of this reflects the educators themselves and their own personal bias, some is influenced by the subject in which the Holocaust education takes place within and some is due to the educational institution and their institutional aims and objectives.

In her article 'Education', Schweber analysed Holocaust education 'across continents and grade-levels and through diverse programs and pedagogies' (2010, p. 1). She began her analysis in 1970s America and discussed the development of Holocaust education up until early on in the twenty-first century. Her analysis started by looking at the philosophical divides in Holocaust education. She referred to different opinions as to whether the Holocaust was viewed as a unique event in history as well as whether the Holocaust has 'universal implications'. Schweber engaged with a range of academic views, including those of Shawn (1995), Totten (2000), Firer (1998) and Porat (2004) discussing these debates as well as their implications. These include; who should be allowed to teach about the Holocaust and at what age it is appropriate for students to be taught about the Holocaust. Schweber did not provide a conclusion or her own opinion on these questions but rather presented the various perspectives. However, her concluding line stated: 'In this era of continued genocidal violence, Holocaust education can and should be used to promote greater compassion and global citizenship' (2010, p. 11). Even though she did not directly conclude by providing her views on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, it is clear that Schweber regarded the Holocaust as an appropriate teaching tool to prevent future genocidal behaviour. As her article developed Schweber focused more on where and how the Holocaust was taught, again presenting many academic views. Schweber asserted that: 'Much research on Holocaust education remains to be done, especially on how such education affects students' (2010, p. 10). After presenting how the Holocaust was being taught, focusing on historical and literary elements that make up many curricula, Schweber appeared to be concerned that not enough research had been conducted on the outcomes of this education and the impact on students. She also concluded that there needed to be a greater focus on 'perpetrators, collaborators and on-lookers' (2010, p. 10).

In 2011, Schweber published a chapter in an edited collection of works, in which she presented views and materials similar to her 2010 article 'Education'. However, this

chapter - 'Holocaust Education' - was targeted more at a Jewish rather than mixed audience and was published in the *International Handbook of Jewish Education*. In this chapter she again presented the history of research on Holocaust education. However, unlike her earlier article, the chapter focused on and emphasised the evolution of Holocaust education in Jewish schools and had a greater focus on Holocaust education in Israel. She provided an extensive summary of how the Holocaust was taught around the world and drew upon the research of others to provide a comprehensive summary of countries that required the Holocaust to be taught as part of a national curriculum. She concluded:

As a new field, Holocaust education research is still in its infancy, and much more work remains, preferably research that includes the reception of Holocaust teaching among students rather than solely its production by teachers or curriculum writers. Preferably, too, the new generation of researchers will pursue comparative research agendas that broaden the national contexts and ideological locales of Holocaust education (Schweber, 2011a, p. 475).

Since publication of this article in 2011, it is important to note that much of the research that Schweber suggested needed to be done has actually started to be conducted by researchers around the world.

Davis and Rubinstein-Avila (2013) carried out a critical review of research literature published globally on Holocaust education. They identified articles that addressed key questions such as, what were 'the common challenges in the implementation and integration of this history into national/state curricula?' and 'What forces have propelled or thwarted HE [Holocaust education] around the world?' (2013, p. 150). Davis and Rubinstein-Avila concluded that from region to region there were different things happening and that the narrative deployed within a specific country was often based around how that country wanted to relate to the Holocaust. As a result, different countries wanted different information included within their curriculum as

they placed different foci on different topics, depending on their own narrative aim.

In conclusion, Davis and Rubinstein-Avila stated:

This review demonstrates weaknesses and potentials for failure of HE, even as NGOs, popular mass media, and current trends in memorialization have opened spaces for the integration of HE in secondary classrooms. This implementation brings with it layers of complexities that raise the need for critical pedagogical attention (Davis and Rubinstein-Avila, 2013, p. 164).

The global increase in Holocaust education has also been of interest to UNESCO who have convened seminars and commissioned research into Holocaust education. Following the UNESCO 2012 seminar – *Holocaust Education in a Global Context* – Fracapane & Hass published a book collating some of the presentations from the seminar. This book aimed 'to help educators see the exceptional value of addressing the history of the Holocaust and mass atrocities' (Fracapane and Hass, 2014, p. 16). It presented the reader with many questions and challenges that arise in Holocaust education. It is also clear from the chapters in this book that the context in which education is taking place is fundamental to the practice. They explored different educational models for teaching the Holocaust focussing on different learning aims and outcomes.

In 2015, UNESCO published; *The International status of education about the Holocaust*. This report published the findings of research into; 'The ways in which the Holocaust is presented in secondary school level history and social studies curricula worldwide, and conceptualized and narrated in textbooks from twenty-six countries' (Carrier, Fuchs and Messinger, 2015, p. 3). This ground-breaking research provided an analysis of 272 curricula on the Holocaust from 135 countries. The main finding of this study was that 'Holocaust curricula varies considerably worldwide' (2015, p. 12). They found that a major factor behind curriculum design is different countries' educational and curriculum requirements. For example, there was a difference between curriculum in countries that stipulated teaching about the Holocaust compared with countries that

stipulated teaching about the Second World War. This report highlighted the vast range of Holocaust education taking place around the world in the early twenty-first century.

In 2019, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in partnership with UNESCO published *Recommendations for Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust*. This report brought together the expertise of Holocaust educators from 30 member countries with the aim of producing a report that would:

Provide a basis for policymakers, practitioners, and educators that will help them:

1. Develop knowledge of the Holocaust, ensuring accuracy in individual understanding and knowledge and raising awareness about the possible consequences of antisemitism;
2. Create engaging teaching environments for learning about the Holocaust;
3. Promote critical and reflective thinking about the Holocaust including the ability to counter Holocaust denial and distortion;
4. Contribute to Human Rights and genocide prevention education (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), 2019, p. 4).

Whilst many academic journals and articles make the case that the context of Holocaust education is key to how it is planned and delivered, the IHRA produced this report focussing on why, what and how to teach about the Holocaust. This report provides educators with guidelines about terminology and suggestions about how to deal with some of historical and philosophical questions that they may face. It also provides teachers with a list of recommended content and learning objectives on which to focus when designing a curriculum for Holocaust education. These recommendations underpin curriculum design for a Holocaust education curriculum, irrespective of the country in which the students are located.

Internationally there has been a movement to increase education about the Holocaust and this has been mirrored in the UK. This movement is not just in the Jewish world but, as discussed in *Teaching about the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*

(Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), across academic institutions and departments for education globally. Governments are increasing the establishment of Holocaust memorials and recognition of Holocaust Memorial Day. This has resulted in many countries prioritising teaching about the Holocaust. As the twenty-first century has advanced, more emphasis has been placed on research-informed practice of Holocaust education.

Bauer argues that it is important to teach about the Holocaust due to, 'the fact that here we deal with the most extreme case of a mass annihilation of a targeted population known to us so far' (2014, p. 178). In this chapter, Bauer argues about the importance of teaching about the Holocaust with a moral narrative which aims to educate students in an, 'attempt to create a world that will not be 'good', but possibly slightly better than the one we live in now' (2014, p. 181). Whilst this may be a global reason to teach the Holocaust in a general setting, it is potentially possible that perhaps within the framework of Jewish education there may be further reasons arguably for teaching about the Holocaust.

2.3 Teaching the Holocaust in Schools in England

Significantly more research has been published regarding teaching the Holocaust in UK non-Jewish schools than in Jewish schools. Indeed, excluding focus on Israeli schools, very little research has been conducted into teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools. As my research was investigating Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England, I focussed this section of my literature review on how the Holocaust is taught in secondary schools in England. Studies such as *Teaching the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools* (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) primarily focused on Holocaust study across schools in England, but with no specific focus on Jewish schools. The key reason why studies have looked at teaching the Holocaust in non-Jewish schools is because maintained schools are statutorily required to teach the Holocaust as part of the National Curriculum in England. Government documents, such as the recent

new draft of the National Curriculum, are also useful resources for understanding UK statutory Holocaust education because all non-academy maintained schools are required to teach the Holocaust during Key Stage 3 history (Department for Education, 2013a).

Pearce insisted that formal recognition of the importance of teaching the Holocaust as part of the English education system did not begin until the late 1970s. Its absence, he explained, was as a result of 'the subject's [Holocaust] standing within British historical culture at the time' (Pearce, 2017, p. 237). Pearce argued that even though the Holocaust was not formally included in school curricula, it was referred to and mentioned in some format. However, it was not until the late 1970s that the Holocaust was formally included within school curricula as a possible reaction to an increase of Holocaust courses in American universities (Pearce, 2014). The increase in America was attributed to the *President's Commission on the Holocaust* which made people more aware of and interested in this history, as well as the television screening of a mini-series entitled *Holocaust*, which brought this troubled history into the homes of the general public. Pearce explained, how in the UK around this time, many NGOs and museums began creating educational material and resources to help teachers incorporate the Holocaust into their teaching. One such NGO was the Yad Vashem Committee United Kingdom (YVCUK) who were linked to the Board of Deputies of British Jews and established in 1976. This committee was of particular interest as it was linked to the Yad Vashem institution in Israel and aimed to create educational material and exhibitions about the Holocaust for both the Jewish and non-Jewish communities in the UK.

Hector described the teaching of the Holocaust in schools in England until the 1988 Education Reform Act as 'rather a hit and miss affair, dependent upon individual teachers' interests' (Hector, 2000, p. 106). Hector explored the impact of the Education Reform Act of 1988 on how the Holocaust was taught in schools. She

referred to a survey carried out by Fox in 1989 that examined Holocaust education in history lessons: 'He discovered a dismal picture and suggested that 'probably more attention was being paid to the subject of the Holocaust in departments other than those of history' (Hector, 2000, p. 105). However, as the changes to the curriculum via education reform act only happened in 1988, Fox's survey of 1989 did not really allow enough time for these changes to have had impact on Holocaust education in history lessons.

Hector explained that the obvious point Fox makes is the fact that the Holocaust has a place in many different subject areas within the curriculum. This may include history, religious studies, citizenship and, possibly, English. However, she also explained that this is something that makes how the Holocaust is taught in England different to many other countries around the world.

Wieser, an American Holocaust educator, argued that 'Incorporating a study of the Holocaust into existing courses within the school curriculum can be effectively accomplished in a great variety of ways' (Wieser, 2001, pp. 70–71). Wieser suggested teaching and learning strategies for teaching the Holocaust in history lessons, whilst acknowledging the importance of personalising history through studying Holocaust literature. Wieser (2001, p.71) insisted that using Holocaust literature – whether survivor testimonies or novels relating to the Holocaust – can take the history out of the Holocaust and remind students that these events happened to human beings. He proposed that the Holocaust be taught in as many different subjects within the curriculum and emphasised the central importance of using varied teaching methodologies to ensure that students gain a full understanding of the Holocaust's complexities. However, the Holocaust is such a complex subject that perhaps teaching it in as many different subjects within the curriculum would be confusing to students as well as risk the possibility of duplication of knowledge. Additionally, if the

Holocaust were incorporated into multiple subjects, other learning would suffer as a result in reduction of time.

Another complexity in the English education system is the statutory requirement for religious education within state schools. As Foster and Mercier explained:

In some ways education in the UK is unique in providing a context for Holocaust teaching within a programme of religious education. In schools in the USA and in most European countries religion may be a focus of social studies, and in schools with a religious foundation may have lessons in religious instruction but there is no established place for RE as in the UK (2000, p. 152).

The National Curriculum was implemented in England in 1991, but subject-specific working groups had been established from 1988 to make recommendations about what to include in each subject. As Pearce (2014, pp. 54-55) explained, in the initial stages of the History Working Group, the Holocaust was not included as an area of study. This was in contrast with an increase in academic interest in the Holocaust including academic institutions starting to run degree modules that included this subject area. Despite the silence from the History Working Group, owing to various political and sociological influences at the time and the eventual recognition of the importance of teaching about the Holocaust, the final draft of the National Curriculum included a unit on the Holocaust albeit as part of the broader Second World War topic 'The Experience of War'. Notably the guidance provided for teachers did not include specific guidance in relation to teaching about the Holocaust, which was in contrast with most other areas of the National Curriculum that were extremely prescriptive in terms of exactly what students should be taught. Therefore, Pearce argued, it was clear that there was a lack of understanding of exactly why the Holocaust had been included in the National Curriculum or what its educational aims were. Therefore, he concluded, the reasons for its inclusion were; 'because it could be; because there were degrees of interest in the subject among

teachers and students; and because there was sufficient political will and drive to force the agenda' (Pearce, 2014, p. 63).

Since the first version of the National Curriculum in 1991, there have been four subsequent versions. However, as Foster & Karayianni asserted, 'the overarching national framework for history that was first established in 1991 remains in place today' (2017, p. 319). Foster & Karayianni explain that as the National Curriculum has evolved, teaching about the Holocaust as a part of the history curriculum has increased in importance: 'From 1991 to 2016, it has progressed from being an "experience of war" to a "significant event," to achieving the status of the only compulsory subject of study in the twentieth century' (2017, p. 319). In practice, this has seen the scope of Holocaust education within the National Curriculum increase in terms of prominence.

Religious education has been compulsory in schools in England since 1944. The National Curriculum mandated that it be part of the curriculum for all students in maintained schools until the end of Key Stage 4. Units on the Holocaust were found within the religious education Key Stage 3 and 4 agreed syllabi of many authorities, sometimes as part of the topic on Judaism but more often under the topic 'The Problem of Evil'. Foster and Mercier noted that it is only in UK schools, and perhaps other Jewish schools around the world, where the Holocaust is likely to be taught as part of RE. Holocaust education in RE does not always examine historical facts and figures, but rather focuses on concepts of evil and suffering or the role of religion in the Holocaust. Due to the concept of the locally agreed syllabus for RE, there can be big differences between what is taught in RE in one part of the country to another. Therefore, it is difficult to draw conclusions about how the Holocaust is taught in RE nationally before Key Stage 4 for students who take a GCSE in RE.

Prior to 2009, there was limited research conducted into teaching the Holocaust in schools in England. The most detailed research was conducted by Geoffrey Short in 1995 based on his concerns about the quality of Holocaust education in England at the time. Short conducted a survey to evaluate the state of Holocaust education in England five years after its teaching was made mandatory by the National Curriculum. His survey sample was relatively small: 32 teachers from the South-East of England; and his questions were based around pedagogic practice and subject knowledge. He cross-referenced his findings with those of Supple's previous study in the North-East of England (1992) and the research of Davidowicz (1990) in America. Short's conclusions were very similar to those of Supple: He observed that teachers were extremely dedicated to teaching about the Holocaust but also noted some reservations in terms of their knowledge and the impact this limitation might have on their students. However, Short was concerned (1995, p. 178) that both his and Supple's research had not had a sufficiently large sample upon which to base firm and broad conclusions.

In 2009, the Institute of Education (IoE) were commissioned to undertake a widespread piece of research examining 'where, how and why the Holocaust is taught in state-maintained secondary schools in England' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 5), with similar goals to those previously undertaken by Short (1995) and Supple (1992). The large-scale nature of this research offered a sufficiently large sample for conclusions to be drawn about how the Holocaust was taught in England. The sample consisted of 2,108 teachers completing an online survey and a further 68 teachers across 24 different schools participating in follow-up interviews. This is, to-date, the most extensive teacher research carried out on the subject of teaching the Holocaust in England. The findings of the research were grouped under three areas; 'Where and when does teaching about the Holocaust take place; exploring teachers' aims, understanding and pedagogical practice, and supporting teachers in Holocaust education' (2009, pp. 5–7). The research found that in England, teaching of the

Holocaust occurred mainly in history lessons, but also in religious education (RE), English, citizenship and PSHE. The data also showed that the Holocaust was taught across all seven years of secondary school, but that there was a spike in Year 9, which is typically where teaching about the Holocaust occurred owing to its place in the National Curriculum framework. Findings also showed that teachers found the limited amount of time available to dedicate to teaching about the Holocaust was a main factor undermining its effectiveness. The research also showed that many teachers who taught about the Holocaust felt that they had not received enough subject-specific training or CPD in this area. Foster's analysis of the study concluded:

The national study illuminated the complex and challenging issues encountered by teachers who teach about the Holocaust. Of significance, the research showed how teachers both value and recognise the importance of teaching about the Holocaust to young people and revealed high levels of interest in the subject. Nevertheless, the research also demonstrated considerable uncertainty among teachers about the best way to teach the subject, lack of clarity over aims and definitions, narrowly focused content coverage, and an apparent lack of detailed subject knowledge. Significantly perhaps, more than 80% of teachers declared themselves to be 'self-taught' (Foster, 2013, p. 143).

In his analysis of the study, Foster advocates for the need to establish more CPD to help teachers and schools in their delivery of Holocaust education in England. As a result of this research, the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education began running Holocaust CPD in various forms for teachers across England. This included; free national CPD programmes, an online MA module, and the Beacon Schools Programme (UCL Centre for Holocaust Education, no date).

In 2010 the Task Force for International Co-operation on Holocaust Education published their UK Country Report, which was heavily based on the IoE's research and findings (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). In addition to this development, the report acknowledged the factors that were unique to the UK when compared to other European countries. These included the fact that across the UK, after age 14, students

are not mandated to continue studying history. For those who choose to do so for GCSE or A-Level, there are multiple different examination specifications covering different periods of history from which schools may select courses. Therefore, it was difficult to establish what students above the age of 14 were actually studying about the Holocaust in the UK (Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Department for Education, 2010, pp. 5–6). Another factor that made the UK different to other countries in Europe was the mandatory requirement for the study of religious education (RE) until the age of 16 but without a nationally agreed syllabus for that education. The Task Force were able to examine 124 out of a total of 152 locally-agreed syllabi for RE, and found that '60% made explicit reference to either 'the Holocaust' or 'Shoah'' (2010, p. 6). The other major difference identified in this report, when comparing England to other European countries, was in relation to the percentage of students who had visited authentic Holocaust sites. The report acknowledged that:

The case for the UK is different to the majority of European countries in that there are no authentic sites relating to the Holocaust in the UK. The UK mainland was not occupied and continued fighting against Nazi Germany throughout the Second World War (2010, p. 17).

While these facts are true, it is important to acknowledge that the Holocaust Education Trust and other organisations have taken students to Poland on visits as part of the Lessons from Auschwitz (LFA) programme and other private programmes.¹³ The report acknowledged that over 12,000 students had taken part in the LFA programme since it began in 1999. In the 2012 update of this report, it stated that this number increased to 15,000 students (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2012, p. 5). These factors made England unique to other European countries in relation to Holocaust education.

¹³ For analysis of the Lessons from Auschwitz Project see, for example, Chapman (2011), Maitels & Cowan (2012), Richardson (2012)

Pettigrew *et al.*'s study (2009) was teacher focussed and did not take into account the views of the students and their experiences of learning about the Holocaust in schools in England. This was acknowledged in the study and as an outcome the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education conducted research with students across state schools in England exploring their knowledge of the Holocaust:

The primary aim of the research was to provide a detailed national portrait of students' knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust. The research also focused on students' attitudes towards learning about the Holocaust and their encounters with this history, both in and outside of school. Ultimately, the research sought to establish an empirical basis from which considerations of the most effective ways to improve teaching and learning about the Holocaust could be made (Foster *et al.*, 2016, p. 12).

Whilst the 2009 study provided the national landscape in terms of the views of teachers, it did not include research with students. The UCL research with students completed the picture and added to the knowledge base of Holocaust education in schools in England. These studies together provided the field with a robust knowledge base in relation to teaching and learning of the Holocaust in England. As explained in the previous chapter, this knowledge did not, however, investigate specific faith communities. Therefore, I made the decision to use the 2009 study as a model upon which to base my own research.¹⁴

The UNESCO study - *The International status of education about the Holocaust* – provided further insights into curricula and textbooks used to teach about the Holocaust between 2012 and 2014. As part of the broad international study, the researchers examined three textbooks designed for students in England; one written for Key Stage 3 students, one for GCSE students and one for A-Level students (Carrier, Fuchs and Messinger, 2015, pp. 147–150). Some of their findings about the structure and topics included in these textbooks bore similarities with those of other countries.

¹⁴ See Chapters 1 & 3 for rationale surrounding this decision.

However, some 'national idiosyncrasies' detailed in their analysis pointed to omissions of some topics that were common in other countries as well as framing the history with an English narrative:

Links between the Holocaust and English history, such as the ineffectual diplomatic negotiations among Allies, and the initial failure to either believe or respond to the discovery of the death camps, are striking omissions. The lack of detail about the history of antisemitism before 1933, and the lack of treatment of the after effects of the Holocaust as an object of international diplomacy and social memory, confine the scope of the Holocaust to the period of the Second World War in these textbooks (Carrier, Fuchs and Messinger, 2015, p. 150).

This study showed that the textbooks in England framed the Holocaust as a subsection of the Second World War, as does the National Curriculum for history. As a result of this focus, little reference was made within the textbooks to antisemitism before 1933, which could make it challenging for students to contextualise the Holocaust. This same study revealed that whilst 21% of teachers stated they were unlikely to use school textbooks, 67% stated that they would be likely to do so (2009, p. 45). This indicates that at this time textbooks were commonly used as a teaching and learning resource for Holocaust education in England. The UCL Centre for Holocaust Education's 2016 study - What Do Students Know and Understand About the Holocaust? – asked students if they had read any books about the Holocaust. This question contained multiple options that students could choose, one of which was 'school textbook'. The answers to these questions showed that as students progressed throughout school life they had increased exposure to school textbooks focused on the Holocaust. For example, whereas only 28% of Year 7 students stated they used books with a Holocaust focus by Year 13 this had risen to 66% (Foster *et al.*, 2016, p. 79).

In 2014, Gray conducted doctoral research into preconceptions of the Holocaust among 13 and 14 year olds in English schools. Gray conducted primary research with 298 students from four different schools in Oxfordshire and London. The study

concluded, 'thirteen and fourteen year- olds do arrive in their lessons on the Holocaust with a wide range of preconceptions and that this likely to affect the way that they understand and learn about it' (2014, p. 2). Gray's research showed that there are many influencing factors that affect preconceived ideas that students growing up in England will have in relation to Jews and the Holocaust. For example, he discusses how many students gain their knowledge of the Holocaust from films and literature. He also describes the wide range of student preconceptions relating to Jews, Jewish identity and pre-War Jewish life. These factors, argues Gray, affect preconceptions of students in English schools before they are perhaps exposed to the curriculum. Gray acknowledges that his research was limited by the small sample size from similar geographic regions and perhaps had his sample included students from schools with different ethnic backgrounds he would have found differing results. Gray's research was very much student focussed, considering how the preconceptions of students could affect curriculum design.

Even though the Holocaust has been enshrined within the National Curriculum since its inception in 1991, the development of the teaching of the subject has been slow and has gone through many changes. Before the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), limited research had been conducted into how the Holocaust was taught across secondary schools in England. Since this study, other limited research has taken place building on the findings of this research, providing a slightly better understanding of the field.

2.4 Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools

The Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York developed 'Guiding Principles for Teaching the Shoah in Jewish Schools' to help educators in Jewish schools adapt their teaching and narratives appropriately for their students. Those principles have been

adopted by Jewish schools in New York and by many other Jewish schools around the world. They state:

The Shoah¹⁵ was a watershed event that altered the Jewish world almost beyond recognition. Regardless of whether or not our families experienced the Shoah personally, every Jew has been affected by this tragedy. Educators at Jewish schools have a special obligation to ensure that students learn about the Shoah, examining how Jewish heritage and values served Jews during this period, and helping students gain a deeper understanding of the impact the Shoah has on Jewish life (Shoah Teaching Alternatives in Jewish Education (STAJE), 2005, p. 2).

Bloomberg (1985, p. 21) insisted that Jewish children in Jewish schools in America have a different connection to the Holocaust than non-Jewish children in non-denominational schools. Even though Bloomberg's focus was on students in American schools, the same concept could be applied to Jewish students in Jewish schools in England, as his argument is based on religious identity and not geographic location or place of education.¹⁶ Many Jewish educators have their own narratives about the aims of Holocaust Education¹⁷. Some educators assert that it is not enough to learn about the Holocaust, but rather that when the Holocaust is taught as part of a 'Jewish Education' it could also include learning lessons from the Holocaust.¹⁸ This may occur in some non-Jewish settings in terms of moral education, but in the Jewish Studies classroom this may also include theological debates and entail using the Holocaust as a possible means of inspiring religious commitment. Teachers use multiple learning opportunity to inspire their students. Therefore, as much as it is important to teach students about the Holocaust it is equally admirable to learn lessons from the Holocaust. However, whilst these lessons may be centred around moral education, there are also other religious lessons that arguably can be taught in the context of a Jewish school.

¹⁵ The Hebrew name for the Holocaust.

¹⁶ Indeed, the Holocaust and the Second World War are key events that impacted both countries, with the victory over the Nazis and their allies being central to both countries' modern identities.

¹⁷ See Gil (2000), Kass (2006), Schweber (2011b) and Shaul (2013).

¹⁸ See Bauer (1990), Elias (2001), Feldman (2009), Gross (2010) and Taub (1997).

Bloomberg argued that the goals and objectives when teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish school will be distinctively different to those found in a non-Jewish school. He (1985, p. 21) stated that the objectives of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish school may include: teaching historical information about the Nazi era, considering values and morality, strengthening Jewish identity, and addressing the concept of being a Jew today. While the first two objectives might be applicable in any classroom in any school in the world, the third and fourth objectives are particular to a Jewish educational setting. Bloomberg argued that the third and fourth objectives were 'the very crux of the responsibility of the Jewish educator who attempts to deal with the enormous tragedy of the Holocaust, for this tragedy is, in its very essence, a Jewish tragedy and must be responded to as such by Jewish educators' (1985, p. 21). Bloomberg's rationale is one shared by many Jewish educators and something that would make Holocaust education in Jewish schools different from non-Jewish schools.

Bloomberg discussed the challenge of 'strengthening Jewish identity' when teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools. However, this does not define what is meant by 'Jewish identity'. In Horowitz's American study, she suggested that:

Sociologists have addressed this question [what is Jewish identity] from two vantage points:

1) The extent to which Jews as a group are characterized by distinctive social patterns that differentiate them from other ethnic and religious groups... 2) The degree to which Jews follow traditional or shared religious and cultural practices (Horowitz, 2002, p. 14).

Graham, however, noted that outside of the strictly orthodox community, 'there is no single European Jewish identity, common to all. In fact, it seems as if the only genuinely common Jewish characteristic is the propensity for a 'Jewish' person to self-identify as such' (2004, p. 9). When trying to write a clearer definition of what Jews across Europe would recognise as Jewish identity, he explained that in different Jews this could take the form of religion, culture, ethnicity, and even political allegiance to

Judaism. However, the one overarching belief that he states is likely to be common amongst people who could identify under any of these areas would be; 'concern for the future of the Jewish people' or a 'belief in the education ethic' (2004, p. 9).

Cohen, acknowledged that there is no 'c'arcut consensus on the meaning of Jewish identity' (1995, p. 81), but refers to measures¹⁹ that are generally accepted to explore the impact on Jewish identity. In his 1995 study, Cohen investigated whether Jewish education in America impacted on increasing Jewish involvement and therefore on Jewish identity. He concluded that in most cases Jewish education had a positive impact on increasing Jewish identity and particularly on students who had attended an orthodox school. To date, minimal research has been undertaken into the impact of Jewish education in England on Jewish identity. There have been two case study-based pieces of research²⁰ but each study only focussed on one school and therefore comparative conclusions cannot be drawn from across the range of Jewish schools in England. The most detailed study that touches on this was Miller and Pomson's (2019) longitudinal study exploring changing Jewish lives of Jewish secondary school students and their families. This study followed a cohort of Jewish students from the beginning of secondary school for seven years. The students came from a range of Jewish schools and a sample of Jewish students who attended non-Jewish schools. The sample, however, did not include any students from strictly orthodox schools. Part one of the study concluded:

The difference made by Jewish schools: Students have a very positive attitude to their Jewishness from having attended Jewish schools. They report that their cultural awareness and their sense of belonging is considerably enhanced by the school. They are self-confident and comfortable in their Jewish identities (Miller and Pomson, 2019, p. 6).

¹⁹ Cohen (1988) & Goldscheider (1986)

²⁰ See Scholefield (2004) & Samson (2019a)

Whilst this research showed that Jewish schools in England have a positive impact on their students' Jewish identities, it is still not clear exactly how these identities are defined or constructed. As with Cohen's research, the authors reasoned that identity typically is underpinned by a mixture of Jewish practice and an emotional connection with the Jewish community.

Another challenge faced by Jewish schools in relation to teaching about the Holocaust is how to determine in which subject or subjects it should be taught and at what age Holocaust education should begin. In terms of the subjects within which the Holocaust should be taught, Jewish schools have the same challenges as non-Jewish schools: the Holocaust may be taught as part of history, citizenship, English and possibly even drama, music and art. This could result in teachers repeating information already taught or making assumptions relating to prior knowledge from other areas of the curriculum. Jewish schools also have the additional challenge of the possible need for the Holocaust to be taught in the Jewish Studies classroom. Berke & Saltzman (1996, pp. 131–140) suggested that the most productive way for the Holocaust to be taught in any school is through an inter-disciplinary approach.

Jewish schools generally dedicate a percentage of their curriculum time to Jewish Studies. As previously explained,²¹ it is for the individual school and their stakeholders to determine what percentage of curriculum time is dedicated to Jewish Studies. This will largely be based upon the Jewish denomination to which the school subscribes or is connected. As Taub explained:

Due to the variegated nature of the Jewish schools outside Israel, it is very difficult to prepare a curriculum which will be equally acceptable to all the Jewish schools throughout the world, or, for that matter, which will be acceptable to all the Jewish students in a particular city (1997, p. 48).

²¹ See Chapter 1 – Introduction & Overview

Taub acknowledged that different schools have different needs in terms of both the curriculum hours dedicated to Jewish Studies, but also what to teach during these lessons. There is no national or international curriculum for Jewish Studies and the ethos of the school will influence their educational priorities which, to some extent, determines or even dictates what is taught in the school. Taub cited Schremer who explained that there are 'three subjects [that] dominate the Jewish studies' syllabus: Bible, Jewish laws and concepts, and history, which includes the consideration of issues relevant to modern-day Jewry in the diaspora and in Israel' (1997, p. 48). Schremer explored the three main areas that Jewish Studies curriculum generally focus on in schools. Taub further explained that the teaching of the Holocaust and State of Israel are part of modern-era Jewish History, and that these are topics that 'most of the students have a great deal of interest in' (1997, p. 54). Therefore, Taub advocated that the Holocaust should be taught in the Jewish Studies classroom.

Moshe Sokolow, Professor of Jewish Education at the Azrieli School of Jewish Education, Yeshiva University New York, published a journal article entitled 'What should a Yeshiva High School Graduate Know, Value and be Able to do?' (Sokolow *et al.*, 2009) In this article Sokolow proposes content objectives that he believed students in a Yeshiva High School²² should have covered prior to graduation. Sokolow included Jewish History as a subject area that he believed ought to be taught in the Jewish Studies classroom. However, when looking at the topics included in Jewish History, the Holocaust was missing. Sokolow's outline curriculum dominated the first six pages of the article. The remaining 10 pages included responses from five senior Jewish educators critiquing Sokolow's work. Those critiques detailed what they thought Sokolow had done well, what needed developing and what they thought was excluded from his work. Once again, none of these educators mentioned

²² Yeshiva High Schools are a type of school found generally in America and Israel whose student body are from religiously observant modern orthodox homes. These schools will usually dedicate around 50% of their curriculum time to Jewish Studies. The most similar school to this in England is Hasmonean School in London who are classified as mainstream on their BoD classification.

Sokolow's exclusion of the Holocaust from his curriculum map. Perhaps this indicates that those educators believe, as Schweber (2008) found in her research into strictly orthodox schools in America, that Holocaust education in orthodox schools is considered more a part of the history curriculum than Jewish Studies.

Schweber and Findling (2008) stated that in the early 1990s it was the generally accepted opinion across Jewish schools that 'teaching about the Holocaust should not play a prominent role in Jewish education' (Davidowitz, 2013, p. 9). Considering the focus on Holocaust education today, this was an interesting observation. However, as Davidowitz (2013) explained, there was less curriculum, teaching and learning resources and teacher training available at this time with regard to teaching about the Holocaust. Schweber and Findling (2008) insisted that this changed with the release of the film *Schindler's List* and the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. As a response to those developments, the Holocaust was an 'uptick in American discourse' (Schweber and Findling, 2008, p. 312). Davidowitz (2013), basing her opinions on Schweber and Findling, argued that this uptick resulted in people wanting to know more about the Holocaust and therefore more educational resources being created for schools. This presented a challenge to Jewish schools in terms of where, if at all, in their curriculum the Holocaust should be taught.

Kohn was commissioned by the United Jewish Israel Appeal (UJIA), a UK Jewish communal organisation, to write a scoping paper outlining 'Jewish Studies curriculum expectations of graduates from central orthodox day schools in the UK' (2011, p. 35). The aim of this paper was to propose a 'national curriculum' for mainstream Jewish schools in England. To date this project has not been completed owing to the differences between the schools and the educational aspirations of their respective stakeholders. Kohn, together with other consultants, consulted Jewish Studies teachers, school leaders, communal leaders, and other stakeholders from the UK

Jewish community about their opinions regarding what should be included in this curriculum. The research resulted in a scoping paper being published suggesting an outline for a Jewish Studies curriculum for mainstream Jewish schools in the UK. One of the areas of study included within this curriculum for Key Stage 3 to Key Stage 5 was Jewish History. Kohn explained this was 'linked to the general history National Curriculum standards of attainment both in content and form' (Kohn, 2011, p. 55). The article continued to set out the parameters of how this would work, trying to explain the connections to the National Curriculum, which were not clear. The document then provided an outline of understanding, knowledge and skills that Kohn proposed be written into the curriculum, and here the Holocaust featured twice:

- 2.2.3 Know a good number of important events across a range of periods in Jewish History E.g. Why was the second temple destroyed? Why were Jewish communities in the Holocaust destroyed?
- 3.1.4 Question assumptions about the past like: "the Jews did not have the power to resist the Holocaust" (Kohn, 2011, pp. 58–59).

These learning 'goals and objectives' were similar to the National Curriculum, in terms of them being quite broad and therefore giving the schools a great deal of freedom in terms of how they could teach them in their particular school. Given the prominence that schools ascribed to teaching the Holocaust it is surprising that such little direction and focus was provided by Kohn to guide teachers when teaching this specific topic. However, even though this model curriculum was presented to Jewish schools, uptake and commitment to collaboration at secondary school level did not happen. Kohn explained the reason for this was that, at the time of implementation, there was a great deal of competition between the Jewish schools in terms of student admissions and therefore schools were not willing to work collaboratively. As an insider-researcher, at the time that Kohn proposed this, I am aware that the position of collaborative work and sharing was slightly more complex. The schools were not only competing in terms of admissions but also in terms of the quality of Jewish Studies provision. Therefore, schools were not willing to collaborate as each school felt they

needed the curriculum to have their name on it. Kohn concluded his article by explaining that even though the Jewish schools in the UK are similar to other Jewish schools across the world, there is a need for 'a deep understanding of individual school contexts and specific geographical, cultural, and social "milieu" is essential to the design and successful implementation of curriculum development models' (2011, p. 61). As an 'insider researcher' who was involved in these consultations, Kohn's conclusions are not surprising. However, when it comes to teaching about the Holocaust, there has been a change with schools being more willing to work collaboratively on specific projects. This was one of the outcomes of the 2014 workshop that I ran on behalf of PaJeS, discussed later in Phase I of my research.²³

In 2017, Jeffery Ellison published a summary of his research into how the Holocaust was taught in American public day schools compared with American Jewish day schools. Ellison acknowledged that, even though this is such an important topic, there has been very little research undertaken into this area in American schools. I have found a similar gap in research in English Jewish schools. Ellison, like other academics already discussed, stated that in 1993, with the release of *Schindler's List*, Americans became fascinated by the Holocaust and this resulted in a desire for more education at all ages. The challenge for schools at that time was that there were very little age-appropriate teaching and learning resources available to teachers of the Holocaust. Ellison explained therefore that the initial priority at the time was the development of age-appropriate teaching and learning resources. Ellison explained that after this challenge had been addressed the next phase in Holocaust research in America centred upon the historical accuracy of these textbooks. Ellison referred to Dawidowicz's research (1990), which explored teaching of the Holocaust across American public schools. Dawidowicz's research was quite 'disheartening' and as Ellison stated; 'She found many of the materials to be fraught with factual and

²³ See Chapter 4 – The Phase I Framework

conceptual errors' (Ellison, 2017, p. 3). Ellison explained that it was not until the twenty-first century that Holocaust education and research in America started to confront the issues raised by Dawidowicz.

Ellison's own research – which deployed a very similar methodology to the methodological approach I adopted for Phase 2 of my research – was based on a survey that was sent to the Heads of 163 Jewish day schools across America. Ellison requested that this survey be passed to all staff within schools that taught about the Holocaust. Ellison received a total of 43 responses: three schools stated they did not teach about the Holocaust and some schools felt that they were not eligible for the survey as they were not full-time and were therefore removed from the sample. The final sample had a response rate of under 20%, representing a total of 29 schools. Ellison acknowledged the low rate of response:

Given the low response rate, no claim is made in this study as to statistical validity, however, the initial results offer some tantalizing insights about Jewish Holocaust education and the differences between how the Holocaust is taught in public schools versus Jewish Day Schools (Ellison, 2017, p. 5).

Ellison's research showed that within the schools sampled teaching about the Holocaust took place predominantly in Jewish Studies lessons; '93% of respondents said that they teach the Holocaust as a completely independent unit, not embedded into a larger or broader unit' (2017, p. 6). Ellison also concluded that a 'Jewish-centric emphasis is evident in how teachers approach the causes of the Holocaust' (2017, p. 6). This is something that perhaps may not be the case if the teaching and learning was happening in the history classroom or a non-Jewish school. Ellison's conclusions were based on teachers' responses to what they thought was the cause of the Holocaust - antisemitism – coupled with the topics that teachers most frequently taught in their Holocaust curriculum:

Anti-Jewish laws (86%), life in the ghettos (86%), Jewish life pre-Holocaust (82%), the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (82%), Auschwitz (79%), creation of the ghettos (79%), Kristallnacht (79%), the Final Solution and death camps (75%), and boycotts and book burnings (75%) (2017, p. 6).

Teaching requirements in America are very different to the UK, with private schools in America not being required to adhere to state-mandated curriculum that public schools must follow. In America all Jewish day schools are private as – unlike in the UK – there is no state mechanism in America for state-funded faith schools. Ellison reported that 38% of respondents claimed they did not know state requirements for teaching the Holocaust. Therefore, Ellison concluded that Jewish schools chose to teach the Holocaust because ‘teachers view the Holocaust as an important event in history, and believe in the necessity of presenting the facts accurately’ (2017, p. 8). Ellison explained that many of the teachers in his sample and in public schools in America thought that teaching the Holocaust was important in order for students to ‘learn important lessons about human ethics, values and morality’ (2017, p. 8). However, his analysis of teachers in Jewish schools indicated that the most important factor identified by teachers for teaching the Holocaust was in relation to Jewish identity and Jewish history.

When Ellison compared how the Holocaust was taught in Jewish schools with how it was taught in public schools, he stated; ‘though there are similarities, the differences far outweigh the similarities’ (2017, p. 11). One of the areas that he insisted was vastly different was the amount of curriculum time dedicated to teaching about the Holocaust. In Jewish schools considerably more time was dedicated to teaching the Holocaust than in public schools, possibly owing to private schools having no requirement to follow the state-mandated syllabus and therefore having the ability to choose to spend more time on specific topics. He also suggests that Jewish schools place greater importance of studying the Holocaust owing to their aims of using it to teach Jewish identity. Ellison explained that in Jewish schools the Holocaust was most often taught in Jewish Studies lessons followed by history and literature, whereas in

public schools it was mainly taught in history and literature classes. When comparing this with England, it is important to remember that in American public schools there are no RE classes like there are in England. This explains a key difference between the results of this research and that of the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). The biggest difference that Ellison identified between teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools and public schools in America was the rationale for teaching the topic. In public schools the main reason for teaching about the Holocaust related to 'teaching about the dangers of prejudice and stereotypes and respect for human rights' whilst in Jewish schools 'the rationale for teaching the Holocaust is not about the general or universal dangers of prejudice and stereotyping, rather it is about teaching a particular brand of prejudice and stereotyping, namely antisemitism' (2017, p. 12). Ellison concluded that although there were similarities between the way that the Holocaust was taught in public schools and in Jewish schools in America, there were also clear differences. The main differences identified were the time dedicated to Holocaust education and the different narratives that students received based on their educational setting.

Another challenge that Jewish schools face is the potential exposure that students may have to the Holocaust in other informal learning environments, which would not be as likely for students in a non-Jewish school. This exposure may be due to relatives being survivors of the Holocaust, commemorations of the Holocaust within synagogues and youth groups, Yom HaShoah²⁴ and its associated services, and/or children being around conversations where adults may be discussing this topic. In addition, for Israeli children or tourists who may be in Israel just after Passover - the week before Yom HaShoah - there are posters at every bus stop, on communal buildings and television adverts about Yom HaShoah. It is very difficult for children in this environment to be shielded from awareness of the Holocaust, even at a young

²⁴ The Jewish Holocaust Memorial Day, which is part of the Jewish calendar, and a date marked by many Jewish communities around the world.

age. Such early exposure has raised the question both in England and in Israel about the age at which it is appropriate to start to teach children about the Holocaust. As a response to this question Yad Vashem²⁵ developed their 'Age-appropriate Holocaust curriculum' that 'introduces the Shoah to students according to their developing emotional and cognitive abilities' (Feldman, 2009, p. 1). Bruner (1960) advocated that the way children learn best is by being introduced to a topic at an elementary level and then revisiting it again at a more sophisticated level while building on prior knowledge. Relatedly, Bruner asserted that learning should occur in a structured, coherent and progressive way using frameworks such as the 'spiral curriculum'. Educators at Yad Vashem also insist upon the importance of a 'spiral curriculum' for teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish school in terms of appropriate exposure and building on prior knowledge.

2.5 Literature relating to Jewish educational journeys to Poland

Since the fall of the "iron curtain" in 1989, Jewish tourism to Poland to memorialise the Holocaust has increased. Many Jewish schools and communal organisations today run educational journeys to Poland for their students or members of the Jewish community. Kugelmass (1994) explained that these journeys began as fact-finding trips for people to find out about their family histories. For many it was second or third generation survivors attempting to find out about where their ancestors had come from. Over time this evolved into mass tourism opportunities for Jewish students from across the world. Aviv and Shneer (2007) discussed how these journeys evolved, as well as the aims and potential outcomes of them. They analysed the difference between the journeys run for Israeli youth and other Jewish youth from outside of Israel. They explained that a large part of the narrative of many of these journeys is about strengthening the Jewish identity of the participants.

²⁵ Israel's National Holocaust Museum and academic research centre.

Kugelmass (1994) and Stier (1995) both discussed the impact of 'March of the Living' (MOTL) on educational journeys to Poland. MOTL was established in 1988 in order to bring Jews to Poland to memorialise the Holocaust as well as strengthening Jewish identity and promoting the State of Israel (March of The Living, no date). Since its establishment in 1988, MOTL have taken more than 260,000 participants on educational journeys to Poland. At the same time as MOTL have focussed on bringing adults and students to Poland from around the world, Israeli High School trips have become common placed for Year 12 students. Feldman (1995) discussed the evolution of and impact of these journeys as pilgrimages of identity. He also noted that the Israeli delegations were sponsored by the Israeli Ministry of Education who were responsible for setting the itineraries. Romi and Lev's research into the Israeli journeys to Poland described them as; 'unique in that they combine learning with a cognitive-emotional experience. This experience takes place in the settings where the events actually happened, places that are very far from school "emotional-cognitive experiences"' (Romi and Lev, 2007, p. 91). Their analysis concluded that the journeys to Poland for Israeli youth have a unique pedagogical approach, which is impacted by the social pressures of such an educational journey:

The journey itself intensifies social processes. The feeling of camaraderie and the need to cope with the information and sights *en route* create a unique bond and atmosphere which shape the group in a way that continues after the journey, and define the participants as a separate group within the school (Romi and Lev, 2007, p. 92).

To date, minimal research has been carried out specifically focussing on educational journeys to Poland of Jewish schools in England. Some limited research into the impact of these journeys was carried out by Fink (2012) as part of an MA dissertation focussing on the effects of her school's journey to Poland on her students. Additionally, as part of their longitudinal study exploring the changing lives of Jewish secondary students, Miller and Pomson (2018) identified school educational journeys to Poland as an area that impacted on students' personal growth. Their quantitative

data showed that 54% of students surveyed believed that their school educational journey to Poland 'contributed "a lot" or "very much" to developing their Jewish identity' (2018, p. 2). In the conclusion of this section of their research, Miller and Pomson acknowledged the importance perceived by parents and students of the school educational journeys to Poland:

Ready access to an organized Poland trip may be one of the most important differences between the experience of being in the 6th form at a Jewish school compared with going to a non-Jewish school. Just one of the interviewees attending non-Jewish schools seems to have been on such a trip. This is unfortunate considering how powerful this experience is perceived to be (Miller and Pomson, 2018, p. 2).

The literature relating to educational journeys to Poland by Jewish schools and other Jewish organisations around the world demonstrate the clear importance placed on these journeys by the Jewish community. Some research has been conducted into educational programmes to Poland for students at non-Jewish schools, for example the Holocaust Education Trust's (HET) 'Lessons from Auschwitz' programme.²⁶ However, the findings are not comparable as the aims and objectives as well as the length of the educational journeys is different to the Jewish school journeys. The limited research conducted specifically looking at Jewish schools in England and their journeys to Poland suggests the positive impact that these journeys have on Jewish students. This is an area, therefore, that required further investigation in my own research.

2.6 Summary

I examined a range of literature, including books, journal articles and academic studies, relating to teaching the Holocaust around the world, in England and in Jewish schools. It is evident that the twenty-first century has seen an increase in research

²⁶ See, for example, Chapman (2011), Critchell (2014), Maitles & Cowan (2012) and Richardson (2021).

relating to Holocaust education. However, there are still gaps in this research. For example, to date, no study offers a detailed and comprehensive study of Holocaust education in Jewish schools or within Jewish educational settings. My literature review helped me to not only identify these gaps, but to draw upon research already conducted to inform my research planning. The potential for increased engagement, coupled with the additional learning aims and outcomes of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish school, ought to lead to a more established and rigorous curriculum for Jewish schools. Yet this does not appear to be the case in England. As discussed, there are a range of different Jewish schools in England, all with their own aims and objectives in educating their students. Some of these schools engage with the National Curriculum, GCSEs and A-Levels, while others dedicate more of their time to Jewish Studies. For this reason there is no one curriculum that exists or is followed in Jewish schools in England for teaching about the Holocaust. Consequently, decisions relating to curriculum priorities lie with the individual schools and their stakeholders. Previously no formal research had been conducted into how the Holocaust is taught across the range of Jewish schools in England. Therefore, my research, using a range of empirical methods, offers original perspectives and insights into how the Holocaust is taught within Jewish schools in England.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology: Key Considerations

As indicated in the introduction and overview, in order to explore my principal research questions, I decided to implement a three-phased approach to data analysis. As part of my research design framework I mapped out what I envisaged for each research phase, which research questions would be focused upon, and what methodology was appropriate. I mainly aimed for Phase I to focus on gathering empirical data about Jewish schools in England to provide a basis for understanding the broader landscape of Holocaust education. For Phase II, I decided that I would focus my research on teachers within the sample schools and their aims and pedagogic practice for teaching the Holocaust. I believed Phase III of my research would provide an opportunity to look at a smaller sample of schools in more depth in terms of how they educate about the Holocaust. At the end of each phase I was able to reflect on what I had learnt and to consider whether I had achieved my research aims for that phase. This provided me with an opportunity to go back to my research plan and consider whether I needed to make any changes for the next phase of my research to answer my overarching research questions. I decided to use a range of methodological approaches to data collection including the use of surveys, semi-structured interviews, and documentary analysis. In developing my research protocols, I considered key ethical issues and my relationship to the research process. These key issues and considerations are outlined both in this chapter and also in Chapters 4, 6, 7 & 8 and explain the methods used for each phase of my research.

3.1 Research Questions

The impetus for my doctoral research was the conclusion of my Masters dissertation which examined 'What would be an ideal Holocaust curriculum for pupils in my school?' My recommendations stated:

From conducting this research, I have realised that there is minimal research on how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools outside of Israel. This is an area of research that I believe is vitally important, and my research, on a very small scale, is a potential starting point for what could be an important future research opportunity (Davis, 2012, p. 44).

When I began this research, my initial idea was to compare and contrast Holocaust education in Jewish schools in the UK with that in both non-Jewish schools in the UK and in other Jewish schools around the world. I wrote my initial research plan, including research aims and questions, but upon reflection I realised that the scope of the research was far too wide for doctoral research. Therefore, I refined my plan and decided that a key focus of my research would be to provide a detailed portrait of the landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England. I also wanted to explore other issues, and as a result devised the following research aims for my study:

- To provide an empirical portrait of how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish secondary schools in England.
- To examine the aims and approaches to teaching about the Holocaust in a range of Jewish secondary schools in England.
- To identify challenges and opportunities encountered or perceived by leaders and teachers when teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools.
- To draw preliminary comparisons between Jewish and wider contexts in terms of teaching the Holocaust in secondary schools in England.
- To provide recommendations for future provision of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England.

On further reflection, I developed three research questions to structure my research in a manner that would address the aims. The first research question was:

- What is the current landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England?

From the literature that I had read and conversations that I had undertaken with other teachers, communal leaders, staff from the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Education and academics in the UK, it became apparent that little that was systematically known about the landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England. As Schweber explained, 'much research on Holocaust education remains to be done. Ideally, such research ought to embrace comparative, international perspectives rather than insular, local orientations' (2010, p. 10).

In 2009, the IoE conducted ground-breaking research into the landscape of Holocaust education in secondary schools in England (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). However, as discussed in Chapter 2 above, this research did not focus specifically on Jewish schools, and in fact no Jewish schools were included in their final phases of research when school-based interviews were undertaken. Discussions with researchers from this study highlighted some assumptions regarding the status of Holocaust education within Jewish schools. As a teacher of the Holocaust in a Jewish school, I was not convinced that all those assumptions were correct. One of the challenges for the Jewish community is the distinct and nuanced differences that exist between different sections of the community. These exist in many areas of life including education. I did not believe that a broad-stroke approach to Holocaust education in Jewish schools existed. My documentary analysis of existing literature indicated a gap in the knowledge base regarding Holocaust education in Jewish school in England.

Therefore, I concluded that primary research needed to be undertaken to fill this knowledge-void and address assumptions about Holocaust education in Jewish schools. I decided that the starting point was to collect data about Jewish schools in England. I believed that it was vital not only to focus on how the Holocaust was taught in schools but also to understand other factors. Those factors included: the difference between the ethos of the schools, the length of their school day, and the amount of curriculum time dedicated to Jewish Studies and other subjects. Only by understanding this broader context would it be possible to appreciate the wider landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England.

Phase I of my research mainly focused on this first research question. This phase of my research included documentary research and interviews. Before interviewing teachers, I conducted a review of OFSTED and Section 48 Faith Inspection reports and school websites for all of the Jewish schools in England to provide me with an initial impression about each school. I then conducted primary research in the form of telephone interviews with school leaders in as many Jewish secondary schools in England as were willing to participate.

My second research question was:

- What factors influence the extent and nature of the provision of Holocaust Education in Jewish secondary schools in England?

All schools make decisions in terms of how they prioritise their curriculum, resources and other strategies and policies for teaching and learning. This results in educational practice differing between schools. Public examination specifications, and the National Curriculum for state schools, provide some governmental control over what a student is supposed to learn, irrespective of the school they attend. However, there remains leeway for schools to make educational decisions in terms of how to teach

content, how much time to dedicate to certain subjects and the importance of those topics within the curriculum. As a Holocaust educator and teacher within the Jewish community I already had some understanding of the differences of Holocaust education provision within some Jewish schools. However, I wanted to understand more fully what influenced key educational decisions in Jewish schools. What became apparent in Phase I of my research was the differences between schools that were classified as strictly orthodox and other Jewish schools. The main finding was that curriculum priorities and length of the school day were considerably different in strictly orthodox schools compared with other Jewish schools. Another key finding was that the majority of the strictly orthodox schools did not teach about the Holocaust at all. In schools that did teach about the Holocaust, I wanted to find out what influenced curriculum and pedagogical decisions. Although Phase I uncovered some information relevant to this line of enquiry, this second research question was crucial to how I developed my survey and interview questions in Phases II and III.

My third research question was:

- What are the distinctive features, challenges, and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared with schools in the wider secular context?

I began to consider this question by drawing on key literature available within the field of Holocaust education. As mentioned in my Literature Review, I was able to draw on the wider literature relating to global Holocaust education of the likes of; Bauer (1990), Berke & Saltzman (1996), Carrier, Fuchs & Messinger (2015), Gross (2010 & 2014), Karel & Hass (2014) and Schweber (2008, 2010 & 2011). In terms of literature and research focussing on Holocaust education in England, I drew upon research of people such as; Foster (2013), Gray (2014), Hector (2000), Pettigrew *et al* (2009, 2016 & 2020), Pearce (2014 & 2020), and Salmons (2003). When reviewing literature relating to

teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish context, I was able to refer to many articles and reports, including Dawidowicz (1990), Ellison (2017), Feldman (2009), Gross (2010) and Kass (2006).

I decided that the most methodologically-sound approach to address this research question was to draw on the findings of the IoE study 'Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). I was already familiar with this research from my Masters-level dissertation, and indeed this literature was one of the factors that motivated me to carry out my doctoral research at the IoE.²⁷ That study provided me with a baseline dataset with which I could make comparisons and draw conclusions. However, the Jewish context was not available. I was fortunate to be able to meet with members of the research team at the IoE and discussed how that research, (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), was conducted and analysed, after which I decided to plan my own research using a similar structure in aspects of my study.

The main phase of my research that mirrored that of the IoE study, (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), was Phase II. Here I carried out teacher surveys and some follow-up interviews. When designing the surveys, I started with the questions used in the IoE teacher surveys (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, pp. 107–119). This gave me a baseline for comparison. However, as an 'insider researcher' I was also aware of certain practices within Jewish schools that would not exist in the wider context and therefore differentiated my survey to incorporate these differences. For example, I included Jewish Studies as one of the subjects where the Holocaust might be taught. I also included responses associated with Jewish identity and post-Holocaust theology within the survey questions asking about the aims of teaching the Holocaust.

²⁷ When I applied for my PhD, the Institute of Education (IoE) was not yet part of UCL.

Using my prior knowledge, as well as some initial findings from Phase I of my research, I became aware that schools other than the strictly orthodox ones operate a 5-7 day educational journey to Poland for Year 12 students. Those educational journeys were described by teachers across all schools that run them as a highlight of their Holocaust education provision. These journeys are a unique factor that do not exist to anywhere near the same extent within the wider secular context.²⁸ Therefore, as my research developed, I included additional questions in both surveys and interviews to gain a greater understanding of the educational journeys and the challenges and opportunities that they presented, including how they fit within the wider context of each school's Holocaust education programme.

3.2 Research Perspectives

Cohen, et al. defined ontology as 'the nature of reality or a phenomenon' and epistemology as 'how we come to know these multiple realities' (2001, p. 33). Gross stated that when analysing attitudes and knowledge towards the Holocaust and Holocaust education it is important to consider an 'ontological-epistemological axes' (2010, p. 96). She explained that Holocaust education begins with an ontological level of explaining what the Holocaust was and when it happened. However, this then moves to the next level of epistemology which looks at constructing and then deconstructing knowledge with critical analysis. Gross' analysis further explained that:

The ontological level concentrated mainly on the past while the epistemological dealt with the present and the future... The constructive stage concentrated mainly on the particularistic Jewish present while the deconstructive stage concentrated on a universalist civic message and its connotations for the future. There is no longer just one way to relate to the Holocaust: there is a flow from the collective to the individual, the emotional to the cognitive, the particularistic to the universalistic, the Jewish to the civic—and sometimes these mingle (2010, p. 103).

²⁸ See Chapter 7 for further discussion relating to educational journeys in non-Jewish schools, specifically the Lessons from Auschwitz programme.

My study engaged with numerous teachers across multiple schools. As such, a variety of facts, opinions and perspectives were presented in meaningful ways. This demonstrated that there was not an absolute truth in terms of the practice of Holocaust education, but rather there were many teachers whose individual beliefs informed their own practice and who had different views of how the practice was manifested in their schools. Therefore, the ontological position for this research was that multiple realities existed based on the differing ethos of the various schools, and based on the different beliefs of individual teachers. Each of these had their own challenges that then presented themselves within an epistemological paradigm.

Stevick and Gross (2010) explored the role of epistemology within Holocaust education. They drew upon the work of Apple (2004) who argued that every educational decision is ideological and therefore, 'schools should be wary of the notion that knowledge is objective or neutral' (Stevick and Gross, 2010, p. 190). Stevick and Gross further argued that as teachers have the ability to choose, to some extent, the topics that they teach and possibly the narrative upon which they base their lessons, there are potentially many different 'truths' or educations being presented to their students. Pearce (2020) skilfully introduced some of the questions posed by authors throughout their edited collection exploring the controversies and challenges that exist in Holocaust education today. He drew together the works of Chapman (2020) and Foster (2020) who analysed how the choices made by educators;

Can have critical consequences for students' learning. It is worth remembering, however, that while a development of knowledge and sophistication of understanding will certainly mean students are better positioned to approach the complexities of the Holocaust, this does not mean answering the questions it poses is any more straightforward (Pearce, 2020, p. 14).

I believe this highlights the ontological and epistemological challenges that exist within Holocaust education. There are no absolutes and many grey areas and

exploring the subtleties and nuances surrounding approaches to teaching the Holocaust was central to my study.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, my research aimed to uncover practice, perspective and challenges of teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools in England. It is difficult to categorise educational research as either being qualitative or quantitative research. The essence of the debate surrounding methods in research relates to how a researcher uses different methods from different methodologies. As Wiggins explained; 'the term method refers to the technical aspects of gathering, storing and analysing research data, the term methodology refers to the study of methods themselves as well as the worldviews that ground such a study' (Wiggins, 2011, p. 45). Therefore, I made the decision to use various methods appropriate to each phase of my research. Morgan (1998) and Wiggins (2011) explained, combining different methodologies can be challenging because they are based on different interpretations of the nature of knowledge and in turn how they should be studied. It is possible to explain these contrasting worldviews as the positivist (or post-positivist) paradigm and the interpretivist (or constructivist) paradigm. My research was very much based around the interpretivist paradigm, which focusses on interpretations of reality and the meanings that we attach to these interpretations (Wiggins 2011). Therefore, for example, I used interviews to explore teachers' perspectives into practice and pedagogy and delve into their rationale behind this. However, I did also use surveys to capture data which represents more objective information like curriculum time and the areas of the curriculum in which the Holocaust was taught. This capturing of data would generally be seen to fall under the positivist paradigm. Wiggins (2011) insists that having both paradigms together in the same study is incompatible due to one focussing on 'material reality' whilst the other examines 'interpreted reality'.

Other researchers, however, disagree with Wiggins and believe that a positivist and interpretivist paradigm can work together in the same study. Newman et al., (2003) argued it is 'pointless' to only rigidly use either paradigm because they believe it is important to use a variety of methods to ensure that the research questions are appropriately addressed. Morgan (2007) further explained that it is flawed to treat the paradigms as incompatible due to overlap often occurring between the two approaches, for example, open questions which may include qualitative data within a survey.

Denscombe suggested that quantitative research is used more widely in large-scale studies where there are lots of numbers and raw data that are readily and easily available to analyse, whereas qualitative research 'relies on transforming information from observations, reports and recordings into data in the form of the written word, not numbers' (Denscombe, 2007, p. 248). Ritchie and Lewis (2003) rely on Denzin's definition of qualitative research as a 'situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretative, methodological practices that makes the world visible' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, p. 3). Ritchie and Lewis explain further how qualitative research is about the richness and detail of the data that is collected. Research within a qualitative paradigm provides the most appropriate method for information gathering from individuals, which focuses on exploring lived experience as opposed to being a data-based project looking at numeric information and emergent patterns. However, as Holland and Campbell (2005) argue, one of the drawbacks of qualitative research is that as it is contextualised it sometimes misses the bigger picture that can be gained from quantitative data.

I followed the views of Newman et al., (2003) and Morgan (2007) and determined that my research would include elements of both quantitative and qualitative data and therefore situated in both interpretivist and positivist paradigms. However, it was evident that for the most part my own research was placed more within an

interpretivist (constructionist) paradigm. As Crotty explained; 'truth or meaning, comes into the existence in and out of our engagement with the realities of the world... It is clear that different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon' (1998, p. 9). The 'phenomenon' that my study looks at is how the Holocaust is taught. But as Crotty explained, there is clearly more than one way that this could be done. Schweber discussed constructionism in relation to studies focussing on Holocaust education. She stated, "'reality" is assumed to exist outside of individual experience or discursive performance. History exists regardless of its narration as such' (2011b, p. 465). I found Schweber's discussions relating to the constructionist paradigm and Holocaust education made logical sense and they richly informed my approach, as a co-creator of knowledge, in this study.

3.3 The Data Collection Framework: Initial Steps

When designing my data collection framework it was important to plan how my research would take place and the areas upon which it would focus. As Creswell explains:

The data collection steps involve (a) setting the boundaries for the study, (b) collecting information through observations, interviews, documents, and visual materials, and (c) establishing the protocol for recording information (Creswell, 1994, p. 148).

After establishing that I would deploy a mixed-methods approach it was important to set out a clear framework for the information to be collected and the various possible methodologies for doing so. As well as the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), I examined the methodologies used in other research studies in this field. For example, as part of his doctoral research Gray (2014) investigated preconceptions of the Holocaust among 14 year olds in English schools. Gray's methodological approach focussed primary research conducted with students as well as analysis of previous

research. Whilst there were elements of Gray's approach that I believed would be helpful, I did not intend to focus my primary research on students but rather on teachers. I also reviewed the UNESCO Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula study (Carrier, Fuchs and Messinger, 2015), which focussed on scrutinising educational resources used for teaching the Holocaust around the world. This was helpful in terms of methodological approaches to consider when reviewing school curricula and resources.

Before finalising my research framework I needed to undertake desk-based documentary research. For example, I needed to explore and understand primary sources such as DfE/QCA guidance to gain an understanding of what maintained schools are required to teach. I also reviewed GCSE and A-Level specifications to see what exam boards required to be taught about the Holocaust, and to consider how this may affect a school's curriculum priorities. I also explored secondary sources found in scholarly literature to gain an understanding of theoretical perspectives relating to teaching the Holocaust. This enabled me to gain a wider understanding of the history behind Holocaust education in England. Additionally, prior to visiting schools I looked at information on their websites, read their school prospectuses and, as appropriate, asked schools to send me their Units of Work for teaching the Holocaust. As Hitchcock & Hughes explained:

Once a written text has been created, for whatever reason, it becomes a potential source of data... These can be valuable sources of what has been termed 'unwitting testimony', that is, they reveal information not always directly intended in the document about things such as values and social attitudes (1995, p. 212).

I reviewed documents about specific schools and communal organisations, which was helpful in allowing me to ascertain and understand some of the possible reasons underpinning schools' educational decisions and approaches. Additionally, journal articles, such as Elias (2001), Finkelman (2011), Kass (2006) and Shaul (2013) gave me

a better understanding of the development of the thought process surrounding Holocaust education in strictly orthodox schools. This provided me with background to this complex area and was a good starting point for discussions with stakeholders within this section of the community. Documentary analysis provided rich information across all phases of this research and helped me to structure the target questions in my primary research.

3.4 “Insider” Research

In conducting my research I was aware that I was an ‘insider researcher.’ Hannabuss defined ‘insider research’ as research where ‘...the researcher knows his/her environment well, knows by instinct what can be done and how far old friendships and favours can be pressed....’ (2000, p. 103). As I am a Deputy Headteacher in a Jewish school in England and my own school is within the sample schools I have first-hand knowledge of how the Holocaust is currently being taught in my school and some other schools. Robson (2002, pp. 381–382) explained that the advantages of ‘insider research’ includes: little travelling, ‘intimate knowledge of the context of the study’, knowledge and understanding of the hierarchy and how the organisation works in practice, and how best to approach people and who best to approach. He noted that, generally, an insider ‘will already have in [his/her] head a great deal of information which it takes an outsider a long time to acquire.’

A further challenge that being an Insider Researcher can present is in relation to power and bias. Walford (2012) explains how this can be a particular challenge in educational research due to the power relationships that can exist between teachers and students as well as school leaders and teachers. He further explains that there can also be challenges where teachers assume that researchers must be the ‘experts’ on their topic and this can also hinder discussion in interviews. A further challenge identified by Mickelson (1994) relates to ethical dilemmas if an interviewee made

inappropriate comments and what the researcher should then do with these comments. For example, should these comments be reported either to their Headteacher or cited within the research? However, this may be at conflict with the confidentiality that the researcher has promised as part of the research or potentially bring a school or institution into disrepute.

As Robson and Hannabuss explained, an 'insider researcher' often knows how best to approach people and appropriately manage relationships. I was able to use my knowledge of the Jewish community and schools to gain access to senior leaders and teaching staff at many of the schools and to find out more about their schools. This was useful across all three phases but was especially useful in Phase I when I was trying to access the broadest possible number and types of schools to conduct interviews with senior leaders. There were some initial challenges and hurdles to overcome when setting up these interviews. As discussed later in this chapter, I relied upon and used my knowledge of the community and insider status to be able to assure some staff that ethical considerations would be undertaken with all data, including anonymity of sources and schools. At this point, I found that many of these senior leaders were more comfortable to speak openly about their practice. Upon reflection, it was fair to say that being an insider researcher provided me with more advantages than disadvantages during my research. For example, in Phase II, I encountered some challenges in getting schools to respond to my surveys but I was then able to use personal connections to speak with senior leaders and ask for their help. This resulted in my ability to secure greater quantities and higher quality empirical data than if I had not been an 'insider researcher'.

There are challenges that the 'insider researcher' must consider. Mercer (2007) noted that it can be difficult for colleagues to adapt to a colleague interviewing them in the role of 'researcher' as opposed to their usual methods of interaction. This is particularly relevant when interviewing a more senior member of staff who may not be

comfortable with being open and frank with the interviewer. Another disadvantage to 'insider research' is that, depending on the nature of the research, there may be information of a sensitive or confidential nature that one colleague may feel uncomfortable sharing with another.

As a result of reading and reviewing this literature I was aware of the sensitivities of my research position and how it might have impacted on the development of the study, both as an Insider Researcher, but also in regards to potential power and bias issues that could have arisen. This was an issue to which I had to give considerable thought and attention throughout my research as I attempted to be as reflective and judicious as possible. It is, of course, difficult to know with certainty what biases or perspectives affected my engagements with teachers, but in overview they appeared to be productive and meaningful. Indeed, it seemed that neither of these factors (ie., bias and power relations) were issues during the interviews. Generally, I found teachers to be extremely open and candid with their responses and comments regarding both their own practice of Holocaust education, but also their opinions regarding how the Holocaust is and should be taught. However, I also acknowledge that I only know what teachers said. Whilst it appeared that they were happy and open to discuss their practice, it is not possible for me to be certain that they did not hold back from saying things or if they presented things with a particular agenda in mind.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Before I began my primary research, I ensured that I met my ethical obligations and confirmed that my research complied with BERA guidelines. In practical terms, this meant that I gave my approach to research careful consideration. This included making people feel comfortable and guaranteeing appropriate anonymity. McNiff advised researchers to, 'Establish right from the start that you are a person to be

trusted, and that you will keep your promises about negotiation, confidentiality and reporting' (McNiff, Lomax and Whitehead, 2003, p. 52).

As I only worked with a relatively small sample of schools and staff from within the Jewish community in England, I was mindful that there may have been some concerns about how I would collect and use information made available to me. In this respect I recognised '[t]he obligation to protect the anonymity of research participants and to keep the research data confidential is all-inclusive' (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachimas, 2000, p. 61). However, as Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2001, p. 91) explain, citing Raffe, *et al.* (1989), this can be difficult when; 'combining data may uniquely identify an individual or institution.' They continue to explain that even when changing names and places, 'there is no absolute guarantee of total anonymity.' As my sample was from a small community I realised that this was a challenge for my research. Therefore, I took great care to ensure anonymity of participants at all stages of my research where possible. For example, I coded all data gathered in such a way as to make each document non-identifiable to any individual other than by using the code that I established. I also ensured that, where possible, any quotes or paraphrasing did not contain information that would identify the interviewee. However, I also acknowledged that readers from within the community may be able to identify schools or individuals based on the context of the schools or descriptions of the individuals. For Phase I of my research, I promised total anonymity to the teachers I interviewed. This was especially important as some teachers from the strictly orthodox community may have not been willing to be interviewed were this not the case. Therefore, for the analysis of this phase of my research I only described interviewees by the category of school they worked in. For phase II and III, however, when I had much smaller samples I decided to use pseudonyms for school names and for the names of the teachers interviewed in Phase III. I took this decision as I believed it would help the reader to follow the flow of the research whilst trying to preserve anonymity where possible. Another challenge that this presented was when I was

citing websites or inspection reports when describing the context of the schools. I therefore made the decision to protect anonymity to remove the full referencing for such documents from within the body of the work.

As my research was carried out in schools and with school staff, I recognised the importance of gaining consent from headteachers, as they are the gatekeepers to their schools. Oliver explained that:

[Gatekeepers] have much more at stake – to lose – than researchers, since, whereas researchers can move on from one participant or research field to another, gatekeepers live with the daily consequences of the research and its effects on participants (Oliver, 2011, p. 79).

I was concerned that some headteachers may have felt uncomfortable for their staff to speak freely or release Schemes of Work due to fear of others within the community identifying their school in a potentially negative light. I therefore recognised the need to inform them of the outline of the research and ask for consent to participate in the research with the reassurance that the general outcomes will not name individuals. I designed specific consent forms for the headteachers to sign to secure consent to allow me to talk to members of staff and have access to relevant Schemes of Work and other educational documentation. In practice, most headteachers were willing for me to have conversations with them and their staff about my research and they were interested in both the progress and outcomes. This was because most headteachers knew me or knew of me within the Jewish community and therefore they were comfortable when I asked them and their staff questions. As I discussed my research aims more with the headteachers, and especially after having some provisional data at the end of Phases II and then III, many senior leaders were interested in my findings and how their own schools compared with others in terms of teaching the Holocaust.

Some other specific areas of ethical consideration included the need to obtain informed consent from individual participants. As Cohen emphasised, 'The principle of informed consent arises from the subject's right to freedom and self-determination' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2001, p. 51). However, when gaining this consent, it was important to ensure that the respondents were fully aware to what they were consenting otherwise it could not be considered as 'informed'. As the BERA guidelines stated:

Researchers must take the steps necessary to ensure that all participants in the research understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported (BERA, 2011, p. 5).

This was particularly important for the individual surveys that were carried out and for the interviews. My ethical approval was granted by the University in March 2014²⁹. However, in May 2018 GDPR legislation in the UK resulted in changes to regulations around collection, processing and storing of data. I discussed this new legislation in terms of my own research with the Research and Ethics Committee member of my department in relation to data already collected and my future research. As my ethical approval had already been granted and the primary research for Phases I and II conducted, I re-examined the ethical steps I had taken in terms of informed consent and data storage. Owing to the robust protocols that I established for my research, the enhanced GDPR guidelines were not an issue in terms of data already collected because the processes that I had put in place were compliant with the new principles as well as the older Data Protection Act. For my Phase III research, which began after GDPR came into force, I contacted the UCL Data Protection Team who confirmed that, as my ethical approval had been granted pre-GDPR and as my research framework had not changed, I was not required to obtain new approval. However, I ensured that my information sheets, privacy notices and consent sheets all

²⁹ See Appendix 8 & 9.

followed the UCL new guidance on data collection and storage and were in line with the new guidance ensuring that my research was fully compliant with updated legislation.³⁰

In all aspects of the research I have demonstrated that I was mindful of the obligation to ensure that key ethical considerations and procedures were met.

3.6 Conducting Interviews: Key Considerations

As the use of interviews was a key feature of my research, I carefully considered some of the core issues associated with this methodology. Blaxter et al argued, '[Interviews] can be a very useful technique for collecting data which would probably not be accessible using techniques such as observation or questionnaires' (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2001, p. 172). Cargan also listed two further advantages of interviews which I found particularly helpful:

1. [interviews] are more appropriate for complex situations that may need in-depth information or that contain study-sensitive areas.
2. The personal interview is a relatively straightforward means of collecting data on attitudes, beliefs, expectations, facts, feelings, knowledge, motives, values, and other social characteristics (Cargan, 2007, p. 118).

Although interviews are a good means of information-gathering, they can be challenging in terms of arranging convenient times and analysing the results of the conversations. As a part-time researcher, who is a full-time Deputy Headteacher in a school, it was challenging to arrange times to conduct interviews. However, because most teachers I wanted to interview were interested in my research I was able to schedule interviews outside of the school day or when my own school holidays differed to other schools. Mason (2002, p. 67) argued that good interviewing is more demanding than a structured questionnaire. This is true in terms of the time that it

³⁰ See Appendix 11.

takes to carry out multiple interviews as compared with the time that it takes to send out multiple surveys. However, the richness of the data that can be gathered from an interview outshines that of a survey. This is especially the case when conducting non-structured or semi-structured interviews. Therefore, I decided that interviews would be the predominant research instrument for my work. This was especially the case in Phases I and III which were centred around document scrutiny and interviews.³¹ In Phase II, as discussed below, surveys were the main form of primary research, although I also conducted follow-up interviews in this phase to expand upon the information uncovered when analysing the survey data.

As explained below, I spent considerable time deciding on the type and format of interview, suitable interview questions, and how the interviews would be recorded across all phases of my research. For example, I thought carefully about different types of interview formats. Hitchcock & Hughes, for example, suggested that there is a similarity between structured interviews and questionnaires as there will be a set of basic questions asked in a specific order. The main advantage of structured interviews over questionnaires is the 'greater flexibility and ability to extract more detailed information...' (2001, p. 154). It is relatively straightforward to include open questions in a structured interview and easily to gather the responses. However, one key disadvantage to using structured interviews is the inability to follow-up set questions with further meaningful questions.

By contrast, Wellington (2000, p. 75) suggested unstructured interviews are very flexible with some control on both sides. This type of interview allows the interviewee to take the lead and direct the interview. This can make later analysis extremely challenging owing to a lack of easy or viable comparison between interviews. I did not think that

³¹ See Chapters 4 and 8 for details of the interviews and analysis of each phase of my research.

this was an appropriate method for my research, particularly owing to the need to be able to analyse and compare the data collected from different schools.

Semi-structured interviews provide the advantage of allowing the interviewer greater control and flexibility while also ensuring that not all aspects of the interview are pre-determined. To give teachers space to express and expand on their opinions I decided to use open-ended questions, where possible. Kerlinger explained the advantage of open ended questions is that they 'supply a frame of reference for respondents' answers, but put a minimum of restraint on the answers and their expressions' (1970, p. 31). One example of this was when I asked the question: 'What are the school's aims in teaching the Holocaust?' Some respondents did not mention anything about remembering and commemorating the events of the Holocaust as a stated aim. However, later in the interviews, when discussing memorial days some respondents referred to the importance of commemorating and remembering as a key aim of the school. As my interviews were semi-structured I had the ability to probe more deeply by asking why this had not been one of their previously stated aims. This interview format was useful when conducting follow-up interviews in Phase II of my research. All of the interviews were used to glean further information to that resulting from the survey, but often required focussing on specific questions to a specific respondent. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews allowed me the opportunity to ask questions based on the previous answers of respondents and therefore ensure that I was able to get answers to my questions.

Wellington explained that semi-structured interviews were 'a compromise... between the two positions which will overcome the problems inherent in the latter approach but avoid the inflexibility of the former' (2000, p. 74). As previously stated, my conclusion was that semi-structured interviews were the most productive means of gathering data for Phases I and III to allow for comparison on the one hand but also the ability to probe further lines of enquiry.

3.7 Pilot Studies and Developing Interview Questions

Blaxter et al. (2001, pp. 135–6) emphasised the importance of pilot studies to allow researchers the opportunity to test out their theories, methods and questions as well as modifying them if required. I also reviewed the Holocaust education research carried out by Clements (2010), Gray (2014) and Richardson (2012) who all discussed the importance of their pilot study in helping shape their final research. At each stage of my research I conducted various pilot studies, which are discussed in specific detail in the chapters analysing each research phase.

Van (1990) explained that interview questions need to be written in advance of the interview to ensure that they focus on the research questions. Bell (2001, p. 140) insisted researchers must remain objective and be aware of the danger of designing questions with a personal bias in mind in order to ensure that they do not lead the respondents. These principles were central to the way in which I developed my research questions.

Before devising my phased research approach I was asked to lead a working group to gather information on teaching the Holocaust in mainstream Jewish schools in London. This afforded me an opportunity to develop my research questions, and I decided to use the January 2014 PaJeS³² workshop as my pilot study for Phase I as well as an opportunity to find out more from senior staff in London based mainstream and pluralist Jewish schools about how the Holocaust is broadly taught in these schools.

I was allocated a 3-hour slot in a conference facility attended by one senior member of staff from the mainstream and the one pluralist Jewish schools in London who teach

³² The Partnership for Jewish Schools

the Holocaust. This working group provided me with a perfect opportunity for a pilot study in terms of my field research, and PaJeS gave explicit consent that this was permissible. This gave me the opportunity to establish some key information about Holocaust education within these schools and to help me to establish a direction in which to take my research, as well as to test the types of questions that I could ask and consider the likely responses I would receive.

As Phase I of my research had a clear outline, I was aware of the information that I was trying to gather and therefore focused on the design of the specific questions. The pilot group had also helped me in terms of considering the questions to ask and how to phrase them best to gather useful data. Some of the central questions I used for this pilot phase included: 'What are the challenges that you face in teaching the Holocaust in your school?' and 'how many hours do you dedicate to teaching the Holocaust in the various year groups within your school'?

Even though I had a clear research plan, my research was iterative in terms of my ability to constantly reflect on my findings of a particular phase in order to consider planning the next phase of my research to address my research aims. The main research tool for Phase II was a survey, as discussed later in this chapter. However, I made the decision to use follow-up interviews to clarify or expand on information gathered from the survey. There were two reasons for this approach. Firstly, follow-up interviews provided a useful tool to clarify information when more than one respondent from the same school provided potentially contradictory information. Secondly, the interviews offered greater context and clarity to the answers given in the survey. Some answers required more probing to understand them fully. By conducting follow-up interviews it gave me the opportunity to enrich the data. To do this I included questions towards the end of the survey asking respondents if they would be happy to be contacted for follow-up interviews and if so to provide contact details.

In Phase III I returned to more traditional semi-structured interviews. I provided the teachers with the outline questions in advance of the interview to allow them the opportunity to think about the questions before we met.³³ I ensured that all teachers signed consent forms prior to the interview, and that these and my Participant Information Sheets complied with BERA ethical guidelines and UCL GDPR policies.³⁴ I decided to audio record all interviews onto MP3 and then type up the transcripts of the interviews in order to record and analyse the data. To aid with the transcription I used Sonix AI software; online transcription software that uses artificial intelligence in order to transcribe MP3 files to text. This software was accurate to about 70%. I then went through each transcript and made any corrections in order to ensure accuracy. One of the advantages of this software over traditional transcription services is that it does not rely on humans to carry out the transcription, and therefore the cost of the subscription is vastly reduced and there are no ethical issues relating to third parties hearing the recordings. My rationale for this methodology was that it would allow me to focus fully on the discussions in the interviews and ask follow-up questions without worrying about writing or typing everything that was said. As predicted, this did increase the amount of time that each interview took to analyse but resulted in establishing an accurate record of the conversations.

As with previous phases, I reasoned that it was important to pilot my questions and decided to conduct a pilot with teachers from my own school. The pilot study ensured that my questions were appropriate and provided opportunities to stimulate conversation. It also ensured that my study focused on the relevant research questions. I carried out two pilot interviews with staff in my school; one who was a senior leader and one a middle leader. Both of these colleagues had taught the

³³ See Appendix 7 for Interview Questions for Phase III.

³⁴ As my ethical approval was confirmed in 2014, before GDPR regulations became law, I sought guidance from the Assistant Programme Administrator at the UCL IoE Centre for Doctoral Education, who confirmed that all of my processes were compliant and no additional paperwork was required.

Holocaust for a number of years and attended the school's educational journey to Poland. My pilot study also gave me an opportunity to test my procedures for audio recording the interviews and to ensure that the sound quality was good enough to later transcribe the interviews for analysis.

As a result of my pilot interviews, I returned to my proposed questions and made some significant changes. For example, I realised that some of the questions I asked were not the correct questions in order to solicit conversation that would help me to answer my research questions. As a result, I modified my interview questions and protocols. In addition, I also realised that some of my proposed questions were either leading respondents or were too closed. I was concerned that the questions would lead to narrow interpretations and potentially would limit opportunities to acquire meaningful and rich qualitative data. An example of this was in my pilot interview when I asked; 'What do you think are the aims of teaching the Holocaust in your school?' However, when I was conducting the pilot study, I realised that this question assumed that (a) the school had defined aims of teaching the Holocaust and (b) that the respondents would know about these aims. I therefore changed this question to: 'Do you know what the aims of teaching the Holocaust are in your school? If yes, what are they? If no, are there agreed aims or is it up to each individual teacher to set their own aims?' Another example of a question that was in my pilot study, that I completely removed from the final interview questions was: 'Is there an element of emotional manipulation on this [the Poland] trip? If so, does this relate back to the educational aims? If so, how?' I realised that this question was not only leading respondents, but also an unfair question and I also realised that the issue of how students deal with the emotional issues surrounding the educational journeys could be discussed under the question looking at the challenges and opportunities of these journeys.

Therefore, as a result of the pilot study, I returned to my initial questions and made some quite major changes in both the wording of the questions as well as the order

and structure of the questions. After doing this I went back to one of the teachers with whom I piloted the initial questions and conducted a second pilot interview. The responses this time were much richer and the conversations flowed more easily. I asked the teacher involved to evaluate the differences between the two sets of questions and I was told they felt the second set of questions made sense and that they 'liked the new questions as they led to a really interesting discussion'. I was happy with these revised questions and therefore felt the pilot study had been extremely beneficial in ensuring that my questions were appropriate for carrying out the interviews for the third phase of my research.

3.8 Data Collection and Analysis from Interviews

There are various methods of recording responses to an interview which broadly can be categorised as: note taking³⁵ or recording.³⁶ Cohen *et al* (2001) referring to Mishler (1986) explained that using a recording has drawbacks because it is impossible for a tape recording to capture non-verbal communication. However, Robson discussed the advantages of recording an interview because it 'provides a permanent record and allows you to concentrate on the interview' (2002, pp. 289–290). A further disadvantage of recording interviews is the necessity to later transcribe them, which may be time consuming.

There are obvious advantages and disadvantages to note-taking and recording interviews. I decided to pilot both methods by conducting mock interviews with colleagues and recording some interviews and taking notes in others. Recording interviews took a long time to transcribe, whilst note taking proved difficult in capturing the subtleties of conversation. I then piloted typing the conversation straight onto my computer. This seemed like the best method in terms of time and accuracy for Phases

³⁵ Note taking could include handwritten notes, typed notes, shorthand, etc.

³⁶ Recording could be using an old-fashioned tape player or Dictaphone or using electronic recording equipment.

I and II and therefore I concluded that when carrying out interviews for these phases this would be the method I would use. In order to validate the data, I allowed myself extra time after the interview to go back through my notes and correct any mistakes with the respondent or clarify points that may not have made sense after the passage of time. The primary research for Phase III, however, was conducted through extended interviews. As these interviews were longer and contained more details about how the Holocaust is taught in the sample schools, I was concerned about my ability to focus on note taking whilst conducting the interviews. As Baxter, et al., explained:

Note-taking gives you an instant record of the key points of an interview... However, note-taking can also be distracting. Putting pen to paper may lead interviewees to think that they have said something significant... Concentrating on asking questions, listening to the responses and taking notes is a complex process... (Baxter, Hughes and Tight, 2002, p. 173).

Therefore, for this phase of the research, as previously explained, I decided to digitally record and later transcribe the interviews. This allowed me greater opportunity to follow the direction of the interviews and ask insightful follow-up questions to points made by interviewees. For data validation, in order to ensure the accuracy of the transcription, I sent a copy to interviewees for them to review in line with my interview information sheet and consent form. This way, respondents were able to read their transcript and ensure that I had accurately captured what they wanted to say, but also to ensure that they were happy with the information that they had provided me.

After transcribing the interviews, I used thematic analysis to explore the holistic views of teachers regarding Holocaust education, as opposed to an analysis of answers to each question. This enabled me to gain insight into different areas of practice in relation to Holocaust education and to then be able to connect them. I loosely followed the analysis process outlined by Attride-Stirling (2001) and Braun and Clarke

(2006) whilst analysing this data. Attride-Stirling outlines the steps in thematic analysis as:

Figure 1 Steps in analyses employing thematic networks

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| <p>ANALYSIS STAGE A: REDUCTION OR BREAKDOWN OF TEXT</p> <p>Step 1. Code Material</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Devise a coding framework(b) Dissect text into text segments using the coding framework <p>Step 2. Identify Themes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Abstract themes from coded text segments(b) Refine themes <p>Step 3. Construct Thematic Networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Arrange themes(b) Select Basic Themes(c) Rearrange into Organizing Themes(d) Deduce Global Theme(s)(e) Illustrate as thematic network(s)(f) Verify and refine the network(s) <p>ANALYSIS STAGE B: EXPLORATION OF TEXT</p> <p>Step 4. Describe and Explore Thematic Networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) Describe the network(b) Explore the network <p>Step 5. Summarize Thematic Networks</p> <p>ANALYSIS STAGE C: INTEGRATION OF EXPLORATION</p> <p>Step 6. Interpret Patterns</p> |
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(Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 391)

Although both Attride-Stirling (2001) and Braun and Clarke (2006) have a numbered process, Braun and Clark do not advise following a 'linear' process, but instead advise that throughout analysis, steps are revisited. In order to help my thematic analysis, I made use of CAQDAS³⁷ software - NVivo 12. Bazley and Jackson (2013, p. 3) explained that CAQDAS software helps the researcher in managing data and ideas, querying, searching, visualising and reporting on their data. This software is a tool to assist with analysing qualitative data, but as Bazley and Jackson noted, it should not replace 'the human touch' (2013, p. 9). I found that NVivo assisted me in storing and sorting data into meaningful ways to aid analysis. However, it was all based around how I set the data up for storage and it was still my analysis.

³⁷ Computer assisted qualitative data analysis.

Before beginning my formal coding and analysis of the data, I re-read my interview transcripts along with the audio file playing at the same time. This allowed me to validate the transcription, but also refreshed my mind of overarching themes that had appeared across interviews. I was then able to begin following Attride-Stirling's steps of thematic analysis. Using Nvivo to assist, I began my analysis with Step 1 from Attride-Stirling's model by coding the data. This was done by re-reading each transcript and using the software to code sentences or paragraphs into 'Nodes'. In this initial step, I had 8 Nodes that I used for coding the data; Aims, Challenges, Opportunities, CPD, Jewish identity, Memorials or Ceremonies, Poland Trips, and Subjects taught in. Once I had coded the transcripts in this way, I was able to move on to Step 2; Identifying Themes. I was able to use the software to run queries on texts and compare what had been said by teachers from the same and different schools surrounding the initial codes. This was informative as it showed me, for example, when two teachers at the same school had contrasting opinions in some areas. At this stage I also realised that my initial Nodes and subject areas were too wide in some areas and therefore I refined some themes with sub-Nodes. For example, for the node relating to Poland Trips. I took the decision to refine this to have six sub-nodes; Challenges of educational journeys to Poland, Distinctive features of educational journeys to Poland, History teachers involved with Poland, Opportunities of educational journeys to Poland, Educational Decisions, and Poland Prep. In Stage 3 – Constructing Thematic Networks – I began to start to explore what the data contained within each theme was telling me about the individual schools and Holocaust education across the sample schools as a whole. I was able to consider questions that were being answered from the data. For example, I decided that I had gathered much data surrounding both stated aims of Holocaust education, but also comments and teacher opinions regarding why they thought aims should be as they are and what influenced these aims. I therefore began to organise and refine this information further into some logical patterns. I was able to use the find and query functions within the software to check word analysis as well and to search for certain key terms. This was helpful because even though my

questions about aims of Holocaust education were early in the interview structure, some teachers did return to discussing them at different stages of the interviews.

After working through Stage 3, I actually returned back to Stage 2 as I identified some further themes that I wanted to codify to help with analysis of the data. At this point I decided to add a further 3 nodes; Interdisciplinary teaching, non-Jewish students and Yad Vashem. Once I had added these codes I went back through the transcripts and added additional coding relating to these themes. I then moved on to the analysis stage and Step 4 – Describing and Exploring the Network. My interviews were now coded and broken up into these themes and I was able to read through all of the segments of the different interview transcripts relating to the respective themes. From here Steps 4 and 5 came together by allowing me to analyse what was said and produce a descriptive analysis of these themes in relation to my own research questions. However, it was Step 5, in particular, where I felt I had a true understanding of the data and was able to not only analyse what had been said, but also to cross reference the transcripts by themes in order to truly analyse what the teachers had told me. For example, I was able to see how the educational journeys to Poland contributed to the schools aims for teaching the Holocaust. I was also able to analyse how teachers perceived the links between teaching about Jewish identity and both the educational journeys to Poland as well as various challenges of teaching about the Holocaust.

Furthermore, in my analysis moving between Steps 4 and 5, I was also able to analyse the differences in the data relating to the context of the sample schools. This analysis allowed me, for example, to consider not only the themes that were arising from teachers interviewed, but also to place them within the context of their school type and to then draw opinions on if this affected the data. For example, I was able to look at the node surrounding challenges of teaching about the Holocaust and consider the religious make-up of the student bodies. This analysis, showed me that

the religious make-up of the student body did have an impact not only on challenges of teaching the Holocaust, but actually on many of the other themes found within my data.³⁸

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3.9 Using Surveys: Key Considerations

As outlined above, the use of surveys was a key feature of my research, particularly in Phase II of my study. I debated using surveys for Phase I, but was concerned that I would not get the amount of information I was hoping for from this method. I then reflected that as there was only a relatively small number of schools in the sample for Phase I and as I only needed to speak to one member of senior staff per school in this phase, interviews, in person or telephone, was more appropriate. However, for Phase II I decided that given the potential large number of respondents I was hoping to contact together with the vast amount of questions that I wanted to ask, surveys would be the best option. Hutton, in Blaxter et al., described surveys as, 'the method of collecting information by asking a set of pre-formulated questions in a predetermined sequence in a structured questionnaire to a sample of individuals drawn so as to be representative of a defined population' (1996, p. 70). A number of Holocaust education researchers have used or referred to surveys successfully to aid them in gathering information to contribute to their own research. To help me decide if this would be an appropriate tool for my research I reviewed: Gross (2010), Pettigrew *et al* (2009) and Short (1995). This research showed me that surveys can, therefore, be extremely useful for gathering data from a large group of respondents in a quick and relatively easy manner. They are also fairly easy to analyse, particularly when using closed questions with fixed responses. As previously mentioned, the use of a survey

³⁸ See Chapter 8 for further discussion on the findings of this data.

³⁹ See Chapter 8 Phase III for more details relating to coding of data and nodes.

structured in a similar fashion to that of the IoE survey (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, pp. 107–119) allowed for baseline comparisons of findings.

However, as Cargan (2007) explained, the disadvantages of using surveys include a potential low return rate, limited responses to the questions and in some cases no responses. This was a challenge with my Phase II research, especially given the total possible sample was not large to begin with and one that, to some extent, I managed to overcome by using my personal connections as an 'Insider Researcher'.⁴⁰ With the exception of the strictly orthodox schools, I had enough senior connections in the other schools within the sample to request people completed my survey and I had a good rate of response. However, within the strictly orthodox schools this was not the case. Initially, I did not receive even an acknowledgement to my email requesting that teachers in their schools complete my surveys. I persevered by drawing on personal connections, including using social media for staff in those schools, and that helped me to secure responses from staff within the two strictly orthodox schools identified to be included within the sample. Therefore, I was able to include their survey responses in my analysis.

The other main disadvantage of surveys is the inability to elaborate upon answers when seeking clarification or additional detail. When using a survey, the only results available are those written down by the respondent. The only way to seek clarification or elaboration of these responses is by asking the respondents to provide their name and contact details and then to set up a follow up interview in order for their views to be explored in greater depth; something that could be done initially via an interview without using survey. However, as I was trying to reach a large number of potential teachers but did not expect the total number of returned surveys to be excessive, I decided to include 16 open questions. This allowed for respondents to

⁴⁰ See Chapter 6 Analysis of Phase II Data for more details.

provide more detailed answers and opinions. In addition, I also provided space at the end of the survey for respondents to provide contact details if they were willing to participate in follow up interviews or points of clarification, which 13 respondents did provide. This allowed me to correlate the responses of the 13 identified teachers and, where relevant, to contact them in order to carry out follow-up interviews based on some of the answers that they provided. In total, I conducted 11 follow-up interviews with Phase II respondents.⁴¹

3.10 Summary

Overall, I felt that I had carefully considered my methodological approach. I had designed clear research questions to guide and focus my research and then spent time constructing a methodological approach that was fit for purpose. I critically reflected on my position as an Insider Researcher and how this would both aid and potentially restrict my research. As a result, I also spent considerable time focusing on ethical issues and how to overcome them, to ensure that I was being fair to schools and teachers, whilst also being true to my research. I was encouraged by the three-phase methodological approach that I had designed and implemented. This approach kept my research focussed and each phase allowed me to build on my previous findings. My mixed methods approach also offered the potential to enrich my findings and provide significant insights into Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England.

⁴¹ See Chapter 6 for full details of these follow-up interviews.

Chapter 4 - Phase I: The Landscape of Jewish Secondary Education in England

4.1 The School Sample

The first phase of my research was very much designed around my first research question; 'What is the current landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England?' My aim for this phase was to collect information about Jewish schools that have students of secondary age on roll to provide an insight and baseline "map" and contextual understanding of what factors influence their curriculum decisions. I also aimed to acquire an overview of how the Holocaust is taught within these schools. According to the DfE's EduBase portal in 2013, there were 51 Jewish schools that taught students of secondary school age. Some of these schools were secondary schools with students from Year 7–13, some do not include post-16 courses and end with Year 11, and others were primary schools that continue until the end of Year 8 or 9.

Out of these 51 schools, 2 were special needs schools with fewer than 10 students on roll and 1 was a new free school that only has 8 students in Year 7 on roll. Therefore, these schools were not included in the sample for Phase I:

4.1.2 Schools in the Sample by Denomination

While conducting the research it became clear that the information on EduBase was not always accurate. Two schools were listed twice and another school listed was no longer operating, having been replaced by a new school that was not yet registered with the DfE but that was operating under the name of another school entirely. Therefore, the final sample included 44 schools located in London, Hertfordshire, Manchester and Gateshead. Of those schools, using the definitions set out in the

'Types of Jewish Schools' section – as illustrated in Table 2 below – 36 of the sample schools were strictly orthodox, seven mainstream and one pluralist.⁴²

Table 2: Types of Jewish School in England by religious denomination

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|-------|-------------------|-----------|---------|
| Valid | Strictly Orthodox | 36 | 81.8 |
| | Mainstream | 7 | 15.9 |
| | Pluralist | 1 | 2.3 |
| | Total | 44 | 100.0 |

The primary aim of this phase of my research was to gather empirical data to understand the landscape of Jewish secondary schools in England. In addition, I also wanted to use this phase to explore how the Holocaust was taught in different school settings. Before starting my telephone interviews, I aimed to gather as much information about the individual schools as possible. This was relatively simple with the mainstream and pluralist schools as most of these schools have very good websites with detailed information, including the schools' aims, ethos statements, foundation bodies, student bodies and other such information. However, many strictly orthodox Jews do not use the internet and, as such, the majority of those schools did not have websites. At the time of conducting this research some of those schools had a quasi-website hosted on their behalf by NAJOS⁴³ to detail online statutory information that the DfE requires from state schools. However, this information was very basic. I therefore reviewed the most recent Ofsted reports for each of the schools. Those reports included a wealth of information about the school's background, ethos and in many cases listed how the school split its time between Jewish and secular teaching. The Ofsted reports often highlighted the best things about the individual schools and the areas for improvement. These reports, together with websites where available, provided an initial baseline knowledge of the schools. This was helpful in

⁴² See Appendix 1 for list of schools.

⁴³ The National Association of Jewish Orthodox Schools.

the design of the questions for interview and was used for further analysis throughout my research.

My intention was to carry out either telephone or face-to-face interviews with a senior member of staff in each school. The first difficulty encountered was that some senior leaders were extremely nervous about talking openly owing to them not initially understanding who would have access to the information. I was able to use my knowledge of the Jewish community to try to alleviate these fears and to gain access. I explained how anonymity would be guaranteed and answered any questions that colleagues in schools had about my research and its subsequent uses. Most colleagues were then happy to talk to me over the phone and, as the conversations developed, the more comfortable most respondents became in terms of openly discussing the work that they and their schools undertake.

To ensure that there was parity between the respondents, I spoke with senior members of staff within each school: either the Head of Jewish Studies or a member of the senior leadership team. Within the strictly orthodox schools, I was often put through to speak with the headteacher or principal⁴⁴ or, failing that, the member of staff responsible for secular studies.⁴⁵ It was far easier to speak with senior staff in the strictly orthodox schools than in other schools, possibly as a result of those schools often having a smaller group of staff members.

4.2 The Pilot Study

As outlined in my Research Methodologies chapter, in early 2014 I was asked to lead a working group to gather information on teaching the Holocaust in mainstream

⁴⁴ Many of the strictly orthodox schools have both a headteacher and a principal. The headteacher is generally responsible for the day-to-day running of the school and secular studies, whilst the principal, who supersedes the headteacher, is responsible for the ethos of the school and all Jewish Studies.

⁴⁵ A phrase used in some strictly orthodox schools to describe any subjects other than Jewish Studies.

Jewish schools in London. This provided the perfect opportunity to conduct an initial pilot study. Blaxter et al. (2001, pp. 135–6) stated the importance of pilot studies to allow researchers the opportunity to test their theories, methods and questions as well as modifying them if required. The parameters on which I was specifically aiming to focus this pilot study – in terms of the structure of the group – were the style of questions, the appropriateness of questions and their structure and format.

I spent a considerable amount of time discussing my approach to the pilot with both my supervisor and also colleagues from PaJeS to try to create a format for the afternoon that would fulfil everyone's aims and expectations. After coming up with a draft programme and questions I decided to pilot these on an academic at another institution because, as Robson suggested, a pilot is 'a small-scale version of the real thing, a try-out of what you propose' (2002, p. 185). Following this pilot, I amended the questions as well as the format and order of the afternoon sessions.

4.2.1 Considerations Resulting from the Pilot Study

The Pilot Study/PaJeS Focus Group took place in Brent Cross on 26 February 2014. Attendees included: two members of PaJeS staff, a member of staff from the Centre for Holocaust Education at the IoE, 1 Head of History, 3 Senior Leaders who taught the Holocaust and myself. In total, four different mainstream Jewish schools in London were represented, which was a pleasing turnout.

The first area identified as needing further research was the lack of knowledge that staff had about what was being taught about the Holocaust in departments outside of their own but within the same school. This is a problem that Hector (2000) identified in relation to non-Jewish schools, but seems to be equally problematic within Jewish schools. Most staff did not know how many lessons were spent teaching the Holocaust outside of their own departments, and some staff were not even sure about how many lessons were taught within their own departments across different year groups.

It also became apparent that the staff from PaJeS had not given due consideration to the fact that the Holocaust, or aspects of it, could be taught in subjects outside of history or religious/Jewish studies, for example in drama, art or English.

Many staff in Jewish schools appeared to believe that, because they are teaching Jewish children in a Jewish school, they should have a good grounding in Holocaust education. As one teacher said; 'I think it's just assumed they know a lot of it already, although as I found just teaching it they don't know much about it at all.' One member of the pilot group found this of interest and commented: 'The assumption is that a Jewish school would give more time in history classes to the Holocaust, because I know for instance X School, which has 95% Muslim students, are doing a large amount of Holocaust teaching, they were doing a whole half term.' However, in practice this did not appear to be the case with some Jewish schools assuming that good Holocaust education was taking place without any strategic thought behind it, and others being unclear on what was happening within their own school.

From discussions that occurred within this focus group it became apparent that all schools involved ran a Year 12 Holocaust educational journey to Poland and that this was an important part of their curriculum. Some schools gave considerable attention to the aims and objectives of the trip, whilst others were running trips because they felt it was important but struggled to articulate why.

As a result of this pilot focus group, it was clear that even within a small sample of relatively like-minded schools there were great differences in terms of each individual school's ethos, background, aims and objectives in education and even more so Holocaust education. Therefore, I concluded that a greater understanding was required about the context of Jewish education in England and, within that context, how Jewish schools teach about the Holocaust. Accordingly, one of the principal

goals of my phased-research approach was to produce a detailed portrait of how, why and the extent to which Jewish schools in England teach about the Holocaust.

The pilot study also provided an invaluable opportunity to think carefully about the types of questions I would be asking in Phase I of my study. As a result of the pilot I revised my original questions and incorporated the following additional questions for use in Phase I:

- What percentage of the school day/week is dedicated to Jewish Studies and Secular Studies?
- Is the Holocaust taught in your school? If so, in which subjects/disciplines?
- What are the school's aims in teaching the Holocaust?

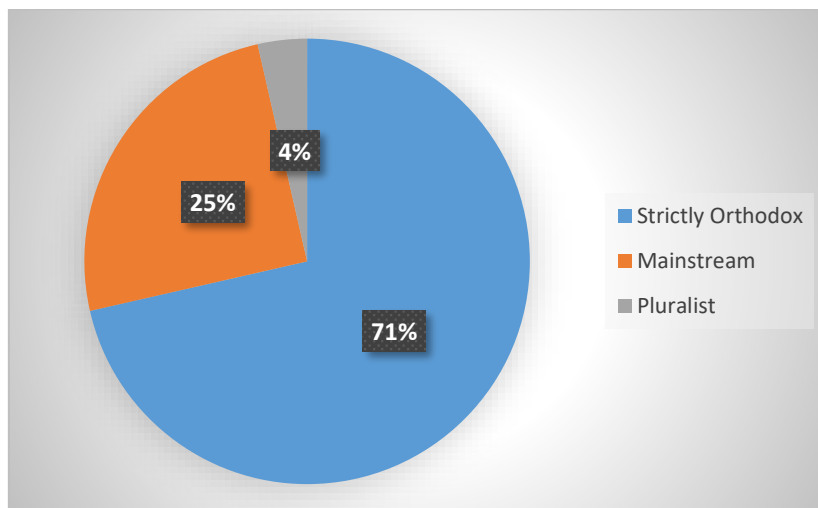
4.3 The Interview Questions

As explained in my Research Methodologies chapter, I decided to use a semi-structured interview approach for Phase I of my research. The specific questions asked were designed in response to the information gathered in the pilot study together with further consideration of my research aims and questions. I was interested in finding out more information about Jewish schools in England and not just about how they teach the Holocaust. I wanted to know about the make-up of the student body and if this affected curriculum decisions. I was also interested in the amount of time that each school dedicated to Jewish Studies and National Curriculum (NC) subjects and if students sat GCSEs. In addition, I wanted to find some base-line data in terms of whether the schools taught about the Holocaust and if so in which subjects. I was also hoping to use the interviews to gain an overview of which Holocaust education topics were taught within each school. During the interviews many schools were very willing to provide this information by emailing me their Schemes of Work for Holocaust education and this was extremely helpful. At this early

stage it was important for me to try to find out whether the schools took part in any educational visits as part of their Holocaust education.⁴⁶

4.3.1 Schools that participated in the Phase I sample

Figure 2: School that responded to the Phase I Interviews



As shown in Figure 1 above, out of the 44 schools in the sample 65.11% (n 28) were willing to participate in interviews. Of those, 3.57% (n 1) were pluralist, 25% (n 7) mainstream and 71.42% (n 20) strictly orthodox.⁴⁷ It is important to note that the number of students in Year 7+ ranges greatly between the schools. Within the total sample schools when looking at students from Year 7 and above, based on the 2014 census figures there were 11,973 students on roll. The schools that responded to the interviews account for 79.77% (n 9,551) of the total number of students on roll within all the Jewish schools in England. All 17 schools that did not respond were classified as strictly orthodox. It is possible that these schools were reluctant to discuss their practices owing to fear of being downgraded by Ofsted. This became a bigger problem after the Ofsted Operation Trojan Horse⁴⁸ that resulted in targeted inspections being carried out on many faith schools, with the majority of such schools

⁴⁶ See Appendix 2 for the structured questions.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 3 for the list of school's that responded to the Phase 1 interviews.

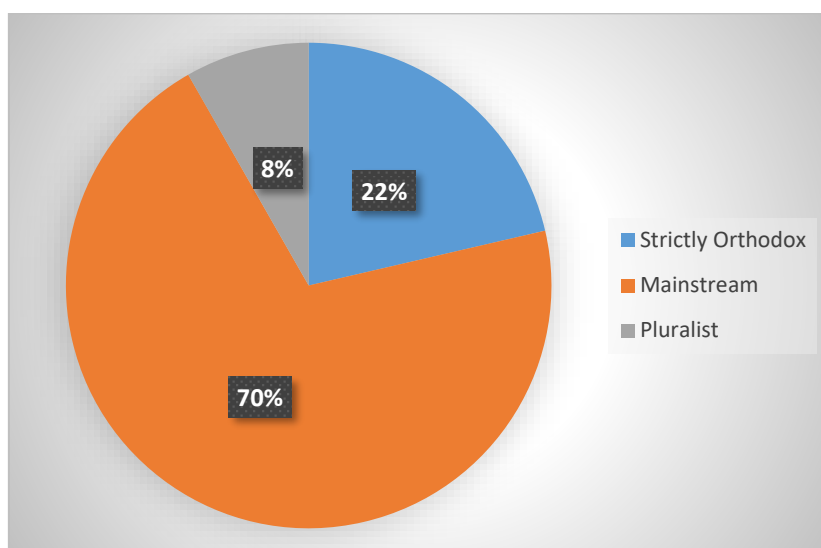
⁴⁸ Operation Trojan Horse was an OFSTED operation to check that faith schools had not become radicalised and were still teaching British values.

being downgraded by Ofsted. Many Jewish schools, especially within the strictly orthodox sector, became apprehensive about talking to any organisations especially from outside of the Jewish community. Therefore, I had to use my knowledge as an 'Insider Researcher' to allay school leaders' fears when I mentioned the Institute of Education (IoE), which is not well known in these circles. I had to find ways to reassure school leaders that they could talk to me freely without information potentially being used to trigger an Ofsted inspection. An additional challenge was that some strictly orthodox schools are very small and do not have fully functioning school offices or administration staff. In a handful of schools this resulted in students answering the telephone and offering to supply me with the principal's home telephone or mobile number. Therefore, the relevant person was often unavailable and did not respond to my messages. By following-up phone calls I was successful in managing to interview senior leaders from 54.05% (n 20) of the strictly orthodox schools.

4.4 The characteristics of the sample schools

All the schools within the sample were Jewish, but they varied greatly in terms of their denominational beliefs and characteristics. 71.42% (n 20) of the schools that responded defined themselves as strictly orthodox, 25% (n 7) as mainstream, and 3.57% (n 1) as pluralist. The data showed that many of the strictly orthodox schools had a far smaller number of students on roll than the mainstream and pluralist schools. Therefore, even though numerically there were more strictly orthodox schools – as illustrated in Figure 2 below – the number of students on roll across the strictly orthodox schools accounted for only 21.37% of the total students on roll across the schools that responded to the survey. Mainstream schools accounted for 70.36% of students and the pluralist school for 8.26%.

Figure 3: Percentage of pupils across sample schools by denomination



The schools that responded to the survey were predominantly located in London or Hertfordshire, 57.14% (n 16), with 35.71% (n 10) in Manchester, Leeds or Liverpool and 7.14% (n 2) in Gateshead.

Even though all schools within the sample were classified as Jewish schools, it is important to note that not all students on roll necessarily were Jewish. According to Orthodox Judaism proof of Jewishness is hereditary via the maternal bloodline. However, some non-Orthodox Jews will consider a child Jewish if either parent is Jewish. Until 2009, Jewish state schools in England were legally allowed to give priority in admissions to students who were considered Jewish. However, those rules were challenged by a set of parents in a court case that was escalated to the UK Supreme Court, with the schools losing in that judgment.⁴⁹ As a result of this ruling Jewish schools had to change their admissions criteria to give priority of places to pupils based on religious practice. This meant that it was no longer legal for a school to allocate priority places to children based on their Jewish status. This resulted in schools admitting more non-Jewish students to Jewish schools. Separately, as was also the case prior to 2009, if a school is unable to fill its places with practising Jewish children they are required

⁴⁹ See UK Supreme Court (2009)

legally to accept any other children who have applied to the school. Owing both to the 2009 court case and to the declining Jewish community in certain parts of England, some schools within the sample have – willingly or unwillingly, knowingly or unknowingly – admitted non-Jewish students to their schools.

The two biggest secondary schools affected by the changing demographics and declining Jewish communities in their local areas are King David High School in Liverpool where 'less than 16% of the students are Jewish...' (King David High School, 2015) and King Solomon High School (KSHS) in Redbridge. According to KSHS's 2013 Section 48 Religious Studies Pikuach Inspection, 'The school now has a large intake of non-Jewish students which has necessitated a great deal of thought and planning in relation to the Jewish Studies curriculum' (Pikuach, 2013). Schools that have admitted a substantial number of non-Jewish students have needed to give due consideration to their curriculum to ensure that it is appropriate for their student body. Interviews with teachers from such schools highlighted that, as the number of non-Jewish pupils on role increased, they made changes to how they have taught the Holocaust owing to the changing background knowledge and cultural sensitivities of students at their schools. A leader from a school with a substantial number of non-Jewish students said, 'When it comes to Holocaust Memorial Day, our Jewish students learn as much from our non-Jewish students about tolerance and respect as our non-Jewish students learn about the Holocaust from our Jewish students.'

4.5 The data collection from each of the 28 schools

I interviewed teachers from 28 different schools by telephone having first, where possible, sent a request by email that set out the aims of my research project and the reasons for conducting telephone interviews at this stage. The data I gathered focused on providing a baseline "map" and contextual understanding of Jewish schools in England which had pupils on roll of Year 7 and above. I also used the

interviews to gather an overview of how the Holocaust was taught in those schools.⁵⁰ The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured approach. This allowed me to collate the data in a way that was easy to compare between the schools, but also gave the flexibility for me to explore and probe answers further. I used a headset to listen to teachers' responses and simultaneously typed up their comments. At the end of the interview, I checked the responses with the respondents for data validation.

4.6 Results and Findings from Phase I

4.6.1 How do schools prioritise curriculum time between National Curriculum and Jewish Studies?

The interviews revealed that one of the challenges faced by Jewish schools was prioritising what to include within their curriculum and how to allocate teaching hours to each area of the curriculum in the context of both National Curriculum (NC) subjects and Jewish Studies. This was something on which all respondents commented during their interviews and was also referred to in many of the respective Ofsted and Pikuach⁵¹ reports. In relation to curriculum choices in Jewish schools, Kohn explained:

The number of hours required to teach the national curriculum takes up the whole school day. Even when the time allotted for collective worship and religious education is implemented, no more than three hours each week are available for Jewish education. Many Jewish state schools make the time for Jewish education by extending the school day by one hour or more. Some Jewish schools have addressed this issue by extending the number of days in the school week from five to six, making school compulsory on Sundays (Kohn, 2011, pp. 40–41).

If schools sought to teach a full complement of NC subjects, they needed to extend their school week to complement this with Jewish Studies. The alternative was to exclude certain subjects from their curriculum. The majority of mainstream and pluralist schools within the sample operated a regular five-day week but with a slightly

⁵⁰ See Appendix 2 for full list of interview questions.

⁵¹ Section 48 inspection service

longer day than typical non-Jewish comprehensive schools, running from 8:30am to 4:00pm. Opportunities existed for students who wanted to study more advanced Jewish Studies to do so in twilight sessions. One of the mainstream schools also operated a Sunday morning programme and extended the school day for the boys until 5:00pm to provide additional teaching time for both Jewish Studies and NC subjects. All the mainstream schools entered students for Level 2 qualifications (GCSEs or equivalent) in Year 11 and Level 3 qualifications (A-Level or equivalent) in Year 13. On average, students in mainstream schools studied 9-10 Level 2 qualifications and 3 Level 3 qualifications, in line with national averages. Therefore, the only way for schools to be able to teach the academic qualifications as well as their Jewish Studies is by extending their school day. The majority of mainstream schools divided their curriculum time so that between 12% and 15% of the compulsory week is devoted to Jewish Studies with the remainder used for NC subjects. The mainstream school that operated on a Sunday morning devote 50% of their teaching time to Jewish Studies and 50% to NC subjects.

All the strictly orthodox schools had a single-sex student body and there was a clear difference between the boys' and girls' schools in terms of the length of the school week and the division between Jewish and NC studies. The average school week for the girls' schools was Monday – Friday from 8:45am to 4:30pm and, on average, 40% – 50% of this time was dedicated to Jewish Studies. Most of the students in those schools studied GCSEs in as few as 3 subjects up to a full range of 8 or 9 subjects and some girls continue to study Level 3 qualifications. However, a limited choice of subjects may be offered which varied from school to school. In the boys' schools a very different picture emerged. All the boys' schools ran from Sunday to Friday with longer school days than the girls. The average school day for those schools was from 9:00am - 5:30pm. However, the biggest area of disparity between boys' and girls' schools, and indeed between strictly orthodox boys' schools and other Jewish schools, was the amount of time dedicated to NC subjects and the qualifications for which

students are entered. At one end of the spectrum some of the strictly orthodox boys' schools allocated 40% of their teaching time to NC subjects and 60% to Jewish Studies. Most of those schools entered their students for some GCSEs ranging from a minimum of 3 up to a maximum of 8 GCSEs. At the other end of the spectrum there is a very different type of school with students dedicating 90% of their learning time to Jewish Studies and only 10% to secular studies. Most of the schools at that end of the spectrum taught primarily in Yiddish with most students speaking English as an additional language (EAL). Those schools do not enter any of their students for GCSEs or Level 2/3 qualifications.

From interview discussions it became apparent that the decision regarding what to include in and exclude from a school's curriculum was based on the priorities outlined by school leaders. In mainstream and pluralist schools the biggest influencing factor appeared to be considerations of parents' views and perspectives'. In strictly orthodox schools, alongside parents, the Rabbinic influence of communal leaders was also a factor.⁵² Leaders who were interviewed explained:

I wish we were able to teach more subjects and enter students for more GCSEs, but we have to be real and our parents are more interested that the boys learn *gemara*⁵³ than science (strictly orthodox school).

The only reason that we teach maths and English is because Ofsted tell us we have to. Our parents only want *Kodesh*⁵⁴ (strictly orthodox school).

Our parents will follow the guidance of their rabbis in terms of which schools to send their children to. The rabbis within the community have great influence on what we teach and how many hours we spend on *Kodesh* and *Chol*⁵⁵ (strictly orthodox school).

Our parents prioritise the secular curriculum and we need to ensure that our teaching and learning is rigorous and produces similar academic results to the private schools. Our real challenge is therefore to deliver a Jewish education programme that will inspire these pupils in the limited time that we have (mainstream school).

⁵² See Chapter 5 for further discussion on rabbinic influence in the strictly orthodox community.

⁵³ Talmud.

⁵⁴ Jewish Studies.

⁵⁵ All subjects not classified as Jewish Studies.

If we want to fill our places, we have to offer a curriculum that appeals to our parents. Some years there are more places than students and therefore we need to ensure parents choose us as their first choice. To do this, we have to offer the curriculum that they want. In reality, they want a high performing academic curriculum that also provides their children with a Jewish education (mainstream school).

What became clear from the Phase I interviews was that the parent body was the biggest influencing factor on the curriculum irrespective of the denomination of the school. This was a challenge identified by leaders across the spectrum of the sample schools. A primary consideration, therefore, was the need for them to address the curriculum balance between NC and Jewish Studies in line with parental demand. In schools that had a more formalised governance structure, leaders spoke about challenges from governors or trustees around what was included in their curriculum to ensure that it addressed the school's aims. However, it was clear that the aims of the schools were also designed to ensure parents applied to send their children to the school in order that the schools filled their available places.

4.6.2 Is the Holocaust included within the Curriculum?

The most interesting finding from this phase of research was that not all schools within the sample taught the Holocaust. In terms of formal teaching, there was a clear pattern that none of the strictly orthodox boys' schools taught the Holocaust at all, unless they had any students studying GCSE History (n 2) in which case it may be included on the specification as part of the Second World War. In fact, one Headteacher of a strictly orthodox boys' school said:

I was surprised when I started in this school because in my former, non-Jewish school, I used to teach a lot about the Holocaust and we would always commemorate it on Holocaust Memorial Day. But, here we don't teach or commemorate it as far as I know.

There is a common assumption that all Jewish schools must teach about the Holocaust. Anecdotal discussions with academics and educators revealed an assumption that the strictly orthodox community, which was so heavily affected by

the Holocaust, would almost certainly focus attention on the Holocaust. However, similar to Schweber's (2008) findings in the USA, my research showed that this was not the case. In fact, as the analysis of this phase of my research has shown, the majority of strictly orthodox Jewish schools in England do not teach about the Holocaust at all. When I asked leaders of the sample schools why they did not teach about the Holocaust they repeatedly said that this was not because they did not want to teach it, but because they did not have the time owing to the necessity to devote as much time to Talmudic study and the Core NC subjects that the DfE required them to teach.

The issue of different types of Jewish schools teaching about the Holocaust is not only an issue in England. From 1999 to 2006 Kass carried out research into the teaching of the Holocaust in orthodox Jewish Day Schools in New York (Kass, 2006). One of the questions that underpinned this research was whether the educators themselves influenced what was taught. Kass explained the differences between the various types of Jewish Day Schools that exist within New York and looked at differences between what she refers to as modern orthodox schools – similar to what I refer to as 'mainstream schools' in England – and the '*hareidi* schools', which are what I refer to in this research as 'strictly orthodox'. One of Kass' conclusions was that the personal beliefs and upbringings of the educators in the schools affects the way that they teach. Similar to my findings, she also concluded that there was a difference between how the orthodox schools prioritise their curriculum for girls and boys: 'The Jewish studies curricula for these middle grade boys tends to focus on Judaic subjects, such as Talmud and other religious texts. Less time (if any) is devoted to Jewish, non-Judaic subjects, such as Jewish history and Hebrew literature' (Kass, 2006, p. 175). In line with my research, Kass explained how the equivalent strictly orthodox schools in New York also teach minimal Holocaust education to prioritise Talmudic study.

It is important to understand that this mindset is not in line with that of some leading rabbis of the 21st century. In a speech delivered in New Jersey in 2000 Rabbi Yaakov Perlow, a leading Hassidic rabbi, argued:

The teaching of the Holocaust in our *yeshivos*⁵⁶, *Bais Yaakovs*⁵⁷ and Hebrew Day Schools is a matter of momentous importance, both to *Klal Yisroel*⁵⁸ in general and specifically to the world of *chinuch*⁵⁹. Some 15 to 20 years ago, when the *zekeinim*⁶⁰ of the previous *dor*⁶¹ were still alive, they specifically asked that the subject of the *churban* of *Klal Yisroel* in Europe⁶² should become a subject of *chinuch* to the younger generation (Elias, 2001, p. 5).

Rabbi Perlow's address clearly stated the necessity for the strictly orthodox to teach their children about the Holocaust. However, this does not seem to have been actualised within the vast majority of strictly orthodox boys' schools in England.

Within the strictly orthodox girls' schools the trend is not as clear-cut. A minority of those schools taught about the Holocaust as part of their curriculum, either within Jewish History or as part of their regular history curriculum. Schweber (2008) also found this to be the case in some strictly orthodox girls' schools in America. In my Phase I interview one school leader of a strictly orthodox girls' school in England explained:

All girls learn a little about the Holocaust and if the girls study history for GCSE then they will learn more about the Holocaust there. I wish we could teach more about the Holocaust to all the girls, but some of the parents do not want them learning about it... because they are scared that whilst they still have grandparents who survived the camps, it may be embarrassing if they knew too much about what might have happened there.

That school leader was clear that she felt the Holocaust ought to be taught. Later in the interview the leader explained that she believed that over time it will be more

⁵⁶ Talmudic academies.

⁵⁷ The name of an international strictly orthodox girls high school movement.

⁵⁸ The Jewish People.

⁵⁹ Education.

⁶⁰ Leading Rabbis.

⁶¹ Generation.

⁶² The Holocaust.

widely taught within strictly orthodox schools. However, she was clear that there was parental concern around the students knowing too much about what possible experiences their grandparents may have had during the Holocaust. She explained that this was a reason that some parents did not want their children to learn about the Holocaust.

A school leader from another strictly orthodox boys school explained:

The school week is so busy to fit everything in that we have to teach. Ofsted say we must teach maths and English and our parents and the community want to prioritise *Gemara*.⁶³ Therefore, we have to decide what is a priority for us to teach. As important as I believe it is for children to learn about the Holocaust, there will be times later in life that they can hear about this.

It is clear that different educational priorities exist within the strictly orthodox schools in relation to girls and boys.⁶⁴ Talmud is the primary discipline taught to boys while girls receive a wider education – including in NC subjects – and therefore there is more space and time to teach girls other topics, including the Holocaust.

4.6.3 In which subjects is the Holocaust taught?

As Pettigrew, et al. (2009, p. 30) explained, with regard to state funded secular schools, the Holocaust can be taught in a vast number of subjects and the same can be seen within the mainstream and pluralist Jewish schools in England. Pettigrew's research showed that the Holocaust was taught in history, religious education, English, other subjects, citizenship, Personal Social Health Education (PSHE), modern foreign languages (MfL), drama and extra-curricular / assembly.

The results of my interviews showed that within the mainstream and pluralist schools, the Holocaust was taught predominantly, but not exclusively, in history and Jewish

⁶³ Talmud.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 5 for more information about education in strictly orthodox Jewish schools.

Studies lessons. It was notable that the range and number of subjects included within these schools is almost identical to that found in Pettigrew, et al's study, including in Jewish Studies, history, drama, English and PSHE. It is interesting to note the differences between each school in terms of what students are required to learn and what they can opt into learning. All those schools taught the Holocaust as part of their compulsory Key Stage 3 history curriculum. In addition, all those schools bar one also taught about the Holocaust as part of their GCSE religious studies curriculum. However, the amount of time and additional lessons spent teaching the Holocaust significantly varied across individual schools. The interviews showed that staff were not always sure what was taught about the Holocaust in departments outside of history and Jewish Studies. Even within those departments the actual topics taught were not always clearly defined. One main difference between how the Holocaust is taught in mainstream and pluralist Jewish schools in England and that found in Pettigrew's research is in relation to Year 12 was regarding educational journeys. In all those Jewish schools all students have to study the Holocaust as part of their Year 12 Jewish Studies programme and included as part of this programme is an optional educational journey to Poland, lasting, on average, for six days.

All leaders from the mainstream and pluralist schools in England talked about the educational journeys to Poland as the pinnacle of their Holocaust education. Typically, they acknowledged that such study visits provided an opportunity for in depth teaching about and learning from the Holocaust. As one school leader in a mainstream school explained:

Our Poland trip gives us an opportunity to show the students first-hand the sites where much of the Holocaust took place. This helps them to visualise and comprehend more what actually happened to the Jewish people. The learning does not only happen during the trip, but also before and after, which gives us more opportunities and curriculum time to teach about the Holocaust.

The student uptake of such programmes was high, ranging from 35% to 95% of all Year 12 students. The high uptake reflects the importance that is placed on these journeys by the schools, parents, and students. None of the strictly orthodox schools at the time of conducting the Phase I research offered overseas educational journeys focused on the Holocaust.

4.6.4 Is the Holocaust commemorated within sample schools?

All bar one of the strictly orthodox schools said that they do not mark Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD) or Yom HaShoah. However, if they happened to be in school on any of the Jewish Fast Days they would recite specific prayers remembering the Holocaust and might spend some time on those days reflecting about the loss of Jewish lives in the Holocaust. All the mainstream and pluralist schools said they marked both HMD and Yom HaShoah. One school leader explained:

It is important that we mark both HMD and Yom HaShoah as our school is part of both the Jewish and local communities. On Yom HaShoah we teach the children a more Jewish narrative and join in with international Jewish ceremonies. On HMD our students represent the Jewish community at the local council ceremonies and we invite non-Jewish students in from surrounding schools and our students are ambassadors teaching them about the Holocaust.

Leaders from other schools explained that they dedicated HMD to looking at world genocides and focusing on communities other than the Jews, and that they used Yom HaShoah as an opportunity to remember more about the 20th century Holocaust of the Jews. Some of the schools used the week of Yom HaShoah as an educational opportunity to focus on learning about the Holocaust across the school in an interdisciplinary manner, with one school commenting that during that week every department in the school was required to teach something about the Holocaust.

4.6.5 What content and pedagogical methods are used to teach the Holocaust?

Within the schools that teach the Holocaust, the overarching content and pedagogical methods used were broadly similar in number and range to those observed by Pettigrew. There were two marked exceptions that were present in all

the mainstream and pluralist schools that were not as prevalent in Pettigrew's study. Those were (a) widespread attention to post-Holocaust theology and (b) the narrative of Jewish survival as a response to the Holocaust. This presented an interesting question about the narrative of Holocaust education in Jewish schools; and was something that I decided to explore further in Phase II of my research. Based on those findings it appeared that, the aims of teaching about the Holocaust differed to those of non-Jewish schools owing to as much of the Holocaust education taking place in Jewish schools being either in Jewish Studies lessons or through a Jewish narrative. This finding was in line with Ellison's (2017) research around teaching the Holocaust in America, where he also compared the teaching in Jewish Day Schools to non-Jewish American Public schools. One of Ellison's conclusions was that in Jewish Day Schools; 'a Jewish-centric emphasis is evident in how teachers approach the causes of the Holocaust' (Ellison, 2017, p. 6). This was an area of interest that I decided needed to be investigated further in Phase II of my research.

All the previously mentioned leaders stated that, as part of their Year 12 programme, they discussed the challenging questions of God in the Holocaust as this is something with which their students wrestle; and as one teacher said:

After visiting Auschwitz, many of the students struggle to understand how God allowed the Holocaust to happen. We therefore spend a lot of time learning about and discussing this in a controlled environment to try and give them some answers.

As a result of teaching about the Holocaust, the question of faith arises in the Jewish Studies classroom and is a matter that Jewish Studies teachers need to address. Additionally, Post-Holocaust Theology exists on both specifications for Religious Studies GCSE and A-Level. Those two factors likely contribute to an increased choice of Jewish schools compared with other schools in England to dedicate more teaching time to this topic. In addition, the educational journeys to Poland are run by schools' Jewish Studies departments and therefore these journeys have an underlying

narrative of Jewish identity and survival. This is unique within a Jewish school as the Holocaust is more than just history but it is also about memory and identity. As the former Chief Rabbi, Lord Sacks, explained:

There is a fundamental difference between history and memory. History is 'his story,' an account of events that happened sometime else to someone else. Memory is "my story." It is the past internalised and made part of my identity (Sacks, 2014).

4.7 Summary of Phase I Research

The Phase I research allowed me to begin to answer my first research question⁶⁵ by gaining an understanding of the range of Jewish schools in England, their philosophies, and their curriculum priorities in terms of Jewish and core education. It also provided a brief opportunity to explore how and why different Jewish schools taught about the Holocaust. More specifically this phase of the research offered insights into pedagogical methods, topics and issues studied, educational journeys to Poland and memorialisation. This knowledge base not only informed my understanding of the provision for Holocaust education within Jewish schools in England but also influenced the focus and planning of the next phase of my research. In Phase II I narrowed the sample of schools and deployed an extensive survey instrument to investigate Holocaust education in more detail. It also allowed me to explore my second and third research questions.

⁶⁵ Research question 1 – 'What is the current landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England?'

Chapter 5 - Education in Strictly Orthodox Schools

One of the findings from Phase I of my research was that within strictly orthodox schools, teaching of the Holocaust was either entirely absent or not generally prioritised. In fact, whereas some of the girls' schools within this religious denomination did teach the Holocaust, none of the boys' schools included it in their core curriculum. The only exception to this finding was two girls' schools where students could choose to take GCSE History and the Holocaust was taught as part of those courses. In addition, in a small number of schools the Holocaust may be mentioned (but not specifically taught about) as part of liturgical or study services on certain religious memorial days. As the strictly orthodox schools make up the majority of Jewish secondary schools in England, I felt it important to investigate further why this was the case. This chapter will try to explain more fully why the teaching of the Holocaust is not prioritised within many strictly orthodox Jewish schools in England.

The international strictly orthodox community (often referred to as *Haredi*) is a complex community that is actually made up of many smaller communities and is an important sector of the Jewish community in England. Finkelman explains this niche community as a collective that:

Presents itself as self-contained and as the simple continuation of what Judaism had always been and always should be. *Hadash asur min haTorah*⁶⁶ became a kind of rallying cry, a slogan penned by a founding leader of Haredi Judaism, Rabbi Moshe Sofer (1762–1839): continue to study Torah, to keep *mitzvot*⁶⁷, to dress as one's predecessors dressed, and to maintain allegiance exclusively to Torah - just as, it is claimed, Jews have always done - rather than to the new-fangled modernistic values that have tempted some away from God's truth (Finkelman, 2011, p. 1063).

⁶⁶ Novelty is prohibited by the Torah

⁶⁷ Commandments.

According to an Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) Report on Synagogue Membership in the UK, 13.5% of Jewish households in the UK are members of strictly orthodox synagogues (Mashiah and Boyd, 2017, p. 12). As the birth-rate in this sector is the highest of all denominations, this shows what an important section of the Jewish community the strictly orthodox represent and therefore it is vital to explore education within this sector.

Before undertaking an analysis of why the Holocaust is not generally taught in strictly orthodox schools, it is necessary to understand the distinctive rationale and philosophy that underpins teaching and learning in these schools. It is important to remember that these schools have been established in order to serve the needs of the strictly orthodox denomination within the Jewish community, a community that is unique within the Jewish world. Friedman (1991, pp. VI–VII) explains how, since the Holocaust, the strictly orthodox community have re-established their *Yeshivot* and a 'society of scholars.' These scholars are world-renowned rabbis to whom the strictly orthodox community look for guidance. The majority of these scholars are based in Israel and America, with a minority in the UK. Therefore, when the strictly orthodox community in England decides on how the community should operate, the rabbis in England take their lead from the 'society of scholars' who are considered the leading rabbis of the generations. From an educational perspective, this adds a further layer of complexity with regard to the stakeholders who explicitly influence what children should be learning in school.

Strictly orthodox schools across the world prioritise Jewish Studies over other elements of the curriculum. As Perry-Hazzan explains; 'Another basic principle of the Haredi worldview is the belief that studying religious texts is the primary guarantee for the

continuity of the Jewish people' (2015, p. 631). Perry-Hazzan explains that in each country strictly orthodox schools are supposed to follow a legal framework that underpins a minimum educational standard. However, they are then free to dedicate the remainder of the curriculum time to Jewish Studies. It was clear from my own research that this was the case with the strictly orthodox schools in England and especially so within boys' schools where the school day is extended for additional curriculum time. Schools primarily see their function as preparing children for adult life and this is also the case within the strictly orthodox sector of Jewish schools. As Finkelman explains: 'In Haredi theology, Torah study is the be-all-and-end-all of Jewish experience, the very purpose of creation' (2011, p. 1065).

The educational priorities of many of these schools and their parent bodies is different to that of general society. Their aim is to prepare their children for life within the strictly orthodox sector of the community and specifically for the next stage of their education. This typically means attendance at a Talmudic College for the boys and a post-high school seminary for the girls. This development has posed a great deal of controversy in recent times with Perry-Hazan (2015) questioning whether strictly orthodox Jewish schools around the world are in breach of human rights law into education policy. In a controversial article, she examined case studies of strictly orthodox schools in Israel, America and England and concluded that, in her opinion, all three systems are failing their students by not equipping them for life in the twenty-first century. In a number of recent inspections, OFSTED have similarly graded schools as requiring improvement for not preparing students adequately for adult life in Britain. They do, however, acknowledge that these schools do teach Jewish Studies to a high level, which leaders in strictly orthodox schools would claim is their core aim. As one OFSTED report of a strictly orthodox school in London states:

The curriculum does not adequately prepare pupils for their future lives in modern Britain... Pupils' work shows that the implementation of the curriculum for English and mathematics results in typically low standards. This significantly disadvantages pupils in pursuing the next stage of their education... Leaders ensure that the progress of pupils in their Jewish religious studies is rigorously monitored and regularly reported to parents. As a result, pupils are well prepared for each subsequent stage in their learning in the school's Kodesh [Jewish Studies] curriculum (Wright, 2018, p. 3).

However, many parents and community leaders from within the strictly orthodox Jewish community have disagreed with the views of Perry-Hazan and OFSTED, as they believe that the strictly orthodox schools are preparing their children for adult life in their communities and ensuring the continuity of the Jewish people. For example, Brown (2007) and Friedman (1991) argued that the basic principles that underpin education within the strictly orthodox education system are the importance of students' understanding the need for adherence to spiritual authority. This is coupled with the study of religious texts in order to make them into a 'young master-scholar, wholly devoted to the ideals of Torah study and religious perfection, confronting not a living tradition but a tradition of books and the society of the Yeshiva elite' (Friedman, 1991, p. 11). Before it is possible to consider why the teaching of the Holocaust is included or excluded from a school's curriculum, it is first important to gain a deeper understanding of how and why strictly orthodox schools prioritise what they teach and how this has developed over time.

In order to comprehend the development of Jewish practice today, it is important to understand that rabbis and Jewish scholars still study texts that range from the Biblical to modern era in order to inform Jewish practice in the twenty-first century. Therefore,

legal disputes of the rabbis of the *Mishna*⁶⁸ and *Gemara*⁶⁹ are just as relevant when the rabbis are ruling on a case today as they were at the time they were written. The *Mishna* in Ethics of the Fathers states:

He used to say: Five years [is the age] for [the study of] scripture, ten for [the study of] Mishnah, thirteen for [becoming subject to] commandments, fifteen for [the study of] Talmud, eighteen for the [bridal] canopy, twenty for pursuing, thirty for [full] strength, forty for understanding... (Epstein, 1967, fol. Avot 5:21).

According to orthodox Jewish belief, the *Mishna* is the commentary on the Torah⁷⁰ which was taught directly to Moses by God on Sinai and then transmitted orally until its redaction in 200 CE. This text is therefore one of earliest sources in Jewish writing which establishes what a Jewish child should be studying at the various stages of their life.

An additional influence is a *Gemara* cited in the *Talmud* that appears to contradict the earlier *Mishna* and explains that a Jew should dedicate their entire lives to the study of *Torah* and Jewish scriptures:

Rabbi Safra said on the authority of Rabbi Joshua b. Hanania: What is meant by, and thou shalt teach them diligently [*we-shinnantem*] unto thy children? Read not *we-shinnantem*, but *we-shillashtem*: [you shall divide into three]: one should always divide his years into three: [devoting] a third to *Mikra*,⁷¹ a third to Mishnah, and a third to Talmud. Does one then know how long he will live? — This refers only to days (Epstein, 1967, fol. Kiddushin 30a).

⁶⁸ 'The oldest authoritative postbiblical collection and codification of Jewish oral laws, systematically compiled by numerous scholars over a period of about two centuries' (Encyclopedia Britannica, no date). This was redacted by Rabbi Yehudah HaNassi in 200 CE.

⁶⁹ The *Gemara* are exegesis on the *Mishna*. These teachings were redacted in the Babylonian *Talmud* around the 6th Century.

⁷⁰ Lit. Pentateuch. Sometimes refers to the *Tenach* which is the Old Testament of the Bible.

⁷¹ Another word that refers to the *Tenach* which is the Old Testament of the Bible.

This sixth century *Gemara* disagrees with the previous *Mishna*. It argues that Jewish educational priorities are not dictated by the student's age but rather by their lifespan. It appears that a person should divide their life's learning to spend a third on *Torah*, a third on *Mishna* and a third on *Gemara*. The obvious problem, however, is that a person does not know how long they will live and therefore cannot know at what stage they should 'graduate' from *Torah* to *Mishna*. Rashi⁷² suggests a logical solution; that a person divides their week to devote two days a week to *Tenach*, two to *Mishna* and two to the *Gemara*. *Tosafot*⁷³ argues that this may not work as one does not know if he will live to the end of the week. *Tosafot* suggests that each person divide their day into three, spending a third of the day learning each section. All of these opinions, which are dated from 200-1000CE, clearly state the importance of focussing a Jew's education around Jewish Studies and even mandating which disciplines should be prioritised.

It is important to understand that Jewish law works on a system of legal precedence with sources of religious authority from the Bible and *Talmud* still being religiously binding today. As times change, Jewish law requires rabbis of current generations to expand on religious law and to issue new rulings based on those of previous generations and the application of previous rulings to modern day issues. Therefore, these sources of religious authority, which appear to place equal importance on the study of *Tenach*⁷⁴, *Mishna* and *Gemara* within the Jewish Studies classroom are still relevant today. However, other later Jewish authorities disagreed with this principle and this influenced later developments in Jewish education. For example, *Rabbeinu Tam*, a twelfth century Jewish scholar, stated that instead of a person dividing their

⁷² An 11th century Biblical and Talmudic commentator.

⁷³ Talmudic commentators who discuss the opinions of the Talmud and Rashi's explanations on it.

⁷⁴ *Tenach* is the Hebrew name for the Jewish Bible.

day into three sections, they should just learn the Babylonian Talmud. The rationale for this position was that the Babylonian Talmud contained the *Mishna* and *Gemara*, and references of *Tenach*. Therefore, by studying Talmud, a person fulfils all of their obligations.

Perry-Hazan was not the first critic to have concerns about what is taught in the classroom. There have been numerous other rabbis with conflicting opinions about the educational needs of the Jewish community. Rabbi Bachya ibn Pakuda, an eleventh century rabbi, was extremely influential in his time and disagreed with previous philosophies of Jewish education. He believed that children needed to study and internalise more than just the scriptural sources referred to in the *Mishna* and *Gemara*. In his work the *Duties of the Heart*, which was originally published in Arabic circa 1040, Pakuda stated:

...they neglect the study of the fundamentals of their religion and the foundations of the Torah that they may neither disregard nor avoid, and without the knowledge and practice of which they cannot satisfy their other mitzvah obligations – fundamentals like the faith in God's Oneness; whether we are supposed to delve into the nature of that on our own, or whether it is enough to depend on the traditions... In fact, the believer is not allowed to be unlearned in this, for the Torah itself warns us about it (Pakuda, 1996).

According to Pakuda, it is vital that people do not neglect philosophical studies. Due consideration, he argued, must be given to the belief in God and the wonders of the world. This is not something considered important by many other authorities. Rabbi Pakuda believed that without studying and considering these concepts, a person is unable to 'satisfy their other *mitzvah* [commandment] obligations' (Pakuda, 1996). His rationale is that a person who has not given true consideration to the existence of God cannot worship Him. Pakuda places the study of philosophy high on the

hierarchy of Jewish education for those with the intellectual ability to study it. However, he was of the opinion that a broader education be required for all.

Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel, a sixteenth century Rabbinic leader of Prague, was also unhappy with the state of Jewish education in his time. He wrote in his book, *Gur Aryeh* published in English in (1989), that those who do not take the original *Mishna* in 'Ethics of the Fathers' seriously are failing to take education seriously. His writing diverges to give a long pronouncement on educational methods, for which he apologises but which emphasised his feelings about the state of education. He claimed that people do not know the basics of education – clearly referring to *Tenach* – before moving on to more advanced study.

The opinions of Rabbis Pakuda and Bezalel were not particularly influential within strictly orthodox schools. However, mainstream orthodox schools have followed their advice, as can be seen in the breadth of their curriculum today⁷⁵. However, the approach explained in the *Mishna* and *Gemara* became common practice in many strictly orthodox schools and *Yeshivot* worldwide from the medieval period until the twentieth century. Rabbi Yoel Tajtelbaum⁷⁶, the former leader of the Satamar Hassidic sect⁷⁷, even argued that this was considered to be Jewish law. Even in the twenty-first century, these teachings are used within sections of the strictly orthodox community to help define curriculum priorities.

In the twenty-first century, it is important to remember that many strictly orthodox communities are still of the opinion that the best way to ensure their collective future

⁷⁵ See Twersky (2003) for further discussion on what he believes should be taught in a Jewish Studies curriculum today.

⁷⁶ Lived from 1887-1979.

⁷⁷ A sect within the strictly orthodox community.

and distinct identity is to protect themselves by segregating from society at large. As Finkelman states: 'Haredi [strictly orthodox] Judaism presents itself as self-contained and as the simple continuation of what Judaism had always been and always should be' (2011, p. 1063). As such, it is important to remember, therefore, that many strictly orthodox communities want their schools to continue teaching in the ways suggested in the *Mishna* and *Gemara*, as they have been doing since their inception:

Haredi [strictly orthodox] Jewish education differs from that of other segments of the Jewish community, and it is impossible to understand the Haredi community and its educational system without reference to that difference. To put it simply, Torah education is more central in the cultural economy of Haredi communities than it is in that of other Jewish communities (Finkelman, 2011, pp. 1064–5).

Phase I of my research showed that there was a clear difference in teaching about the Holocaust in the majority of the strictly orthodox schools from all other schools within the Jewish community and to some extent, what Finkelman is stating here helps to explain this. The strictly orthodox schools prioritise studying Torah above anything else and therefore devote a far greater proportion of curriculum time to religious study. This was something that came across in interviews with school leaders. School leaders of strictly orthodox schools also explained that, unlike the mainstream and pluralist schools, they would not include Holocaust education as part of their Jewish Studies curriculum, as explored in detail below. This trend was not limited to England, but was also identified by Schweber in her research in two strictly orthodox schools in Australia and New York (2004). However, the proportion of time devoted to religious study does not fully explain why many of the strictly orthodox schools still chose to almost totally exclude any education about the Holocaust from their curriculum. In order to understand these curriculum choices, it is important to understand the debates that have taken place in terms of teaching the Holocaust in strictly orthodox schools and what has led to current practice.

5.1 The history of teaching the Holocaust in strictly orthodox schools

In 1977 principals from a number of strictly orthodox Jewish schools in America collectively wrote a letter to Rabbi Yitzchok Hutner, one of the leading American strictly orthodox rabbis of this time, to ask three questions:

Is the term 'Shoah' (lit. "Holocaust") acceptable in describing the *Churban* - the destruction of European Jewry during World War II?
Should the "Holocaust" be taught separately as many schools are now doing or planning to do, or incorporated into the regular courses on Jewish History and taught as part of the studies on this particular time period?
If the latter, where indeed does the Holocaust "fit in" with the rest of Jewish History? (Hutner, 1977, p. 3).

In response to those three questions, Rabbi Hutner convened a conference in his Yeshiva of around 100 strictly orthodox American school principals in order to share his thoughts. Two rabbis who were present translated the discourse into English and this was published in *The Jewish Observer* newspaper in October 1977. The questions and Rabbi Hutner's response have been fundamental in the development of curriculum decisions for strictly orthodox schools across the world in terms of teaching the Holocaust until the end of the twentieth century. Informal discussions that I had with some rabbis from the strictly orthodox community in the UK emphasised that Rabbi Hutner was world-renowned and his opinions across the strictly orthodox Jewish world usually were followed.

Throughout his discourse, Rabbi Hutner addressed the three questions. His views were clear that he believed the Holocaust was another tragic part of Jewish history, but not necessarily an isolated unique historical event. He also clearly set out that he thought, on the whole, Holocaust education was being taught with a Zionist anti-religious narrative. He emphasised Torah observance as being the only way to move forwards

and as being more important than teaching about this historic period. He concluded his lecture by saying:

The current wide-spread interest in the World War II years should only serve to alert us once more to the often duplicitous sources of public opinion. Of course, this in no way impugns the motives of those who have genuinely dedicated themselves and the study of that epochal time – especially the *She'aris Hapelita* [survivors] who feel the scars on their own bodies and who cry out in pain to the world not to forget. It does, however, give us an idea of the tremendous pitfalls on the road to a clear understanding of the true patterns of Jewish history. Only through a rededication to sole use of the Torah as a guide through the byways of history will we be sure to arrive at the truth we all seek (Hutner, 1977, p. 9).

Professor Lawrence Kaplan, from McGill University, wrote a response and critique to Rabbi Hutner's discourse. Kaplan argued that one of the most controversial themes, which underpinned Rabbi Hutner's response, was his anti-Zionist leaning:

Rabbi Hutner's discourse indicated that the *yeshivah* world and the Agudah⁷⁸... have not abandoned their ideological hostility to Zionism, a hostility that I will argue, in the case of Rabbi Hutner, has influenced his evaluation of historical events (Kaplan, 1980, p. 236).

This 'hostility to Zionism' appears to have had an impact on Rabbi Hutner's opinions not only about teaching the Holocaust, but also about the Holocaust in general. This is clear from Rabbi Hutner's explanation on the use of the term 'Holocaust':

As in all quests for the truth, we must return to origins. The term *Shoah* [Holocaust] was coined by the founders of Yad V'Shem in Jerusalem, since they were convinced that the tragedy of European Jewry was so unique in its proportions and dimensions that no previous phrase could encompass its meaning. Undoubtedly, to a certain degree they were correct, for indeed the destruction of hundreds of thousands of Jewish communities was unique in its proportions and dimensions. Yet, by singling out the quantitative differences of this particular *churban*, those who sought a new terminology for these events missed the essence of their uniqueness... Jews have always been beaten by gentiles; only the means and instrument of torment have changed... The end result of this

⁷⁸ The Agudah is the American umbrella organisation of strictly orthodox communities.

period for the Jewish psyche was a significant – indeed crucial – one... In a relatively short historical period, disappointment in the non-Jewish world was deeply imprinted on the Jewish soul (Hutner, 1977, p. 5).

Rabbi Hutner appeared to be following the narrative that the Holocaust is not truly unique, but just the continuation of antisemitism that has existed throughout time. Rabbi Hutner is not the first rabbi to have this opinion; this concept was expanded upon by Rabbi Pearlman in his Hebrew article on the sources of antisemitism (2015). Rabbi Hutner is of the opinion that the Hebrew word *Churban* [destruction] which is the same word used in the context of the destruction of the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem is more appropriate as it should be used to refer to the destruction of so many Jewish communities. In the early part of his response, it appeared that he was more concerned about the destruction of the communities as opposed to the number of people who were murdered by the Nazis as part of the Second World War. However, as the response developed, his argument changes slightly. He placed the blame at the hands of the gentile world, coupled with the Zionist leadership, but also reminded his listeners that had the pre-war generations not put so much trust in the gentile world then perhaps the Holocaust would not have taken place. It is quite clear that the first section of Rabbi Hutner's speech was at best didactic or at worst polemic. Its aim was to remind the 100 principals in the room that opening the community to the narrative and influences of Zionism coupled with trust in the wider society and modernity could be dangerous. Rabbi Hutner was saying that this should not happen in strictly orthodox schools.

Yablonka and Tlamim (2003) explain that following the trial of Adolf Eichman in Jerusalem in the early 1960s, there was a change in attitude of the Israeli public about the need to discuss and educate about the Holocaust. This led to the Israeli government providing additional resources to Yad Vashem to increase and expand

its work. This, in turn, led to an increased awareness internationally of the importance of teaching about the Holocaust. Yad Vashem's influence coupled with the growing international pressure for more education about the Holocaust were factors that led so many educators from the strictly orthodox community to ask those questions of Rabbi Hutner. However, as Yad Vashem was established by the Israeli government⁷⁹ there were many members of the Agudah who were opposed to teaching about the Holocaust or visiting Yad Vashem. As Wolowelsky explains: 'R. Hutner... certainly feels that Zionism had a share in increasing the suffering of Jews during the Sho'a period. In fact, for R. Hutner the current push for focus on the Holocaust is actually part of a campaign against the Torah community' (1989, p. 52). Therefore, teaching about the Holocaust was not seen as something of importance to Rabbi Hutner or his followers, but rather something that was very much a part of the Zionist narrative and not for the strictly orthodox to engage with. Those defensive feelings were felt by some of the leading strictly orthodox Rabbis who were concerned with the power and influence that was growing in both the Zionist camps and within many mainstream Jewish communities. This resulted in many articles and rabbinic proclamations being made against engagement with Zionist activities and people from outside of the strictly orthodox community. As a result of this, many strictly orthodox rabbis took their lead from Rabbi Hutner and decided that, in the schools in which they presided, the Holocaust would not be taught at all.

The three questions⁸⁰ posed to Rabbi Hutner were never fully addressed. However, he made it clear that, in his opinion, in 1977 it was not the time for the strictly orthodox to teach about the Holocaust as a unique event, but to remember that it is just part of the extended 2,000 year story of the destruction of the Jewish people. Therefore,

⁷⁹ Yad Vashem was established in 1953.

⁸⁰ Stated previously.

Rabbi Hutner believed that Jewish schools should memorialise the Holocaust in liturgy on specific days of remembrance and reflection without the need to teach about it. It must be noted, however, that despite Hutner being a very influential American rabbi, according to Shaul; 'American Jews found it hard to accept such a harsh stance towards Zionism and the State of Israel, which the majority saw in a positive light' (2013, p. 12). On the one hand, many of the leading strictly orthodox rabbis did not promote Zionism and were not supportive of the new State of Israel in its secular form. On the other hand, many of the strictly orthodox Jews who followed those rabbis were supportive of having the State of Israel. One of Rabbi Hutner's reasons for not teaching the Holocaust was that it was being taught from a secular Zionist perspective. This led to a conflation of the Holocaust and the promotion of Zionism, which was viewed as promoting secularism. That conflation contributed significantly to decades of the Holocaust not being taught within the strictly orthodox schools and communities.

On the 2 August 2000, Rabbi Yaakov Perlow, the leader of the Novominsker Hassidic sect and Head of the American Agudas Yisrael, the strictly orthodox community, delivered a ground-breaking public address in New Jersey. He began the speech by stating:

The teaching of the Holocaust in our yeshivos [Talmudic college/high school for boys], Bais Yaakovs [strictly orthodox High School movement for girls] and Hebrew Day Schools is a matter of momentous importance, both to *Klal Yisroel* [the Jewish People] in general and specifically to the world of *chinuch* [education] (Elias, 2001, p. 5).

Rabbi Perlow who, at the time, held the same position as Rabbi Hutner had done almost 30 years earlier, took a very different stance to his predecessor. He made it clear that the Holocaust must be taught in schools. In contrast with Hutner's speech,

Rabbi Perlow's address was more emotional and focused on the importance of the Jewish world feeling a sense of loss and connection with those who were murdered in the Holocaust. He believed that this should be the focus of Holocaust education, rather than teaching historical events or theological difficulties that arise as a response to the Holocaust.

Rabbi Perlow acknowledged that his predecessors were reluctant to support the teaching of the Holocaust in strictly orthodox schools. He rationalised this by stating;

It was our mission at that time to look forward, to rebuild our families, our institutions, to raise new *doros* [generations] to *Hashem uleTorato* [God and his Torah]. That was the major *tafkid* [role] of *Klal Yisroel* [the Jewish People], of the *olam haTorah* [the Torah/religious world] (Mandel, 2012, p. 5).

Rabbi Perlow made it clear that until his address the leading strictly orthodox Rabbis were of the opinion that was time for rebuilding the community rather than dwelling on or learning about the Holocaust. It is important to bear in mind that of all sectors of the Jewish community the strictly orthodox were impacted the most in the Holocaust, not only in terms of the murder of people but also in the destruction of communal organisations and institutions. One reason for this was that the strictly orthodox community in the 1930s largely lived in central and Eastern Europe and Russia. In addition, the strictly orthodox community had a higher birth-rate than other sectors of the community and therefore there were more strictly orthodox Jews living in Nazi-occupied Europe than other Jews. Therefore, after the Holocaust this section of the community had to start to rebuild itself, which is what Rabbi Perlow referred to when he said that his predecessors felt that new generations had to be built and strengthened. However, by the early twenty first century Rabbi Perlow believed that times had changed and that it was time to address and learn about the Holocaust as

opposed to focusing on recovering from it: 'We must be able to inform our children as to what had happened, and instruct them in how a Torah Jew is to view this dark period of history. I believe that now, 55 years after the era, it is time that we grapple with this subject' (Mandel, 2012, p. 6).

Rabbi Perlow was very clear in his message about how he felt the Holocaust should be taught:

It is insufficient to simply relate the facts... our youth must have a historical understanding that a culture of a thousand years of Jewish life went up in flames... It is also important to convey to young people that these monsters who lived in the 20th century were incomparable in their evil (Mandel, 2012, p. 8).

Rabbi Perlow's whole address was emotional. He wanted Jewish youth to connect and 'shed tears' for those murdered and for them to comprehend the effect that the Holocaust had on the entire Jewish community. He then turned to theological issues and debates. He was concerned that post-Holocaust theology had developed with some theologians using the Holocaust as a means of denying God, which concerned him in terms of the effect that it was having on the Jewish world and the increased assimilation of young people. He cited the famous question of Richard Rubinstein and answered it for his audience; 'About 30-40 years ago a system of radical theology, of *kefirah* [heresy], emerged. To put it mildly: Where was G-d at Auschwitz? (In response, I said: "He was in all the corners")' (Mandel, 2012, p. 9). Rabbi Perlow stated that this heresy was spreading throughout the Jewish world and it was the job of schools and institutions to teach the opposing view. His overarching aim of promoting teaching about the Holocaust is clear from his closing remarks. He asserted that it is the responsibility of teachers to stress the importance of continuing Jewish practice and

strengthening Jewish belief and not to allow Holocaust deniers and theologians to dilute this message.

It is important to understand that leading rabbis, who often live in Israel or the USA, have great influence on the Jewish community in the UK. This is still the case in the twenty-first century. For example, the strictly orthodox weekly Jewish newspapers print articles about recent stories and rulings of influential rabbis and typically no more than one story each week is based in the UK. Similarly, even though there are some *Yeshivot*⁸¹ in the UK, the leading *Yeshivot* are now situated in Israel and the orthodox community therefore looks to Israel for a great deal of their spiritual guidance. This is also the case in terms of gaining rabbinic ordination. There is no longer a central *Yeshiva* or training authority in the UK for granting rabbinic ordination and men who wish to study for this will usually do so in Israel. Therefore, the views of Rabbis Hutner and Perlow were important and influenced many strictly orthodox schools, especially outside of Israel, in their curriculum decisions regarding Holocaust education.

My research showed that the Holocaust was not being taught in most of the strictly orthodox schools in England. However, the majority of my interviews with school leaders pointed to a lack of curriculum time as the main reason for excluding the Holocaust from their curriculum. This was especially the case in boys' schools where Talmudic study was the clear curriculum priority. One non-Jewish Headteacher of a strictly orthodox school told me during his interview how surprised he was that there had been more Holocaust education in his previous non-Jewish school than his current Jewish school. My findings were very similar to research carried out by Kass (2006) regarding teaching the Holocaust in orthodox schools in New York. However, follow up conversations with rabbis and senior members of the community who were

⁸¹ Plural of *Yeshiva*, Talmudic academy.

influential in the policies of some of the schools in the sample, did not offer such a simple answer. Some of those respondents were concerned about the value of learning about the Holocaust and whether or not this would teach their children 'the right things'. None of the respondents mentioned Rabbi Hutner by name, but a number of them said that one of the reasons the Holocaust is not taught is as a result of the opinions of some of the leading rabbis. In addition, and again similar to some of Kass' findings, some senior leaders, educators and rabbis in the community expressed some concern about embarrassing survivors. When I asked them about this further, it became apparent that there was a fear of discussing the Nazi treatment of the Jews in case some survivors may be embarrassed about their past. It was evident that this explanation led to a reluctance from some parents and stakeholders to support teaching and learning about the Holocaust. One Headteacher told me that she felt this would change in time when there are no longer survivors alive. I also discussed this concept with a strictly orthodox educator who leads educational journeys to Poland and whose grandparents had survived Auschwitz. He told me that his grandmother had never been comfortable talking to his parents regarding her treatment in Auschwitz, which included being experimented on by Mengele. However, as she reached her eighties, she started to talk to her grandchildren about her experiences, but in a very modest manner as she started to feel more comfortable. This educator told me that he believed that was unusual within this community, as many survivors and their families from within this community have only spoken about the 'miracles of the Holocaust' and hidden the darker sides that perhaps they would have been ashamed for their families to hear.

I believed that there were potentially more reasons why teaching about the Holocaust was excluded from the curriculum of strictly orthodox schools than I had managed to uncover in Phase I of my study. I therefore undertook some further follow-

up interviews that focussed on the reasons for this absence. Those interviews revealed that there was a difference in rationale between decisions for boys' and girls' schools. I spoke to senior leaders or rabbinic advisors of three boys' schools. Those interviews revealed that the main reason for not teaching about the Holocaust within the curriculum was to prioritise Talmudic study. However, when asked specifically about the potential influences of Rabbis Hutner and Perlow, rabbinic advisors and Jewish school leaders were happy to engage in discussion about their influence. All leaders involved in those follow-up interviews, did, however, insist on confidentiality of their name and the names of their schools. Some examples of comments by leaders stated:

The *Churban* in Europe [Holocaust] was a tragedy that affected our community greatly. As Rabbi Hutner explained, this, however was another time in our history where non-Jews have tried to persecute us and stop *Yiddishkeit* [Judaism]. When teaching our boys, it is our job to prepare them for life as a *frum Yid* [religious Jew] who will have his own family and follow the path of *Hashem* [keep God's commandments]. Therefore, we need to spend all time that we have teaching *Gemara* as this is the best way to prepare our boys for this lifestyle. It is not that we are against teaching the *Churban*, as we were in the past, and the boys will learn about it when it may be mentioned in a *shiur* [class], but it is not a priority.

I would love to have more time in my school to teach our boys lots of different things. However, the parents and *Rabbonim* [Rabbis] want us to ensure our boys have the best *Kodesh* education possible to prepare them for *Yeshiva* [Talmudic college] and therefore we just don't have time for anything extra. [When asked about Rabbis Hutner and Perlow] We are aware that in the past many *Rabbonim* were against us teaching about the Holocaust, but these views have now changed. Perhaps this may have been why many of our schools did not originally teach about the Holocaust, but now I believe it is all about time.

Rabbi Hutner was one of the greatest Rabbis of his time and our *kehillo* [community] respected him and his teachings. At the time that he said not to teach the Holocaust he believed this was right. As times have changed and Rabbi Perlow took over the leadership of the Agudah, his view was different. Whilst we would not be against teaching the Holocaust as a topic, it is not a priority for our boys as we have so much else that they need to learn about.

Whilst the school leaders I interviewed explained that within strictly orthodox schools for boys the Holocaust was not taught, this was not the same for girls' schools. Whilst some girls' schools did not teach about the Holocaust at all others did include it within their curriculum. For example, school leaders from strictly orthodox schools for girls typically explained that on certain days of the Jewish calendar memorial prayers are said for the victims of the Holocaust, and that at this time some schools choose to talk about this difficult history on a superficial level. As one school leader explained:

On days like *asoroh b'teves* [Fast of Tevet] we focus our *tefillos* [prayers] with the girls on victims of the Holocaust. We then have survivors or children of survivors tell their story. We always make sure that the speakers are from *frum* [religious] homes and therefore their stories are appropriate and something our girls can understand. The girls then can have discussions with their teachers about what they have heard. These are often very powerful.

It is important to also remember that many strictly orthodox communities had survivors of the Holocaust living within them. Therefore, survivors may have chosen to speak to their grandchildren about their lives. As a result of this, children in the strictly orthodox communities were likely to have been aware of the Holocaust on some level. However, many of the schools still only mentioned it in a limited manner. One of the Headteachers I spoke with said that this was the case within their school. This Headteacher said that one of the reasons that they do not currently teach the Holocaust is that some of the families with survivors did not want their children learning about the Holocaust as they wanted to be able to control the knowledge and narrative that their grandchildren were receiving. This leader felt that these families were almost scared of some of the difficult questions that their children may ask if they were taught about the Holocaust. I asked the Headteacher if she felt that in time, when there are no longer survivors alive, this would change, and she told me that they believed it would. Whilst within girls' schools there were different approaches to

Holocaust education, school leaders were not aware of Rabbi Hutner or Perlow's views on Holocaust education *per se* but thought that they may have had previous influence. As one school leader explained to me:

I have been teaching in *chareidi* [strictly orthodox] girls' schools for many years. When I first started teaching in these schools we did not teach about the Holocaust at all. However, over the years things changed and we were then allowed to mention it and now we can teach about it. I know Rabbi Hutner was a great *Rov* [Rabbi] and our *kehillo* [community] followed his rulings carefully. However, I have never heard anyone discuss the reasons behind why we could not teach the Holocaust in the past and what made that change. It is possible that the change was due to the opinions of these great rabbis changing. The way our schools work is that the rabbis who oversee the *hashkofa* [ethos] tell us what we can and cannot teach and we follow their guidance.

My research showed that at this current time, the formal teaching of the Holocaust in strictly orthodox schools in England is still only happening in a small number of schools (n 2). The girls' schools with a more 'modern' outlook were more in favour of teaching the Holocaust and some Headteachers did talk about possible changes in the future. However, within the boys' schools, curriculum priority still focuses on the teaching of Talmud. However, in the past three years, one of the strictly orthodox girls' seminaries in London⁸² has made an active decision to begin teaching Jewish History with the Holocaust included as a topic on this course. I interviewed the teacher who was leading this course and she told me that times are changing within the strictly orthodox community and the community is ready to begin to learn more about the Holocaust. She explained that, in her opinion, the reason the boys' schools do not learn about the Holocaust is because they believe that they should dedicate as much time as possible to Talmudic study. However, within girls' schools and seminaries she believed that over the next 10 years there will be an increase in the teaching of the

⁸² This seminary is for girls aged 16-18. It is not registered with the DfE as a school, but many girls from the strictly orthodox community go here after their GCSEs to study Jewish Studies at a higher level.

Holocaust. She is of the opinion that the reason the Holocaust has not been taught until this point was due to influential rabbinic opinion that the Holocaust was not something for children to learn. However, Rabbi Perlow's arguments about why the Holocaust should be taught in strictly orthodox schools is having an effect on the strictly orthodox community in England and she believes this is why the seminary in which she teaches has made the active decision to now teach about the Holocaust. Even though it has been 20 years since Rabbi Perlow made his statements, change in the strictly orthodox community can be slow and this is one of the reasons why only now things are beginning to change.

5.2 Summary

My research has highlighted the many complexities surrounding strictly orthodox schools in England and the multi-faceted influences that they have on their curriculum. It has also shown that there is an intentional lack of parity between boys' and girls' schools as this section of the community believes that boys and girls should learn different things to prepare them for adult life. At this time, there is not a considerable amount of Holocaust education taking place in these schools⁸³, but increasing evidence suggests that, based on conversations with teachers, senior leaders and Rabbis within the community, within the girls' schools, this is something that is likely to change and develop in future decades.

⁸³ See Chapter 6 - Phase II Analysis - which discussed what is being taught within the two strictly orthodox schools included within the sample.

Chapter 6 - Phase IIa: Teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish Schools

6.1 Introduction

Phase I of my research was broadly aiming to gather information to answer my first research question. In Phase II, I hoped to not only extend this knowledge further, but to also begin to address my second and third research questions:

- What factors influence the extent and nature of the provision of Holocaust Education in Jewish secondary schools in England?
- What are the distinctive features, challenges, and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared to schools within the wider secular context?

Based on the knowledge established in Phase I of my research, I decided to narrow the sample to 9 schools: 7 in London, 1 in Manchester and 1 in Liverpool. Whilst my initial research proposal aimed to select 10 schools from a range of Jewish schools in terms of their ethos, the Phase I research showed that only 9 of the Jewish secondary schools in England taught about the Holocaust.⁸⁴ Therefore, all those schools were included within the sample other than the new school in Leeds. Owing to the demographics of the UK Jewish community the majority of Jewish secondary schools are in London, with some in Manchester, one in Liverpool and Leeds and a small number in Gateshead. As previously explained, most Jewish schools that identify as strictly orthodox do not teach about the Holocaust and therefore all Jewish schools who teach about the Holocaust at age 11+ were selected to be included in the sample for Phase II. The only exception was the Leeds Jewish Free School, which was

⁸⁴ See Chapter 5 on strictly orthodox schools for more information on why this is the case.

excluded from the sample owing to being a very small and new school that, at the time of conducting the research, did not have students on roll from Year 7 to Year 13. Any data from that school would not be comparable with the other schools within the sample and would skew the results. Therefore, the sample was narrowed by a natural selection process resulting in a relatively small but significant sample of schools and potential respondents.

Phase I was generally focussed on providing a portrait of Jewish schools in England containing secondary school age students. Essentially, Phase I focused on understanding how those schools operated and how much time was dedicated to Jewish Studies as well as acquiring an overview of how the Holocaust was taught. This provided a baseline of information but did not give me the depth of knowledge that was needed. In contrast, Phase II provided for gathering additional depth of information. This phase mainly focussed on:

- In which subjects the Holocaust is taught;
- How the Holocaust is taught in the various schools, examining pedagogic approaches, what is actually taught and the aims of teaching the Holocaust;
- Gaining an understanding of schools' educational journeys to Poland, including their aims and pedagogical approaches and whether those synthesise with the school's overall aims for Holocaust education.

In 2009, the Institute of Education (IoE) was commissioned to undertake an empirical study into teaching about the Holocaust in English secondary schools. The aims of this research were:

1. To provide a more comprehensive empirical portrait of Holocaust education in English secondary schools than had previously existed.

2. To investigate teachers' initial training and professional development in Holocaust education as well as their familiarity with and use of specialist organisations and/or resources in the field.
3. To examine individual teachers' personal and professional aims, approaches, understanding and knowledge base when teaching about the Holocaust.
4. To identify any particular challenges and/or opportunities encountered or perceived by teachers when teaching about the Holocaust (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009).

This research was the first in-depth empirical study conducted into the teaching of the Holocaust in secondary schools in England. However, there were very few respondents from teachers in Jewish schools. In addition, there were not any teachers from Jewish schools who participated in focus groups or interviews for this study. Phase II of my research was designed and structured around the IoE research (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) to complement it by gathering similar data from Jewish schools. Therefore, I designed this phase of the research around the structure used by the IoE, allowing opportunities to compare and contrast my data with their study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). My initial plan was to use the same principal research methodology for Phase II as was used for the 2009 study. This necessitated undertaking surveys with teachers of the Holocaust within the schools in my sample. I decided that the predominant instrument to investigate the aims of this study would be through an online survey instrument.⁸⁵ However, to supplement understanding I also asked respondents whether I could contact them for follow-up conversations, and many respondents were willing to do so. In addition, I was able to cross-reference my findings from this

⁸⁵ When citing responses from open questions in my survey, I have quoted verbatim written responses including any errors in order to protect data integrity.

Phase with those of leaders interviewed in Phase I. Where I found discrepancies between the two elements, or between teachers within the same school, I was able to carry out follow-up conversations for clarification with senior leaders from the specific school. I was therefore able to gather three layers of data within this phase; survey responses, follow up conversations with individual respondents, and discussions with senior leaders of the schools within the sample. That third layer was particularly helpful to clarify information within a school, especially when respondents from the same school gave conflicting answers in their survey responses. The small number of schools within the sample, as well as the relatively small number of respondents, made this follow-up relatively easy to carry out, and therefore it both validated the data as well as adding more texture to it.⁸⁶

The design of the survey was informed by a rigorous process in which key literature was considered, a series of pilots undertaken, and amendments made to the survey design based on feedback from the pilot studies. At the outset I took many questions from the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), but after close scrutiny some were not appropriate for the specific context of Jewish schools. Additionally, conversations with academic staff at the IoE revealed that they felt, in hindsight, that some of their questions could have been asked or worded differently, and they provided advice on possible changes to make. I also felt that there were missed opportunities to ask alternative questions based on the information I had gained from the sample schools in Phase I. For example, I wanted to know whether the Holocaust was taught in Jewish Studies lessons as well as History, PSHCE, etc. I was also interested to know whether and how the Holocaust was memorialised in the schools. For example, I wanted to know whether there was memorialisation on HMD⁸⁷ and at the same time whether

⁸⁶ See Appendix 5 for a table detailing all follow up interviews.

⁸⁷ Holocaust Memorial Day.

Yom HaShoah⁸⁸ was marked. A key piece of information uncovered in Phase I was that almost all Jewish schools who teach about the Holocaust also provide an educational journey to Poland. Accordingly, appropriate questions were devised to explore that aspect of many students' educational experience in Jewish schools. I wanted to find out how those journeys linked to the school's curriculum, what their aims were, and how they were run. I therefore decided to add a section to the survey that would help to gather this information. As the educational journey to Poland was its own sub-topic within the survey, I made the decision, when writing the analysis of the data, to present my findings about those journeys in a separate chapter of my thesis.⁸⁹

The Phase II survey was conducted online via a UCL hosted survey package – Impero - and the questions were broadly grouped into the following areas:

- Aims of Holocaust Education
- Content of Holocaust Education
- Pedagogical approaches to teaching the Holocaust
- Collaboration within the school on teaching the Holocaust
- Educational journeys to Poland

When I had designed my survey questions I felt that it was vital to pilot the survey, both in terms of the appropriateness of the questions and the functionality of the online system. I piloted the survey with a sample of 12 teachers within my own school and received extremely detailed feedback. One of the people who piloted the survey was a former social science researcher and she had very helpful feedback in terms

⁸⁸ The day in the Jewish Calendar when Jews around the world memorialise the Holocaust. This day was established by the State of Israel and is therefore not marked by some strictly orthodox schools; see Chapter 5.

⁸⁹ See Chapter 7.

of the survey structure as well as the nature of the questions. As a result of the pilot, I made some changes to some of the questions and decided to remove some questions entirely from the survey as I realised that they were unnecessary or repetitive. As a result of the pilot feedback and conversations with a senior leader in one of the sample schools, I also decided that it would be most appropriate to ask Headteachers to send the survey request to all staff in the sample schools. My rationale for this was to see in which subjects the Holocaust was taught in these schools, and to try to include staff who had participated in the school's educational journeys to Poland. The challenge here was the length of the survey and possibility of teachers not completing it, especially if they did not actually teach about the Holocaust. I therefore included conditional piping within my survey, which allowed questions to be filtered in or out depending on their answers. That way if a staff member did not teach about the Holocaust all related questions would be filtered out of their survey, and the same applied to a staff member who had never attended the school's Poland trip. After making these substantial changes, I re-piloted my survey with the same sample and received very positive feedback.

As I was unsure what my findings from these surveys would be, I decided to ask teachers to include their name and contact details as part of the survey if they were happy to be contacted for further information or interviews. My rationale was twofold: firstly, to clarify or understand in more detail the rationale for a particular response, and secondly to help me identify which schools and possibly which teachers might be the most useful to include in my sample for Phase III research. To ensure that I fulfilled my ethical duties, as outlined by BERA, and to be fully compliant with Data Protection requirements,⁹⁰ my survey had clear data statements that respondents had

⁹⁰ At the time this phase of the research was conducted, GDPR had not become law and therefore my research was subject to the Data Protection Act and not GDPR requirements.

to accept to be able to participate in the survey. Those statements explained to respondents how their data would be used and that it would be kept secure on password protected systems and the UCL servers. Participants were also informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time and their data would be destroyed at the end of the project.

As explained in my methodology chapter,⁹¹ I gave great thought to ethical considerations when designing the survey. One of the most challenging aspects of Phase II was my ability to uphold ethical promises of anonymity within a relatively small sample of schools in a relatively small community. As an 'Insider Researcher' I know most of the schools within the sample and have professional relations with many teachers within these schools. Therefore, I had to be very careful when writing my analysis to ensure that the anonymity of teachers was protected where possible⁹². This was especially the case in relation to the pluralist school as there is only one Jewish pluralist school in the UK. Therefore, I was mindful when writing my analysis to try, wherever possible, to minimise the chances of identification of a respondent. Therefore, as previously explained, I decided to use pseudonyms for the individual school names to aid the reader in following the flow, whilst trying to retain anonymity.

6.2 The Sample

To make the data collected meaningful within the sample, it is important to understand the context of Jewish schools in England. In 2013, the Board of Deputies recorded 51 Jewish schools with students of 11+ registered in England. 76% (n 39) of these schools classified themselves as strictly orthodox, 16% (n 8) as mainstream, 6% (n

⁹¹ See Chapter 3.

⁹² See Chapter 3 for further discussion on this.

3) as special needs schools and 2% (n 1) as pluralist. However, it is important to note that, generally, strictly orthodox schools are considerably smaller than the mainstream and pluralist schools. In 2013 the Department for Education published *Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics*, which offered detailed information about schools including the number of staff, pupils on roll and other statistical information across England and Wales. Within this data it is possible to search for specific schools and from here I was able to calculate that even though the strictly orthodox schools represent 76% of all Jewish schools only 39% of students were in these Jewish schools:

Figure 4: Schools in the Phase I sample by denomination (%)

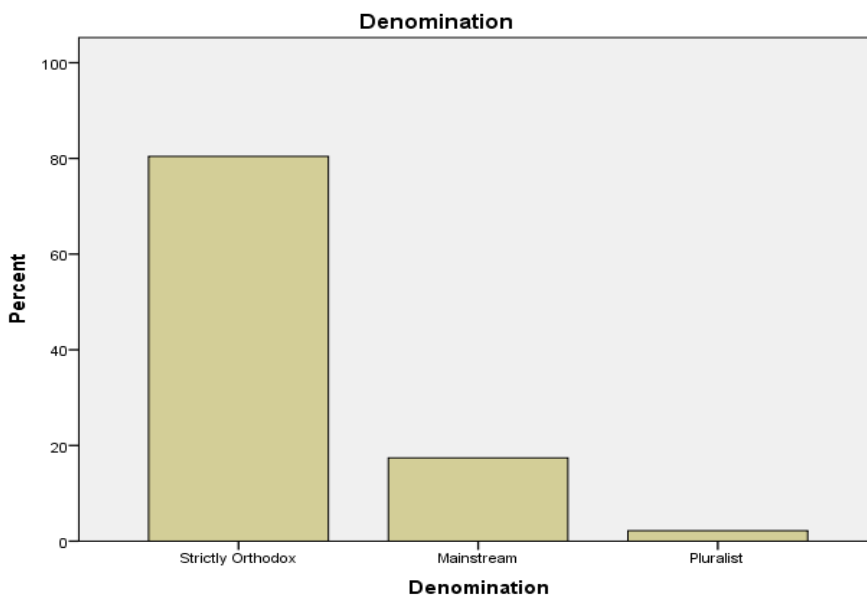
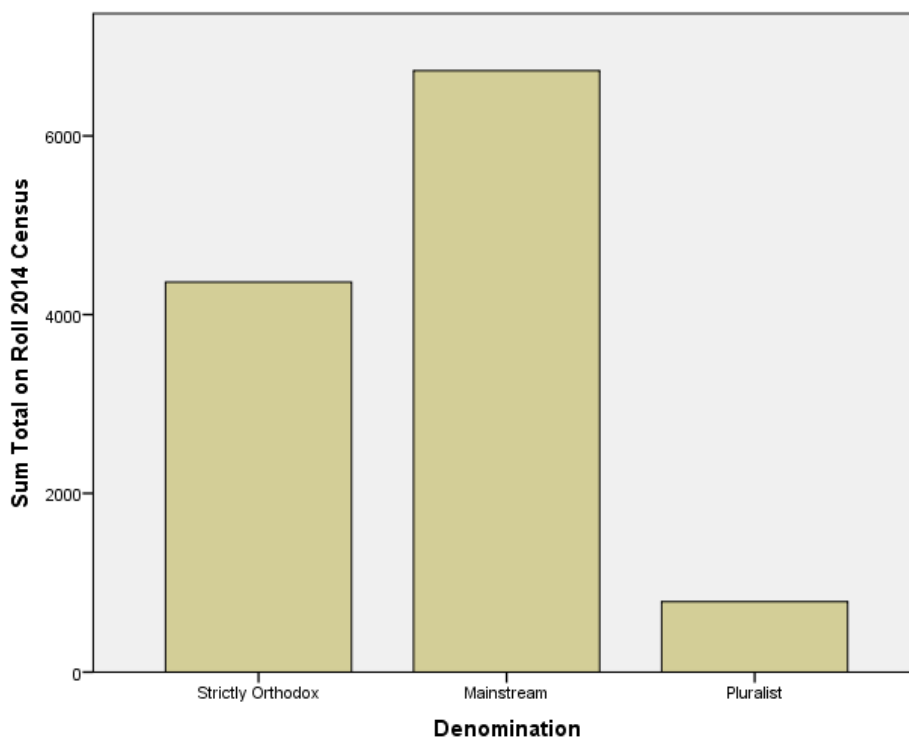


Figure 5: Number of pupils on roll across schools in the respective denominations within the Phase I sample



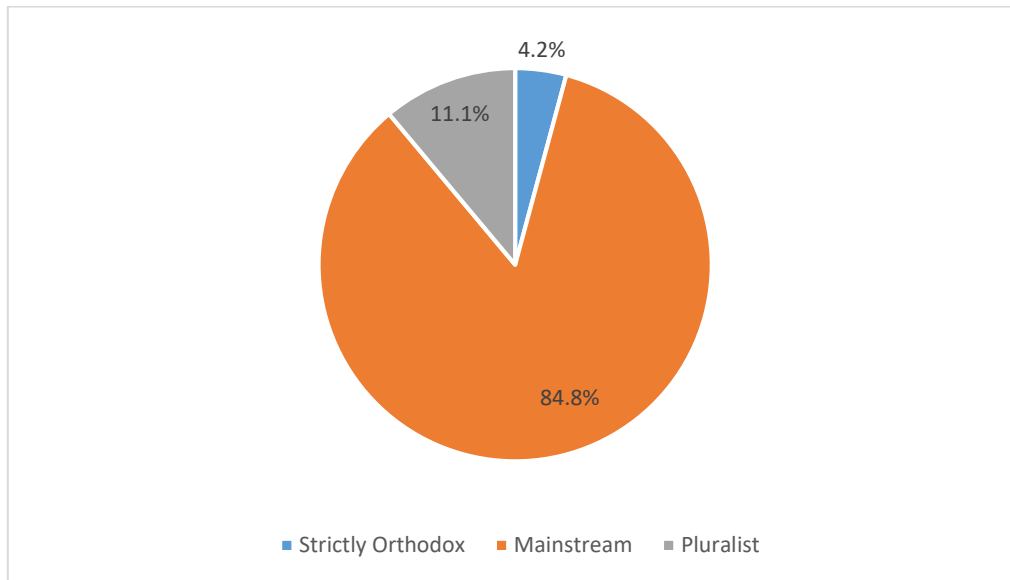
The figures illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 show that even though there were more strictly orthodox schools than other types of Jewish schools, the denomination with the highest number of students in the schools was the mainstream schools. The strictly orthodox schools were generally smaller than mainstream schools. For example, out of the 37 schools that identified themselves as strictly orthodox, the smallest school with Year 7+ pupils had only 17 pupils on roll and the largest had 320 pupils. This was not the case in the mainstream and pluralist Jewish schools, of which there were nine in total, ranging from 475 pupils on roll in the smallest of these schools to 2,030 in the largest. It is also important to note that as per my findings from Phase I, most strictly orthodox schools did not teach about the Holocaust. Therefore, I decided that my sample of schools for Phase II would include the two strictly orthodox schools that confirmed they did teach the Holocaust, all seven mainstream schools, and the single pluralist school. In terms of numbers, this offered a relatively small sample of possible participating teachers as, according to the Department for Education National Statistics (2017a), there were only 740 school leaders and classroom teachers in total employed across all subjects within the sample schools. I therefore emailed the Headteachers of all the schools within my proposed sample (n 9). Initially, all Headteachers agreed for their staff to participate and complete the survey. However, in the end, in one of the mainstream schools no teacher replied to the survey. I contacted the Headteacher and Chair of Governors of this school numerous times, but unfortunately all my emails and phone calls did not result in them sending my survey to their teachers. Therefore, my final sample for Phase II consisted of 9 schools: 6 mainstream, 2 strictly orthodox and 1 pluralist. For context, and to better understand the sizes of the sample schools, Table 3 shows the number of pupils on roll, according to the Department for Education National Statistics (2017b) at each school as well as its Jewish denomination:

Table 3: List of schools' denominations and number of pupils on roll within the Phase II sample

Figure 6: Types where taught

| School | Denomination | School Pseudonym | Pupils on Roll |
|--------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Strictly orthodox | Rainbow Academy | 140 |
| 2 | Mainstream | Parkview School | 1142 |
| 3 | Mainstream | Greenville School | 517 |
| 4 | Pluralist | Waterford College | 1226 |
| 5 | Mainstream | Southview School | 1945 |
| 6 | Mainstream | Ridgeview College | 656 |
| 7 | Mainstream | Millennium Academy | 981 |
| 8 | Strictly orthodox | Stonewall School | 124 |
| 9 | Mainstream | Northview School | 971 |

of schools respondents



As represented in Figure 5, from the 9 schools within the sample, a total of 72 teachers completed the survey. This represents 10.95% of all teachers from all subjects and leadership positions across the sample schools. At first, this seemed like a small response given the total number of teachers within the potential sample. Upon further conversations with members of staff with whom I liaised in each school, it materialised that in most schools the survey was only sent to history and Jewish Studies teachers as well as to some other specific teachers who were involved in teaching the Holocaust and/or had participated in the school journeys to Poland. In the strictly orthodox schools the survey was only sent to the history teachers as this was what the senior leaders within those schools felt was most appropriate. This reduced the total sample size considerably as across all the schools in the sample there were a total of 34 history and 71 Jewish Studies teachers. However, within these 71 Jewish Studies teachers, 23 were excluded from the sample by the senior leaders in their schools due to them not teaching about the Holocaust or being involved in the journeys to Poland. Therefore, the sample was sent to 82 teachers of history and Jewish Studies as well as other selected teachers in some schools. I estimated that the survey was sent to approximately 140 teachers. Based on those figures, I was satisfied with a total

response of 72 teachers, which is an estimated return of approximately 52% of all teachers who received the survey.

The majority of those who responded to the survey were female 56.9% (n 41), which is slightly lower than the gender distribution in the secondary workforce in 2016. Respondents had been teaching anywhere between 1 and 44 years, with the median point being those teaching for 12 years. 4.2% (n 3) of respondents taught in strictly orthodox schools, 11.1% (n 8) of respondents taught in a pluralist school and 84.8% (n 61) taught in mainstream schools. I was disappointed that my survey had not been sent to more teachers within the strictly orthodox schools within my sample. This was the hardest group of schools from which to get responses, and it was only because of my knowledge and connections as an Insider Researcher that I was able to get even the few responses that were submitted. What became clear from discussions with middle and senior leaders within these schools was that within the two schools that did teach about the Holocaust, it typically was taught by a few specialised teachers. This contrasts with mainstream and pluralist schools where the Holocaust was taught in numerous subjects across the curriculum. Therefore, the very small response rate from the strictly orthodox schools was because there are only a very small number of teachers who taught about the Holocaust within those schools.

Respondents came from a wide range of subject areas within their schools, as can be seen in Table 4:

Table 4: What do you consider your principal subject?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Art & Design | 1 | 1.4 |
| Drama | 1 | 1.4 |
| English | 7 | 9.7 |
| History | 8 | 9.7 |
| ICT/Computing | 2 | 2.8 |
| Ivrit | 1 | 1.4 |
| Jewish Studies | 17 | 23.6 |
| Maths | 9 | 12.5 |
| MfL (not including Ivrit) | 5 | 6.9 |
| Music | 2 | 2.8 |
| Other | 4 | 6.9 |
| PE | 2 | 2.8 |
| Science | 7 | 9.7 |
| Total | 72 | 100.0 |

The largest subject represented within the sample was Jewish Studies teachers 23.6% (n 17) of responses followed by maths teachers 12.5% (n 9) and then in equal proportion English, history and science teachers 9.7% (n 7). I was not surprised that the responses from Jewish Studies teachers was so high. According to the results from Phase I of my research, most Jewish Studies teachers teach about the Holocaust and therefore this research would have been of interest to them. However, I was surprised at the relatively low response rate from history teachers and the relatively high response rate from maths teachers. After looking more closely at the data, it became apparent that within the sample schools there are many more Jewish Studies teachers than history teachers. This was because more curriculum hours were dedicated to Jewish Studies than history and because Jewish Studies is a compulsory subject in all

of the sample schools from Year 7 – 13 while history is only compulsory until the end of Key Stage 3. For example, one of the sample schools that is of slightly smaller than average size had 13 Jewish Studies teachers, but only 3.5 history teachers. Therefore, the sample schools required considerably more Jewish Studies teachers than history teachers. Consequently, the pool of potential respondents within Jewish Studies teachers was considerably higher than history teachers. However, I was still disappointed to have only received 8 responses from history teachers across the 9 schools within the sample, where there was a total of 34 history teachers, meaning the total response rate within this group was 23.53%. In terms of the high response of maths teachers, there does not seem to be any logic for this as even though there was such a high comparative response, the majority of these teachers neither taught about the Holocaust nor attended their school's Poland journey. Therefore, my assumption is they simply completed the survey owing to their potential interest in the subject and the study.

In terms of the respondents and their positions within the school, 70.8% (n 51) of respondents worked full time within their schools. There was a mix of respondents in terms of responsibilities they held within their schools. 16.7% (n 12) of respondents were members of their Senior Leadership teams, 20.8% (n 15) of respondents were middle leaders, 19.4% (n 14) of respondents were other teaching and learning responsibilities (TLR) and 26.4% (n 19) of respondents were regular teachers with no additional responsibilities.

Two aims for this phase of my research were to explore further how the Holocaust was taught within the sample schools and to find out more about the educational journeys to Poland run by many of the schools. Bearing this in mind, 50% (n 36) of respondents stated that they had taught about the Holocaust and 29.2% (n 21) had participated

in their school's Poland journey. The remainder of the analysis in this chapter focusses on responses of participants who taught about the Holocaust, which was a total of 36 individuals. The next chapter focusses on those who have attended or been involved in organising educational journeys to Poland.

6.3 Teaching about the Holocaust

Table 5: Principal subjects of teachers who teach about the Holocaust

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Drama | 1 | 2.8 |
| English | 4 | 11.1 |
| History | 8 | 22.2 |
| Jewish Studies | 20 | 55.6 |
| Maths | 1 | 2.8 |
| Other (please specify) | 1 | 2.8 |
| Total | 36 | 100.0 |

The IoE 2009 study showed that 55% of respondents principally taught the Holocaust in history, 25% in religious education, 7% in English and 3% in citizenship and PSHE (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 30). My data, as shown in Table 5, however, showed that 55.6% (n 20) of respondents principally taught the Holocaust in Jewish Studies, whilst only 22.2% (n 8) in history. This finding indicated that within Jewish schools the Jewish Studies classroom is a focal point for Holocaust education, although this appeared to be in addition to – rather than instead of – what was taught in the history classroom.

When trying to understand the educational context and subject specialism of the teachers in the sample, it was important to know whether some of these teachers worked in partnership with other departments when planning their Holocaust education. Question 27 of my survey asked; 'When planning and teaching about the Holocaust, which other departments within your school have you collaborated with?'

Analysis of this question showed that the teachers most likely to work with teachers from other departments were Jewish Studies teachers working with history teachers. Further discussions with some Jewish Studies teachers revealed that this was considered a logical collaboration that helped teachers to understand what their students had learned or were learning about the Holocaust in other subjects. For example, I asked one respondent to elaborate on this issue, and they told me that Jewish Studies teachers often rely on assumptions of prior historical knowledge when it comes to their students. Therefore, it is possible that collaborative planning between Jewish Studies and history teachers helped to activate appropriate prior knowledge and improve student understanding. In this regard, one Head of Jewish Studies said that they had redesigned their Scheme of Work for teaching the Holocaust based on what was already being covered in the history curriculum. This person felt it was an opportunity to build on what was already taught and to deepen knowledge and understanding. Short & Reed (2004) advocated an interdisciplinary approach to the planning and teaching of the Holocaust and there was some evidence that this was happening in some of the schools within the sample. I explored this issue further in Phase III.

The majority of schools in the sample were either academies or voluntary-aided, therefore they generally followed the National Curriculum, something corroborated in their most recent Ofsted reports. In Key Stage 3 history all students were expected to learn about the Holocaust to some extent. However, given that academies have freedom to deviate from the National Curriculum it is unclear if schools choose to teach about the Holocaust in history. The Holocaust Education Trust (HET) explained:

In England, by law children are to be taught about the Holocaust as part of the Key Stage 3 History curriculum; in fact, the Holocaust is the only historical event whose study is compulsory on the National Curriculum.

This usually occurs in Year 9 (age 13-14). While academy schools do not have to follow this syllabus, it is assumed that they will deliver Holocaust education as part of a “balanced and broadly based” curriculum. Similarly, although independent schools are not obliged to deliver the National Curriculum, many in fact do (Holocaust Educational Trust, no date b).

As HET sets out, it is an expectation that all maintained schools teach about the Holocaust. My own research found that all the schools within the sample taught the Holocaust in Key Stage 3 history. However, the most recent version of the National Curriculum at the time of my study,⁹³ does not prescribe what should specifically be taught. All that was stated in the history Programmes of Study for Key Stage 3 was: ‘Students should be taught about challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world 1901 to the present day. In addition to studying the Holocaust, this could include...’ (Department for Education, 2013a, p. 4). This is the only specific mention of teaching the Holocaust and therefore schools were given the freedom to decide how this should be taught. It was therefore up to the school to consider its aims when teaching the Holocaust, such as the specifics of what topics to include and exclude. There was also no statutory syllabus for religious education in English state schools. Instead, non-faith schools were required to follow the locally-agreed syllabus for RE. However, faith schools were free to deliver religious education as they – and their sponsoring body – saw fit. Therefore, all of the schools within the sample were able to decide whether and how to teach about the Holocaust from both a historical and potentially religious perspective. In reality, my research found that 88.8% of schools in the sample chose to teach about the Holocaust in both history and Jewish Studies lessons.

⁹³ Updated in 2013.

6.4 At what ages are students taught about the Holocaust?

In relation to when students are taught about the Holocaust, the IoE's 2009 study concluded that;

Teaching about the Holocaust takes place throughout secondary schooling with a clear concentration in Year 9, the final year of Key Stage 3. 76% of the 992 respondents reported that they taught about the Holocaust during this academic year (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 35).

In my sample there was a much wider spread in terms of when the Holocaust was taught. 58.6% (n 21) of the respondents who taught about the Holocaust said that they taught about it in Years 7, 8, 10 and 13. 62% (n 22) of the respondents who taught about the Holocaust said that they taught it in Year 12, 65.5% (n 24) in Year 9 and 68.9% (n 25) in Year 11. Closer examination of the data showed that Jewish Studies teachers taught about the Holocaust in all year groups across the school. However, a greater amount of curriculum time in Jewish Studies was dedicated to teaching the Holocaust in Year 12 than in other year groups. Teaching the Holocaust in history lessons was the most common in Years 9 & 11. Teachers of other subjects generally included teaching about the Holocaust in their curriculum from Year 9 upwards.

6.5 What are the aims of teaching about the Holocaust?

A considerable amount of research has been conducted into the aims of teaching about the Holocaust. This has included articles published in the Historical Association's teaching journal (2007) as well as by Foster (2013), Hector (2000), Russell (2006), Schweber (2010) to name but a few. Much of this research revealed teachers emphasised the importance of learning lessons from the past as well as considering the moral and ethical dilemmas that can be learnt from the Holocaust. In the IoE's

study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), this was an area of enquiry that researchers were also interested in. Respondents were presented with a list of 13 suggested aims for teaching the Holocaust and asked to select the three which 'most closely matched the aims they considered especially important when teaching about the Holocaust' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 73). 71% of all respondents in this survey selected; 'to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism and stereotyping in any society' as one of their aims for teaching about the Holocaust. The second most popular aim – selected by 55.9% of respondents – was; 'to learn the lessons of the Holocaust and to ensure that a similar human atrocity never happens again'. The IoE survey (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 81) concluded that these two aims were always the highest selected aims, irrespective of teachers' prior experience of teaching the Holocaust or the principal subjects that they taught.

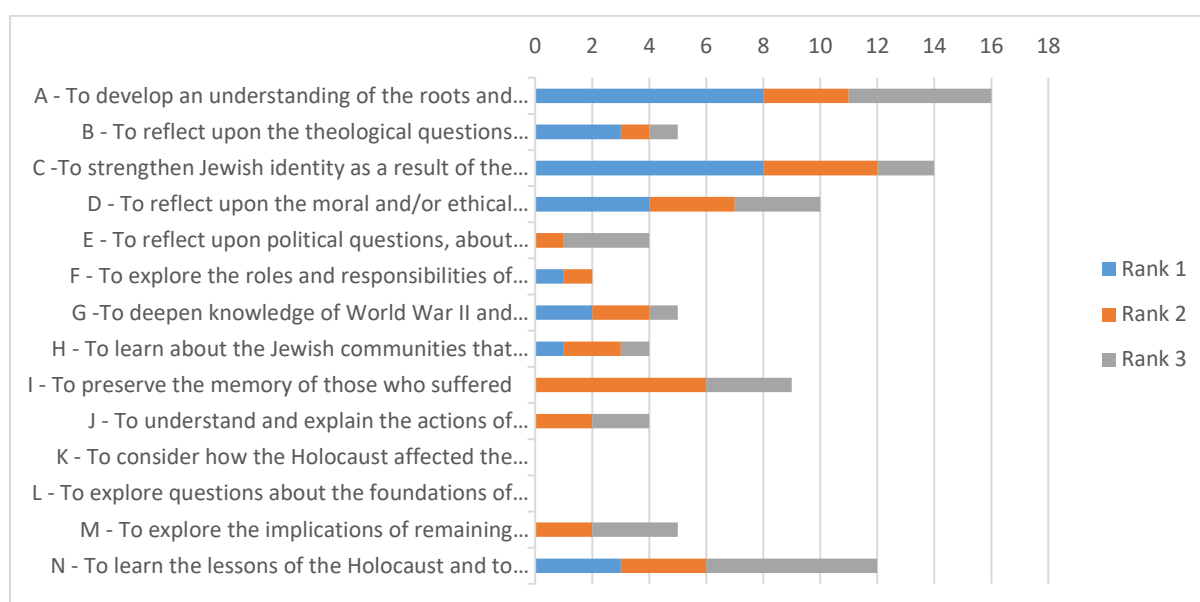
In my survey I included 14 potential aims and asked respondents to select, in ranked order, the top three that they felt most closely matched their aims when teaching about the Holocaust. Those aims were based initially on those from the IoE's 2009 survey (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 72). However, I revised the aims after conducting the pilot surveys when respondents included aims that were not in the IoE study but that they felt were relevant to teachers in Jewish schools:

- A - to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society
- B - to reflect upon the theological questions raised by events of the Holocaust
- C -to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust
- D - to reflect upon the moral and/or ethical questions raised by events of the Holocaust
- E - to reflect upon political questions, about power and/or abuse of power, raised by events of the Holocaust
- F - to explore the roles and responsibilities of individuals, organisations, and governments when confronted with human rights violations and/or policies of genocide
- G - to deepen knowledge of World War II and Twentieth Century history

- H - to learn about the Jewish communities that were lost as a result of the Holocaust
- I - to preserve the memory of those who suffered
- J - to understand and explain the actions of people involved in and affected by an unprecedented historical event
- K - to consider how the Holocaust affected the Jews' struggle for a homeland
- L - to explore questions about the foundations of Western civilisation
- M - to explore the implications of remaining silent and indifferent in the face of the oppression of others
- N - to learn the lessons of the Holocaust and to ensure that a similar human atrocity never happens again

When analysing the data, I excluded any respondents who stated that they did not teach about the Holocaust. The results are shown in Figure 6:

Figure 7: Aims of Teaching about the Holocaust

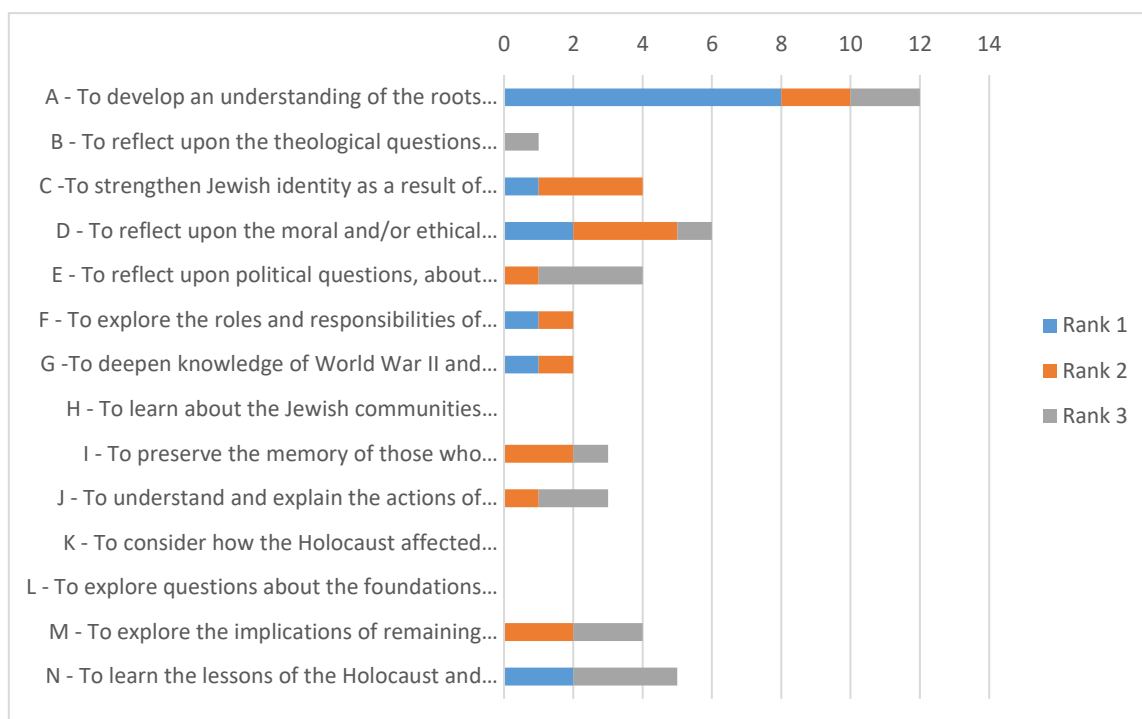


The aim that had the highest number of respondents was A – ‘to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society’. This was also the highest selected aim in the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 73). However, in the IoE study, 71% of respondents selected this aim, while in my research this was only 44%. The second highest selected aim was C – ‘to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust’. This aim was selected by 39% of respondents. However, those two aims both had equal ranking

for first place with 22% of respondents each selecting one of these aims as their highest priority. The third most popular aim chosen by teachers was N – 'to learn the lessons of the Holocaust and to ensure that a similar human atrocity never happens again'. 33% of my respondents selected this aim with 25% of this sub-group ranking it as their first priority. In the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), 55.9% of respondents selected it, making it the second highest selection. It is clear that within my sample teachers' aims when teaching the Holocaust differ from those in the IoE's sample. The biggest factor that differs in my results to that of the IoE relates to teaching Jewish identity resulting from the Holocaust. However, it must be noted that, as there was no reference to Jewish identity in the IoE's survey (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), it is not possible to compare these two sets of results as identical owing to the different variables.

The findings from teachers in Jewish schools differed in some important ways to non-Jewish schools when it came to the aims of teaching about the Holocaust. I therefore decided to analyse the data excluding teachers who had identified themselves as Jewish Studies teachers. My rationale for doing this was to try to establish whether the difference in results was a result of the subjects that the teachers taught or the extent to which teaching in a Jewish school affected the responses of the teachers. It is important to understand that this sub-group has an extremely small number of respondents within it; only 16 teachers and therefore any conclusions drawn can only be tentative. Figure 7 below portrays the aims of teachers in Jewish schools who did not teach Jewish Studies:

Figure 8: Aims of Teaching about the Holocaust (excluding Jewish Studies teachers)



After excluding Jewish Studies teachers, the highest ranked aims for teaching about the Holocaust was still A – ‘to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society.’ The number of respondents selecting this aim increased to 57% (n 9) of respondents, a higher percentage than with the Jewish Studies teachers included. However, it is still considerably lower than the IoE’s study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 72) in which 71% of teachers stated this aim. The second highest ranked aim selected was now D – ‘To reflect upon the moral and/or ethical questions raised by events of the Holocaust’ – with 29% (n 5) of respondents selecting this aim. In the IoE’s study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, pp. 73–74), this aim was found to be most popular with teachers of RE, whilst in Jewish schools, this aim appeared more popular with the teachers of subjects other than Jewish Studies, including RE. However, when removing the Jewish Studies teachers, aim C – ‘to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust’ – dropped from

39% of all respondents to 19% (n 3) of respondents who do not teach Jewish Studies. The third most popular aim chosen by this group of respondents was in line with all respondents in my survey and was aim N – ‘to learn the lessons of the Holocaust and to ensure that a similar human atrocity never happens again.’ 23% of respondents selected this aim in both this small sub-group and the main sample.⁹⁴

After asking respondents to select and rank their highest three aims of teaching the Holocaust, I also asked them an open follow-up question: ‘If you would like to comment on these aims, offer your own aims, or explain your rationale further, please use space below’. 23% (n 8) of respondents chose to comment or provide their own aims. One interesting response from a Jewish Studies teacher, providing their own aim, stated: ‘To develop a greater sense of awareness of the Divine and to be able to answer questions about ‘where was G-d in the Holocaust’’ (Jewish Studies teacher, Greenville School). This additional aim arguably is similar to Aim B – ‘to reflect upon the theological questions raised by the events of the Holocaust’ – and I was unclear why this respondent wrote this instead of selecting Aim B. I therefore analysed all responses by this specific teacher in order to see whether they could tell me more about their views. Analysis showed that this respondent taught in a strictly orthodox school. I therefore wondered if this respondent felt that the generic nature of Aim B was too broad and not specific enough for their thoughts around the aims for teaching the Holocaust.

Another respondent wrote the following answer to this open text question:

In my humble opinion, learning about the Holocaust is essential for two reasons; to understand what it means to be a Jew and to have a stronger Jewish identity/practice. Theologically, it is an example of what it really means to be a Jew. We have clearly suffered tremendous

⁹⁴ This issue is discussed further in Chapter 10.

persecution throughout our existence to the extent that is irrational and unexplainable. I like to highlight that devastating events like the Holocaust seems to be a natural part of the Jewish people and seems to be part of creation. This should therefore make us reflect as to what it really means to be a Jew and why God would want it to be this way (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

This response was written by a Jewish Studies teacher in a mainstream school who had not attended any dedicated CPD on the Holocaust and had also not attended their school's journey to Poland. I think this comment is insightful as it reflects what this Jewish Studies teacher felt are the underlying principles about what can be learnt from the Holocaust. His comments were based around the overarching aim of Jews needing to strengthen their Jewish identity and/or belief as a response to the Holocaust. This is in line with the second highest aim proposed in my study which focused on strengthening Jewish identity as an aim of learning about the Holocaust.

It was not surprising that Jewish Studies teachers in Jewish schools prioritised the aims of teaching moral lessons or teaching about Jewish identity as a response to the Holocaust. However, it was somewhat surprising that history teachers in Jewish schools did not appear to be statistically in line with history teachers in non-Jewish schools across the country in this regard.⁹⁵ Therefore, perhaps the critical factor in determining teachers' priorities for learning aims is not their own thoughts or beliefs when teaching the Holocaust, but what they believe is important for their students based on the students' own background. Another possible explanation for this discrepancy could be based around the religious identity of the history teachers themselves. If they are themselves Jewish this might impact on their pedagogical aims.

⁹⁵ Based on the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). This issue is addressed further throughout this chapter and also in Chapter 10.

To try to understand the differences that my results have shown in relation to history teachers in Jewish schools when compared with the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), I carried out follow-up interviews with leaders of five of the schools within the sample. In hindsight, perhaps I ought to have asked teachers in the survey to state their religious affiliation as this would have allowed me to analyse the data further to see if there were any patterns relating to Jewish teachers teaching national curriculum subjects. As I had not done this, I used my follow-up interviews to ask about the religious affiliations of history teachers within their schools. All five leaders explained that there were some history teachers within each school who were Jewish, but not the entire department. The school with the largest proportion of history teachers who were Jewish had 50% of Jewish teachers. The Headteacher of this school also explained in the follow-up interview that while 50% of their history teachers were Jewish the majority were not 'particularly practising'. This indicated that the religion of the teacher did not appear to be a significant influencing factor on their aims of teaching the Holocaust. Based on my findings, it appeared that the background of the students potentially was the major influencing factor in terms of teachers' aims for teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools. I decided that this required further investigation and was an area I discussed in greater depth in Phase III of my research.

6.6 CPD for Teaching about the Holocaust

It is fair to say that when a teacher qualifies in a specific subject, they may not necessarily have all of the subject knowledge that they need to teach that subject. For example, a history teacher may not have studied the Romans for their degree or as part of their PGCE but could be asked to teach about it. Similarly, it is possible that teachers who are asked to teach about the Holocaust may not have had any formal

training in this subject area. Furthermore, as both research and scholarship about the Holocaust and educational guidance on how to teach it is regularly updated and published,⁹⁶ I wanted to understand the extent to which teachers were prepared to teach about the Holocaust. In particular, I was interested in how the teachers within my sample schools were educated to teach about this complex past.

I decided to ask teachers two specific questions in the form of a statement and asked them to rate their answer on a five-point scale; Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree. My first question posed the statement; 'I am confident that I am very knowledgeable about the Holocaust'. 63.9% (n 23) of teachers agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, whilst only 5.6% (n 2) of teachers disagreed or strongly disagreed with it. The second statement set out; 'I am confident in my preparedness to teach secondary school students about the Holocaust'. This question showed 69.5% (n 25) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, with 13.9% (n 5) neither agreeing nor disagreeing and 2.8% (n 1) of respondents strongly disagreeing. As expected, the majority of teachers who taught about the Holocaust felt confident in both their subject knowledge and pedagogic skills to be able to securely teach this topic in secondary schools.

I was interested to establish what CPD teachers had received in terms of advancing both their knowledge and pedagogic skills when teaching about the Holocaust. I wanted to explore the extent to which there was any possible relationship between their professional development and the confidence with which they taught about the Holocaust. 52.8% of respondents acknowledged that they had attended CPD or other forms of training relating to their personal knowledge of the Holocaust, but only

⁹⁶ For example, Davidowitz (2013), Davis & Rubinstein-avila (2013), Richardson (2012), Stevick & Gross (2010), Walkiate (2005)

36.1% of respondents said they had attended any CPD or other training in relation to teaching about the Holocaust. When looking in more detail at who had provided the various forms of CPD, the provider that seemed the most popular was the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Studies in Jerusalem. Other sources of CPD that respondents stated they had received included; initial teacher training during PGCEs, in-school professional development and – in a much more limited way – attendance at courses offered by other educational organisations. Some teachers also stated that they received additional CPD in terms of their Holocaust knowledge while participating in their school's Poland journey.

The Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Studies was established in 1993 and provides, amongst other things, CPD for teachers of the Holocaust. Since 2011, they have offered annual seminars in Jerusalem during February half term specifically for teachers of the Holocaust in Jewish schools in the UK. These seminars are specifically tailored for teachers in UK Jewish schools and have focussed on both knowledge and pedagogic skills. Since these seminars were established, Yad Vashem have run 8 such seminars with 15–18 participants from primary and secondary schools attending each seminar. Informal discussions with staff who run these seminars informed me that they have now trained many teachers from six of the schools within my sample. Those schools have sent teachers from different subjects to this seminar. The seminar also provides further resources that can be used for teaching, and some respondents acknowledged using those resources. It was evident that, to some extent, the introduction of those seminars had an impact on the teaching and learning of the Holocaust within these schools. I therefore decided that in my Phase III research I would investigate further about how much impact Yad Vashem had on Holocaust education within Jewish schools in England.

6.7 Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

One of the biggest challenges for teachers that arose in Phase I of my research in terms of teaching the Holocaust was time and priorities. As previously stated, one reason why there were so few strictly orthodox schools in my Phase II sample is due to the decision of many of those schools not to teach the Holocaust, and a main reason for those decisions is due to limitations in curriculum time. A majority of Senior Leaders interviewed in Phase I commented on the lack of curriculum time and the difficulties that arose when balancing what to include and exclude from the general curriculum. It is interesting, therefore, that this does not seem to match the majority of responses to my survey. Only 27.7% (n 10) of respondents, who taught about the Holocaust stated that they do not feel there is enough curriculum time to teach the Holocaust effectively. It is notable, however, that when this data was further scrutinised the majority of respondents were from the same school, and this school is the school that delivers the highest number of hours for Holocaust education within the sample.

My Phase II research showed that the Holocaust was taught across many disciplines in Jewish schools in England. In most schools it was taught in Jewish Studies and in history lessons. However, in some schools, elements relating to the Holocaust were also taught in English, drama, art, psychology, PSHCE, music and maths. Clements (2010), Davidowitz (2013), Hector (2000), Short & Reed (2004) and others argue for the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to teaching the Holocaust in schools. What they seem to refer to as interdisciplinary teaching could more appropriately be described in England as cross-curricular teaching. As this was the most common phrase employed by teachers, I decided to use this phrase throughout my study. I

ensured that teachers understood that what I meant by this was teaching collaboratively about the Holocaust across a number of different departments.

My survey results showed that in many of the schools the Holocaust was taught across multiple subjects. However, according to respondents, interdisciplinary teaching was sporadic and when it did take place it happened mostly between the history and Jewish Studies departments. The extent to which this happened appeared to vary a great deal from school to school. The school that appeared to be doing the most interdisciplinary teaching was the same school that taught the most hours of Holocaust education and whose teachers stated that they did not have enough curriculum time to do so effectively. I therefore carried out some follow-up interviews with a sample of teachers from that school to try to find out more their approach to teaching the Holocaust. Specifically, I was interested in discussing the time devoted to Holocaust education and how interdisciplinary teaching was taking place. I carried out short, unstructured follow-up interviews conducted in person with four members of staff, including a Head of Department. The interviews revealed that within that school there was clear interdisciplinary teaching between the history and Jewish Studies departments with Schemes of Work being developed to complement another in terms of what was being taught within each department. However, staff in this school felt that teaching about the Holocaust was so important that they wanted more time to be able to teach more about it. Two teachers explained:

As soon as I begin to teach about the Holocaust the attitude in the classroom changes. There is something almost mystical about it and my students seem more engaged in this topic than anything else (Jewish Studies teacher, Greenville School).

The pupils are fascinated by the Holocaust more than any other topic that I teach. I don't know if this is due to possible family connections or if they just find this more relatable than the Vikings? Either way, I wish I had more time to spend on teaching the Holocaust as these are some

of the best lessons I teach all year (History teacher, Millennium Academy).

The concept of time devoted to teaching as well as the interdisciplinary approach to teaching about the Holocaust is something that I decided needed further exploration in Phase III of this study.

6.8 Curriculum Time for teaching about the Holocaust

As previously stated, in Phase I one of the complaints raised by teachers was a lack of time available to them for teaching about the Holocaust. I therefore wanted to investigate how much time was allocated across the schools in my sample. Unfortunately, the responses to this question were lower than expected with only five history teachers answering this question and 10 Jewish Studies teachers. Even though the number of responses was low they still provided data for a range of different schools as shown in Table 6 below:

Table 6: Number of Hours spent teaching about the Holocaust in History and Jewish Studies by year group per year

| | Year 7 | Year 8 | Year 9 | Year 10 | Year 11 | Year 12 | Year 13 |
|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| History | | | | | | | |
| No of responses | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Mean | 0 | 0 | 9 | 1.25 | 1.6 | 0.75 | 0.5 |
| Median | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Range | 0 | 0 | 0-18 | 0-5 | 0-8 | 0-3 | 0-2 |
| | | | | | | | |
| Jewish Studies | | | | | | | |
| No of responses | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| Mean | 3.22 | 3.44 | 7.2 | 6.44 | 2.8 | 7.3 | 3.11 |
| Median | 2 | 3 | 3.5 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 2 |
| Range | 0-10 | 0-10 | 0-30 | 0-16 | 0-10 | 0-12 | 0-10 |

This data shows the hours that a pupil would receive of Holocaust education in the respective subjects in each year of their schooling. When comparing the results of the history teachers within my sample schools to those in the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) there were some differences. Pettigrew *et al.* explained there were a handful of teachers who reported teaching about the Holocaust in Year 7 and 8 history lessons, but in the schools within my sample there were no history teachers who did that. In Year 9, however, whilst the mean in the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 38) was 7.2 hours and median 6 hours with a range of 1-40, my study showed a mean of 9 hours and a median of 5 hours with a range of 0-18. This demonstrated that the schools in my sample were allocated less history curriculum time to the Holocaust than the average schools in the IoE sample (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). Perhaps the reason behind this is because of curriculum time in Jewish Studies that was also dedicated to this topic.

When comparing the response of Jewish Studies teachers within my sample with the data collected in the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) for religious studies teachers, the data is very similar in Years 10, 11 & 13. The reason for this is likely that most schools taught about the Holocaust as part of a religious studies GCSE or A-Level qualification in those school years. As such they would have been following exam specifications that dictate what is taught and provide guided learning hours for teachers. Year 12 showed higher teaching hours in the Jewish schools. As explained in the analysis of the educational journeys to Poland,⁹⁷ the Year 12 teaching is part of the preparation for this programme.

In Years 7 – 9 there were bigger differences between the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) and my own results. It was clear that Jewish Studies teachers in Jewish schools

⁹⁷ See Chapter 7 for further discussion.

dedicated more time to teaching the Holocaust than RS teachers in non-Jewish schools. The reason for this was that in Jewish schools the Jewish Studies curriculum is the responsibility of the school, and faith schools are exempt from teaching the locally-agreed syllabus for religious studies. Therefore, Jewish schools can dedicate as much or as little time as they like to specific topics. However, non-Jewish schools are mandated to follow the locally-agreed syllabus set by the local authority, which typically specifies the number of hours allocated to teaching various topics. In addition, it is possible that teaching the Holocaust is likely to have more importance when taught in the Jewish community than in the wider community, which may also affect the time dedicated to it within Jewish schools.

However, when looking at the responses of Jewish Studies teachers in more detail, it was apparent that there was no distinct pattern between how the Holocaust was taught across the sample schools or even the various types of school. The data showed that only three of the schools within the sample taught about the Holocaust in Jewish Studies lessons in all year groups. Respondents from strictly orthodox schools acknowledged only teaching about the Holocaust as part of Jewish Studies in Year 11 when it was part of the GCSE RS specification. As previously explained,⁹⁸ the strictly orthodox schools do not prioritise the teaching of the Holocaust and therefore perhaps this was not so surprising.

In summary, excluding the strictly orthodox schools, analysis of my data compared with the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) showed that students in Jewish schools on the whole received more lessons focused on the Holocaust than their peers in non-Jewish schools. However, the biggest contributing factor to this difference is the

⁹⁸ See Chapter 5 – Education in strictly orthodox schools.

additional educational focus and curriculum time devoted to the Year 12 educational journeys to Poland.⁹⁹

6.9 Pedagogical Approaches to teaching the Holocaust

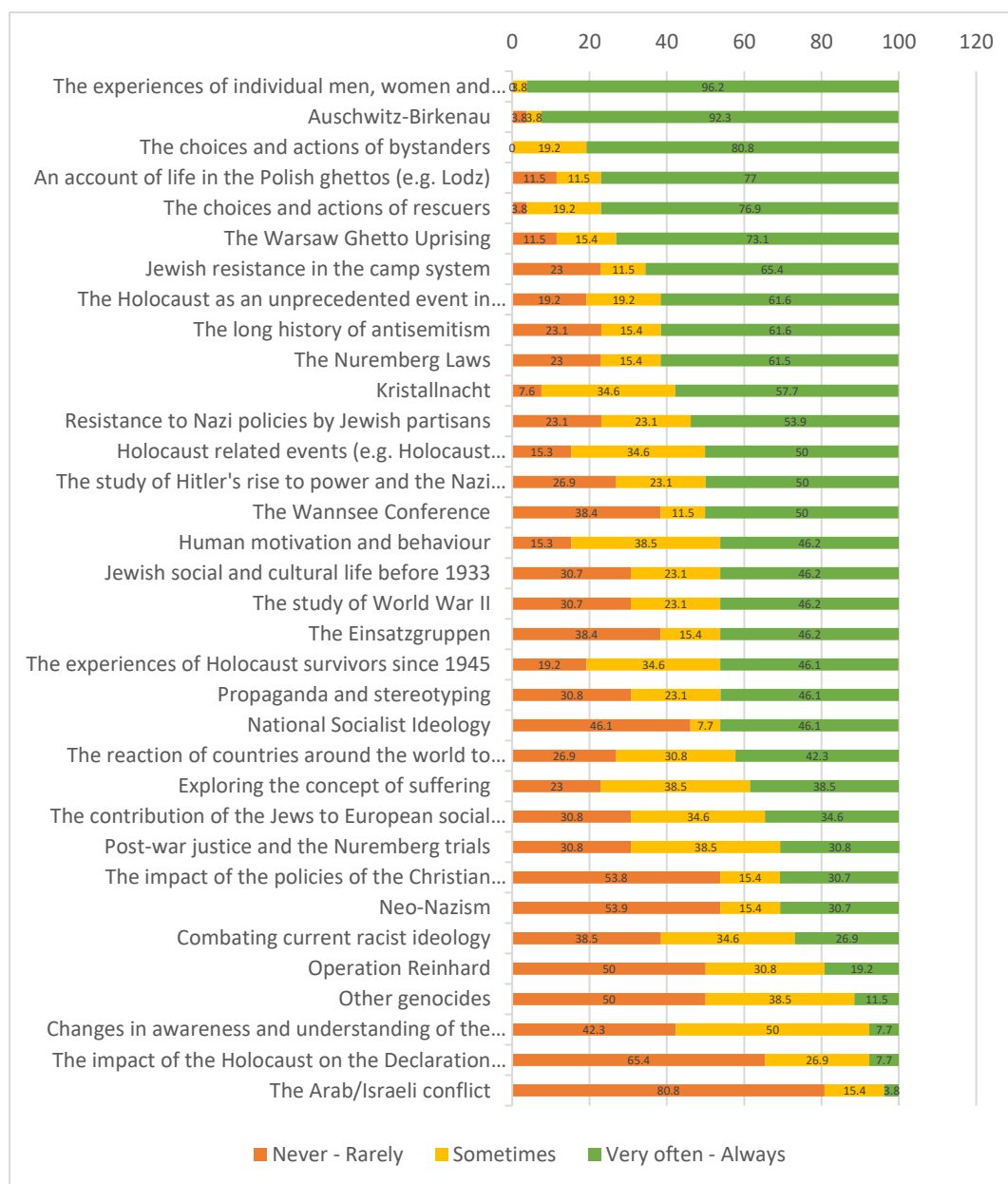
One of the challenges for teachers of any discipline is deciding what to prioritise within their curriculum time. In certain subjects, the National Curriculum may dictate what must be taught. However, when looking at the Holocaust the National Curriculum is not prescriptive in terms of what topics should be taught in Key Stage 3. At GCSE and A-Level there were more prescriptive specifications that dictate what topics were taught in both history and religious studies. However, many of the Jewish schools taught additional Jewish Studies lessons that were not examined at both Key Stage 4 and 5 and therefore the leaders and teachers within the school decided what topics to teach. Given the lack of prescription in the National Curriculum for Key Stage 3 history and teaching the Holocaust a great deal of freedom and flexibility is given to schools in deciding what specifically to teach about the Holocaust in history. I therefore asked respondents to rate on a 5-point scale from a list of 33 topics¹⁰⁰ if they 'always, very often, sometimes, rarely or never' taught those topics when teaching about the Holocaust. The majority of these topics were also included in the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) to allow for comparison. When Pettigrew *et al.*'s study was evaluated, the researchers chose to analyse this question by collapsing the categories with the option of 'Never' and 'Rarely' being merged together into one group and 'Always' and 'Very Often' being merged into one group. The middle or neutral option 'Sometimes' was analysed as its own category. In order to ensure ease of comparison I decided to use the same methodological approach in analysing my

⁹⁹ See Chapter 7 for further discussion.

¹⁰⁰ The full list of topics can be found in Appendix 4, question 31.

own data. Figure 8 shows the analysis of the teachers' results to this specific question grouped into those categories:

Figure 9: Analysis of teacher responses to the question; 'When teaching about the Holocaust, how likely would you be to teach the following topics'.



The IoE's 2009 study found that the five topics most likely to be taught were:

- the experiences of individual men, women and children who were persecuted by the Nazis, 88%
- Auschwitz-Birkenau, 87%
- propaganda and stereotyping, 78%

- Kristallnacht, 70%
- the choices and actions of bystanders, 66% (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 41).

My research found that the five topics most likely to be taught by the teachers who taught about the Holocaust within my sample schools (n 36), irrespective of what subjects they were being taught in, were:

- the experiences of individual men, women and children who were persecuted by the Nazis, 96.2% (n 35)
- Auschwitz-Birkenau, 92% (n 33)
- the choices and actions of bystanders, 81% (n 29)
- an account of life in the Polish Ghettos, 77% (n 28)
- the choices and actions of rescuers, 78% (n 28).

In the IoE's study, the topics that were least likely to be taught were:

- the impact of the Holocaust on the *Declaration of Human Rights*, 27%
- Jewish social and cultural life before 1933, 26%
- the contribution of the Jews to European social and cultural life before 1933, 25%
- Operation Reinhard, 12% (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 40).

My own research showed that the topics least likely to be taught within my sample schools were:

- other genocides, 11.5% (n 4)

- changes in awareness and understanding of the Holocaust since 1945, 7.7% (n 3)
- the impact of the Holocaust on the *Declaration of Human Rights*, 7.7% (n 3)
- the Arab/Israeli conflict, 3.8% (n 1).

The results of my research showed similarities and differences to that of the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). In both samples, the highest ranking topic taught was 'the experiences of individual men, women and children who were persecuted by the Nazis'. However, in the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 39) 88% of respondents included it in their five most likely topics to teach, while in my own sample it was higher at 96.2% (n 35). One of the things that is so difficult for anyone, and especially children, to comprehend is the concept of 6 million Jewish victims. Therefore, teachers often try to focus on individuals and their stories which can then be the platform upon which to teach about the Holocaust. This is something that Feldman (2009) advocated when discussing Yad Vashem's age-appropriate philosophy. This philosophy looks at appropriate ways of teaching the Holocaust from primary school upwards. This is an approach that many teachers use as it helps students understand and relate to the individuals being persecuted far more easily than when discussing 6 million people. I suspected that there was more than one reason that this method was used even more widely in Jewish schools. One explanation that was offered in Phase I interviews and follow-up interviews to the Phase II research was the focus that educators place on survivors and their families. This is something that is highlighted in the Jewish community around HMD and Yom HaShoah when survivors or their families share their stories with schools and synagogue communities. However, another reason discussed was due to an explicit focus on individual narratives through the large number of Jewish organisations who advocate students 'twin' their Bar or Bat Mitzvah celebration with a victim of the Holocaust. This is something that, for example, British

Friends of Yad Vashem promote. This has an educational benefit of learning about their 'twin' and through this victim, learning more about the Holocaust. I think this has become so widespread within the Jewish community that teachers are potentially even more focussed on individuals.

Both my research and the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) showed that the use of stories to discuss the experiences of individuals in the Holocaust was a pedagogic strategy used by teachers across schools in England, irrespective of the subject that they taught. This practice would be in line with the IHRA recommendations for Holocaust educators to; 'individualize the history by translating statistics into personal stories... wherever possible use case studies, survivor testimony, and letters and diaries from the period to show human experience' (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), 2019, p. 28). However, further analysis of my data perhaps revealed a subtle difference between how the narratives were approached in a Jewish Studies classroom compared with a non-Jewish Studies classroom. Teachers in mainstream schools or history classrooms typically looked at pieces of testimony or historical sources to help explain and understand a situation. However, Jewish Studies teachers generally look at sources to understand Jewish life during a specific time period. For example, teaching about Auschwitz was a topic that ranked highly in both the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 39) and my own. However, it appeared that when Jewish Studies teachers teach about Auschwitz, their focus and perspective is different. As one teacher, who teaches both history and Jewish Studies, explained in a follow up interview:

When I am teaching about history, I am focussing on numbers, dates and facts. I use excerpts of testimony to help the students to try to conceptualise what I am trying to teach them. However, when I am teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish Studies, I look at testimony and stories that explain emotion and feelings. I try to find testimony that tells

the story of how Jews lived during the Holocaust. I try to find testimony that explains how it was possible to live a Jewish life in the ghettos or camps so the students understand that their Judaism did not end with the rise of Nazism (History & Jewish Studies teacher, Greenville School).

The concept of the use of stories and testimonies that explain Jewish experience is also something taught to teachers in Jewish schools by the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Education. They strongly advocate the use of stories and testimony that show students how Jews were thinking and feeling in different experiences during the Holocaust. They also suggest taking the story of an individual and focusing on their complete story as a way of teaching about the Holocaust. As Gittin explained in a lecture about teaching about the ghettos in Jewish schools:

When I am teaching about life in the ghettos and resistance I use excerpts from the book 'Justina's Narrative'. This tells the story of the Jews of Krakow being placed in and then living in the ghettos through the love story of Justina & Shimek. You follow their journey in terms of their relationship intertwined with their roles in their youth movement and then it leads you into the uprising of the Krakow Ghetto. From here it talks about their betrayal, capture and execution. I find that this story really shows students what life was like for these young people and allows them to follow their story in a meaningful way that they can relate to (Gittin, 2018).

Gittin clearly shows that the focus of the narrative in a Jewish school is on connecting the students to the experiences of the past by exposing them to stories and testimony to which they can relate. The idea of following the stories of individuals from start to end was not something mentioned in the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) and this approach is one that is used more within Jewish schools.

77% (n 28) of teachers, chose to teach about Polish Ghettos as part of their Holocaust curriculum in the sample schools. With the exception of one strictly orthodox school in the sample, all of the other schools offered students the opportunity to go on an educational journey to Poland in Year 12. Those journeys last anywhere from one to

seven days, with the majority of schools running their journeys for six days.¹⁰¹ Some of the greatest atrocities of the Holocaust took place in Poland;¹⁰² the sites of the death camps, numerous ghettos, concentration camps and other sites of mass shootings, coupled with the fact that Poland was, arguably, the centre of *Ashkenazi* Judaism before the Second World War. Therefore, owing to the history of Poland both before and during the Holocaust, coupled with the high student uptake of the educational journey to Poland, I believe that teachers in my sample were influenced to teach about life in the Polish ghettos. This is something their students would later be able to connect with and would help to bring the historical elements to life on their Poland journey. As two Jewish Studies teachers explained:

How Jews lived in the ghettos is so important. The children need to understand that Jews did live in the ghettos, sometimes for years. They need to think about what it would have been like to have a Bar Mitzvah in the ghetto or their birthday. Normal life events that they can relate to (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

A lesson on perspectives and narratives of the events during the Holocaust. For example, the *Oyneg Shabbes* archives versus the official Nazi propaganda of life in the Warsaw Ghetto (Jewish Studies teacher, Parkview School).

When conducting a follow-up interview with teachers from one of the sample schools they informed me that this was in fact one of the reasons that they chose to teach about ghettos. However, they also told me that many of their staff had participated in the Yad Vashem CPD and that Yad Vashem promoted the importance of teaching about life in the ghettos. Additionally, Yad Vashem provided some high-quality free resources to help with teaching this topic. Teaching about life in the Polish Ghettos is something that contrasted sharply with the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) where most teachers appeared not to regard this content area as a priority.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 7 for more details about these journeys.

¹⁰² See Gilbert (1989) & (2009)

It was clear that when comparing my findings to those of the IoE's 'the choices and actions of bystanders during the Holocaust' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 39), was ranked considerably higher.¹⁰³ Another pedagogic choice that differed between the two studies was that 'the choices and actions of rescuers' were in the top five topics selected by teachers in my sample. One of the reasons that I suspected those topics were so high was again due to the CPD provided by Yad Vashem. As previously explained, this was the highest provider of Holocaust-related CPD for all teachers within my sample irrespective of what subject they taught. Indeed, 12 of the 36 respondents from across the sample schools indicated that they had attended the seminars offered by Yad Vashem. As someone who has completed one of those fellowships, I know how much of an emphasis was placed on those topics within the seminars. There are also teaching resources on those topics created by Yad Vashem for use when teaching about the Holocaust. I therefore suspected that this impacted on those results. Arguably, as only one third of teachers who responded to the survey attended the Yad Vashem seminars the influence that they had could be questioned. However, closer analysis of the data showed that 9 of the 12 teachers who attended were middle or senior leaders within the sample schools. Therefore, it is possible that those teachers had a greater influence on curriculum design than other teachers. The influence of the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Education on the Jewish schools in England is something that I investigated further in Phase III of my research.

In the analysis of the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) researchers were concerned about some of the topics that did not appear to feature as a priority for teachers. In one particular case, the authors wrote:

¹⁰³ 80.8% in my survey and 60.6% in the IoE survey (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009).

...many Holocaust educators would be troubled by the apparent lack of emphasis on Jewish life and culture before the war. Most experts in the field argue with conviction that it is impossible for students to understand the devastating impact of the Holocaust unless they have an awareness of what was lost and destroyed, and that any understanding of the significance of the Holocaust must include an appreciation of how Europe was transformed by the destruction of centuries-old Jewish communities throughout the continent (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 40).

Even within Jewish schools the topics relating to European Jewish life before the war seemed to appear quite low down on teachers' lists of topics to include: only 46.2% of teachers indicated they regularly taught about this content area. Perhaps the reason why this was relatively low in Jewish schools was because these issues are often covered in Jewish Studies. For example, as an 'Insider-Researcher' who, at the time of writing, was teaching Year 9 Jewish history, I was teaching about Jewish life between the wars in relation to Zionism. This would provide students with the necessary background information to help contextualise European Jewish life and loss in terms of the Holocaust, even though it was not being taught as part of the Holocaust curriculum. A teacher in another school explained:

It is important to remember that the Holocaust is a part of Jewish history and not a stand-alone event. As such, students gain an understanding of its place in Jewish history after the Pogroms of the late 19th century and before the establishment of the State of Israel. They therefore learn about life before and after the Holocaust as part of their wider Jewish education (Jewish Studies teacher, Rainbow Academy).

The other place that teachers stated they taught about life before the Holocaust was as part of the preparation for their school's Poland visit.¹⁰⁴

In the 2009 IoE study, Pettigrew *et al* commented on:

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 7.

a longstanding tendency in schools to focus on the Nazi period up to the outbreak of the Second World War. While the perpetrator narrative then appears to predominate, actual topics seem to centre largely on the period of persecution during the 1930s (and Auschwitz-Birkenau) rather than on key aspects in the development of the Holocaust during the war years (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 40).

The results from my research differed here. Far less of an emphasis was placed on the era of the Nazi rise to power than found in the wider context of the IoE 2009 study. While topics relating to the Nazi rise to power were selected as priorities in the wider national context my research showed that Jewish schools focussed more on Jewish-centric topics.¹⁰⁵ This is likely a result of the narrative of Holocaust education differing within a Jewish context as previously explained in the previous analysis of the aims of Holocaust education.

When analysing data from numerous teachers within a relatively small sample of schools it is always curious to consider how much flexibility each teacher had within their own school and how much direction they received from their school about what they must teach. I therefore chose to ask respondents whether they had the freedom to decide what topics they taught about the Holocaust. 42.8% (n 15) of respondents agreed that they did have this freedom, 14.3% (n 5) of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed and 17.2% (n 6) of respondents disagreed that they had the freedom to choose what to teach about the Holocaust. When I collated and analysed these results at school level it showed that different respondents within the same schools gave conflicting answers. Perhaps this was as a result of the seniority of the teacher, the subjects that they teach or perhaps it was their perception of the Schemes of Work. As the spread of schools within the sample was relatively small this limited the ability to draw firm conclusions on this survey data alone. Therefore, as part of my

¹⁰⁵ For example, Jewish identity, post-Holocaust theology, Jewish life in the ghettos, etc.

follow-up interviews I addressed this question with middle and senior leaders of different schools. In most schools within the sample leaders felt that in Key Stage 3 & 4 teachers were given quite a lot of freedom to choose what to teach providing that the main learning objectives within the Schemes of Work were covered. However, in Year 12 when teachers provide lessons to prepare students for their educational journeys to Poland, all leaders interviewed stated that they prescribed what topics must be taught to ensure all students received the same preparation. Therefore, when trying to understand why there were conflicting answers to this question, I concluded that there were two key factors: Some teachers were likely referring to the Key Stage 3 & 4 curriculum and others the prescribed Key Stage 5 curriculum. The other factor was the seniority of the teachers responding. More junior teachers looked for the guidance on what to teach, while more experienced teachers felt comfortable making those decisions for themselves.

Irrespective of whether a teacher is directed to teach various topics within a study of the Holocaust, responses to the 'open' question 'Which topic do you teach about the Holocaust that you feel is the most important topic and why?' offered valuable insights. 23 teachers responded to that question and two themes appeared in more than one answer. One related to ghettos and the other to post-Holocaust theology and all respondents who mentioned those topics were Jewish Studies teachers from across the various schools. One respondent who believed teaching about the ghettos was most important stated:

Life in the ghetto - important to enable students to understand that there was a whole infrastructure that existed as it enables them to relate. Also, comparisons of the different ghetto leaders to consider how people respond in different situations' (Jewish Studies teacher, Parkview School).

A Jewish Studies teacher from a different school who also felt that teaching about the ghettos was the most important wrote:

Life in the Ghettos. For students to consider how the Jews in the ghettos actually lived their lives on a daily basis for the time period that they were in the Ghettos (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

Both of those teachers teach Jewish Studies in two different schools that both define themselves as mainstream. It is noteworthy that even within the topic of ghettos, the two teachers have slightly nuanced perspectives in terms of how they prioritise what they believed to be the most important factor to emphasise when teaching about the Holocaust.

The other topic that appeared more than once in response to this question related to post-Holocaust theology. This is something that most Jewish Studies teachers have acknowledged throughout the survey as important for them to teach. Some teachers who provided responses related to this issue wrote:

Theological topics as these are the ones students most often ask. They cover other aspects in other lessons (Jewish Studies teacher, Parkview School).

'Where was G-d in the Holocaust' because this is the question our students are most likely to encounter in later life as a *Rebbetzin*¹⁰⁶ (Jewish Studies teacher, Stonewall School).

Both of those teachers felt that the most important thing they could teach their students was the knowledge needed to answer the questions young people may have. As their answers were in relation to the most important topics to teach, it is clear that those teachers believed theological responses were the most important to prepare students for their future lives.

¹⁰⁶ A Rebbetzin is the honorary title give to the wife of a Rabbi.

History teachers appeared to emphasise the Nazi rise to power more than teachers in other subjects. For example, two teachers wrote:

Growing radicalisation and the impact of the chaotic Nazi State leading to the policies that allowed for mass murder (history teacher, Southview School).

The Rise of the Nazis 1919-1945 as it gives the short-term background to the Holocaust (history teacher, Northview School).

Another unique response to this question stated:

I like to focus on Hitler's irrational obsession with the Jews and the enormous amount of people who went along with the atrocities to show that there is something deeper happening here along with all other seemingly irrational antisemitism. I always ensure to mention that people died to be Jewish and therefore it is incumbent upon us to be part of our incredible heritage to the best of our ability to ensure our continuity (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

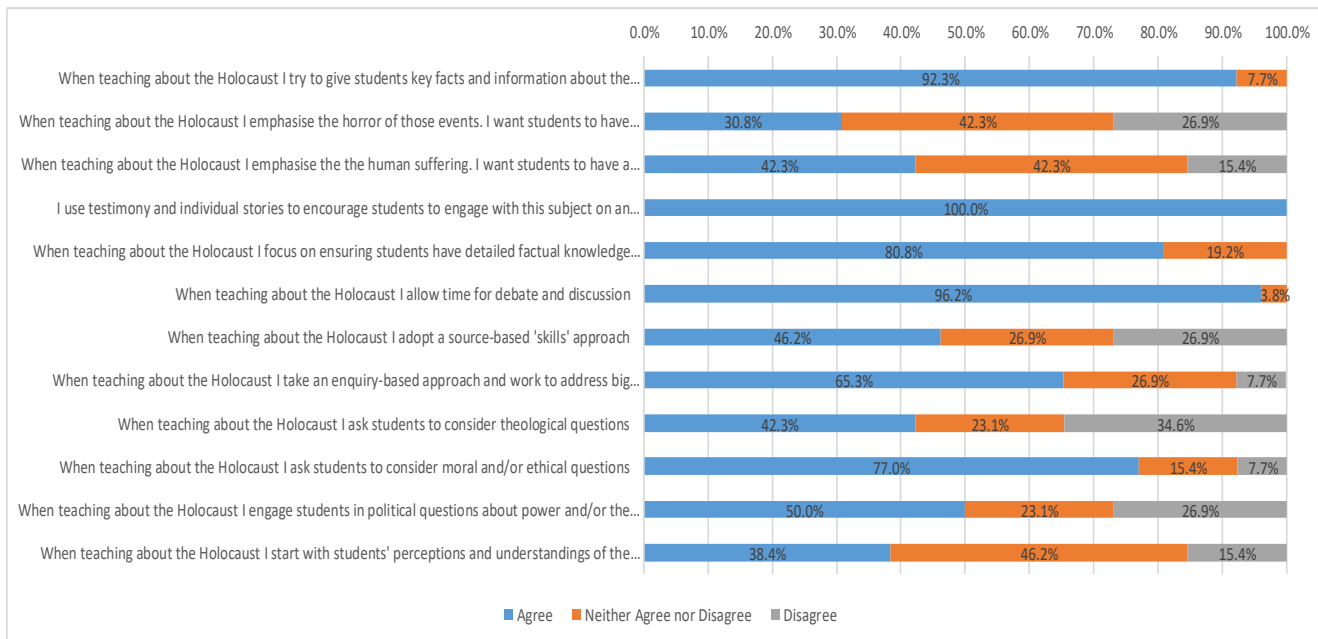
The pedagogical approach this teacher appeared to adopt was to fuse historical and sociological elements of the Holocaust. This teacher seemed to focus their aims on ensuring that their students understood that the Holocaust was based around state sponsored antisemitism. However, potentially they were also trying to connect their students to the victims by using the atrocities of what happened as a didactic message to promote Jewish identity and continuity in their students' lives. This is something that would be unlikely to take place outside of the Jewish Studies classroom and may be prevalent across Jewish schools owing to the strong emotional connection between Jews and the Holocaust. This is the type of rabbinic narrative that is often used in synagogue sermons and was an oft-stated aim for the educational journeys to Poland.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 7

In addition to trying to establish in which subjects the Holocaust was taught and the aims of teaching it, within the sample schools I also wanted to try to establish how important certain pedagogical approaches were for teachers within those schools and to see if this was possibly influenced by the subjects they taught. I presented respondents with 12 pedagogical approaches to teaching about the Holocaust and asked that they score them on a 5-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree.¹⁰⁸ I took some of the same statements that were included in question 41 of the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 116) in order to have a baseline from which to draw comparisons and conclusions between Jewish schools and non-Jewish schools. When analysing this data I followed the method used by Pettigrew *et al.* (2009) and analysed the data by grouping together the 'Strongly Agree' and 'Agree' responses as well as the 'Strongly Disagree' and 'Disagree' responses. The results of this question can be seen in Figure 9 below:

Figure 10: Analysis of the question: 'Please read each of the following statements relating to pedagogical approaches to teaching about the Holocaust and indicate the extent to which you agree with them'.

¹⁰⁸ The full list of statements can be found in Appendix 4, question 28.



Out of the 12 statements the only one that all respondents who answered this question (n 26) agreed with was 'I use testimony and individual stories to encourage students to engage with the subject on an empathetic level'. 46.2% of the 26 respondents who answered the question strongly agreed with this statement and 53.8% agreed with it. In the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), 91% of all respondents agreed with this statement. Within my study this selection was slightly higher. Pettigrew *et al.*'s study showed, the statement that teachers agreed with the most was, 'When teaching about the Holocaust I allow time for debate and discussion' with 92% of respondents agreeing. In my own sample, this was again slightly higher with 96.2% (n 25) of the 26 respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with this statement. While this response was extremely high, it was not 100%. Closer analysis of my data showed that there was only one respondent who had answered this question without selecting either 'agree' or 'strongly agree'. This respondent selected 'neither agree nor disagree' and is a teacher in a mainstream school who teaches both Jewish Studies and history. It is possible that the language of the question made it difficult for this respondent to make a definitive judgement as perhaps they did not always allow for this and perhaps it

depended on which subject they were teaching at the time. Unfortunately, the respondent did not provide contact details to enable me to carry out a follow up interview that would have allowed me to clarify their position.

The IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 44) revealed that some pedagogic approaches varied more depending on which subject the respondent principally taught. My sample broadly reflected the same variances for these statements. For example, when looking at the statement 'when teaching about the Holocaust I adopt a source-based "skills" approach' the IoE's study showed: '41% (n 419) of all teachers, 48% (n 274) of history teachers and 58% (n18) of citizenship teachers compared with 34% (n 84) of RE teachers and 15% (n 19) of English teachers' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 44). My data showed that 46.2% (n 12) of all teachers adopted a source-based 'skills' approach. Closer analysis of the data showed that 20% of history teachers and 56% of Jewish Studies teachers adopted that approach. However, when looking at an 'enquiry based approach' to learning about the Holocaust I found that 65.3% (n 17) of all teachers - 61% of Jewish Studies teachers, 80% of history teachers - used this methodology. As a comparison, in the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), only 48% of history teachers used that approach. As my sample is considerably smaller than that of the IoE's, it is important to remember that each of my respondents makes a greater difference to the percentage results. However, it is still worth considering whether the 32% difference between the two samples is owing to the schools or whether it is possible that since 2009 there had been more educational research into enquiry-based learning and that approach was more commonly used in 2017.

As my sample of schools are all faith schools and a number of the teachers taught about the Holocaust through Jewish Studies, I was particularly interested to see to what extent a theological approach was taken when teaching about the Holocaust.

I again used the same statement of pedagogical approach as the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009); 'when teaching about the Holocaust I ask students to consider theological questions'. The IoE's study concluded that '35% (n 355) of all teachers, 78% (n 201) of RE teachers compared with 19% (n 106) of history teachers' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 45). My survey showed that 42.3% of all teachers, 55.6% of Jewish Studies teachers compared with 0% of history teachers. As the responses from history teachers within my sample differed to those in the IoE's, I carried out targeted follow up interview with two history teachers in two different schools within the sample. The reason why I was unable to conduct more follow-up interviews was that only a limited number of history teachers agreed to follow-up interviews. Both of those teachers happened to be Jewish and one of them taught both history and Jewish Studies. The history teacher told me that: 'Theology is not for the history classroom. My job is to teach the students about the facts from a historical approach and I leave the theological debates for the Jewish Studies staff' (history teacher in sample school). The teacher of both history and Jewish Studies added further insights:

When I'm teaching history, my aim is to teach the pupils the historical facts. But when I'm teach Jewish Studies my job is to answer bigger questions that the pupils have and help them with their own thought process. As a Jewish Studies teacher I need to leave them with hope for the future and remind them of their responsibility (Teacher of history & Jewish Studies, Greenville School).

Those teachers explained that within the history classroom they saw their role as being to impart historical knowledge that helped their students to understand the past. They did not believe it was their place to debate theological or philosophical concepts in relation to the history. However, the data indicates that Jewish Studies teachers appeared to place less emphasis on historical specifics than perhaps on learning from the history and debating philosophical questions that arise. While in non-Jewish schools, a significant minority of history teachers did state they included theological

lessons from the Holocaust, it was clear that within Jewish schools history teachers felt it appropriate to leave those topics for the Jewish Studies teachers to address.

I was also intrigued to understand why there was a 22.4% difference between RS teachers in non-Jewish schools and Jewish Studies teachers in Jewish schools adopting this approach. Table 7 below shows a closer scrutiny of this data analysed by the denomination of school:

Table 7: Analysis of the results to the question: 'When teaching about the Holocaust I ask students to consider theological questions':

| | | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------|----------------------------|-------|----------------|
| | Mainstream | 6% | 13% | 25% | 50% | 6% |
| | Pluralist | 0% | 100% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Strictly Orthodox | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% | 0% |

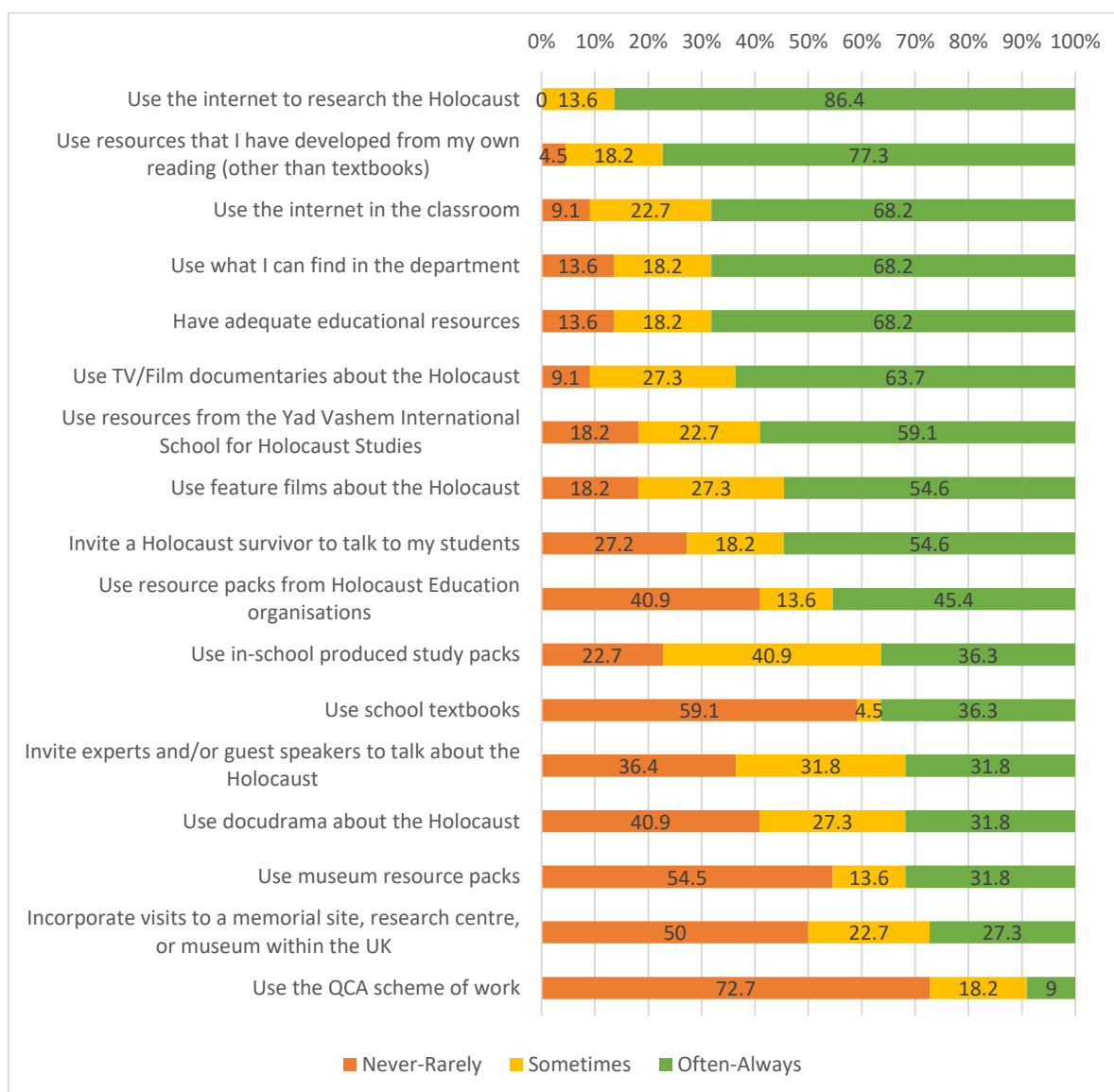
Respondents from mainstream and strictly orthodox schools largely were more engaged with that approach, while respondents from the pluralist school were not. However, within the schools classified as mainstream, there are some schools that have a mixed intake of Jewish and non-Jewish children. Respondents working in schools where there is a mix of non-Jewish children disagreed with this statement more than any other group of respondents. I wanted to understand if there was a defined rationale for this so I carried out a short follow-up interview with a senior member of staff who worked in a mainstream school with a large number of non-Jewish students on roll. That teacher has worked across a number of schools with various student bodies. She explained, 'The kids still have the theological questions, but it is much harder to give them the answers when they are coming from various denominational

backgrounds and not just Jewish'. In a school where students have the same religious beliefs, theological debate appears easier to conduct. However, when a school has its own ethos that is not necessarily in-line with that of the students it becomes much more challenging to conduct such debates. I believe that this challenge affected teachers' decisions focused on whether or not to include theological questions when teaching about the Holocaust.

6.10 Teaching and Learning Strategies for teaching about the Holocaust

Teachers were invited to rank on a five-point scale whether they Never (1) or Always (5) use various teaching and learning resources/strategies when teaching about the Holocaust. The results are shown in Figure 10 below:

Figure 11: Analysis of the question: 'How likely would you be to use the following teaching and learning strategies when teaching about the Holocaust?'



When analysing that question there was a clear split between history teachers and those of other subjects as well as some differences between the different categories of schools. For example, the highest ranked resource was using the internet for researching information to teach and the third highest ranked resource was using the internet in the classroom, yet these were not used by 100% of teachers. When looking at the data more carefully, teachers in some strictly orthodox schools in the sample said that they do not use the internet to teach in the classroom. Within the strictly

orthodox community there is still some fear surrounding the internet and its use; and therefore in those schools there are also no interactive whiteboards and teachers are not permitted to use Wi-Fi. Teachers may be permitted to use the internet outside of the classroom for research purposes but cannot then use it as a teaching and learning resource with the students. This would explain why the highest ranked resource, used by all respondents, was using the internet to prepare resources.

The other large split between history teachers and teachers of other subjects occurred in relation to textbooks and the QCA schemes of work. Only respondents who were history teachers selected that they sometimes or always used those resources while 67% of respondents in the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 45) stated they would be likely to use textbooks and 18% the QCA Schemes of Work. I would suggest that the reason for this discrepancy is because these schemes of work and many textbooks were designed for history teachers. There does not exist similar textbooks for teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish Studies or other subjects. However, a high number of respondents stated that they used Yad Vashem pedagogic resources; 59.1% always and 22.7% sometimes. Closer analysis of the data showed a clear correlation between those who have attended the Yad Vashem CPD and those who used their resources.

This section of questions clearly showed that a large variety of teaching and learning resources and strategies used for teaching about the Holocaust within the sample schools. Follow-up interviews with teachers found that the age of the students was the biggest influencing factor of which strategies were used. For example, teachers across a range of schools said they were more likely to bring Holocaust survivors in to speak to their Sixth Form students than they were lower down the school. However,

teachers were also clear that as with good teaching practice, it was important to use a range of strategies to keep their students engaged.

6.11 Summary

The findings derived from an analysis of the Phase II data provided an insight into how the Holocaust is being taught in Jewish schools in England. It also allowed me to compare and contrast Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England to teaching in mainstream schools as identified in the IoE 2009 survey (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). These findings also helped me in gathering information to answer all of my research questions, but especially the third one.¹⁰⁹

There were nine schools included in my sample for this phase of the research, including schools that defined themselves as strictly orthodox, mainstream and pluralist. Generally, there was not much difference between the pluralist school and some of the mainstream schools. However, in some areas of Holocaust education, there was a great deal of difference between the strictly orthodox and other schools. For example, where in the curriculum the Holocaust is taught, aims of teaching the Holocaust and the need for including theological questions when learning about the Holocaust.

There were both similarities and differences between the results of my study and those offered in the IoE's 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). In some areas there were clear similarities. For example, while teachers in both Jewish and non-Jewish schools used similar tools for teaching about the Holocaust, it was clear that teachers in Jewish

¹⁰⁹ What are the distinctive features, challenges, and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared to schools within the wider secular context?

schools were more likely to use resources from Yad Vashem than teachers in non-Jewish schools. However, in other areas there were big differences. For example, it was clear that Jewish Studies teachers appeared to use the Holocaust to explore issues surrounding the importance of Jewish identity, which is something that did not feature in the IoE's study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). The schools within my sample also seemed to place a greater emphasis on life in the ghettos and on individuals and their stories than seen in Pettigrew *et al.*'s study (2009). Ellison (2017) carried out similar research looking at how the Holocaust was taught in Jewish Day Schools in America compared to public schools in America. Ellison's conclusions were similar to my initial conclusions from the first two phases of my own research; that in a Jewish setting Holocaust education does have nuances that are different to that of non-Jewish schools. For example, it is clear that the way the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools is different to those in the wider secular context, both in terms of the time that is dedicated to it, the subjects where it is taught, the pedagogic methods used, and the aims established. Closer analysis has shown that even within history lessons in Jewish schools there are differences in how the Holocaust is taught when compared to how it is taught in history lessons in non-Jewish schools. At the conclusion of my analysis of the Phase II data I understood that some of these issues still required further exploration. However, as previously explained, the educational journeys to Poland are a major part of the Holocaust education provided by the Jewish schools. Therefore, before moving on to Phase III of the data, it was necessary to focus attention specifically on these educational experiences.

Chapter 7 – Phase IIb: Educational Journeys to Poland

7.1 Introduction

As explained in the previous chapter, my Phase II research focussed on two main sections: (1) how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools in England and (2) school-run educational journeys to Poland. This findings from this phase of my research greatly aided my ability to answer my third research question.¹¹⁰ Of significance, seven out of the nine schools within the sample stated that they operated educational journeys to Poland for their Year 12 students. Teachers in all of those schools believed that the visits were extremely important. One respondent described their school's journey as, 'a hugely important trip that I think every student should go on' (MFL teacher, Southview School).

Educational journeys can provide powerful opportunities to engage students in meaningful learning experiences at the very sites where key historical events took place. Romi and Lev (2007, p. 88) noted that since the early 1990s there have been educational journeys from Israel to Poland for high school students run in partnership with the Israeli Ministry of Education. There have also been educational journeys to Poland from schools in America since the early 1990s and the first trips from the UK in 1998. Aviv and Shneer stated that those journeys were 'designed to encourage a strong sense of Jewish identity for the rest of one's lifetime' (2007, p. 67). Within my research I was interested to see what motivated schools in England to offer

¹¹⁰ What are the distinctive features, challenges, and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared to schools within the wider secular context?

educational visits to Poland and to consider if and how they complemented the Holocaust education students received in school.

My research showed that five of the mainstream schools, the pluralist school and one of the strictly orthodox schools from within my sample ran educational journeys to Poland. Of note, among the respondents to my survey I did not have any teachers from the strictly orthodox school that had attended their Poland journey. In this particular school Poland journeys were quite new and were run by an external tour operator in partnership with the school. As a result, to date, very few school staff have participated in those visits. Therefore, for the analysis of the data in this section of the survey, I narrowed the sample down to include the pluralist school and the five mainstream schools that offered educational journeys to Poland. My sample was therefore narrowed to a sub-sample of 21 teachers from seven different schools all of whom had participated in their school's Poland journey. As stated in the previous chapter, this is a small sample upon which to draw conclusions. However, the seven schools from which respondents were drawn constituted the majority of Jewish secondary schools in England who teach about the Holocaust and run educational journeys to Poland.

As with the main part of my Phase II research, I decided that the predominant method to investigate the aims of this study would be through using surveys. However, to ensure nuanced understanding I also asked respondents whether I could contact them for follow-up conversations, which many were willing for me to do. As a result of my research using three layers of data – survey responses, follow-up conversations with individual respondents and discussions with senior leaders of the schools within the sample – I found that a number of schools also sub-contracted much of the organisation and operation of their journeys to Poland to external tour operators and

educational organisations. Therefore, I added an additional layer of research to this section of Phase II by contacting some of the tour guides and tour operators used by the sample schools and conducting some focussed follow-up interviews.¹¹¹ As previously explained,¹¹² ethical guidelines set out by BERA were followed and all participants consented to the use of their data in line with Data Protection requirements.

7.2 The Sample

The 21 respondents in my sample were made up of 61.9% (n 13) females and 38.1% (n 8) males. 76.2% (n 16) of these respondents worked full time and 23.8% (n 5) worked part-time. In contrast to the main sample, most respondents within this sub-sample were more senior staff, with only 23.8% (n 5) of respondents not being a school leader or holding a TLR, as represented in Table 8 below:

Table 8: Teaching responsibilities of Phase II sub-sample

| | Frequency |
|---|-----------|
| A member of the Senior Leadership Team | 4 |
| Head of Department | 8 |
| Assistant Head of Department | 3 |
| TLR holder within your department | 1 |
| Teacher with no additional responsibility | 5 |
| Total | 21 |

Respondents within this sub-sample mostly were relatively experienced in terms of the years that they had taught. Teachers were asked how many years had they taught in total. The lowest response was 2 years, the highest 32 years and mean response

¹¹¹ See Appendix 5 for details of Follow Up Interviews.

¹¹² See previous chapter and Chapter 3 Research Methodologies.

was therefore 16.71. This data shows that the schools within the sample are therefore choosing mainly experienced and quite senior staff to lead their educational journeys to Poland.

Cohen (2011) discussed the importance of selecting and training appropriate staff for educational journeys. He stated the need for organisations to consider what the role of those staff would be and to ensure that they have had the appropriate training in order to ensure that they can fulfil their specified role. Within this sub-sample, all of the respondents who participated in educational journeys to Poland came from a wide spread of subjects. My research revealed that in all of the sample schools, the educational journeys to Poland are the responsibility of the Jewish Studies departments.¹¹³ However, the staff who attended these journeys appeared to have been selected from across many departments within the school. I held follow-up conversations with senior leaders at the schools to ask how those staff were selected. The only factor that seemed to be common across the schools was that the staff were judged to have a good rapport with the students. Other factors that were considered by schools included the amount of lessons that would be missed by the teacher and subsequent cover implications. A number of schools wanted at least half of the staff to be from the Jewish Studies department in order to contribute to the educational framework of the journey. When speaking to teachers from across the schools, irrespective of their age or hierarchical seniority, they all spoke extremely highly of the importance of the journeys to Poland and one of the key factors for their success was selection of the correct staff. As a member of the SLT in one of the mainstream schools stated in a follow-up interview:

¹¹³ At the time that Phase II primary research was undertaken. However, as discussed in Phase III, one of the schools did make a later decision to make this journey the responsibility of the Head of Sixth Form and one of the Deputy Headteachers who is a non-Jewish history teacher.

A great deal of time is placed on selecting the correct staff for our Poland trips. We look for staff with good rapport with the students, but also a balance of knowledge and pastoral experience in order to support them on what can be a difficult journey (Follow-up interviews; Southview School).

Table 9: What do you consider your principal subject?

| | Frequency |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| English | 1 |
| History | 2 |
| ICT/Computing | 1 |
| Maths | 2 |
| Ivrit ¹¹⁴ | 1 |
| Jewish Studies | 9 |
| MfL (not including Ivrit) | 1 |
| Music | 1 |
| PE | 2 |
| Science | 1 |
| Total | 21 |

As Table 9 above shows, the largest group of teachers within this sub-sample in terms of what subject they taught, was Jewish Studies teachers, 42.9% (n 9). However, even though Jewish Studies teachers did not constitute the majority of the sample, there was no other group of respondents from a single subject group that had more than two teachers in it. This was something that I questioned in follow-up interviews with middle and senior leaders from the sample schools. I was informed that as the trips are the responsibility of the Jewish Studies departments, leaders wanted to ensure that they had sufficient Jewish Studies staff to deliver the educational content. In 71% (n 5) of the schools within the sample, when it was challenging to find the correct staff to guide or lead these journeys the decision was taken to outsource this to tour operators, sometimes in partnership with other educational organisations, to deliver the programming together with the school. In some schools those tour operators or educational organisations also provide additional rabbis or *madrichim*¹¹⁵ to accompany the journey alongside teachers from the school. This presents an

¹¹⁴ Modern Hebrew.

¹¹⁵ Youth leaders.

additional educational challenge for the school of how to select a suitable tour operator to meet the educational aims of the school. This is something that is discussed further later in this chapter.

7.3 Student uptake on school journeys to Poland

According to the 21 teachers within this sub-sample, student uptake for journeys to Poland was relatively high. Within the majority of the mainstream schools the uptake was at least 80%. In two of those schools uptake was between 90% – 100%. In the pluralist school, however, uptake was lower with 50% – 59% of students participating in this programme. Overall, between the schools in the sample, there are, on an average year, in the region of 500 Year 12 students from Jewish schools in England who participate in educational journeys to Poland. It is clear that both schools and students value the importance of these journeys, but possibly for different reasons. One teacher explained in a follow-up interview that they felt the reason the uptake for these journeys is so high is because students 'hear positive experience that students from previous years have had and they want to have the same one as well as learning more about their history' (Millennium Academy). Another very experienced senior leader who took part in a follow-up interview explained that they believed the participation rate is so high because:

Teenagers are fascinated at the opportunity to explore their own roots, to find out about their only family connections. A journey to Poland complements experiences in Israel that serve to ignite the Jewish identity of the young people that are then enhanced on their pilgrimage to Poland (Senior Leader, Parkview School).

On further discussion, this senior leader explained that they believed the journeys to Poland were the students' continuation of their Jewish educational experiences. Many students in Jewish schools in England go on educational journeys to Israel with

their school at the end of Year 9 and at the end of Key Stage 4 there are numerous 21-day tours to Israel run by youth movements that have an extremely high uptake. The senior leader cited above, explained that in their school approximately 75% of Year 9 students participated in their school's 18-day journey to Israel and about the same percent of their Year 11s joined one of the youth movement tours. This senior leader explained that he believed those educational journeys were ways of engaging their students even more in cultivating their Jewish identity. The Jewish educational philosopher Chazan also reasoned that there was a connection between educational journeys to Poland and Israel that can impact on a student's life: 'To travel to Poland is to experience the height of Jewish creativity and the depth of human depravity. Traveling to Israel is about seeing, feeling, and touching the Jewish past, present, and future' (Chazan, 2002, pp. 6–7).

The length of the journeys to Poland vary slightly between the schools within the sample. With the exception of two schools within the sample, all of the other schools run these journeys for six days. One school within the sample ran their journey for five days and the other for seven. The cost of the journeys varies slightly between the schools. However, on average, the cost for 2017/18 school year was £720 per student. Students or their parents have to pay this in order for the student to attend. However, all of the schools within the sample have some means-tested bursaries in order to financially support students from disadvantaged families.

7.4 What are the aims of school journeys to Poland?

Educational journeys are typically regarded as a means to bring to life what can be learnt in a classroom. Chazan, in his discussions about Informal Jewish Education, described them as:

...organized educational journeys that take young people and adults to places of Jewish interest throughout the world. This kind of education involves directly experiencing sites, events, and people (Chazan, 2002, p. 6).

Journeys to Poland fit within this definition. However, it appeared that school journeys to Poland were often far more than a touristic experience. Above all, they appeared to be about learning from the past and how this influences the future. Some research has been undertaken into the aims of the American and Israeli journeys to Poland and also about the March of the Living Programme (see, Aviv and Shneer (2007), Cohen (2006), Davidowitz (2013), Gross (2010), Kugelmass (1994), Nager, Pham and Gold (2013), and Romi and Lev (2007)). However, there has not been any specific research carried out looking at the aims of educational journeys to Poland for Jewish schools in England.

Much of the research carried out about Israeli and American journeys to Poland focused on learning from history, having an impact on Jewish identity and Jewish continuity. For example, Cohen stated the aims of such journeys were to provide a, 'spiritually and intellectually fulfilling exploration into their cultural-religious roots, which will help them to enhance their religious identity within the context of the larger society to which they will return at the end of the journey' (Cohen, 2006, p. 79). Additionally, in a lecture delivered at the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Education, Shanie Lourie stated:

Journeys to Poland need to be turned into a positive learning experience. The outcome should be positive and inspiring. On the one hand it needs to be historical and not filtered, but on the other hand we want to educate for the future (Lourie, 2018).

I wanted to investigate whether this was the same for Jewish schools in England and also whether a school's religious denomination would affect the aims of the educational visits. I therefore asked my respondents a simple open-ended question, 'What are your school's aims for their Poland visit?' The response to this question showed similarities and differences between the stated aims. Even within the same schools, some respondents provided different aims. I therefore carried out follow-up conversations with three respondents to try to understand more fully the responses I received. They all informed me that their response was based on what they believed the school's aims were for the trip and not necessarily what the school's actual aims were.

The most common theme to occur in responses regarding the aims of these journeys centred around notions of Jewish identity, 53.4% (n 11) of respondents mentioned this aspect in their answer. Further analysis showed that of the 11 respondents who mentioned Jewish identity as one of their aims, seven of them were Jewish Studies teachers who currently taught in mainstream schools. The remaining respondents were teachers from mainstream schools of music, English and ICT. Respondents from the pluralist school, however, did not state anything to do with Jewish identity as part of their journey aims.

Within the schools who mentioned Jewish identity as part of their aims, the exact phrasing and emphasis varied depending on the respondent. Some examples of teachers who included Jewish identity as part of their aims were:

Jewish identity (Informal Jewish Educator, Southview School).

To help students reflect on and deepen their Jewish identity - this manifests itself in the students in multiple ways (Jewish Studies teacher, Parkview School).

To help the students appreciate what took place, why it was important, what was lost and what we can learn from it, both in terms of how to live our lives and Jewish identity (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

The other similar recurring theme observed in response to this question was the concept of knowledge. History teachers who responded to this question all included something in their aims regarding acquisition or extension of knowledge. A number of responses that mentioned knowledge were concerned with knowledge of what happened during the Holocaust and also what preceded the genocide. Some examples of these aims were:

Strengthen knowledge and understanding of Holocaust including pre-war (music teacher, Southview School).

Explore Jewish culture and life in Poland before 1939 (history teacher, Waterford College).

Heighten awareness and importance of knowledge and understanding and linking to Jewish learning (history teacher, Southview School).

The two most prevalent aims identified by respondents in my survey – to increase Jewish identity and knowledge – were also acknowledged by Romi and Lev as aims identified in their study on journeys to Poland by Israeli youth:

The overall goal of the Holocaust curriculum, including the journey to Poland, is to increase students' knowledge, and shape their Jewish identity through a close examination of historical events (Romi and Lev, 2007, p. 89).

Follow-up interviews with respondents also made it clear that the aims of the journeys were commonly based around strengthening Jewish identity and increasing knowledge about the Holocaust. One non-Jewish teacher who participated in a follow-up interview stated:

The aims of the trip are, to show the students first-hand where many of the events of the Holocaust took place and to connect this to what they have learnt in the classroom. To connect the students emotionally with their heritage and give them a sense of understanding of how this can affect their identity for the future (social science teacher, Northview School).

This teacher explained in the interview how much they had learnt about the Holocaust as a participant on this trip, but equally how interesting it had been to 'see the educational and emotional journey of the students and how it affected their identity' (social science teacher).

As previously identified, a number of schools use third party tour operators and their guides to deliver the educational content of their journeys. I therefore decided to carry out four short and focussed interviews with tour guides and tour organisers from the operators identified. The rationale for those interviews was to see how similar or different the operators' aims were to those of the schools. All of the guides I interviewed guide numerous international groups, not just English Jewish schools, made up of different participants. One guide who I interviewed guides youth from both Israel as well as UK and America. She stated that there is a clear difference between her aims depending on whether or not students are Israeli or live outside of Israel. For Israelis she said that the aims of those journeys are 'to create a national identity and prepare them for the army' (Tour Guide 1). However, for non-Israeli groups she believed that the aims of these journeys are a combination of:

Introducing and rejoicing *Ashkenazi* Jewish life present before the war.
2. Shaping Jewish identity and cultivating a sense of peoplehood. 3.
*Tikun olam*¹¹⁶ (Tour Guide 1).

¹¹⁶ Social action/responsibility.

This guide strongly believed that there was a big difference between her aims and goals when guiding Israeli groups to all others. I questioned this guide further, specifically in regards to Jewish identity, which she had stated was a goal for non-Israeli groups, but not for Israeli groups. She explained, 'Identity is also important for Israelis, but not in the same way as for people who live outside of Israel, as Israelis get their identity from living in Israel' (Tour Guide 1).

The second tour guide I interviewed was more strategic in terms of organising the trips. He explained that the main aim of the journeys for non-Israeli students was:

To strengthen their Jewish identity. Get them to see themselves as part of something bigger than their families or their specific Jewish communities. Further down the line to be involved in the Jewish community, to marry a Jewish person and continue being proud Jews. And if Israel can fit in there as the future of the Jewish people, that is definitely a big plus (Tour Guide 2).

This tour guide also stated that there was a big difference between the aims of journeys to Poland for Israeli youth and Jewish youth from the rest of the world. He believed that for Israelis the aims were more about preparing them for adult life in Israel and strengthening their identity as Israelis as well as using it to bridge gaps between different sections of society. He did not consider that this was necessary for Jews from outside of Israel and that the priority had to be strengthening their Jewish identity. It is noteworthy that history and factual knowledge did not feature at all in this tour guide's aims for either Israeli or non-Israeli youth journeys to Poland.

Another tour guide I interviewed worked with one of the Jewish tour operators taking adults and students to Poland and other destinations in Europe as well as with the Holocaust Education Trust (HET) guiding on their Lessons from Auschwitz Programme predominantly to non-Jewish Year 12 students in schools across the UK. This

respondent told me that his aims differ depending on whether he is guiding a Jewish or non-Jewish group. Irrespective of religion, he told me that his aims for all groups are 'a duty of remembrance and learning from history to ensure a better future for all' (Tour Guide 3). However, for Jewish student groups, he has the additional aim of, 'empowering young Jews to take a more proactive role in the Jewish world' (Tour Guide 3).

When comparing the educational aims of the schools within the sample to those of the tour operators and guides who they choose to organise the journeys to Poland on their behalf, it became clear that the aims did not always match. Nevertheless, for the most part, there were similarities. Tour Guide 3 revealed that he had different aims when guiding Jewish to non-Jewish groups. In the previous chapter, I emphasised that in relation to teachers' aims when teaching the Holocaust there was a difference between my sample and the IoE's (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). I initially thought that this might have been specific to the subjects that respondents taught and that Jewish Studies teachers would be more likely to focus on Jewish identity than history teachers. However, my exploration of this issue did not appear to support this reasoning. I concluded, therefore, that this issue required further investigation in Phase III of my research. However, what appeared most clearly from conversations with teachers and tour guides was that the perceived needs of the students appeared as the most influential factor in establishing the educational aims for journeys to Poland.

7.5 Organising the journeys to Poland

Five out of the seven schools in the sub-sample run their Poland journey for six days, one school runs it for seven days and one school for five days. I was interested to try and find out who it is that designs what the journey would look like in terms of what

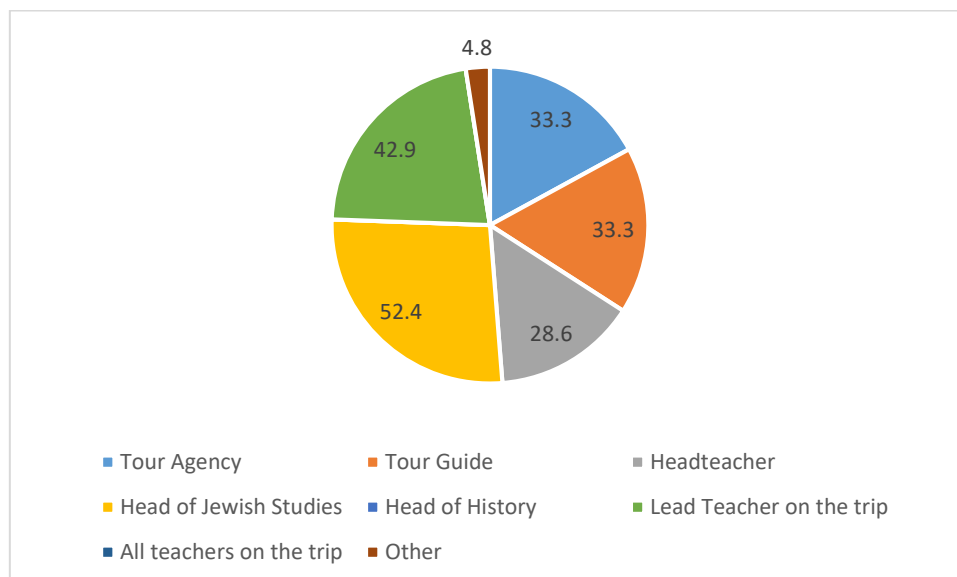
sites would be visited. Romi and Lev explained that in Israel the school journeys are designed largely by the Ministry of Education:

The journeys to Poland last eight to ten days, during which the students spend time in four death camps (Auschwitz, Majdanek, Plaszow¹¹⁷, and Treblinka), tour Jewish monuments (synagogues, museums, ghettos, and towns), and visit Polish tourist attractions—the salt mines and major cities and markets. They learn about the rich Jewish life of pre-Holocaust Europe and of the cataclysmic events of the Holocaust (Romi and Lev, 2007, p. 91).

In England, however, educational journeys to Poland do not fall under the remit of the Department for Education and therefore it is up to each school to plan the length, aims, sites, process and logistics of their own trips. I therefore asked teachers who within their school had responsibility for making these decisions. Respondents were given a range of answers to choose from and could select all that applied. Teachers were also provided with an option for 'other' and to include anyone else involved in this decision-making process. Figure 11 below, shows the percentages of results selected by the 20 teachers who answered this question, selecting 43 different responses:

Figure 12: Who designs the itinerary for your school's Poland visit?

¹¹⁷ Even though Plaszow was a labour camp, in the original [Hebrew] article, a generic word was used to describe all Nazi camps. However, the published English translation still refers to the 'death camps'.



When analysing responses to this question, it was clear that across all schools the one member of staff with the most influence over these decisions was the Head of Jewish Studies. However, when looking at the individual schools there were big differences. Two schools within the sample chose to do the majority of the tour-guiding themselves and invested time and resources into training their staff to be able to do so. The other schools relied on tour guides provided by their tour operator. Teachers from those schools explained that the main person making the decisions about the itineraries was the tour operator. As the tour operators' educational aims were not always in line with those of the school, this finding presented a potential educational challenge in relation to the educational experience that the students would receive. However, as one respondent said; 'J-roots¹¹⁸ has fabulous and highly trained tour guides who structure the content they present, the itinerary and messages they deliver in a very effective way' (Jewish Studies teacher). Therefore, if schools are so confident that their tour operators will provide them with such high-quality programmes then it is reasonable to suggest leaving it to them, as the experts, to design the programme.

¹¹⁸ One of the tour operators.

This is something that I still felt required further understanding and was a theme that I decided I needed to return to in Phase III of my research.

7.6 What sites are visited on journeys to Poland?

Poland is a large country with many cities, towns and villages that had Jewish communities before the Holocaust. Therefore, when designing an educational journey to Poland, organisers need to give serious consideration regarding what to include on their itineraries. In 2012, March of the Living¹¹⁹ generally included the following in their itineraries:

Krakow (synagogues, cemeteries), concentration camps (Auschwitz / Birkenau / Majdanek), death camps (Chelmno / Treblinka), and various cities and monuments (Lodz, Warsaw, and Lublin). Other assorted historical places visited included mass graves, orphanages, train stations, and sites of Jewish history and prayer (Nager, Pham and Gold, 2013, p. 1403).

I asked the teachers in my sample to identify the sites that were usually included within the itinerary of the school's journey to Poland. There were some sites that were visited by the majority of schools, some that were visited dependent on who the tour operator was and some that have been chosen by specific schools.

All schools visit Warsaw and within the city visit the Jewish cemetery, remainder of the ghetto wall, Mila 18¹²⁰ and the Rappaport Memorial.¹²¹ However, only 3 of the schools always visit the Nojek Synagogue,¹²² 2 schools visit the monument to the Polish Uprising

¹¹⁹ March of the Living are an organisation set up to bring Jewish tourists from across the world to Poland each year for an educational journey culminating in a march on Yom HaShoah from Auschwitz to Birkenau.

¹²⁰ The former bunker to the Jewish underground uprising.

¹²¹ The monument to the Warsaw Jewish uprising.

¹²² Only surviving active pre-War synagogue in Warsaw.

and 1 respondent noted visiting the Museum of the History of Polish Jews. All schools visit the city of Krakow and all schools visit Auschwitz 2 Birkenau. However, it appeared that there were no other sites that were visited by all schools. The other sites that were visited by 6 of the 7 schools were; spending Shabbat¹²³ in Krakow, visiting Schindler's Factory, and visiting Auschwitz 1. There are numerous other sites that were visited by 4 of the schools including; Treblinka Death Camp, Tikotchin, Lopchowa Forest, Majdanek Death Camp, Tarnow, Plaszow Labour Camp and meeting with a Righteous Gentile who saved Jews during the war.

My research revealed a high degree of variety across the sample schools in terms of the sites included on the itineraries for these journeys and I therefore used my follow-up interviews to probe further and try to understand why this was the case. The specific site that made me question the validity of the data was Auschwitz 1. I presumed all schools would visit this site, however only 81% of respondents reported regularly visiting this site. Further scrutiny of the data showed that the respondents who had not selected visiting Auschwitz 1 were all from the same school. I therefore carried out a follow-up interview with a senior leader from this school to try and clarify this possible anomaly. They confirmed that most of the time their school visits Auschwitz 1. However, on occasions this has not always been the case due to logistics of group bookings for this site. Therefore, if it was not possible to get a booking for Auschwitz 1 their school visited Majdanek and Auschwitz 2-Birkenau instead. The teacher with whom I spoke said that this was not an ideal situation and that this only happened when they could not find a way of fitting Auschwitz 1 into their itinerary. Another very high-ranking tour experience was spending Shabbat¹²⁴ in Krakow which was acknowledged by 86% (n 18) of respondents. When looking at this data more

¹²³ The Jewish Sabbath, from sunset on Friday until nightfall on Saturday.

¹²⁴ The Sabbath.

closely it became apparent that the teachers who had not spent Shabbat in Krakow all came from the same school. I conducted a follow-up interview with the member of staff from this school responsible for organising their Poland journey. They told me that due to the varied religious mix of students in the school, they had made a conscious decision to run their trip from Sunday until Friday to avoid having Shabbat on the trip as they felt it would be too complicated to cater for the religious needs of all the staff and students.¹²⁵

In order to establish which sites or activities the teachers within my sample deemed the most important, I asked an open-ended question that allowed for a free-text response, 'What activities / site visit do you think is the most important on your Poland visit and why?' For this question, there were no marked differences between respondents of different schools. Very few teachers actually limited themselves to only choosing one site as the 'most important', but instead chose to list numerous sites. Perhaps the reason for this approach was summed up by one teacher who answered the question by writing 'All of them' or another teacher who wrote; 'For me, it was impossible to choose. The whole trip was hugely moving for me, and changed the way I look at my own life' (maths teacher). From the other responses, the one site that was mentioned the most was Auschwitz. The majority of respondents wrote one-word short answers to this question. However, some Jewish Studies teachers wrote more detailed and lengthy responses. For example:

I think due to the nature of it being spoken about so much Auschwitz must be visited. In addition to this, the uprising monuments as well as mila 18 to demonstrate that we were not all like lambs to the slaughter. Certain shuls as a means of showing some more of the cultural Judaism at the time. Finally the children's mass graves because this is something that pupils will be connected with on their level (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

¹²⁵ See Chapter 8 – Analysis of Phase III data for further discussion and analysis regarding this decision.

Treblinka is always very powerful. The forest ... Birkenau... Too difficult to choose one as different pupils react to different sites (Jewish Studies teacher, Greenville School).

Shabbat in Krakow - opportunity to process thoughts and feelings as well as positive Shabbat experience (Jewish Studies teacher, Parkview School).

Teachers not only suggested why specific sites were important, but they also explained why these specific sites were meaningful. It is perhaps notable that the underlying theme that appeared in the majority of responses, as demonstrated in the responses above, was related to stimulating the emotions and feelings of the students.

When analysing how the itineraries were designed and developed, I was interested in knowing more about both the sites that the teachers deemed were important and those that they believed had the most impact on the students. I also wanted to understand why they believed certain sites had more impact. To explore these issues I provided teachers with an open question to which they were free to type their answers without a limit on characters. There were no answers that showed trends or patterns of a specific school. However, for this question the two most popular answers were split between Auschwitz and the mass children's grave in Zbylitowska Góra near to Tarnow. The richness of the answers to this question were not based around the selection of the sites, but the reason why the teachers had selected them. For example, for Auschwitz:

Auschwitz - the whole trip builds up to it and students often cannot believe the size of the concentration camp (history teacher, Northview School).

Auschwitz. Everything is still intact and able to picture what happened (history teacher, Southview School).

Auschwitz and other concentration or death camps were chosen, mainly, by teachers of subjects other than Jewish Studies. However, it was apparent responses by teachers of Jewish Studies tended to be based more on an emotional response or connection to the site. This was especially the case with answers that connected to the mass graves. For example:

I believe the children's mass graves have the biggest impact on them as they can associate with the fact that they are children and therefore try and start to understand what it was like (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

Zbylitowska Góra - Mass children's grave. Makes students really think about what happened and something that they feel they can relate to (Jewish Studies teacher, Southview School).

The forest - the mass grave is so painful to visit but the light the students fill the literal and metaphorical darkness with is immense and life changing (Jewish Studies teacher, Greenville School).

Jewish Studies teachers appeared to be very interested in emphasising an emotional connection between the Holocaust and Jewish people. As demonstrated by teachers' responses to my surveys, this interest manifested itself in teachers placing great emphasis on Jewish identity as an aim for teaching about the Holocaust. This is something that I decided needed further consideration in Phase III of my research.

A question towards the end of the survey asked; 'If you could change one element of your school's Poland visit what would it be and why?' This question was answered by 62% (n 13) of teachers with many of the responses to this question declaring that there is nothing that they would change. However, some teachers did state that there were changes that they would make:

I would want to have parents write their children letters to be received at the children's grave, just when they are appreciating their parents the most (Jewish Studies teacher, Greenville School).

This was a very specific response linked to a possible activity that could be carried out at a specific site. This teacher provided his name and contact details, so I carried out a follow-up interview with him based on his answer. He told me that he had seen this happen when on a Poland journey with a school from another country and it resulted in the students becoming extremely emotional and appreciative of their parents. A journey to Poland is always going to be emotional and especially for teenagers, although the extent to which this should be an educational aim is a source of debate.¹²⁶

Another teacher commented further on how the visits could be improved upon or revised by advocating the inclusion of 'More historical background to how it came about' (History teacher). This history teacher works at a school that outsourced their journey to Poland to an external educational organisation and believed that more historical content was necessary. The educational balance between history and learning from history for the future is a challenge for all educators. In addition, the fact that most schools also want to focus on increasing Jewish identity increased the complex task that educators have in relation to the educational balance.

Another declared that the programme could be improved by a more ambitious development. He reasoned, 'To conclude by going from Poland to Israel to look at the positive aspects of Jewish life today' (Jewish Studies teacher). This is a model used by March of the Living and many non-European groups. Part of the logic for this in the non-European groups is that they can link together their school journeys to Poland and Israel as the distance from the USA or Australia to Poland is so far that once there it is a short journey to Israel. However, for some groups this is also a pedagogic

¹²⁶ This is discussed further in Chapter 8.

decision. As an 'Insider Researcher' I know that this is something we have discussed in my school previously and is something I have contemplated with other senior educators of Jewish schools. I therefore asked a question regarding this issue in follow-up interviews. A senior leader and Jewish Studies teacher in one of the sample schools told me:

If we had the time to take the students out of school for longer and it was not so expensive then we would definitely go from Poland straight to Jerusalem to show the students the continuation of the Jewish story. It is important that the students don't just dwell on the Holocaust as the most important part of Jewish History, but learn from it and remember that Israel today is the Jewish presence (Jewish Studies teacher, Northview School).

I asked another Jewish Studies teacher the same question and received a similar answer with them also saying that if they could arrange for the journey to go from Poland to Israel they would because 'this would help to strengthen their [students'] Jewish identity even more' (Jewish Studies teacher, Southview School).

7.7 Phase II Conclusions

This phase of my research allowed me to conduct more detailed analysis into the actual practices of the teachers and schools in terms of how they educate about the Holocaust. My findings from this phase of my research helped me to answer all of my research questions, but especially my third question.¹²⁷ It is clear that within Jewish schools, Year 12 educational journeys to Poland are a very important part of how Holocaust education is delivered across these schools. It is also clear that the aims of

¹²⁷ What are the distinctive features, challenges, and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared to schools within the wider secular context?

teaching about the Holocaust in many Jewish schools in England is a means of teaching about Jewish identity. This is in line with Ellison's research into teaching the Holocaust in public schools compared with Jewish schools in America. He stated:

'...For teachers in Jewish Day Schools, the single most important rationale for teaching the Holocaust is the importance of the topic in terms of Jewish identity and Jewish history... The primary rationale for teaching the Holocaust is not the Holocaust's importance to world history, rather the Holocaust's impact upon Jewish history and identity, specifically' (Ellison, 2017, p. 8).

Ellison's conclusion showed the clear emphasis that Jewish schools in America place on teaching Jewish identity through teaching about the Holocaust. This is something that this phase of my research has shown is also the case with Jewish Studies teachers in the sample schools in England. Therefore, perhaps it is fair to say that the geographical location of the schools has less to do with how the Holocaust is taught within them than the religious character and student make-up of the particular school. Both my research and published literature indicated that, with the exception of the strictly orthodox sector, a similarity exists in relation to how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools of a similar nature in different parts of the world.

Chapter 8 - Phase III: Focused Study of Holocaust Education in Four Jewish Secondary Schools

8.1 Introduction

My Phase II data showed that out of the 51 Jewish schools in England¹²⁸, only nine taught about the Holocaust as part of their curriculum. Therefore, in Phase III, my aim was to narrow my sample of schools even further in order to conduct more in-depth interviews with key staff across a sample of four Jewish schools in London that all teach the Holocaust. As stated in Chapter 1, I identified five aims for my research:

- To provide an empirical portrait of how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish secondary schools in England.
- To examine the aims and approaches to teaching about the Holocaust in a range of Jewish secondary schools in England.
- To identify challenges and opportunities encountered or perceived by leaders and teachers when teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools.
- To draw preliminary comparisons between Jewish and wider contexts in terms of teaching the Holocaust in secondary schools in England.
- To provide recommendations for future provision of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England.

Building on the aims of my research, I identified my research questions as:

- What is the current landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England?

¹²⁸ Based on the Department for Education Edubase 2013 Database.

- What factors influence the extent and nature of the provision of Holocaust Education in Jewish secondary schools in England?
- What are the distinctive features, challenges and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared to schools in the wider secular and diverse context?

Phase I and II of my research were fundamental in terms of painting a portrait of the landscape of Jewish schooling in England and exploring how the Holocaust is taught in those schools. It also allowed me the opportunity to collect data from a selected sample of teachers in those schools and find out more about their training and professional development, the subjects they taught and their pedagogical approach to teaching about the Holocaust. As a result, I was able to draw some preliminary conclusions as well as identify evidential gaps in relation to my research aims. For example, although my first two phases provided rich and informative evidence about many issues, I considered these phases did not reveal enough about the challenges and opportunities teachers encountered or perceived when teaching about the Holocaust (see research aim three, above). I also wanted to understand more fully the underlying aims of teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools and how those influenced the provision of Holocaust education in the schools (see research aim 2, above). These aims are underpinned by my second and third research questions and therefore provided a strong rationale for the focus of my research during the third phase.

8.2 Interviews

Phase I of my research focused on gathering general information about Jewish schools in England and how they taught about the Holocaust. Phase II allowed me

the opportunity to survey teachers in a sample of these schools to find out more about their pedagogic aims, CPD, teaching and learning strategies as well as to understand more about their school's educational journeys to Poland. However, as identified above, I believed I needed to focus more on the aims of teaching the Holocaust together with both the challenges and opportunities related to teaching about the Holocaust and the factors that influence educational provision. I therefore designed Phase III by referring to these specific questions and thought carefully about what I wanted to ask in order to improve understanding and acquire richer empirical data.

I decided to conduct face-to-face interviews with two senior members of staff from each of my sample schools. Based on my finding from Phase II that educational journeys to Poland play such a pivotal role in Holocaust education across the Jewish schools, I determined it was important that at least one of the members of staff I interviewed in each school was responsible for organising their educational journey to Poland. My intention in choosing this cross-section of staff was to gain a rich and detailed understanding of how the Holocaust is taught in the respective schools as a mechanism to address my overarching research questions. As explained in my Research Methodology chapter,¹²⁹ I decided to use a semi-structured approach for the interviews.

As with previous phases, I reasoned that it was important to pilot my questions and decided to conduct a pilot with teachers from my own school. As explained in my Research Methodology chapter, the pilot study ensured that my questions were appropriate and provided opportunities to stimulate conversation. It also ensured that my study focused on the relevant research questions.

¹²⁹ See Chapter 3 – Research Methodology.

8.3 The Sample

Once I had decided on the focus and research methodology for Phase III, I needed to narrow the sample in order to carry out more in-depth research. Based on the knowledge of Jewish schools that I gathered in the first two phases of my research, I decided that I would choose four schools for my Phase III sample. My rationale for this was that this would give a good cross-section of the range of different Jewish schools as well as a number that would be manageable in terms of my research. My aim was to interview two members of staff from each school in order to learn more about how the Holocaust is taught in their school. I decided that I would ask the Headteachers in each school to identify who they felt would be the most appropriate members of staff to interview. My rationale for this was twofold: (1) I assumed the respective Headteachers would be best placed to know which members of staff within their school would be the most useful to interview in terms of my research aims and (2) I wanted to ensure that the Headteachers were comfortable with me interviewing their staff knowing that the findings of my research would be published and the schools may be identified. This rationale worked as the Headteachers in all schools selected one teacher for me to interview. However, the second teacher was either identified in conversation with the first interviewee or with the senior leader responsible for Jewish Studies within that school.¹³⁰ When it came to recording my findings for Phase III, I allocated each teacher a pseudonym of the same gender as the teacher and continued to use the same school pseudonyms previously allocated.¹³¹

¹³⁰ The reason that this methodology worked, to a point, was that the Headteachers were able to pinpoint one person who was potentially the curriculum lead for Holocaust education. However, it became apparent that in some schools they were not actually best placed to select the second member and staff and therefore this was done in negotiation with the first member of staff interviewed.

¹³¹ See Chapter 3 for explanation to rationale of naming schools.

In order to ensure that Phase III would have both rich data and a sound and balanced sample of schools, upon which to gather evidence and draw conclusions, it was important that I selected appropriate schools for this sample. Therefore, I decided to exclude the two strictly orthodox schools – Rainbow Academy and Stonewall Academy - that were included in the Phase II sample from my Phase III sample. The rationale for this is that there are only a very small minority of schools that define themselves as strictly orthodox who teach about the Holocaust and statistically these would be considered as 'outliers' and would not provide a fair and balanced perspective in relation to the overall population of Jewish schools. My findings from Phase II demonstrated that even within these two schools, Holocaust education was limited when compared with the other schools in the sample. In addition, provisional conversations with leaders in these schools resulted in them being reluctant to participate in further research.

I decided that I should exclude my own school from the final sample. I was concerned that when interviewing colleagues or staff whom I manage it may have been challenging for them to be fully honest with answers. I did, however, decide to use staff from my own school to pilot this phase of the research and this did provide some insights into their own experience as teachers of the Holocaust.

As previously explained in Chapter 3¹³², one of the ethical challenges of research is that of anonymity. A great deal of consideration was given as to how this should be dealt with appropriately throughout this research. As previously explained, I have used pseudonyms to describe the schools throughout Phases II and III of my research. Within this phase of my research, I also decided to allocate pseudonyms to replace teacher names and therefore help the reader to in identifying trends from the same

¹³² See Chapter 3.5.

teacher, without compromising ethics. The final sample of schools I selected for Phase III were; Parkview School¹³³, Waterford College, Southview School and Millennium Academy. These schools cover the wide religious spectrum of the majority of Jewish schools in England who teach about the Holocaust.

When I conducted my Phase III research¹³⁴, according to the Department for Education website *Get Information About Schools* (2019), there were 52 Jewish schools in England with secondary age students on roll. The total number of students on roll across all of these schools was 11,495. As explained in Phase I of my research, the sizes of the Jewish schools in England varied greatly with the smallest of these schools having 10 students on roll and the largest having 1,994. The total number of students on roll at the schools included within my sample was 5,482, which represents 47.7% of 11+ students across all registered Jewish schools in England, as shown in Table 10 below:

Table 10: Schools included within my Phase III sample

| Pseudonym of School | Jewish Denomination | Number of Students on Roll |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Parkview School | Mainstream | 1,163 |
| Waterford College | Pluralist | 1,271 |
| Southview School | Mainstream | 1,994 |
| Millennium Academy | Mainstream | 1,054 |
| | | |
| Total number of Students in Sample Schools | | 5,482 |

(Department for Education, 2019)

¹³³ Since carrying out my primary research (March 2019), Parkview School has now become a Multi-Academy Trust and split their school into two schools; one for boys and one for girls. The teachers I interviewed teach in both schools and the day to day running of the schools has not changed. Therefore, I have continued to refer to Parkview School as one school, which was its legal status at the time of my research.

¹³⁴ Spring Term 2019.

8.3.1 Contextual information about the sample schools

Parkview School is situated in North-West London. It opened in 1944 and is the most religiously conservative of all the schools in the sample. It still defines itself as mainstream, but the vast majority of the student body comes from religiously committed homes. This is something that Parkview promotes in their admissions criteria which states that in the case of oversubscription, priority of places will be awarded to children who, 'must observe the practise of Orthodox Jewish traditions and practices...' (2019, p 1). By setting their oversubscription criteria in this way, Parkview have ensured that priority places are allocated to children who come from religiously committed homes. This is very different to the wording that is used in the admissions criteria of the other mainstream schools, which still have an Orthodox Jewish ethos, but not all of the student body are necessarily as religiously committed. Therefore, one of the questions that I addressed in this phase of my research was does the religious make-up of the student body affect the way that the Holocaust is taught in this school?

The second school selected for my sample was Waterford College, which is located in North London. The school opened in 2010 and in their second Section 48 inspection, it is described as:

a pluralist, Jewish learning community that embraces diverse approaches to Jewish beliefs and practice that coexist comfortably within the school. The diverse Jewish environment fosters an atmosphere of mutual respect, and the students learn about and from the whole spectrum of Jewish beliefs and practices (Pikuach 2017, p.2).

This is the only Jewish secondary school in England which defines itself as pluralist and therefore I was interested to see if they had a different approach to teaching the Holocaust in comparison to the other schools in the sample. Phase I of my research

had shown that Waterford College's ethos resulted in them having different educational aims, challenges and opportunities to the mainstream schools. As well as being the only pluralist Jewish school in England, they also have a unique admissions criteria. This prioritises children of Jewish faith first, followed by non-Jewish children who are 'looked after and previously looked after' and then third priority to 'Other-faith Children' (Waterford College, 2021, p. 1). This criteria allows for the possibility of more non-Jewish children to be admitted to the school compared with Parkview and Southview schools. However, there is no data available stating the percentages of Jewish and non-Jewish students on roll. Therefore, I was interested in exploring how this varied student-body and pluralist ethos may or may not affect their educational decisions in relation to teaching about the Holocaust. I was also interested in understanding the rationale behind the educational decisions taken by educators in this school.

Southview School was established in 1732 and is currently located in North London. It is the largest Jewish school in Europe and, even though by definition it is a mainstream orthodox school, its student body is more eclectic in terms of religious belief and practice. Southview describes itself in its 'mission statement' as, 'a co-educational inclusive, modern, orthodox Jewish school that strives to produce well-educated, faithful and proud Jews who will be responsible and contributing members of society' (Southview, no date). The word 'inclusive' mirrors the values of the United Synagogue, the foundation body of Southview, who also use this word in their value statement¹³⁵. The school is run according to an orthodox Jewish ethos, but not all of the students are necessarily from a practising orthodox background, as the 2014 Section 48 inspection for Southview describes the context of the student-body as being 'drawn from a broad religious spectrum' (Pikuach, 2014, p. 2). Therefore, one of the issues I

¹³⁵ See <https://www.theus.org.uk/aboutus>

wanted to try and understand more about in this phase of my research was whether or not the varied religious backgrounds of the students within this school resulted in a differentiated approach to teaching the Holocaust.

The final school in my sample was Millennium Academy, a mainstream school located in East London and established in 1993. Like Southview School, the school's foundation body is the United Synagogue and therefore, by definition, its ethos is built on orthodox Jewish principles. However, one of the challenges faced by Millennium Academy is that the East London Jewish community, where the school is geographically located, is in decline. According to research carried out by Jewish Policy Research (JPR), Jewish households in this community have declined by 25% in a decade (Mashiah and Boyd, 2017, p. 8). This decline has undoubtedly impacted Millennium Academy, which is no longer able to fill their student body with only Jewish students. Therefore, in 2007 the school started to accept non-Jewish students on roll. In her welcome on the school's website, the Headteacher describes the school as; 'staunchly committed to the Jewish values of learning, community and charity, and as a school in East London, we welcome those of all faiths and those of none' (Millennium Academy). The school is now made up of approximately 35% of Jewish students. According to their most recent Section 48 faith inspection; 'Approximately 30% of students are Muslim, and there are a significant number of Hindu, Sikh and Christian students of European, Afro-Caribbean and English backgrounds. Around 40% of students speak English as an additional language, and around 30% of students are from disadvantaged backgrounds' (Pikuach, 2018, p. 2). The findings from Phase I showed that this school has had to make revisions to their curriculum and educational delivery as a result of the changes to their student body. I therefore reasoned that including this school in my sample would provide some intriguing insights into how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools with different challenges and contexts. I also

wanted to explore the extent to which the varied backgrounds of the student body impacted how the Holocaust was taught in this school and what additional challenges or opportunities this presented.

8.3.2 The Interviewees

Once the sample schools were identified, I contacted the Headteacher of each school, as explained previously, to nominate teachers to be interviewed. The majority of Headteachers selected one member of staff, who was a senior leader with responsibility for Jewish ethos and then delegated the decision of the second member of staff to interview to them to select. Most of the staff selected, were teachers whose primary subject was Jewish Studies and the staff were Jewish themselves. Parkview School, however, did select one member of staff who is a history teacher and senior leader within the school and is not Jewish. This member of staff had recently taken responsibility for organising the school's educational journeys to Poland. In all of the four schools, at least one member of staff interviewed was a senior leader within the school. Most interviews took place within the schools in either the member of staff's office or within a departmental area. One interview took place after school in the teacher's home, as this was more convenient for them. The interviews varied in length, depending on how much each teacher had to say. The interviews all took place either at the end of the school day or when the teachers being interviewed had an extended period of time for the interviews. Accordingly, there were no time pressures to influence the length of these interviews. The shortest interview was 35 minutes and the longest 1 hour and 40 minutes. The variation in length typically depended on the experience of the member of staff in terms of teaching the Holocaust. Those who had greater experience across different settings had much more to say and therefore their interviews took more time. The vast majority of the interviews went as planned with no issues. However, one interview was interrupted when the teacher had to deal with

an issue with a student. The interview, however, continued when they returned and I did not feel that the interruption affected the quality of the responses given.

8.4 Thematic analysis

As previously explained,¹³⁶ I considered Braun and Clarke's (2006) and Attride-Stirling's (2001) guide to using thematic analysis. I followed the steps identified by Attride-Stirling (2001) in thematically analysing my interviews. I began this process by transcribing the MP3 recordings. I then made use of NVivo 12 data analysis software in order to support my thematic analysis. This software, which has functionality for analysing qualitative data, allowed me to easily categorise various different sections of the interviews into 24 themes, referred to as 'Nodes'. Each Node was linked to a global theme that I defined and then when I had completed this process for all of the transcripts, I was easily able to view by node, school and interviewee patterns within the data upon which to interpret patterns. The software also allowed me to easily search the data for key words within the transcripts. Following my construction of global themes and exploration of the texts, I concluded that there were five prevalent themes or patterns across all of my interviews:

- Aims of teaching about the Holocaust.
- The connection between teaching the Holocaust and Jewish identity.
- Challenges and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust.
- Educational journeys to Poland
- Pedagogic and curriculum decisions.

¹³⁶ See Chapter 3.8.

However, whilst these were distinct themes, the thematic networks showed a number of the themes overlapping at times. For example, the aims of teaching the Holocaust underpinned most of the decisions that are made when it comes to the challenges and opportunities, curriculum decisions and even the education journeys to Poland. However, I was mindful of this in my analysis and believed that this was, therefore, the most appropriate way to organise my findings.

8.5 What are the aims of teaching about the Holocaust?

One of my key research questions focused on examining how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools in England. A fundamental element that underpins how teachers plan and deliver lessons is the educational aim for the specific lesson, or lessons? Salmons explains in his analysis of how the Holocaust is taught in the UK, that different teachers or educational institutions have differing aims that motivate them to teach their students about the Holocaust. For some, it is a historical event that must be taught, whilst for others a didactic tool from which to teach about the importance of morality within society and for others yet, a springboard upon which to teach citizenship.

For many educators, a key motivation for teaching about the Holocaust is that it can sensitise young people to examples of injustice, persecution, racism, antisemitism and other forms of hatred in the world today. The Holocaust is seen as a moral touchstone, a paradigm of evil, and it is hoped that in learning the lessons of this terrible past, young people might be inspired to work harder for a fairer, more tolerant society. One that sees strength in diversity, values multiculturalism and combats racism (Salmons, 2003, pp. 139–140).

Salmons' analysis draws upon motivating factors or aims of teaching about the Holocaust in non-faith specific settings. Understanding teachers' aims for teaching the Holocaust became a key question for the IoE's 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009)

and helped to underpin the framework for their subsequent 2016 study. The findings from these studies concluded that:

...when teachers taking part in the 2009 survey were asked to choose what they considered to be the three 'most important' aims in teaching about the Holocaust, their shared priorities were clear. Irrespective of subject background, teachers were overwhelmingly likely to identify the teaching aims, 'To develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism and stereotyping in any society' and, 'To learn the lessons of the Holocaust and to ensure that a similar human atrocity never happens again' among their top three (Foster *et al.*, 2016, pp. 13–15).

As Foster explains, there was very little difference between how teachers prioritised their aims of teaching the Holocaust in relation to the subjects that they primarily taught. However, this was not the case with my research. As explained in my analysis of Phase II,¹³⁷ while the highest aim selected by teachers in my sample across Jewish schools tallied with that of the IoE – 'to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society' (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 72) — this was not the case with other learning aims. The second highest aim identified by teachers in my sample was 'to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust'. This is obviously a very specific aim that would arguably lend itself more to teachers in a Jewish school who may have different underlying pedagogic aims to those in a non-Jewish school. My Phase II research indicated that there were two factors that seemed to have an effect on the aims prioritised by teachers: the subjects that the teacher taught and the religious denomination of the school or student body. Therefore, when designing my interview questions for Phase III of my research, this was an area that required further investigation.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 6

One of the set questions that I asked all the teachers interviewed was, 'Do you know what the aims of teaching the Holocaust are in your school?' My rationale for wording the question in this way was that it would be a stimulus to see if the school had specific cross-school aims and what, if anything, underpinned them. I then continued the interview by exploring the personal aims of the individual teachers. Whilst analysing teacher responses to this question, it became apparent that there were some similarities across the schools but many differences.

The main difference between the schools was in relation to the aims of teaching the Holocaust across the school. Most schools had clear, defined aims, that underpinned teaching and these varied between history and Jewish Studies departments. However, one school did not have any specific overarching aims for teaching the Holocaust:

We haven't got any separate aims other than those that encompasses our main aims. We haven't got a specific aim for teaching the Holocaust. Apart from, that we teach it as a prominent part of Jewish history and a transformational moment in Jewish history really. But no specific separate aims (Kathy, Waterford College).

When answering this specific question, it appeared that Waterford College had not established a collective position on the aims of teaching the Holocaust that was shared with all teachers who are involved in Holocaust education. However, as the interview with this teacher progressed, it became apparent that there were in fact some considered dimensions or principles, at least within the Jewish Studies department, which underpinned some goals that teachers were expected to explore with the students. Therefore, these goals assisted the teachers in designing how they educate about the Holocaust in this school and showed me that even though they may not have official published 'aims' for Holocaust education, they did in fact have

aims upon which to build their curriculum. One teacher from this school, for example, stated that one of their aims for teaching about the Holocaust was for students to consider how the subject made an 'impact on their own Jewishness and their own worldview' (Kathy, Waterford College). I asked this teacher to explain this comment further and she stated:

So just to appreciate how for some, the Holocaust has brought out their Jewish identity or has diminished their Jewish identity. I want them to be aware of the conflicts surrounding that. And also surrounding Israel as well. I want them to be able to... not necessarily decide or have a firm opinion either way, but, I want them to be introduced to the argument; was the state of Israel created as a result of the Holocaust or not? I want them to be able to link those two things and also evaluate what it means to them. Now that they know about the Holocaust, what does it mean to them in terms of how they behave towards others? What are they going to do in their life that is different? (Kathy, Waterford College).

This teacher is actually a school leader and has responsibility for setting the aims of Jewish learning within the school. It is clear that this school has some aims that underpin what they teach, and also that the aims are unique compared with the other schools within my sample. The themes that most commonly presented themselves throughout all the schools were centred around Jewish identity and history. However, none of the other schools mentioned as an aim the concept of debating whether or not Israel's establishment as an independent state in 1948 was as a response to the Holocaust. In addition, none of the other schools seem to pursue the evaluative approach adopted in this school in wanting their students to grapple with some of the challenging responses or outcomes of the Holocaust. Conversely, this school appears to place less of a focus on the historical element of the Holocaust as a learning aim for their students. Rather, the school's key focus was on what their students can learn from the Holocaust based on their own ability to analyse information presented to them and their understanding of it.

When examining the many aims that were mentioned by the interviewees, understanding the history of the Holocaust was an explicitly stated aim in three of the four schools. It was also mentioned by the six interviewed teachers across these schools. For example, teachers remarked:

From the point of view of the history department, the aim is to give a thorough knowledge of the facts and figures surrounding the Holocaust, of the historical factors and causes impacting on why the Holocaust happened. Looking on how the Holocaust impacted across Europe how the Holocaust is connected with, and separate from World War II, and the impact of the Holocaust on society post Holocaust (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

To make sure the students know about the past from a historical perspective... to make sure that they're aware of genocides, prevent future and also educate them about commemorating, remembering, etc (Margaret, Parkview School).

While the historical narrative is important within most of the schools, it seems to be used as a springboard upon which to look at the 'impact of the Holocaust' in various different ways depending on the specific school. For example, one interviewee stated that when teaching the Holocaust they are:

...not looking at the tragedies, I'm looking at the greatness that we can take out of it. The strength that people brought, the *Yiddishkeit*¹³⁸ the people brought out of it. How they survived what they did. The different *mitzvot*¹³⁹ they did. It wasn't just about death and destruction, it was about how communities were built and how people continued believing in *Yiddishkeit* after everything else because it happened to them (Lily, Parkview School).

This teacher currently teaches in Parkview School with a predominantly religiously practising orthodox student body. As this teacher explained, because the students have a more rigorous Jewish Studies programme and because, on the whole, they come from religiously committed homes, Jewish Studies teachers have the ability to

¹³⁸ Jewish life.

¹³⁹ Commandments.

examine religious dilemmas that took place during the Holocaust to a greater extent than perhaps in a school with a more diverse or less religiously committed student body. The explanation for this focus is that students who come from more religiously committed homes will have a greater understanding of the religious commandments and the challenges that keeping them can present in their own lives. They would then, to some extent, be able to consider how much more difficult these challenges would have been during the Holocaust. However, for a student who is not engaged in the practice of Jewish law, such considerations and understanding would be much more challenging. The same rationale was expressed by another teacher who discussed the educational journeys to Poland. This teacher currently works in Southview School but has previously taught in Parkview School. She described how the difference in the religious make-up of the student body at the two schools affected how they taught about the Holocaust:

Again, there's an example of where the level of religiosity is different. Yes we go to Lublin to the *Yeshiva*¹⁴⁰ with Southview School and they go to the *kever*¹⁴¹ of Noam Elimelech¹⁴². But what does it mean differently? For sure there's a difference in meaning... (Sarah, Southview School).

This teacher explained their thought process further. They explained that it is not just about more religious students being more cognisant of religious challenges, but the value that they would place on religious practice and religious sites is much greater. For this teacher, the key to Holocaust education is pedagogic differentiation. It is for the educators to differentiate based on their students and to select learning aims and topics to teach, as well as sites to visit on journeys to Poland, that will inspire and educate them.¹⁴³ This concept is something that all of the teachers I interviewed

¹⁴⁰ Talmudic Academy.

¹⁴¹ Grave.

¹⁴² Noam Elimelech was one of the founding leaders of the Hassidic movement. He was born and is buried in Poland and his grave is a site of pilgrimage for many religious Jews.

¹⁴³ See Chapter 7

discussed; the importance of learning from the Holocaust and not just learning about the Holocaust.

In addition to the previously stated aims, teachers at two of the mainstream schools also declared an additional aim, which one teacher summarised as: 'The aim of all of these things is that our students should be informed, knowledgeable ambassadors for Holocaust education when they leave the school' (Pamela, Millennium Academy). Six of the teachers interviewed spoke about the future and the importance of the students carrying on the message of remembering the Holocaust as adults. These comments were especially prevalent in discussions about the educational journeys to Poland and the concept of survivors not being around for future generations to meet. However, only teachers from two of the schools specified this as a learning aim. The teachers from the two schools who spoke about the concept of their students becoming 'ambassadors' for Holocaust education are both mainstream schools who are very involved in their Local Authority commemorations for HMD. Both schools use their Sixth Form students who have been to Poland to host and facilitate an inter-school conference attended by students from the local non-Jewish schools. These conferences take place around HMD to explore various topics about the Holocaust and/or other genocides. The teachers from these sample schools spoke very positively about the impact that this conference had not only on the visiting students but also the students from their own schools. This was something that appeared to be particular to these two schools and was not something mentioned in interviews with teachers from the other schools.

In addition to asking interviewees about their own aims for teaching about the Holocaust, I also asked them to comment on the two most commonly selected aims in my Phase II research, specifically why they thought these aims ranked the highest

as well as whether these aims were consistent with their own aims. As explained in the analysis to Phase II¹⁴⁴, the aims that teachers could select were primarily based around the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 72) and the aims that they asked respondents in their survey. In addition to this foundation, I included a few aims specifically targeted to teachers in Jewish Schools. These were constructed based on the analysis of Phase I and my pilot study. The two highest ranking aims were:

- i - to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society
- ii -to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust

When discussing these aims in more depth with teachers, their insight into why they felt both were selected showed greater understanding of the factors that motivated and inspired teachers to teach about the Holocaust. David explained the importance of students learning about prejudice and its ramifications as well as what students learn from this:

So the first one. Yeah I can get that because these are real issues which sort of face the world today. They affect Jewish people themselves but also it's important to know that while we face our own issues, antisemitism, etc., that doesn't necessarily give us the right to be prejudiced or racist or stereotype to other parts of society as well. So I think that is an important lesson to teach the Jewish students so I definitely get why they would put that high (David, Southview School).

In Phase II of my research, teachers of Jewish Studies clearly placed a greater importance on the second aim which focused on fostering Jewish identity, than other teachers. The Phase III data revealed that this did not negate the aim of teaching about the general concept of morality, which was still ranked as the highest priority and seen as important by all. However, after this, the priority for teachers in Jewish schools, and especially Jewish Studies teachers, was to focus on the concept of

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter 6

Jewish identity as an aim of teaching the Holocaust. This is obviously something important and unique that my research has shown in relation to teaching the Holocaust in England.

8.6 The connection between teaching the Holocaust and Jewish identity

As Miller (2014) explains, all Jewish schools in England place an importance on increasing the Jewish identity of their students. As previously explained, the Phase II analysis of teachers' aims when teaching the Holocaust, in my sample schools, showed that 'strengthening Jewish identity' featured strongly. My Phase III interviews tried to understand why this was the case, but also to appreciate how this manifested itself in terms of pedagogic practice. Ellison, in his study of how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools in America, explained that; '...the single most important rationale for teaching the Holocaust is the importance of the topic in terms of Jewish identity and Jewish history' (2017, p. 8). I therefore wanted to establish if this belief was shared by teachers in Jewish schools in England.

There are different ways that the teachers within the sample discussed the issue of Jewish identity when teaching about the Holocaust. Phase III interviews showed that when teaching about the concept of Jewish identity and the Holocaust, teachers looked at this topic or aim in different ways. For some, the focus was on how Jews identified during the period of the Holocaust, for others it was the concept of identification as Jews after the Holocaust and for others, yet, it was as a response to the Holocaust, and how should this affect their students' Jewish identity today? For example, some teachers who focused on the challenge faced by Jews during the Holocaust explored the concept of how the Jews identified in the ghettos and the camps. For those looking at Jewish identity after the Holocaust some teachers spoke

about exploring the concept of how the Jews coped with victimhood as Jews in the face of all they lost. One teacher explained that one of the challenges for them on this issue is when they visited Kielce on their Poland trip:

One of the most moving additions to our itinerary was visiting Kielce. The students really had to grapple with the concept of how could the few survivors go home to then be attacked again, just because they were Jewish. How was it that the local people were willing to murder these Jews after all they had been through? For the students, this is really hard to get their heads around and always leads to questions in terms of Jewish identity and makes them think about their own Jewish identity today (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

Due to the challenges that Jews faced in relation to identifying as Jews during the Holocaust, many teachers explained how this was complex to explore, but still important and therefore often prioritised. For others, the need to address this theme as a response to the Holocaust and how this can affect Jewish life today is seen as a vital pedagogic tool for teaching about Jewish identity today. As one teacher explained: 'to appreciate how, for some, the Holocaust has brought out their Jewish identity or has diminished their Jewish identity. I want them to be aware of the conflicts surrounding that' (Kathy, Waterford College).

In terms of Jewish identity, this history can present many challenges, especially due to the Holocaust – the attempted genocide of European Jewry - solely being based around genealogy; a person was considered a Jew, irrespective of their personal beliefs or practices. In the classroom this poses a number of challenges for students to try to grapple with. For example, Yad Vashem have a teaching unit that some teachers within the sample¹⁴⁵ claimed to use called 'Circles'. This unit looks at Jewish practice during the Holocaust and poses questions to students, such as; how would a

¹⁴⁵ This was mentioned in the research of both Phases II & III.

boy have celebrated his *Bar Mitzvah*¹⁴⁶ in the ghettos? Students then consider this issue and their own life and link the two concepts together. This is a springboard for further discussion around the concept of Jewish identity and something that makes students consider what it meant to identify as a Jew during the Holocaust and what it means to identify as a Jew today.

When discussing the concept of learning about Jewish identity as a result of the Holocaust, one teacher stated; 'I teach the Holocaust to help them [the students] learn about their Jewish identity. But it's not the sole purpose' (Lily, Parkview School). During my interview with this teacher, she was extremely passionate about the importance of students learning to strengthen their Jewish identity. At the same time, she also believed in the importance of their students learning about the history of European Jewry and the Holocaust. However, this teacher did not believe that the two should be linked together:

I think if you're doing Poland I think they should learn about the history of the Jews and not think that Poland was just about the Holocaust because there was a lot of history in Poland way before. And big *Rabbanim*¹⁴⁷ who came out from there before and... to understand where the Jews are now and how they've come back. I think that's all important but I don't know if the basis of teaching Holocaust per se is a way of teaching just Jewish identity (Lily, Parkview School).

This teacher has led many educational journeys to Poland, both with school students and with adult groups. She has also been involved in numerous educational learning opportunities at Yad Vashem. She strongly believes in the importance of Jewish education, Holocaust education and Jewish educational journeys to Poland and other places in Europe. However, she expressed concern throughout the interview

¹⁴⁶ A *Bar Mitzvah* is a Rite of Passage of when a Jewish boy reaches 13 year old and is then recognised as a Jewish adult. From this point they have personal responsibility for Jewish law. Most families celebrate this Rite of Passage with big family and communal celebrations.

¹⁴⁷ Rabbis

that some educators use the Holocaust as a means of making students feel guilty about what happened and as a result they believed that students will acquire a stronger Jewish identity. This was a point that was referred to by two other teachers as well. All of the teachers who mentioned this issue were adamantly against 'using' Holocaust education in this way. Cohen explains the importance of students developing their Jewish identity as a part of what they are exposed to on their educational journeys to Poland. He states: 'The aim is to provide a 'spiritually and intellectually fulfilling exploration into their cultural-religious roots, which will help them to enhance their religious identity within the context of the larger society to which they will return at the end of the journey' (Cohen, 2006, p. 79). For Cohen, the 'religious identity' of the students should be 'enhanced' by the experiences that they are exposed to as part of their journeys to Poland.

Another teacher expressed concern that they have seen on occasions - in other schools and on organised educational journeys to Poland outside of school settings - teachers and educators who attempt to manipulate students in order to get them to celebrate and affirm their Jewish roots. Sarah explained how important she believed teaching about Jewish identity is. However, as she explained, the Holocaust should not be the prime topic used to teach this:

So I do think there is a space in Holocaust education. You shouldn't be proud of your Jewish identity because Jews died in the Holocaust and you have to be very, very careful with what you say and how you educate. It doesn't surprise me that people who perhaps have done less research and less learning would use this as a key mechanism to strengthen Jewish identity (Sarah, Southview School).

This teacher, as with others within the sample, was clear that Jewish identity is a concept that can be taught through Holocaust education but recognised that it must be done in an appropriate manner, that is both sensitive and thoughtful of the

students. STAJE have produced guidelines for teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools. These guidelines, however, are not widely known, but it is pertinent to recognise them as they are designed specifically for Jewish education and, to date, seem to be the only published guidelines of this kind in English. They explain:

We must recognize that how we teach (pedagogy) and what we teach (content) about the Shoah is just as important as why we teach about the Shoah. These guidelines will support teachers in their vital efforts to help students recognize the extent of this tragedy, with its implications for Jewish identity today and for the very sense of what it means to be “human” (Shoah Teaching Alternatives in Jewish Education (STAJE), 2005, p. 1).

A challenge of educating about Jewish identity is ensuring that the teachers are doing so in an educationally appropriate manner. As the Holocaust is such an emotive topic, Sarah identified and continued to explain how she has seen educators with less subject knowledge and educational experience misuse the Holocaust as a tool for strengthening Jewish identity in a negative or possibly guilt-driven manner. For example, she explained:

I've been on one [an educational journey to Poland] with the school before, I did not like how it was run... It was not targeting the students. I think there is a tool to reach students in terms of their Jewish identity, but it shouldn't be a guilt trip. I think that it's an opportunity to step away from your life and ask you what your attitudes and values and what sort of human being do you want to be? (Sarah, Southview School).

Another teacher who also expressed concerns about this tendency remarked:

We are really careful to ensure that when teaching about Jewish identity and Shoah that we do not make our students feel that they should be more Jewish as a result of guilt. On the last night of our Poland trips we always run a *peulah*¹⁴⁸ looking at Jewish identity as a way of bringing together what the children have seen on the trip and looking at how they move forwards with their Jewish lives and connection to Israel. However, I know some other organisations who run Poland trips

¹⁴⁸ Activity.

manipulate the students to feel guilty about what they have seen and then tell them they need to be more Jewish because of it. It all comes down to who the educators are (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

Even though many of the more senior and experienced teachers I interviewed expressed concerns about how some educators use the Holocaust to teach about Jewish identity, all teachers also commented on why and how it can be a positive mechanism. In his article, *Defining the Uniqueness of Holocaust Teaching in the Jewish School*, Bloomberg explained that one of the goals and objectives of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish school is to 'strengthen Jewish identity' (1985, p. 21). One teacher within my sample clearly resonated with this belief:

I think... to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust is clearly going to be an aim of any Jewish school when they're teaching the Holocaust because rightly or wrongly the Holocaust is one of the most powerful tools we can use to strengthen Jewish identity right now... It's a door through which you can quite easily pull children and empower them to feel connected to something that they might not feel connected to if you're teaching *Shabbat* and *Kashrut*¹⁴⁹ if it's not in their life (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

It is important to comprehend that teaching about Jewish identity is considered an aim in all of the schools within my sample. Therefore, when designing Schemes of Learning and other educational opportunities, leaders have to consider how best to meet these aims. In our interview, Pamela discussed the challenges of teaching about Jewish identity, especially to students who are not from particularly religiously observant homes. Pamela explained, however, that the Holocaust is something that students find easier to relate to than perhaps religious doctrine or dogma. Another teacher described teaching Jewish identity through the Holocaust in a slightly different way:

¹⁴⁹ The laws relating to the Sabbath and Jewish dietary laws.

What is this thing I'm a part of? I mean, there is a concept in Judaism, knowing where you are coming from to know where you are going to... You could see yourself as a link in the chain. Where you need to know about the different links in that chain and Holocaust is one of them. And I think because it's such a huge influence and it's still impacting people today, there is a space for using it for your Jewish identity (Sarah, Southview School).

Elsewhere in the interview, this teacher spoke about the importance of Holocaust education in terms of the context of Jewish history and the importance of students understanding Jewish life in Europe before and after the Holocaust. This teacher works in a mainstream school where a number of her students would not define themselves as religious. Therefore, one of the school's religious challenges is to inspire these students and attempt to increase their Jewish identity. As this teacher explained, increasing Jewish identity is 'one of the key pillars of the school' (Sarah, Southview School). Sarah explained that by teaching students about their ancestors in Europe and what happened to them during the Holocaust, it may connect them more to their heritage and inspire them to increase their own Jewish identity. Sarah spoke about Holocaust education being just one way the school teaches about Jewish identity and how they also connect this to their teaching about Israel and the future of the Jewish people:

[Teaching about Jewish identity] is done through lots of things. It's done and it's evolving... the message that we're trying to share is that people can connect with their Judaism in different ways. Now for some people that's observance. Some people that's learning, some people that's cultural. Some people it's family heritage. You know, the point is you've got to connect where and how it works for you. So our job is to offer all of that. You know for some kids it's Israel. So that's what we're trying to do here. So it's about taking what they learned in the classroom and bringing it out and bringing it to life (Sarah, Southview School).

Another teacher in the same school, whilst accepting that some teachers use the Holocaust as a pedagogic tool for teaching about Jewish identity, did not like this as an approach. He explained: 'I think Jewish identity can be taught in other ways apart

from the Holocaust. I don't think those positive lessons need to come out from something so tragic as that' (David, Southview School).

Margaret offered a unique perspective on Jewish identity. She is a non-Jewish teacher of history who has worked in Parkview School for a number of years. She has a very good understanding of the school, the students and their curriculum. Margaret is very involved in Holocaust education, not just in the history classroom but also in a cross-curricula manner, as well as leading their educational journey to Poland. When discussing the concept of teaching Jewish identity through the Holocaust she said: 'I think Jewish identity is very important. And if that is within a Jewish school then clearly it is a fundamental aspect' (Margaret, Parkview School). Margaret told me about the power of personal stories and family connections that her students have to the Holocaust and how these empower them to strengthen their own Jewish identity. She also spoke about the importance of the students researching their own family backgrounds and how their school ensures all students carry out a family history project; researching their own family background and through this become more connected to their roots. Margaret explained that this then adds context for the students when learning about the Holocaust because if their families were affected by the Holocaust they know about their history and how this has an impact on them and their own Jewish identity.

When considering the connection between teaching the Holocaust and Jewish identity within a Jewish school setting, it can be concluded that, while the two concepts overlap, for all of the schools within my sample the Holocaust is not the only topic in which 'Jewish identity' would be developed. Most of the schools within the sample cited increasing Jewish identity as one of their school's overarching aims of Jewish education. Furthermore, within the schools that have a more rigorously

planned learning approach, lessons about the Holocaust are just one of many educational opportunities that students have within school for enriching their Jewish identity.

8.7 Pedagogic and Curriculum Decisions

As explained in Chapter 7, there was a difference between the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) and my own research in relation to respondents and the principal subject in which they taught the Holocaust. The IoE 2009 study showed that 55% of respondents principally taught the Holocaust in history, 25% in religious education, 7% in English and 3% in citizenship and PSHE (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 30). My Phase II data, however, revealed that 55.6% (n 20) of respondents principally taught the Holocaust in Jewish Studies, whilst only 22.2% (n 8) taught about it in history. My Phase II data also indicated that within some sample schools, there was some cross-curricula emphasis in teaching the Holocaust. I therefore decided that in Phase III, I wanted to develop a deeper understanding of the place of Holocaust education within the school curriculum.

One factor that was consistent across all of the schools within the sample was that the Holocaust was taught in both the history and Jewish studies curriculum in all schools. However, there were great differences in terms of what was actually taught as well as how it was taught in the different schools. As explained in the analysis of the Phase II Data,¹⁵⁰ there were similarities and differences between the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) and my own research in terms of the pedagogic decisions around what to actually teach. My Phase II analysis went into great detail in terms of specific topics taught across the schools but I was unable to understand why these specific issues

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 7

were prioritised. It became very clear in Phase III that across the schools within the sample the Jewish Studies department played a significant role in determining what was taught about the Holocaust in any given school. Members of the Jewish Studies department were also the ones responsible for running assemblies and memorial ceremonies for Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD) and / or Yom HaShoah. They also delivered the majority of lessons devoted to Holocaust education to pupils across the school, with the history department offering the second most lessons on the subject. As the Phase II research showed,¹⁵¹ the average student would receive 33.51 hours of Holocaust education in Jewish Studies lessons across Key Stages 3, 4 and 5, and a further 13.1 hours in history. In addition, it is important to understand that within the sample schools, students have to study Jewish Studies in every year of the school, but after Key Stage 3, history became an optional subject.

While my Phase II research showed that Jewish Studies departments across all of the schools were predominantly responsible for the delivery of Holocaust education I was still unclear exactly how this happened. Phase III of my research showed that there was no direct consistent pattern from one school to another and each school had its own way of delivering Holocaust education. The only pedagogic factor that was common across all schools within the sample was a focus on Holocaust education in Year 12 before and after their educational journeys to Poland. All of the teachers interviewed spoke about how these lessons were important to prepare their students for their journeys to Poland and ensure that they had the necessary historical background and understanding of how things changed over time. Some schools dedicated more time to this than others and all students, even those not attending the educational journeys to Poland, participated in these lessons.

¹⁵¹ See Chapter 7

The other year group where schools seemed to dedicate additional time to teaching the Holocaust is Year 9. This was something that was evident across all schools and, according to teachers in two schools within the sample, was due to the legacy of National Curriculum for history, typically placing the study of the Holocaust in Year 9. However, the way that this was delivered varied between the schools. As one teacher explained, in their school they 'have a Holocaust education curriculum which is just an enrichment for Year 9' (Lily, Parkview School). This enrichment programme is a separate programme to the main school curriculum. Students sign up to enrichments in this school and therefore the students that would choose an enrichment are self-selecting. Therefore, even though there is additional Holocaust education provided for Year 9 students via this programme, not all students would actually receive it. The Holocaust education enrichment covered between 18 and 20 lessons across the year and was an in-depth study of the Holocaust. I asked this teacher about the uptake of this programme. They replied,

I have found since I started teaching the Holocaust enrichment programme, I started off teaching probably 60 kids out of 90. So two thirds. Now I'm teaching less than a third. And the reason I think is again they're just petrified to come. They're really petrified. I don't know why. Because Holocaust Remembrance Day that we do here are not scary at all. They're very fulfilling and they seem to like it. But, when they're given the option of doing Judo or [studying the] Holocaust, they choose to do Judo (Lily, Parkview School).

The concept of choice here is perhaps why student numbers have decreased. However, it is perhaps surprising that such high numbers of Year 9 students voluntarily signed up for this programme when it first began. This teacher also commented, throughout her interview, that she felt there has been a decrease in the resilience of students when it comes to coping with the emotional challenges of learning about the Holocaust to previous years. Lily believed this was due to parents 'mollycoddling' their children too much and children therefore becoming too 'petrified' to study the

Holocaust. Lily also explained that as a result of the apparent change in students, she has had to revise the way she teaches about the Holocaust, and especially some of the testimony and video clips that she shows to her students:

I don't know why it is that kids have become so vulnerable... Maybe because of mental health issues now. I say come on, look what these people were going through... And that's the challenge I face in teaching it... That a picture that I used to show of maybe the picture of the guy of liberation, the guy at the fence¹⁵²? I can't show this any more as they can't handle it... And this is Year 9. I'm thinking what are you guys not mature anymore? They're too mollycoddled (Lily, Parkview School).

Numerous academics, including; Epstein *et al.* (2013), Lindquist (2008) and Schwartz (1990), discuss the importance of ensuring that students are mature enough to be able to handle the material being taught without it traumatising them. Lenga discussed the challenge of teachers using 'atrocious images' when teaching about the Holocaust. She concluded, 'with due care and sound professional forethought from teachers, their use can be justified' (2020, p. 217). In regard to my own research, none of the other teachers interviewed mentioned a change in maturity or resilience as a pedagogical challenge for them within their school. In addition, the other teachers interviewed from this school also did not comment on this ostensible factor. Therefore, perhaps this is something that this teacher, who leads the delivery of Holocaust education and HMD across their school, experienced more than others. At the same time the other factor that is unique with this teacher compared to others within the sample was that she was the only teacher trying to offer an extra-curricula course on Holocaust education for students to opt-in which runs at the same time as sporting, drama or music enrichments. Therefore, if students are taking this course outside of core curriculum time, perhaps this is a reason for their different motivation.

¹⁵² This was referring to a photograph of a survivor at Bergen-Belsen sitting on his own by a barbed-wire fence after its liberation in 1945. See (Yad Vashem, no date).

The teachers from Waterford College both spoke about how, within their school, the Holocaust is taught in a thematic manner as part of their Jewish education curriculum in Key Stage 3. This was something that was specific to this school. Again, in-line with other schools, their main focus of study was in Year 9, as one teacher explained:

The main thing that they do on the Holocaust is they study as part of a unit called 'Dilemmas of Leadership'. They look at leadership throughout the Holocaust. So they look at Chaim Rumkowski [Head of the Jewish council in the Lodz ghetto], Adam Czernikow [Head of the Judenrat in the Warsaw ghetto] and their leadership of the *Judenrat* and they compare that to Mordechai Anielewicz [Leader of the Jewish Fighting Organisation] and the leadership over the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. So really the theme of it is 'choice-less choices'; do leaders have to make difficult decisions? And they look at life in the ghettos focused on Poland around the *Judenrat* and what that means and then what it meant for them for the resistance movement as well. So that's the main piece of work in Year 9 (Kathy, Waterford College).

The way that Waterford College elected to deliver their Holocaust education programme was not directly through a historical lens, but in a thematic manner that linked together different elements of history and then required their students to critically analyse the information. This is in-line with the pedagogic strategies that this school used in their Jewish education programme and was not solely attributed to Holocaust education. While this is perhaps a different mechanism for framing how learning took place, the learning objectives in terms of the topics that were covered within this unit were broadly in-line with those found to be most likely covered in Jewish schools from my Phase II data. One thing that was unique within Waterford College was that both teachers interviewed confirmed that neither of the structured Key Stage 3 Units of Work on the Holocaust focused on the 'Final Solution'. Another factor that was particular to this school was that there is quite a lot of freedom for teachers to decide what they wished to teach: 'Sometimes teachers have lots of flexibility in our Key Stage 3 programmes, so some teachers will go off and develop that [the Final

Solution] further if they think that the group can cope with it' (Sam, Waterford College). This school placed a lot of trust in their teachers to know their classes and therefore differentiate their provision. Differentiation occurred, not just in terms of teaching and learning strategies for appropriate access to the curriculum but also in terms of the actual curriculum. This was not something that any of the other schools within the sample spoke about doing.

The Phase II data did not explore in detail how the schools actually planned and delivered their Holocaust education, and this was a line of enquiry for the Phase III research. Ellison (2017), in his research into how the Holocaust was taught in Jewish schools in America, concluded that the majority of Holocaust education took place through Jewish Studies lessons and with a 'Jewish-centric emphasis' placed on what was actually taught. He also reported that 86% of respondents to his survey classified themselves as Jews, which he suggested contributed to the 'Jewish-centric emphasis'. One of the teachers I interviewed explained that, in her opinion, how the Holocaust was taught was not really about the subject in which it was being delivered in but rather the actual teacher themselves:

I think there is nothing like teaching the Holocaust with the passion of a Jewish educator. A Jewish educator brings a role modelling - a *Dugma*¹⁵³ - that can't be brought to a history curriculum because the needs of the history curriculum is to be able to write the essay, at the end of the day, in the correct analytical way and there has to be a level of removal from the subject in order to be able to teach it well. Teaching it in history means that the students get impartial objective facts and figures and historical impacts and the student can understand it in the context of world history. When we're teaching it in Jewish Studies, we teach in context with Jewish values. With a desire to communicate the feeling behind what we're teaching. With a love of *Am Yisrael*¹⁵⁴ that comes through to our students. So, the students get the absolute facts in context from one, complemented by the nuances and the emotion

¹⁵³ A Jewish concept of setting a personal example in something by the way that a person acts in their life.

¹⁵⁴ The Jewish People.

that a Jewish Studies teacher can bring to it in our Jewish Studies lessons (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

This concept of 'passion' or 'emotion' of the Jewish Studies teacher coupled with that of setting a personal example was not something that came out of the Phase II research but was mentioned by four of the eight teachers in the Phase III research. As a concept Pamela believed that the aims that underpinned teaching the Holocaust were different for Jewish Studies teachers and history teachers. Pamela believed that Jewish Studies teachers teach the Holocaust with a narrative that focuses on learning from the Holocaust and how this impacted on students in terms of their Jewish lives. I asked Pamela if she could explain, in practice, how this differed and she offered an example in relation to their Year 9 Holocaust assessments in Jewish Studies:

Our end of unit assessment is; we teach the Holocaust and we ask students in groups of two or three to design a Holocaust memorial for our school. To think about the rationale behind the memorial and they have to write a document explaining their rationale using everything they've learned. They then have to make it and they then have to present it to the class. We then choose those we feel have moved us the most and we invite a local Holocaust survivor to come and meet students and have lunch with them and they present their models to him. So the outcome of our unit is very different to the outcome of the history unit and what we want them to do is to create something that is living and breathing and says we will perpetuate the message of never forget; we remember in that way. So, I think you can see we take a much more hands on approach to teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Studies (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

This concept is similar to that mentioned in Phase II by a teacher who taught both history and Jewish Studies, who stated:

When I'm teaching history, my aim is to teach the pupils the historical facts. But when I'm teach Jewish Studies my job is to answer bigger questions that the pupils have and help them with their own thought process. As a JS [Jewish Studies] teacher I need to leave them with hope for the future and remind them of their responsibility (Teacher of history & Jewish Studies, Greenville School from Phase II Sample).

Another Jewish Studies teacher from a different school expressed the same concept in a slightly different way:

I would expect from a history lesson it would just be taught on a fact basis. This is what happened, this is what happened next and after that. Whereas from a Jewish Studies classroom you're trying to, I suppose, get a message out there at the same time. Probably something that's not necessarily done in the history classroom where it's all just theory. In a Jewish Studies classroom, you're trying to put a sort of positive spin on it. You're trying to give some sort of positive encouragement and message to the students (David, Southview School)

When this teacher was asked to give practical examples of how this may differ in a classroom, they explained that in a history classroom they perceived the focus would be on dates and facts of the history of the Holocaust. However, in a Jewish Studies classroom they were 'making sure they never forget and learning things about racism and how we treat people. Those things probably aren't taught, those moral issues aren't probably dealt with in history' (David, Southview School). David's perception of the differences between teaching the Holocaust in a history classroom and a Jewish Studies classroom appears to be a perception that a number of Jewish Studies teachers have. However, it would be unlikely for a history teacher to see it in this simplistic way. A high-quality history teacher, for example, typically would want to develop in their students a deeper, more empathetic, understanding of human experience and why people in the past acted as they did. Discussions with Margaret, a non-Jewish history teacher in Parkview School, showed a different perspective. She believed that working in a Jewish school did change the way that she taught about the Holocaust and she identified clear differences between what she focussed on as a history teacher and what the Jewish Studies teachers would focus on. However, she did not see it as black and white and clear cut as some Jewish Studies teachers:

We [history teachers] go into a lot more of the historical detail. So we are quite restricted in the sense of the time that we have, given the extent of the history GCSE curriculum these days. So it needs to be quite concise and very much pinpointed to the Final Solution, which is what the questions are. I think Jewish Holocaust education at our school, can deviate off and there's the ability to ask questions (Margaret, Parkview School).

It is clear that there are different areas of focus for history teachers to those of Jewish Studies in relation to the aims of teaching the Holocaust. Broadly speaking, the responses to questions from history teachers in schools within my sample were similar to those from the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). However, the Jewish Studies teachers focused their teaching of the Holocaust more around either the Holocaust's place as one event in the big story of Jewish history or what came before and after it. They also used the Holocaust as a didactic tool to learn lessons from the past in order to inspire Jewish practice and strengthen their students' Jewish identity.

8.7.1 Interdisciplinary teaching

Many Holocaust education academics, including, Davidowitz (2013), Berke & Saltzman (1996), Isaacs *et al.* (2006) and Short & Reed (2004) make the case that the most productive way for a school to educate about the Holocaust is to employ an 'interdisciplinary' approach. As previously explained, I use this phrase, as these academics do, to refer to what in England is often called cross-curricular teaching. In Phase II of my research, it was not clear whether or not any of the schools adopted this approach when teaching the Holocaust. I therefore concluded that this was something that required further investigation in Phase III. When designing my questions for my Phase III interviews, I included a question asking: 'Is there interdisciplinary discussion around teaching the Holocaust in your school?' With the exception of teachers from Millennium Academy, all other teachers within the sample said that there should be interdisciplinary teaching, but there currently is not. Most schools were

fully aware of what is being taught within the history department and Jewish Studies departments. As one teacher explained:

No, there hasn't been [interdisciplinary teaching]. We've [the Jewish Studies department] shared Schemes of Work, but generally they [the history department] don't. There's nothing that conflicts with each other. They're currently doing the rise of Hitler and the rise of the Nazis in the 1930s and we're actually currently teaching the Judenrat so it just sort of blends itself quite nicely, but that's more chance than anything else (Sam, Waterford College).

A teacher in another school answered this question by saying:

There isn't [interdisciplinary teaching] but there definitely should be. As in, there isn't that I'm aware of. But I don't see why that should be the case. It would make a lot of sense to actually do that. Otherwise, not that I'm aware of (David, Southview School).

Even though all of the teachers within the sample have spoken about some interdisciplinary approach to HMD and Yom HaShoah, the school that seems to focus the most on this, as well as doing interdisciplinary teaching throughout the years was Millennium Academy. The first thing that the teachers in this school explained is that there is dialogue between the history and Jewish Studies departments. This dialogue ensures that both departments know what the other teachers are teaching. This has resulted in them being able to build their Schemes of Work around what the other teachers do so that they can enhance and not repeat or duplicate knowledge already taught to the students. The main times of the year when Millennium Academy have whole-school centred approach to learning about the Holocaust is the week of HMD (January) and the three day window surrounding Yom HaShoah (April/May). As one teacher explained:

So around National HMD, we have a whole week of themed assemblies, themed programmes and themed activities and special lessons for all

the school... taught through the Jewish Studies department primarily, but we also run that through all the departments. So the English department might feature a book or a piece of poetry [about or from the Holocaust] and the maths department might feature a statistic. The science department might look at experiments, for example Mengele... When it is *Yom HaShoah* we also dedicate probably a three day period also themed assemblies, school wide programmes, school wide ideas; we might have a display in the dining room and students come with post-it notes at lunchtime and put something on. We also might do themes; we might look at it through; 'Love your neighbour as yourself'. We might look at it through 'teaching respect to tolerance'. We might look at it through interfaith. So those would be the different avenues we would explore the Holocaust in outside of teaching hours (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

Further discussion about this issue revealed that the teacher who coordinated this programme was the member of the Senior Leadership Team (SLT) with responsibility to oversee Jewish education provision and the promotion of its ethos within the school. They coordinate the programme, but the responsibility for delivering it in lessons is then down to the respective Heads of Department. Further discussions with Pamela revealed that the programme is more effective in Key Stage 3 and in humanities, English and Jewish Studies in Key Stages 4 and 5. However, as a concept, the teachers interviewed felt that this worked well and gives the students different aspects of Holocaust education to focus on.

Pettigrew *et al.*, state the importance of interdisciplinary teaching as a means of supporting limited curriculum hours: 'Given that many teachers believe their curriculum time is restrictive, it is instructive to consider how teachers might build upon students' learning across different subject areas and/or over successive years' (2009, p. 86). While teachers across all schools within my sample acknowledged the importance of interdisciplinary teaching as a way of knowing what students are learning across the curriculum and as a means of building on prior knowledge, in reality this practice does not always happen. According to many of the teachers that I interviewed, more often than not the reason for this not happening was due to the

busy nature of schools and therefore staff not having the time to have these discussions or even share resources. However, most of the teachers interviewed stated that this is something they knew that they should be doing.¹⁵⁵

8.7.2 Pedagogical decisions based on the composition of the student body

As explained in the introduction to this chapter,¹⁵⁶ the schools included within the sample are all designated as 'Jewish' state schools, but in reality, there are big differences between them. As previously explained, these differences are not just geographic but also based upon both the ethos of the school and the religious make-up of the student body. In Phase II of my research, there were some indications that the schools' ethos and the religious make-up of the student body did affect pedagogic decisions. For example, some teachers commented on how this affected how they dealt with questions in relation to post-Holocaust theology and other teachers commented on how this affected pedagogic decisions about the content of their educational journeys to Poland. In her research into how the Holocaust is taught in a strictly orthodox girls' school in America, Schweber (2008) explained that within this type of school the concept of theological challenge is not tolerated. Therefore, leaders have to give serious consideration to both the ethos of their school and the make-up of their student body when planning their Holocaust education aims for their school.

In this phase of my research, I tried to understand more about how these nuanced differences between the schools impacted on the way that Holocaust education is delivered within them. One teacher who was working in Southview School, where the religious make-up of students is very mixed, but had previously worked in Parkview

¹⁵⁵ See further discussion and recommendations in Chapter 9.

¹⁵⁶ See Contextual Information about the Sample Schools.

School, where the vast majority of students are from religious practising families, explained the differences in relation to their educational journeys to Poland:

I think in a different way at Southview School to how I might have done at Parkview School. Again, there's an example of where the level of religiosity is different....For sure there's a difference in meaning. Or when you're in the Rama's cemetery¹⁵⁷. *Frum*¹⁵⁸ People can really identify with the Tosefot YomTov¹⁵⁹ right. The whole concept of *Refuah Shelaimah*¹⁶⁰ or the grave of the Remah¹⁶¹ and you can talk very Jewishly about the *Shulchan Aruch*¹⁶² and stuff like that. For kids in a *frum* school who are learning *Shulchan Aruch* compared to kids here [Southview School]. Take them to the Bach¹⁶³? I didn't bother taking them to the Bach, what's the point? So it's about choosing it well (Sarah, Southview School).

Sarah described the need to differentiate the pedagogy based on the religious background of the students. She explained that students from religious homes who engage more in a religious Jewish life and are exposed more to famous rabbis and their teachings will potentially appreciate visiting their graves more than students who have never really heard of them. Therefore, Sarah explained that even though both schools go on educational journeys to Poland for the same length of time, they made very specific decisions in relation to the contents of the journey so as to be appropriate for their student body.

Differentiating pedagogic decisions based on the religious make-up of the student body was not only an issue when planning the schools' educational journeys to Poland, but something that all teachers agreed was important when planning Holocaust education within their schools' main curriculum. As a pluralist school, Waterford College has potentially the biggest challenge in terms of how to present

¹⁵⁷ Jewish cemetery in Krakow dating back to 1535.

¹⁵⁸ A Yiddish term to refer to people who are religiously practicing.

¹⁵⁹ Rabbi Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller. Born Germany 1579. Died Krakow 1654.

¹⁶⁰ A Jewish concept referring to praying for the sick.

¹⁶¹ Rabbi Moses Isserles, lived in Poland 1530-1572.

¹⁶² Jewish Code of Law written by Rabbi Yosef Karo, but with additions of Rabbi Mises Isserles.

¹⁶³ Rabbi Joel ben Samuel Circus, lived in Poland 1561 – 1640.

their religious position because, as Samson explains: 'Given Waterford College' attention to enabling its students to negotiate the diversity of Jewishness, it is necessary to acknowledge the complexity of the concept of identity, and Jewish identity more specifically' (Samson, 2019b, p. 270). The teachers I interviewed at Waterford College explained how this made pedagogic decisions challenging for them:

I would say that all our teaching is probably slightly different [to other Jewish schools] because of our ethos. So we never present anything as an absolute truth. That's not to say we don't present the Holocaust as a truth, but we do present the different interpretations of events in a different way and we never say 'we think'. I would never turn around and say I think Adam Czerniakow is a collaborator. I don't have any empathy for him at all or Mordechai Anielewicz is my hero and I think we should almost elevate him to sainthood. We would never do any of that, but we would say some people think this, some people think that, what do you think? (Kathy, Waterford College).

Because Waterford College is built around a pluralist ethos, this concept of 'absolute truths' is very different to theological positions that would be adopted by Jewish Studies teachers in a school with a purely orthodox or reform ethos. As explained in the teacher interviews, this resulted in far more questions being directed to the students for them to formulate their own opinions, which may not be the case in schools that do not have a pluralist ethos. This would lend itself far more towards an 'enquiry-based learning' approach with the learner being at the centre of the decision making process in terms of the 'answers'. However, in addition to this, it meant that the school makes further pedagogic decisions in relation to what topics they actually teach. For example, far less time would be spent teaching about the rise and impact of *Hassidut* in Waterford College than perhaps in Parkview School.

As previously explained, Millennium Academy is a mainstream orthodox Jewish school, but the majority of students on roll are not Jewish. This has impacted the pedagogic decisions made in relation to teaching about the Holocaust. The main

reason for these decisions, as explained by a member of the SLT at this school, are in relation to the emotional connection that the Jewish students have to the Holocaust that are different to the non-Jewish students:

I think if you say well; what is the connectedness of a Jew to this subject? If our students are *Ashkenazi* Jews¹⁶⁴ who've been brought up in a traditional Jewish home, there's an emotional connection that is clearly different to anyone else's. There's clearly a greater attachment to the victims, to the situation and to the outcome. Many of our Muslim students understand what it feels like, in fact most of our students understand what it feels like to be considered as 'others'. And to be possibly not persecuted, but to be thought about differently because of who they are. So our Muslim students, our students who have just come to this country, because we link it to other genocides, I think they have an understanding of what that feeling is like. I think they own it in a different way. I think they all take the same messages from it. Does it build tolerance between our students? Yeah I think so (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

This response was distinctive to all of the others because the student body of Millennium Academy was unique. As their student body has changed vastly over the past 12 years, the school has adapted and differentiated their curriculum to cater for what is their student body of today. Even though this school still teaches the Holocaust across all Key Stages in both history and Jewish Studies classrooms, the prism through which they are doing so has changed with different learning aims and objectives to those of the past and those of other schools within the sample. The learning that takes place through Holocaust education in this school has had to be differentiated to a greater extent than in any other school as on the one hand they aim to strengthen their Jewish students' Jewish identity, but on the other hand, they also have to educate their non-Jewish students. Teachers in this school explained what a challenge it had been for them when they had to make these changes to ensure that their curriculum differentiated not only by ability, but also religious and cultural demands. As another teacher in this school stated: 'Our curriculum has to be all things

¹⁶⁴ Jews whose families originate from Western Europe.

to all mankind and then we have to address the issues of making sure our Jewish children have that feeling of what they need to do as a result of it' (Zoe, Millennium Academy). Therefore, a great deal of time and focus has clearly been placed on adopting and differentiating this school's Holocaust education curriculum and pedagogic practice to make it suitable for their current student body.

8.8 Educational Journeys to Poland

The analysis of data collected in Phase II of my research clearly pointed to the importance that teachers placed on the educational journeys to Poland offered by their schools. In Phase II, I gathered considerable data on what teachers believed were the aims of the educational journeys to Poland; how these journeys are organised and what educational sites are included within the journeys. Although I had a good understanding of the 'logistics' of these journeys and the importance that teachers placed on them, I felt that I did not have a strong understanding of what was underpinning those journeys and whether they were standalone 'school trips' or part of the bigger picture of Holocaust education within the sample schools. Therefore, in Phase III of my research, I focussed my interview questions on the following themes:

- The role of these journeys and the extent to which they formed part of the school's wider Holocaust education programme.
- How the journeys are designed, what influences these decisions and what are the distinctive features of these journeys.
- The challenges and opportunities that these journeys present.

8.8.1 The role of educational journeys to Poland

Aviv and Shneer (2007) explained how across the Jewish world there has become a need for young Jews to visit Eastern Europe to 'witness the ashes, crematoria, cemeteries, and somber memorials to the dead Jewish communities of Europe' (2007, p. 75). However, they explained that as time has evolved, things have changed from the second-generation Holocaust survivors who returned to Eastern Europe to explore and remember what their parents had lost to the youth of today who travel for different purposes. They explained that the journeys for the youth of today are designed 'with the emphasis of Jewish identity, travel hinges on inventing the link between the destruction of the past and the possibility of their own Jewish futures' (2007, pp. 74–75). Aviv and Shneer present the argument that the narrative of the journeys to Eastern Europe have moved on from remembering and memorialising the tragic loss of Jewish people and the vibrant communities in which they lived, to a narrative which emphasises how Jews must build their futures as a result of the past.

One thing that was clear from all teachers in all the schools who participated in my study was the importance of their school's educational journey to Poland:

My view is that everyone needs to go to Poland. I don't think you can fully understand, I don't think that you can really, really appreciate what happened though until you've actually been there and seen it. You can read books, you can read stories, but until you've witnessed it with your own eyes I don't think anybody can fully grapple with it (David, Southview School).

In fact, all teachers made similar comments to David in respect of their belief that students only get a true understanding of what happened in the Holocaust by visiting Poland first-hand. Differences did occur between teachers and schools in relation to the aims of these journeys and what role the journeys actually fulfilled. In Phase II of my research, I established that 53.4% (n 11) of respondents to this section of the survey

stated that one of their aims for the educational journeys to Poland was to strengthen the Jewish identity of their students. The other theme that was the most prevalent was for students to acquire more knowledge about what happened during the Holocaust.¹⁶⁵ I therefore wanted to understand how these journeys are seen in terms of the bigger picture of Holocaust education within the schools and to gain a more detailed understanding of why it is that teachers seem to value these trips so highly.

As explained in the analysis of my Phase II survey, the length of the journeys to Poland varied ever so slightly between the schools within the sample. With the exception of Waterford College most of the schools run these journeys for six days from Tuesday to Sunday, with one school seven days; Monday - Sunday. Waterford College, however, ran their journey for five days from Sunday to Thursday¹⁶⁶. Participation in the educational journeys to Poland are voluntary and students and their parents choose if they wish to attend. The cost of the journeys varies slightly between the schools. With the exception of Waterford College, on average the cost of these journeys in 2018/19 was around £750 per student. The cost of the trip in Waterford College was £1,100. Students or their parents have to pay this in order for the student to attend. All the schools within the sample have some means tested bursaries in order to financially support students from disadvantaged families. All the schools promoted their educational journeys to Poland with letters and information evenings for parents that outline the educational content and aims as well as logistical information and costs. In addition, all the schools promoted the journeys to the students via assemblies, Jewish Studies lessons and conversations with the students.

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter 6 – Phase II Research & Analysis.

¹⁶⁶ Based on the information provided in Phase 3 interviews and focussed on educational journeys to Poland in the academic year 2018/19.

8.8.2 Factors that influence participation in educational journeys to Poland

The importance of the educational journeys to Poland was signified by the teachers' own values and by the number of students across the Jewish schools who participated in these journeys. The percentage of attendance varied between the different schools. In Phase II of my research, I asked teachers as part of my survey, what percentage of their Year 12 students attended these journeys. See Table 11 below for the analysis of these results. At the time the survey was carried out within the sample schools six of the schools who responded to the survey ran educational journeys to Poland. All those schools, with the exception of Greenville School¹⁶⁷ and Northview School were included within the Phase III sample:

Table 11: What percentage of students attend your school's educational journey to Poland?

| School Name | On average, what percentage of Year 12 students attend the Poland visit? |
|--------------------|---|
| Parkview School | 90-100% (n 162-180) |
| Greenville School | 90-100% (n 59-65) |
| Waterford College | 50-59% (n 105-124) |
| Southview School | 80-89% (n 240-267) |
| Millennium Academy | 20-29% (n 22-31) |
| Northview School | 90-99% (n 88-98) |

Looking at the schools within the Phase III sample, I wanted to try and understand why the percentage of students participating in these journeys in Waterford College and Millennium Academy were lower than in Parkview School and Southview School. Based on the interviews I conducted, it was clear in Parkview School and Southview School that there is a culture within the student and parent bodies which deem the educational journeys to Poland almost as a 'rite of passage'.¹⁶⁸ This phrase was used

¹⁶⁷ As previously stated, Greenville School was excluded due to it being a private school.

¹⁶⁸ In my 'Pilot Study' for Phase III, with teachers at Northview School, the same comments were made.

in a number of teacher interviews when discussing the educational journeys to Poland. For example:

The Jewish community really values the Poland Trips. Parents see it as a rite of passage that follows the Year 11 Israel Tours. This has really helped to establish these trips across all of the schools. Our Jewish parents still see this as so important and a trip that their children must participate in. However, our non-Jewish parents do not have this same belief about how important it is for their children to go to Poland (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

I therefore wanted to understand why a relatively small number of students from these schools choose to not participate in this 'rite of passage'. In both schools teachers informed me that the main reason students did not attend was due to financial difficulties, even though both schools offered means-tested bursaries. There were then a small handful of students who did not attend for other reasons. Teachers explained that for some it was owing to students not feeling ready emotionally for such an experience or for others it was owing to medical issues, including psychological challenges faced by some students.

The school with the smallest percentage of students who attended these educational journeys was Millennium Academy. The context of this school is very important in trying to understand the low participation rates. As previously explained, Millennium Academy is a mainstream Jewish school. However, only approximately 35% of students on roll are Jewish. Therefore, the student and parent body of this school was unique compared with the other schools within the sample. Out of the 20-29% of students in the cohort who attended the vast majority were Jewish, with approximately 80% of the Jewish students within the cohort attending these trips. The other factor that makes Millennium Academy different to the other schools within the sample is in relation to the deprivation levels of the families within the schools. Based

on the information published by the Department for Education's 'Get Information About Schools' website, there was a remarkable difference between the percentage of students on Free School Meals at Millennium Academy compared to the other schools. This data is shown in table 12 below:

Table 12: Percentages of students eligible for Free School Meals across sample schools

| School | % of Students Eligible for Free School Meals |
|--------------------|--|
| Parkview School | 3.1% |
| Waterford College | 3.6% |
| Southview School | 1.3% |
| Millennium Academy | 20.3% |
| Northview School | 1.0% |

(Department for Education, 2019)

The parent body of Millennium Academy have much higher levels of deprivation than the parent body in any of the other schools within my sample. Therefore, the decision to send their children on a school trip that costs the parents around £800 would be considerably more of a dilemma for a higher percentage of parents than perhaps at the other schools. In addition, as Pamela explained, the fact that Millennium Academy have a lower percentage of Jewish students than the other schools was also a factor that the school believed affected the number of students who participated in these journeys:

On average, between 20-30% of our Year 12s go on the Poland trip each year. Most, but not all of these students are Jewish. But what's really important is that the vast majority of Jewish students want to go to Poland. I therefore have to do all that I can to raise funds to help those who cannot afford it on their own (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

However, the logic that affected participation in Millennium Academy was not the same at Waterford College, whose student body, in terms of financial deprivation levels, was broadly in line with the other schools within the sample, which have a considerably higher uptake of students. When I asked staff at Waterford College why they believed their uptake was considerably lower than that of the other schools they suggested one of the reasons was the cost of the trip, which was higher in Waterford College than the other schools. The teachers explained that they used a different tour operator and because their numbers of participants were lower the costs were

higher. Another factor that increased their costs was that they have, in the past, taken some students with disabilities and this has resulted in a need for additional staffing that again increased the cost of the trip, which in 2019 was £1,100. In order to try to understand why the uptake for the trip was quite small, one of the teachers had spoken to some of the students who were not going on the trip to gather more of an understanding as to why this was the case. Kathy explained:

Having spoken to a few and some have said 'I'm not ready and I know I can go at university and I can do 'March of the Living'¹⁶⁹. Some just think that they don't necessarily need to go now... it's something they can do later. And some of them think, I don't need to bring Kosher food and I can stay where I want and do it cheaper (Kathy, Waterford College).

Even though financially Waterford College had a similar parent body to that of the other schools within the sample, it was the newest school and perhaps this 'rite of passage' has not, as yet, been embedded within the school. It was potentially significant that when this teacher had spoken to some of the students who had chosen not to participate in their educational journey to Poland they mentioned the possibility of participating in 'March of The Living' as university students. March of the Living was only formally launched as an organisation in the UK in 2010. In the time that it has been running, they have partnered with a number of communal organisations and developed their programming to become quite an attractive offer for people who have never had the opportunity to visit Poland. They also incentivised their journeys for university students with very heavily subsidised places on their programmes. They run a six day programme in April/May to coincide with Yom HaShoah and where they meet up with the other March of the Living programmes

¹⁶⁹ March of the Living is 'an international, educational program that brings Jewish people from all over the world to Poland on Yom Hashoah, Holocaust Memorial Day, to march from Auschwitz to Birkenau' (March of The Living UK, no date).

from around the world. The full cost of their 6 day all-inclusive programme is £1,399¹⁷⁰. However, for students they managed to raise charitable funds to heavily subsidise the price to only £399¹⁷¹. This was considerably less money than the cost of the Waterford College, and other school, trips. Perhaps this financial element, coupled with the fact that in this relatively new school the educational journeys to Poland are not considered a 'rite of passage' within the student body is one of the major reasons why this school has considerably less participants than the others within the sample. However, conversations with the CEO of 'March of the Living UK' showed that as this is a relatively new programme, there was not sufficient data, to date, to draw any conclusions relating to trends of participation from students who were previously at a specific Jewish school. Therefore, it was not possible to state if former Waterford College students were participating in this programme in greater numbers as a result of not attending their school educational journey to Poland.

8.8.3 Purpose of the educational journeys to Poland

I wanted to understand how the educational journeys to Poland connected to the schools' Holocaust education as a whole. I therefore asked teachers; 'What role do the educational journeys to Poland play in teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools today?' One answer that was similar across all schools within the sample, was simply stated by one teacher: 'I think everything builds up to it ultimately' (Kathy, Waterford College). Across all the schools teachers mentioned, both in Phases II and III, that their Holocaust curriculum builds up to these journeys where they are able to educate to an even higher level. However, it was also clear across all the schools, that these educational journeys were not solely focussed on the Holocaust but that the various different schools had other educational aims that underpinned these

¹⁷⁰ Based on prices quoted on March of the Living website for their 2020 trip.

¹⁷¹ See (March of The Living UK, no date)

journeys. The most frequent aim, other than those relating to understanding the Holocaust, across all the schools was around an understanding of what Jewish life was like in Europe before the Holocaust. This was explained by a teacher from Millennium Academy:

With my mixed student body nowadays, it is even more important that the students understand what it was like living as a Jew in Poland before the Holocaust. They need to see the old *Shuls*¹⁷², market places, schools and other buildings to have a true understanding of what was destroyed by the Nazis. You can only really appreciate this when you are in Poland and standing in front of these places, with your tour guide trying to bring them back to life (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

Teachers spoke very passionately about the importance of teaching their students about Jewish life in Poland before the war. They all mentioned the highlight moments of visiting different towns or cities and going inside the old synagogues and trying to paint a picture in their students' minds of what Jewish life was like in Poland from the middle ages onwards. Different teachers spoke about the different sites they would visit, depending on the religious make-up of the group. As explained earlier in this chapter, teachers all agreed on the importance of differentiating Holocaust education based on the make-up of the student body, and this was especially salient during the educational journeys to Poland. Groups with a higher percentage of students from more orthodox practising families, would spend more time visiting more orthodox sites. For example, they would spend a greater amount of time visiting former *Yeshivot*¹⁷³ or graves of great rabbis. Whilst schools with a less religiously practising student body spent a greater amount of time considering former cultural sites such as the Yiddish Theatre in Warsaw or discussions about Jewish football teams in Krakow. However, for all the schools, the idea of trying to get the students to be

¹⁷² Synagogues.

¹⁷³ Talmudic academies.

able to visualise the lives of the former Jewish community in Poland was a clear aim of these journeys. As another teacher explained:

I think it's very much about trips to Poland being not just about Holocaust. This is about our Jewish heritage. Who are the communities? Understanding the context of them... For the students to try and understand what it means when they're standing in the Warsaw cemetery and they're being told about the local rabbis telling the Warsaw Police to round up the kids on a Friday night from the park and streets. That brings it alive for them, it makes them understand what this is about (Sarah, Southview School).

8.8.4 Preparation and follow up to the journeys

All schools featured the educational journey to Poland in their curriculum. Teachers interviewed explained how this allowed them to deliver lessons before and after the journeys that ensured students were prepared educationally and emotionally to process what they saw and experienced. The content and amount of lessons varied between the schools with the mean being 7.3 lessons in Year 12. Even though these lessons were designed around the students who were taking part in the journeys to Poland, they were for all students within Year 12. This was an important finding as it meant that even those students who did not participate in the journeys to Poland, were still given the opportunity to extend their Holocaust education. Teachers at one of the schools within the sample, as well as the school where the pilot study was carried out, explained how they run a Holocaust education and Jewish heritage programme in London at the same time as the Poland visits for those who do not participate. One teacher from Southview School outlined this practice:

For the first time this year we had an alternative for kids who hadn't gone to Poland...The idea was that they would go to Beth Shalom¹⁷⁴ one day,

¹⁷⁴ The National Holocaust Centre and Museum, Nottingham.

they would do the East End¹⁷⁵ one day and a bit of volunteering... the principle is there, so that there is an expectation that everybody is focused on some kind of Shoah education during that time, which also makes that run up education relevant to everybody. And it'll be interesting to see over time that if people feel that, it might also make people think that, well actually, if I'm going to do one I'll go to Poland because, ultimately, we want everyone to go (Sarah, Southview School).

Southview School was the only school within the sample, who have developed such a parallel programme. Sarah explained that the school's aim is for all students to go to Poland and that she believed over time the percentage of students who attend will increase. However, she wanted to ensure that even those who did not attend the journey to Poland would still have an educational opportunity to learn more about the Holocaust. Therefore, the school designs and runs its lessons before and after the journey to Poland with the aim of ensuring all students have a sound historical understanding of the major history behind the Holocaust as well as providing opportunities to process and evaluate their learning experience upon their return.

One of the teachers from Parkview School explained their lessons in Year 12 before the journeys to Poland:

There is a big emphasis and focus in their Jewish Studies and Jewish history elements before we go [to Poland] that prepares the students. And then that means that by the time we go in February they're mentally and emotionally prepared. Some students decide they're not ready and they don't want to go, but we make sure that when we come back everybody, even those that didn't attend, came to the sessions. They participated and they shared their stories of what they've done to everybody. And you know they were very much part of the journey (Margaret, Parkview School).

¹⁷⁵ The East End of London was one of the main areas where Eastern European Jewish immigrants to England settled in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and therefore contains a lot of Jewish history, including where the original JFS was established.

The teachers within the schools all described how lessons were used both to ensure students are prepared historically for the journeys to Poland, but also to ensure they are prepared emotionally. The fact that these lessons, as well as the follow up lessons, included all students is a clear example of how the journeys were integrated into the school's overall schemes of learning.

8.8.5 Rationale, Design and Distinctive Features

Discussions with teachers in the sample schools revealed that all of them used tour operators to plan and run their educational journeys to Poland. Most schools employed one of two specialist Jewish operators who run educational tours to Jewish sites and one school has worked with different operators. Discussions with the teachers revealed that, the experience of the staff member organising the educational journeys influenced the overall design of the journeys. Across all the schools within the sample clear thought was given to the design of the itinerary of the trips in order to ensure that they met the educational aims of the schools. Interviews with teachers revealed that typically the tour operators would make suggestions of places to visit and educational themes that could be explored there but the school made the final decision about how this would work.

When I asked the teachers who from the school was involved in the design of the educational journeys to Poland none of them identified the History Department. With the exception of Parkview School, the educational journeys to Poland were designed by either middle or senior leaders who have a responsibility for Jewish Studies or Informal Jewish Education within their respective schools. A similar response was given when asked who took responsibility for memorialisation of the Holocaust within the schools; for example, running HMD or Yom HaShoah ceremonies and assemblies. Again, this was the responsibility of the Jewish Studies departments with minimal, if any,

input from the history departments. It is clear that within the Jewish schools teaching the Holocaust is not a 'stand-alone' topic within history but part of a bigger picture and is thought about within a Jewish narrative. Therefore, most Holocaust education within these schools falls under the auspices of the Jewish Studies staff. This is broadly in line with Ellison's (2017) research into how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools in America.

Parkview School, however, have two factors that made the design of their educational journeys to Poland different from the other schools. Firstly, they have decided to give the overall responsibility of designing the trip to their Head of Sixth Form who liaises with the Jewish Studies department. Secondly, in terms of how they design their actual itinerary, they not only look at the religious make-up of their student body, but also the histories of the families of their students. As Margaret explained:

We talk about where the families' history are and we try and incorporate that, depending on the member of staff or the students [on the trip] and we visit these places [where families of the staff or students came from]. This year we went to a few different places, just because we were nearby... We look at it [the itinerary] and we review it. We think about what went well and what didn't go well (Margaret, Parkview School).

As with most schools, the evaluation and review of practice was common. However, trying to design the journeys around the families of the staff or students appeared to be a way of making the trip more personalised to the group and connecting the participants even more to their personal history.

When looking more closely into the design of the actual journey there were similarities and differences between all the schools in terms of sites that were visited. For example, all the schools visited Krakow and Auschwitz. Some schools visited Treblinka and some visited Majdanek. However, as I found in Phase II of my research, all the

other sites varied between the schools. What I really wanted to understand in this phase of my research was why the schools made their decisions. What was difficult, however, was being able to capture the complexity of the decision-making process. To a point the design of the activities or sites visited was potentially influenced by logistics, based around where the hotels were located. Some teachers did not really have answers to explain why they visited some sites on their itineraries, other than that they had always visited them, or the tour operator had included them. However, the schools all had educational visions and aims that underpinned their trip. Additionally, most schools had narratives or themes that they tried to weave into their journeys and therefore particular sites were selected for those reasons. An example of this was explained by Sarah when discussing her school's visit to Zbylitowska Gora¹⁷⁶:

I suppose the thing that has been the most impactful I know, is probably... it's only Holocaust education because I'm standing in Poland whether it's Holocaust education per se is another question... it's what I speak to students about when I'm in Zbylitowska... I talk about parenting. I talk about the challenges of parenting and sort of having *rachmanut*¹⁷⁷ on your parents a little bit. I talk about my kids, you know, it's quite personal. I know it has a big impact, but it's probably not really Shoah education. But I'm not sure you could deliver that message anywhere else. I think you would struggle to do it... I think it's important what I say there and I know that it's strengthened lots of kids with their relationships with their families over time, without being manipulative (Sarah, Southview School).

Discussions with Sarah demonstrated that she and her colleagues have clearly thought about all of the educational themes that they wanted their students to encounter throughout their journey to Poland. In particular a key theme was the focus on the importance of family life. Even though Sarah was not sure whether or not the way she spoke at this site would be considered 'Holocaust Education', she still decided that the concept of 'family' is something she wanted to focus on when

¹⁷⁶ A small village close to the city of Tarnow where there are mass graves, including a mass grave believed to contain the bodies of at least 800 children.

¹⁷⁷ Mercy

standing round this mass grave of 800 children. It was strikingly apparent that Sarah has put real thought into her educational message that she wished to deliver as she explained; 'I am not sure you could deliver that message anywhere else.' The theme of 'families' and their importance is one that many of the teachers I interviewed spoke about as a narrative within their journeys to Poland. Each school, however, seemed to do this in their own way. All the teachers interviewed explained that these themes were used to help the students develop an understanding of what they were seeing and experiencing together as a group. They were also seen as a means to connect the various sites back to the school's educational aims for their journeys to Poland.

Whilst this site of Zbylitowska Gora was important to Sarah and many other teachers in Phases II and III, not all teachers interviewed agreed:

So we know we have to stop somewhere between Lublin and Krakow. We had to stop somewhere. So we stopped in Tarnow and it was just horrible. We always found it really horrible. Not very nice and Zbylitowska Gora kind of was like; 'Okay, here's a mass grave let's get back on the bus now' (Kathy, Waterford College).

The way that Kathy described this educational encounter was challenging for both her and her colleagues as well as for their students. She explained that when they reached these sites¹⁷⁸ their group was perhaps fatigued by what they had seen or their guide was struggling to frame these sites in an appropriate manner. However, the teachers in this school both commented on how they did not find Tarnow or Zbylitowska Gora to be positive educational experiences that met their educational aims. When I asked them to explain why this was the case, they reasoned that this site did not add any new educational elements. They were concerned that they had

¹⁷⁸ Tarnow is Polish a city south of Krakow that had approximately 25,000 Jews living there before the Holocaust. Zbylitowska Gora is a park containing a mass grave of 800 children who were victims of the Holocaust.

already discussed related issues with their students, and therefore it just felt like a repetition. The teachers wanted to maximise the opportunities provided by their journey in Poland rather than repeat issues they had already covered. Accordingly, one teacher argued 'Instead, we decided to stop at Kielce,¹⁷⁹ we just thought it would be something a bit different. A different way of looking at what happened after the Holocaust rather than just during it' (Kathy, Waterford College). On reviewing this change to their itinerary the teachers felt that visiting Kielce allowed them to introduce a different educational focus to their journey that related back to their overarching aims.

When looking at the structure of the educational journeys to Poland, all but one school ran their journeys from a Tuesday morning until Sunday night. All of those schools said that this was a conscious decision as they found a Shabbat¹⁸⁰ in Krakow towards the end of the journey was a highlight of the trip. This view was enthusiastically articulated by several teachers:

Well, I think the kids all like the Shabbat. I remember also doing *Havdalah*¹⁸¹ in Amon Goeth's¹⁸² basement, that was a highlight for the kids (Lily, Parkview School).

Shabbat is a time when you can take a break from rushing between sites and actually have time to breathe and think. It is a time when the students can process what they have seen and discuss it. It is also a time when they can be proud of who they are as young Jews. We always visit Auschwitz on a Friday and then when we leave to go to Krakow for Shabbat I always leave them with the message that we are going to now do something that the victims of Auschwitz could not do... keep Shabbat... light Shabbat candles¹⁸³... be proud Jews... (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

¹⁷⁹ A Polish town where a Pogrom took place in 1946, resulting in the murder of 42 Jewish Holocaust survivors.

¹⁸⁰ Sabbath.

¹⁸¹ The ceremony that concludes Shabbat.

¹⁸² The commandant of Plaszow Labour Camp 1943 – 1944.

¹⁸³ A ritual carried out by women that marks the beginning of the Sabbath each week.

Even Shabbat... they [the participants] enjoy that sharing and sitting down and the circular time and reflection. Yes, it's that unity for them as well (Margaret, Parkview School).

On Shabbat we had... Some kids really got into the singing and that was the thing that did it for them. We went to *shul*¹⁸⁴ on Shabbat... and it got to *Adon Olam*¹⁸⁵ and there was the most incredible atmosphere. The kids had all got there and they were all singing... And in the feedback, some of them said that was the most spiritual experience they had ever had before (Sarah, Southview School).

However, when designing their tour programme, staff at Waterford College made the decision to depart on a Sunday and return on a Thursday evening. When I asked their teachers about this I was told that this was a conscious decision:

Partly because it's just difficult to have Shabbat and do Shabbat in a pluralist setting. We have obviously a *Shabbaton*¹⁸⁶ where we do and... we run different services ourselves. In Israel [referring to the school's Year 9 trip] there's enough staff to run services ourselves, we offer all the varieties of services. In Poland there isn't. So what would we do? You know there's... It's difficult. And where would we spend it? Would we spend it in Krakow? Would we spend it in Warsaw? We couldn't spend it in Lublin. It would be horrendous even more horrendous than Lublin already is. So, yes, it's working out how it would work and ultimately do we need it? Programmatically we probably don't (Sam, Waterford College).

When considering this design choice, it is important to remember the contextual difference about Waterford College and its ethos in comparison to the other schools within the sample. Waterford College is the only Jewish pluralist secondary school in England and, as such, has a unique religious ethos that results in the school delivering its Jewish education programme in a manner that embraces all Jewish religious denominations. As a result of this focus, Waterford College has a much more eclectic religious make up of families within the school. Waterford College also have to ensure that the Jewish programmes they offer are designed around their pluralist ethos,

¹⁸⁴ The synagogue.

¹⁸⁵ A hymn sang at the conclusion of the service praising God's omnipotence.

¹⁸⁶ A residential trip that takes place over a Shabbat and allows pupils the opportunities to experience Shabbat together.

which again adds an additional challenge to that of the other schools within the sample. When Sam explained how this manifested itself in relation to their educational journeys to Poland, he stated that this was one of the reasons they decided not to have a Shabbat on the trip, as it would be almost impossible to do so in a pluralist manner. In addition, this also affected the way that they educated when visiting particular sites. For example, when visiting an orthodox synagogue the narrative would still have to be from a pluralist perspective, which has more challenges than for a group with a single ethos. Another challenge that those teachers discussed was that in their 2019 journey, for the first time, there were no students who would normally eat strictly kosher food. Therefore, the teachers debated if it was necessary to provide strictly kosher food as this is a factor that would increase the cost of the trip and does make the logistics more complex. The conclusion was that as the school is pluralist and must cater to all, providing kosher food was important. However, this dialogue gave me an insight into perhaps the different mindset of the students in this school compared with those in mainstream schools. As an 'Insider Researcher' who has worked in more than one of the mainstream schools, I am aware that there are also a number of students and families across the mainstream schools who may not always eat kosher food. However, on a school trip, they would never even consider that the school would not provide kosher food.

8.8.6 The challenges and opportunities that these journeys present

All of the teachers I interviewed expressed what a powerful educational tool the educational journeys to Poland were. Although all of the teachers believed that the journeys provided a powerful educational experience, they also noted that the visits also raised a number of challenges and opportunities. In this phase of my research I wanted to understand these challenges and opportunities in more depth. I asked all of the teachers I interviewed; 'What challenges and opportunities does your

educational journey to Poland present?' It was interesting from their responses that all of the issues they raised appeared unique to individual schools.

For example, according to teachers at Waterford College, their biggest challenges centred on philosophy and theology:

I think that the biggest question is inevitably about God. Some students say this is just another reason why 'I don't believe in God' and other students will want to believe in God but then will struggle... And then, secondly, about human behaviour; why do people make those choices? You know, they struggle to understand that perhaps those people didn't have choices (Kathy, Waterford College).

While philosophical and theological questions are likely to arise on all Jewish educational journeys to Poland, teachers at other schools who did mention them in the interviews did not present them as a challenge. Again, perhaps, the context of Waterford College makes these questions even more challenging for them to respond to. Within an orthodox school teachers can respond using post-Holocaust theology from orthodox theologians. However, potentially this would be more challenging within a pluralist environment. In addition, because teachers at Waterford College are educating from a pluralist starting point they are perhaps asking the students more challenging theological questions without presenting possible answers to these questions. Within an orthodox learning environment the educators are educating with a different narrative that already presents their students with some possible answers to these questions in order to help them grapple with the concepts. This would be the case when teaching about the Holocaust in the UK or during their educational journeys to Poland. However, when the students are standing by the gas chambers in Auschwitz, the theological dilemmas becomes far more real than when sitting in a classroom in London.

In Parkview School, the biggest challenge that teachers encountered was around the variety of family encounters that their students had with the Holocaust. Some students had grandparents or great-grandparents who had survived the Holocaust, some had lost relatives in the Holocaust and others had no direct familial connection to the Holocaust:

I think for some, a challenge was their family were not affected at all by the Holocaust and they were worried about how they would feel. Whilst for others, it was the realisation that a lot of their family didn't make it (Margaret, Parkview School).

Any educational Holocaust journey to Poland, especially with teenagers, is likely to be emotional. However, as Margaret and other teachers interviewed explained, when you have a 'mixed' group of Jewish teenagers which includes those who do and who do not have some have direct family connections to the Holocaust, real challenges emerge. Visiting the towns where family members were born or sites where they were murdered can be extremely challenging for students with direct family links. Equally, this can be a challenge for the teachers on the trip in terms of allowing the individual students to express their emotions without it affecting others in the group or the journey as a whole. Some teachers described how this personal connection could be a real strength and how some students spoke about their own families and their stories on the trip and when they became emotional how the other students supported them. In fact, teachers at Parkview School also described this as one of their opportunities:

We had this child who wouldn't speak in public, who struggled her whole way through school, who stood at Auschwitz and she spoke about her family. And all of her peers, just listening to her and sharing that with her. That elevation that gave her with her confidence and that connection that she felt that she'd never felt in her life before was just so moving (Margaret, Parkview School).

Another challenge that teachers mentioned was being able to support their students while on the journey. One teacher discussed this in a lot of depth when she explained:

At different sites, some people felt more emotional and it was clearly visible. You know for some, if we went to a mass children's grave for example, that's what really did it for people. For others it was going to Majdanek and seeing sort of the tortures or some of the things that people went through there. So I think knowing how to deal with those things definitely is a challenge and I'm not qualified to counsel in that way. But I think that is a challenge, knowing how to deal with those sorts of students (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

For the teachers accompanying these journeys, supporting the students was identified as a big challenge and feeling comfortable to do so in an appropriate way required careful consideration. It was clear in the teacher interviews, that the more experienced teachers were far more comfortable knowing how to support their students.

When teachers were asked about the opportunities that the educational journeys to Poland presented, it was difficult to stop the teachers from talking. There were so many opportunities discussed as a means of enriching their students Jewish and Holocaust education. However, one of the opportunities that a number of teachers spoke about was the importance of just being in Poland:

If we could take everybody in the year group to Poland I would do it in a heartbeat... because I think it gives students that understanding of what actually happened. So they're not imagining Schindler's List or The Pianist, they're knowing what it's like. They're smelling the wood when it's hot. They're smelling the wood when it's cold. They're looking around and wondering why there are no birds at Auschwitz. They're walking into a gas chamber at Majdanek. They're standing on a spot in Treblinka where, you know, they're seeing the ground all uneven because it's been dug up and things have been put there. So I think nothing, nothing replaces that (Lily, Parkview School).

I think the opportunity to go to Poland and to be in situ. We all know that going to a place of historical significance, creates a far more

meaningful experience than sitting in a classroom, there's no question about that (Sarah, Southview School).

These teachers strongly believed that the students being on location and seeing first-hand the sites where the atrocities of the Holocaust took place is more important than any other method of teaching the Holocaust. They both continued to explain that this is becoming even more important now that there are fewer survivors alive to tell their story. As a result, it appeared that the opportunity to take students to Poland and show them particular sites is vital for the future of Holocaust education.

A number of teachers interviewed spoke about the impact that the journeys to Poland have on the students upon their return:

I would tell most students to do it [participate in an educational journey to Poland] because I think it's a massive part of their Holocaust education. In terms of teaching it in the school... Well I think once the students have experienced it, they do have that great appreciation. As I said earlier, we do like to build on that when they get back. We don't want them just to come back and just sort of forget about what they've done. We like to do follow up sessions on it to make sure that they've really internalised some of the messages some of the things that they've done... they're so strong (David, Southview School).

The students come back from Poland as different people and not just as individuals. They experience the trip as a group and return with shared stories and learning. They really begin to think about their Jewish futures on this trip (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

The last night of our trip is when we really start to focus on their Jewish identity and Israel. We do a play about Jewish history and connect it to Israel today and then this challenges the students to think about where they will be going and how they will connect to Israel. This is where we really start to promote gap-years in Israel (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

All the teachers interviewed spoke about how, on their students' return from Poland, they noticed that their students were more engaged. Some teachers spoke about how they were more engaged religiously, some culturally and some with the history

that they had learnt. Teachers from across the schools also spoke about how the journeys to Poland were an opportunity to engage students further in their Jewish identity as well as consider how this would feature in their adult lives.

In some schools, there are programmes designed with follow-up, processing, opportunities to look at what the students do with this information and experience that they have had. Teachers from Parkview School and Millennium Academy explained that this was a springboard upon which to educate more about Jewish identity. Teachers from across all the schools also explained that the follow-up education provided greater opportunity to challenge their students on what they will do next as they seek to make a difference to the world that they live in. As one teacher said:

When we return from Poland, the students are different. They have a new understanding of the world. They understand their peers better and possibly understand their experiences more. They want to change the world. Our challenge is keeping that momentum going to get them to make that difference (Lily, Parkview School).

For many Jewish Studies teachers, their aims are to inspire their students to connect with Judaism in their adult lives. As Aviv and Shneer explain, in relation to educational journeys to Poland: 'Participants who experience emotional and identity transformations through these organizations are encouraged to translate those feelings into action' (2007, p. 71). Teachers from across the schools talk about the benefits of these journeys in not only developing their students into ambassadors for remembering the Holocaust, but also developing them as individuals and strengthening their Jewish identity. Teachers from across the schools also talked about these journeys to Poland being the pinnacle of their Holocaust education where they bring together all of the other aspects of Holocaust education that the students have

encountered throughout life within the school. These journeys are not designed to just be history lessons but also aim to strengthen the students' Jewish identity and connection to the Jewish people. Therefore, the 'rite of passage' of the educational journeys to Poland can be seen as 'the way that our students connect their Jewish identity to their Jewish heritage and their Jewish future' (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

8.9 Challenges and Opportunities of Teaching the Holocaust

Considerable research has been conducted into the challenges and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust, including; Foster (2013), Pearce (2020), Davidowitz (2013), Kuhner *et al.* (2008) and Levy (2009). Following the IoE 2009 research (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), Foster explained that in their research, the biggest challenge identified was around 'meeting the needs of teachers' (Foster, 2013, p. 136). For example, in relation to meeting the needs of teachers the study concluded:

Data from the survey suggests that, at a national level, many teachers remain unaware of the support that is currently available to them. The data also suggests that very few teachers who teach about the Holocaust have received any form of specialist professional development in the subject and 82.5% (n952) consider themselves self-taught (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 9).

This research indicated that even though 94.7% of teachers believed in the importance of teaching about the Holocaust, 77.5% of teachers felt that additional CPD was required around this topic. Gross (2010) conducted research into the 'Goals, Dilemmas and Challenges' of teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools in Israel. The challenges presented in this research are different to those of the IoE (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) and did not show concern around teacher subject knowledge but focus more on methodological approaches to teaching the Holocaust coupled with the

changing attitude of Israelis towards the Holocaust in general. She explained that as a result of this shift in attitude one of the biggest challenges facing teachers was to change their pedagogic approach to address developments within society. In an article focused on teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools, Schweber and Findling argued one of the biggest challenges for teachers of the Holocaust is to connect the students with 'a history that most students will have an increasingly more distant relationship to as the years pass' (2007, p. 8).

This body of research clearly suggests teachers in schools across varying contexts face different challenges when teaching about the Holocaust. One of my research aims for this study was; 'To identify challenges and opportunities encountered or perceived by leaders and teachers when teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools'. In Phase II of my own research, a number of answers from teachers to the survey pointed to challenges and opportunities that they faced. However, these were not clearly identified and therefore I wanted to ensure that the interviews in Phase III would allow me the opportunity to explore this further. As this chapter has been divided up largely by research aims or themes, I have already discussed a number of challenges and especially opportunities that teaching about the Holocaust presents in the schools within my sample. Therefore, the last section of this chapter is focused on any other challenges and opportunities not already discussed.

When analysing the Phase III interviews it became apparent that the challenges stated by the teachers in the sample were not the same across the different schools and no real pattern emerged. However, while the IoE research (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) suggested the main challenges were around the needs of teachers in terms of CPD and subject knowledge, my research found the main factor that influenced the challenges and opportunities of the teachers within my sample was the composition

of the student body. As the actual challenges varied between the different schools, I decided that the easiest way to present these findings was to examine each school separately and to consider how these challenges potentially were affected by the context of the school.

8.9.1 Parkview School

Within Parkview School, one of the teachers interviewed who has been working at the school for many years felt that the challenges have changed over time. Lily explained one of the biggest challenges she faced occurred when she first started teaching at the school:

The Head of the *Kodesh*¹⁸⁷ department was very against it [teaching the Holocaust]. He said 'we don't believe in teaching the Holocaust because that's something in the past, we always have to look towards the future'. So it was definitely back then an issue. He was from the Stamford Hill community¹⁸⁸ and he felt that it's happened, it's done, we don't look back, we just look forward. We don't want to think about bad things that happened (Lily, Parkview School).

Another teacher who is non-Jewish and has been teaching at Parkview School for a number of years explained: 'I think some teachers, depending on their generation, might be more negative and not believe in teaching about the Holocaust and looking at, you know, how to bring life back afterwards' (Margaret, Parkview School).

Contextually, it is important to remember that even though Parkview School defines itself as a mainstream orthodox school, the parent body and students are from mainly practising religious families. In addition, the foundation body that oversees the ethos

¹⁸⁷ Jewish Studies

¹⁸⁸ The 'Stamford Hill' community, that this teacher refers to, is one of England's largest strictly orthodox Jewish communities and all of the schools included in Phase I of my research that were located in Stamford Hill defined themselves as strictly orthodox.

of this school would consider themselves to be strictly orthodox and many of the rabbis who advise the school are rabbis from strictly orthodox synagogues. This teacher continued to describe a viewpoint that existed within Parkview School a number of years ago that I saw when conducting the interviews with Senior Leaders of strictly orthodox schools in Phase I of my research. This viewpoint was presented publicly as 'we don't believe in teaching the Holocaust because that's something in the past'. I was interested to see if this was the real reason why Parkview School had not taught the Holocaust or if there was possibly some link to Rabbi Hutner's views on Holocaust education.¹⁸⁹ Lily told me that Rabbi Hutner was never directly mentioned, but this Head of Department was; 'very anti [teaching the Holocaust] and it was a very big struggle. And it took me like two years to get it in and once I got it and I've kept it' (Lily, Parkview School). As Lily explained, once Holocaust education began at Parkview School it has only increased in terms of content and curriculum time devoted to it.

Another challenge that was discussed by teachers within Parkview School focused on the concern that some non-Jewish teachers had in relation to teaching the Holocaust. As one teacher explained: 'I think they [non-Jewish teachers] are worried that they might upset or say the wrong thing. I think my younger self felt that, and I wanted to be cautious or empathetic, I don't know, in terms of delivery' (Margaret, Parkview School). It was interesting that Margaret, who is a non-Jewish senior leader and history teacher within this school, raised this challenge that was not raised by any of the other teachers in their interviews. I wanted to understand how much of the concern surrounding what to say was based on how to address this challenging topic with young students and how much of it was based around working as a non-Jewish

¹⁸⁹ See Chapter 5, Education in strictly orthodox schools.

teacher in a Jewish school. I therefore asked her if she thought she would have the same challenge if she was teaching in a non-Jewish school? Margaret explained:

Yes. Definitely. And also to deal with... even in a Jewish school where we've taught about Holocaust, you have different students, I'm thinking of one in particular, who was on the [autistic] spectrum, that has struggled with the message that was being given and has caused upset. It's making sure that teachers are able to deal with that. I think in a non-Jewish school you might have somebody that says a racist comment or in a Jewish school might have someone who says something negatively about the Nazis, but it's dealing with that kind of conflicts that might come up (Margaret, Parkview School).

When exploring this topic further, the challenges that the teacher described were not centred on being a non-Jewish teacher in a Jewish school but, rather, more focused on the concerns of how to 'pitch' a lesson to students, based on their understanding of a situation. However, this teacher explained that working in a Jewish school did change the sensitivities around how they delivered Holocaust education as well as how they addressed some stereotypical opinions held by some of the students. This teacher felt it was a challenge for them to address appropriately. In the *STAJE Guidelines for Teaching the Shoah in Jewish Schools*, they also discuss the danger of stereotypes and the potential for Holocaust education sometimes to reinforce these in Jewish schools. For example, the authors of the guidelines believe that it is important that educators 'avoid conclusions that lead to feelings of victimhood, fear, aggression, or insularity' (*Shoah Teaching Alternatives in Jewish Education (STAJE)*, 2005, p. 3).

8.9.2 Southview School

Teachers in Southview School also discussed a number of challenges they faced in relation to teaching about the Holocaust. As with the other schools most of these challenges were based around issues centred on addressing the needs of the student

body. One of the challenges that was raised by both teachers within this school, for example, was around the concept of how to pitch the learning based on the ages of the pupils. As one teacher explained:

I just think the Holocaust is such a sensitive, serious issue that when you're trying to teach it to the younger years it can be very challenging for a number of reasons. Just on the basis that they are young and some of the ideas and some of the horrors trying to explain concepts can be way beyond them... These ideas that you're not sure whether they're mature enough behaviourally and also from a sensitive perspective... So I think I think knowing how to pitch it to the right level to each student is a challenge (David, Southview School).

Teaching the Holocaust in an age-appropriate manner is a challenge to teachers and a philosophical principle that is discussed by many scholars including; Schweber (2010), Shawn (1995), Totten (2000), Firer (1998), Feldman (2009) and Porat (2004). As Feldman (2009) explains, when discussing the philosophical approach of the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Education, it is important that students are educated and not traumatised and therefore it is important that teachers give serious consideration to what is suitable to be taught at varying ages of the students. The challenge of what to teach to students is not only an issue in Southview School, but something that was also raised, and discussed earlier in this chapter, by teachers in other schools

In addition to the challenge of age appropriateness, teachers in Southview School also raised the issue of student engagement. As one teacher explained:

I think some of the challenges are the openness and willingness of students to learn and to be part of something. I think sometimes the challenges are Holocaust burnout, you know switch off... Some teachers say that the connection of students to the event is waning. There's very little personal connections, so as survivors get older they find that more difficult and therefore the students are more apathetic. I would disagree. I think that's how you deliver it and if teachers are finding that,

then maybe we need some more voices and more experience. Some teachers say that sometimes it's seen that we focus too much on Holocaust (Sarah, Southview School).

Within this section of the interview a number of challenges were raised. There seems to be a concern of Holocaust fatigue within the student body. This is a concept discussed by many academics, including; Schweber (2006) & (2010). Additionally, Short and Reed (2004), suggested that as students encounter lessons on the Holocaust over and over again they potentially become fatigued by it and therefore do not engage. This is not an experience that was raised by other teachers within my research. However, this teacher was concerned that within their school some staff stated that this was a challenge. This teacher felt that if this is the case then the teachers need to adapt their pedagogic practice to ensure that their teaching is meaningful and appropriate for their students.

8.9.3 Waterford College

Most challenges that were raised by the teachers at Waterford College have already been explained in this chapter. These include the appropriate narrative for their student body and how to teach Jewish identity within a pluralist environment. However, one challenge that was raised by teachers within this school that was not raised by others was the time allocated to teaching the Holocaust within their curriculum:

So in Key Stage 4, virtually nothing, because we're constrained by the AQA [Religious Studies] GCSE which, I mean we probably haven't got enough time to talk about, but it's virtually nothing. Although we do try and bring some elements of the Holocaust in. For example, we do a lesson on the Death Penalty and we talk about Adolf Eichmann. So we bring it in, but it's never discussed as a separate standalone subject (Kathy, Waterford College).

In Sixth Form, it's slightly different because we have our self-selected A-Level classes and they do a unit on Holocaust Theology and then within our informal Jewish Education programme (Sam, Waterford College).

When analysing the data from Phase I and II, it became apparent that all schools found Key Stage 4 the most challenging to incorporate Holocaust education into their curriculum. Teachers explained that this was as a result of the prescriptive GCSE specifications that they had to deliver which resulted in limited curriculum time for anything else to be taught. However, the amount of curriculum time allocated to teaching the Holocaust in Waterford College at both Key Stages 4 and 5 was lower than the average across the schools within the sample. When I discussed this with the teachers from the school, one of the reasons suggested was that Waterford College had less teaching time allocated for Jewish education in Key Stages 4 and 5 than most of the other schools within the sample. Therefore, as they have to deliver their GCSE teaching within less teaching hours than the other schools within the sample, there is minimal time left for additional learning. Curriculum time, or a lack of it, is not just a problem, however for schools within my sample, but was also identified as a challenge for schools within the IoE's 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) and also features as a challenge in the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education's research; 'What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust?' (Foster *et al.*, 2016).

8.9.4 Millennium Academy

As previously explained, contextually, Millennium Academy is unique in the sample. The wide range of ethnicities of their student body does present additional challenges in relation to Holocaust education than those experienced by the other schools within the sample. The diverse, multi-ethnic, background of the students does, according to one of the teachers interviewed, affect the way that the Jewish students respond:

The fact that in our school we have a class that's made up of all kinds of students. Our Jewish students sometimes feel perhaps, and I don't know if this is true or I just think that, they perhaps feel reluctant to share their Jewish pride in a room that has students of other faiths in it (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

When we discussed this further, the teacher was not sure that this was definitely the case but was clear that when the students were in a class with only Jewish students they were more confident to discuss Jewish identity and Jewish pride.

However, the biggest challenge that the teachers from Millennium Academy discussed was around the prior knowledge of some of their non-Jewish students and their parents:

A child who's come here from Africa or a child who's come here from India. They do not know about the Holocaust. I'm going to tell you we had a very intelligent geography teacher who came here from Africa. And when I said to him 'it's Holocaust Memorial Week' he said 'what's the Holocaust?' I said 'What do you mean?' This is a man in his 30s. He said 'I don't know what it is.' In the countries that were not impacted by the Second World War, they do not teach the Holocaust. Students who have come here from Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Ghana and Nigeria have parents who, if they've come recently, and not educated through the British school system, don't know about the Holocaust. So one of the unique opportunities we have is to enlighten young people about something they've never heard about from their parents. So there's an amazing light bulb moment. There's also a horror. The challenge is to bring the Holocaust to some of our students and some of our teachers who truly don't know what it is. So that's both a challenge and an opportunity (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

This teacher is describing what they consider to be one of their biggest challenges and opportunities and these are not factors that other Jewish schools have to contend with. In further discussion, it became apparent that once these students were aware of the Holocaust and what happened during it, they were engaged and empathetic to the emotions of their Jewish counterparts. Their religious background

did not take away from their ability to learn or their attitude towards the Holocaust.

This is similar to the UCL 2016 study which found that:

Attitudes towards learning about the Holocaust appeared broadly stable across gender, year group and religious affiliation. In contrast to regularly voiced concerns, Muslim students' attitudes did not appear to differ significantly from those of the full cohort taking part in the research (Foster *et al.*, 2016, p. 71).

However, whilst the students were engaged and open-minded about studying in the Holocaust not all of the parents were as tolerant of this approach:

...sometimes a student... has come from a background where their parents might have said; 'You know what, this is a Zionist conspiracy' and we do have that very occasionally and we have the challenge of making sure that every student is aware that this did really happen and that we're not teaching it from a biased point of view because we're a Jewish school. And we're not making it up because we're a Jewish school. So, I think the challenge is to make sure that all the students understand that we're teaching [the Holocaust] as it is, not as we wish to paint it (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

This concept of the Holocaust being a 'Zionist conspiracy' is potentially a unique challenge to the experience of this teacher and is not something that was apparent in any of the other schools within my sample. However, this section of the interview also uncovered the challenge presented in that school that some students and parents think that the school teaches the Holocaust from a narrative that is not factual. Further discussions with the teachers in this school showed that this was not only challenging to address in terms of some of the non-Jewish students, but also the reactions of the Jewish students when the factual accuracy of the Holocaust was questioned by their peers. This finding was quite alarming, so I went back to the teachers in this school in order to discuss this further. Those discussions showed that this was not a common occurrence but had happened on occasion, and that it was still very shocking for the teachers and Jewish students involved in the discussions

around this. The teacher explained that they addressed this via educational conversations with the students concerned and it led to some interesting dialogue between the Jewish and non-Jewish students in the respective cohort.

With the staff and student body of Millennium Academy being so mixed, not only are there challenges around addressing a lack of knowledge of the Holocaust but there are also great opportunities for this school:

Our curriculum has to be all things to all mankind and then we have to address the issues of making sure our Jewish children have that feeling of what they need to do as a result of it. And making sure that all our children go away understanding that prejudice and racism are intolerable in equal measures. So we have to plan with our cohort in mind. We also have to plan with the knowledge and experience of our subject teachers in mind (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

As this teacher explains, the opportunities that staff have in Millennium Academy are vast in terms of inspiring their students and providing them with education not only about the past but also to eradicate prejudice in the present and the future. The particular context of this school provides unique opportunities as well as challenges, and staff in the school work together as a team to address them.

8.10 Phase III Conclusions

Phase III of my research allowed me the opportunity to not only bring together all of the research, both primary and secondary, that I had carried out in Phases I and II, but to then conduct in-depth interviews with teachers across the sample schools. As a result, I was able to further enrich my empirical data in terms of what the landscape of Holocaust education looks like across Jewish schools in England. This phase of my research closed the gaps that were still open in terms of my research questions and helped to draw conclusions in terms of the similarities and differences between the

different schools within the sample. Phase III also allowed me to draw some conclusions relating to the similarities and differences between Holocaust education in Jewish and non-Jewish schools in England.

What became clear from this phase of the research was that, while both Jewish and non-Jewish schools in England want to teach their students about the historical facts and figures of the Holocaust, Jewish schools in the sample all appeared to use the study of the Holocaust to deliver broader aims. These include, for example, to learn lessons about the Jewish past before the Holocaust, to learn about life during the Holocaust and to use it as a tool to strengthen Jewish identity and think about how this can affect the lives of the students in the future. While these overarching aims were common across all the schools within the sample, each school has their own nuanced differences in terms of educational practice, challenges and opportunities. It also became clear that part of the reasons for the nuanced differences is because of the contextual differences between the schools and therefore there is pedagogic differentiation taking place to ensure that the education is relevant within each school.

It has become clear from this research that while there is some commonality between Jewish schools in England there are also clear differences based on the context of each school. As a result, the landscape of Holocaust education across and within Jewish schools in England demonstrates that each one has a unique and differentiated approach designed to meet the needs of their students and to be in line with their ethos. This is something that potentially makes Holocaust education within Jewish schools in England different to that found in non-Jewish schools in the country. However, the ways in which Jewish schools in England grapple with how to teach the Holocaust and the challenges they face can be seen in Jewish schools

around the world. For example in Ellison's (2017) study looking at Holocaust education in Jewish schools in America there were similar findings about the unique and differentiated approaches in each school. While each Jewish school may teach the Holocaust differently, they make those decisions based on their ethos, values and student body in a way that non-Jewish schools do not have to contend with. What my and others' individual research projects show is the need for a robust comparative study on how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools in a range of countries.

Chapter 9 - Implications and Recommendations

The three principal research questions for my study were:

- What is the current landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England?
- What factors influence the extent and nature of the provision of Holocaust education in Jewish secondary schools in England?
- What are the distinctive features, challenges and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish secondary school in England compared to schools in the wider secular context?

When designing my research, I decided that I would employ a three-phased approach. The first phase of my research aimed to gather information from all the 44 Jewish schools in England with students aged 11+ on roll¹⁹⁰. I did this both in terms of primary and secondary research. I initially reviewed Ofsted and Section 48 faith inspection reports for all of the schools.¹⁹¹ I also reviewed the schools' websites to find out basic information about these schools. I then carried out interviews with a member of senior staff across all of the schools who responded to my requests. In total, leaders from 65.11% (n 28) of the 44 Jewish schools in England participated in these surveys. Phase I analysis provided a general overview of Holocaust education in Jewish schools across the country. It also offered a broad outline of the landscape

¹⁹⁰ The 44 schools were registered on the DfE Edubase at the time of conducting the Phase I research in 2014/15.

¹⁹¹ A Section 48 inspection is a required inspection that must be carried out every five years on state funded faith schools. These inspections are carried out by Ofsted approved bodies who inspect the religious education provided by the school. Within the Jewish community, these are generally carried out by Pikuach.

of Jewish schools in England. One of the key findings from this phase of my research was that only two schools defined as strictly orthodox taught about the Holocaust¹⁹².

Phase II allowed me the opportunity to survey teachers across a range of schools. I decided to reduce the sample to the nine schools who taught about the Holocaust. Following analysis of this data, I also carried out some follow up interviews in order to clarify some of the information that I had gathered. The analysis of this phase of research provided me with a broad overview of how the Holocaust was taught across Jewish schools in England. I managed to gather both qualitative and quantitative data that showed pedagogic choices and priorities as well as trends and differences between the schools. One outcome of this phase of my research was the importance of educational journeys to Poland.¹⁹³

In Phase III, I reduced my sample further to focus more in depth on four schools in London where I was able to carry out interviews with two key teachers who taught about the Holocaust in each school.¹⁹⁴ My Phase III research uncovered the clear similarities and differences that existed between the schools within my sample. It clearly showed that the student body and ethos of the school were key influencing factors on the aims of Holocaust education. It also showed that the approach to Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England is potentially more similar to that of like-minded Jewish schools elsewhere in the world than to non-Jewish schools in England.

¹⁹² See Chapter 4 Analysis of Phase I research and Chapter 5 Education in strictly orthodox schools.

¹⁹³ See Chapter 7.

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter 8 Phase III for the rationale of selecting the sample for Phase III.

One of the most important ways that this research has made an original contribution to the field is that it has provided robust empirical data on how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools in England. Previous researchers had been unable to gain access to many Jewish schools and especially within the strictly orthodox sector of the Jewish community. Therefore, there were assumptions that were not research or knowledge based about Holocaust education within those schools. My ability to gain access to those schools has resulted in a robust dataset that paints a clear picture of the teaching and learning landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England.

9.1 Summary of Key Findings

The key findings of my research can largely be grouped into six areas:

- Jewish Schools in England
- Aims of teaching the Holocaust
- Pedagogical Considerations
- Teacher CPD
- Memorialisation
- Educational Journeys to Poland

Even though these six key areas are distinctive, it is important to point out that there is considerable overlap between them.

9.2 Overview of Jewish Schools in England

At the time of conducting Phase III of my research,¹⁹⁵ there were 53 Jewish schools in England with secondary age students on roll.¹⁹⁶ Jewish schools in England are defined by their religious characteristic or denomination. This is self-selected by the governors of the individual schools and is generally defined as; strictly orthodox, mainstream, pluralist or special needs.¹⁹⁷ 81% (n43) defined themselves as strictly orthodox, 15.2% (n8) as mainstream, 1.9% (n1) as pluralist and 1.9% (n1) as special needs. The total number of students on roll across all of these schools was 11,495. As explained in Phase I of my research, the sizes of the Jewish schools in England varied greatly with the smallest of these schools having 10 students on roll and the largest having 1,994. Typically, strictly orthodox schools are considerably smaller than the mainstream and pluralist schools.¹⁹⁸

The total number of students on roll at the schools included within my Phase II sample was 7,702, representing 67% of students aged 11+ across all registered Jewish schools in England. This is an important figure in terms of the empirical data delineated from my research as it clearly shows the percentage of students in Jewish schools in England who are formally taught about the Holocaust. As previously explained, students in the majority of strictly orthodox schools are not taught about the Holocaust, and these students would be the remaining 33%.¹⁹⁹ As my Phase III sample was reduced to focus on four schools, the total number of students on roll within my Phase III sample was 5,482, representing 47.7% of students aged 11+ across all registered Jewish schools in England.

¹⁹⁵ Spring Term 2019.

¹⁹⁶ Get Information About Schools (Department for Education, 2019).

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 4 for more detail about the denominations.

¹⁹⁸ See Chapter 4 for more statistical information relating to the sizes of Jewish schools.

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter 5.

Analysis of my surveys and teacher interviews indicated that not only were there distinctive features between Jewish and non-Jewish schools in England, but there were also distinctive features, challenges and opportunities that differed between the schools within the sample. The biggest factor that appeared to determine differences between the schools was in relation to the denomination, ethos and religious make-up of the student body. The reason for this is due to the educational priorities and principles that school leaders and stakeholders place on respective subjects within the curriculum. However, before examining Holocaust education practice in Jewish schools, it is important to recognise that many Jewish schools do not teach about the Holocaust at all. As explained throughout this study, the majority of schools who defined themselves as strictly orthodox²⁰⁰ did not teach about the Holocaust at all within their curriculum. At the time of conducting my Phase I research, this was the case in 95.3% (n41) of strictly orthodox schools. The only exception to this were two girls' schools who adopted a different approach and in which students study for both GCSEs and A-Levels. However, in similar boys' schools, this was not the case. The rationale presented for this decision was based on both educational challenges around teaching the Holocaust, but also that this would take curriculum time away from studying Talmud and other religious subjects.²⁰¹ This is similar to Kass (2006) and Schweber's (2004) findings who also concluded that in strictly orthodox schools, curriculum time was prioritised for Talmudic and other Biblical study. However, the other denominations of Jewish schools in England all teach about the Holocaust across Key Stages 3, 4 and 5 in both history and Jewish Studies lessons as well as some other areas of the curriculum.

²⁰⁰ 81.8% (n36) of all Jewish schools in England, as explained in Chapter 4, Phase 1 Research & Analysis (Edubase, DfE, 2013).

²⁰¹ See Chapter 5; Education in strictly orthodox Schools.

Within the strictly orthodox schools included in the initial sample, the Rabbinic advisors, who were often Trustees of the schools, and the parent body greatly influenced curriculum decisions. This was something that a number of senior leaders commented on in the Phase I interviews and, as they explained, often resulted in extended school days and in some cases school on a Sunday morning. However, the focus of the curriculum was on Jewish Studies, and in strictly orthodox schools, that would not include the Holocaust. Additionally, leaders of these schools understood their statutory requirement to teach compulsory National Curriculum subjects. However, when they were making curriculum decisions in relation to prioritising teaching time, the focus was placed on traditional Jewish Studies and the Holocaust was not included within this framework. As one Headteacher explained:

We don't teach it [the Holocaust] as we have limited time for *Chol*²⁰², only 25% of the week, and therefore what they do, they do properly. I would love us to teach the Holocaust, but there just is not time and we would not teach it as a *Kodesh*²⁰³ subject (Headteacher, strictly orthodox school, London).

As teachers explained, there were also concerns with some of the rabbis and parents regarding teaching about the Holocaust as both a result of the negative views previously held by some strictly orthodox rabbis in relation to Holocaust education²⁰⁴ as well as theological challenges that the Holocaust presents. Concerns were also raised by some Headteachers relating to teaching this emotive topic whilst survivors were still alive. Such views were expressed by Headteachers during my Phase I interviews:

We do not really teach about the Holocaust as many of our students' grandparents are survivors and they are not comfortable with their

²⁰² Word used to describe lessons that are not related to Jewish Studies.

²⁰³ Lit. Holy. This word is used in strictly orthodox schools to describe Jewish Studies.

²⁰⁴ See Chapter 5; Education in strictly orthodox Schools.

grandchildren learning much about this at this time (Headteacher, strictly orthodox school, Manchester).

Before working in this school, I taught and had leadership roles in a number of non-Jewish schools. As someone who is not Jewish, I was very surprised when I came to a Jewish school to find out that they did not teach the Holocaust at all. When I asked about this, I was told there just is not enough time in the curriculum (Headteacher, strictly orthodox school, London).

This is contrary to practice in most other schools, where survivors are invited into schools to speak to students wherever possible and is one of the concerns raised by teachers about teaching the Holocaust when there are no longer survivors able to tell their story. In addition, many of the teachers in mainstream schools spoke about one of the strengths of their Holocaust education, which was connecting their students to their own family history. Therefore, this was a distinct challenge for strictly orthodox schools.

As previously explained, strictly orthodox schools place a greater value on the study of traditional Jewish Studies and as a result dedicate less time to other subjects. This is not the case, however, within mainstream and the pluralist school. Both my teacher survey and interviews pointed out that even within the mainstream schools there were some differences between the schools. School leaders define for themselves the religious denomination of their school. Therefore, it was apparent that there was a wide range of schools who defined themselves as mainstream but both the ethos and/or the religious make-up of the student and parent body differ greatly from school to school. For example, both Parkview School and Millennium Academy defined themselves as mainstream. Parkview School state that the vast majority of their students are from religiously committed Jewish homes. In comparison, according to Millennium Academy' 2018 Section 48 inspection report (Pikuach, 2018) only approximately 35% of their student body are Jewish. This has resulted in the schools

having to give very careful consideration to the needs of their students and as a result how they design their Holocaust education.

9.3 Aims of Teaching the Holocaust

Another major influencing factor identified in my research was in relation to the aims of teaching the Holocaust. In line with the IoE's 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), teachers within my Phase II sample²⁰⁵ ranked; 'to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society' as the highest aim for teaching the Holocaust. However, the second highest aim within my sample differed to that of the IoE's 2009 study, with teachers in my study ranking; 'to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust'. I wanted to understand why this was the case and if this would influence pedagogic practice. Therefore, I explored this further in my Phase III interviews. The teacher interviews substantiated the finding that all of the schools in the study had an overarching school aim of strengthening their students' Jewish identity. As Miller (2014) explains, all Jewish schools in England place an importance on increasing the Jewish identity of their students. As previously explained,²⁰⁶ some teachers focused their teaching of Jewish identity and the Holocaust around analysing how Jews identified during the Holocaust while others looked at it in terms of a response to the Holocaust. The importance placed on this, however, varied between the schools and was influenced by the schools' own ethos. This was most noticeable between Waterford College, which is a pluralist school, and the other schools within the Phase III sample that are mainstream. A teacher in Waterford College explained that their view on teaching Jewish identity through the Holocaust was: 'to appreciate how, for some, the Holocaust has brought out their Jewish identity or has diminished their Jewish identity. I want them to be

²⁰⁵ See Chapter 6; Phase II Research & Analysis.

²⁰⁶ See Chapter 8; Phase III.

aware of the conflicts surrounding that' (Kathy, Waterford College). However, teachers at Waterford College, do not see the Holocaust necessarily as a tool for strengthening their students' Jewish identity. The teachers from this school explained that their diverse background of students and pluralist ethos resulted in them not having fixed religious positions. As a school they are therefore more open to various theological opinions than teachers in mainstream schools. Therefore, while strengthening Jewish identity was certainly an aim of some teachers within the school, it was not as strongly emphasised as in the other schools within the sample. As teachers in mainstream schools explained:

You can use Holocaust as a wakeup call, I think..., not to guilt trip people but to say, you know, who are you?... You shouldn't be proud of your Jewish identity because Jews died in the Holocaust and you have to be very, very careful with what you say and how you educate (Sarah, Southview School).

...to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust is clearly going to be an aim of any Jewish school when they're teaching the Holocaust because rightly or wrongly the Holocaust is one of the most powerful tools we can use to strengthen Jewish identity... (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

The fact that teachers from across the Jewish schools identified strengthening Jewish identity as the second highest aim for teaching about the Holocaust is a factor that showed a common teaching and learning aim within the Jewish schools. However, this is an influencing factor that is unique to Jewish schools and not something that would be a focus in non-Jewish schools. This has implications for the field of Holocaust education and shows a clear distinction between how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools compared to non-Jewish schools. This means that Jewish schools would therefore have a different pedagogic approach in terms of content choice, coverage and curriculum as well as a potential need for different pedagogical

resources to those used in non-Jewish schools. This also has possible implications for CPD for teachers within Jewish schools.²⁰⁷

9.4 Pedagogical Considerations

Throughout my research I wanted to understand both the distinctive features, challenges and opportunities of teaching the Holocaust within a Jewish setting, but also how this may have been similar or different to a non-Jewish school. I was able to refer to the IoE 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) as well as the subsequent UCL Centre for Holocaust Education 2016 and 2018 research in order to have a comparison point relating to non-Jewish schools.

In order to fully understand the landscape of Holocaust education in Jewish schools, it was important to find out how much time was dedicated to teaching about the Holocaust. My Phase II teacher surveys indicated that the exact coverage, in terms of the hours that a student would study the Holocaust, varied between the schools with the mean number of hours of learning across all Key Stages in Jewish Studies being 33.51 and history 13.1 hours. This differed to the IoE's (2009) which examined how the Holocaust is taught in non-Jewish schools across England and concluded that the mean number of hours across all Key Stages in religious studies was 5.2 and 7.8 in history (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 38). The principal differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish schools is that in non-Jewish schools Year 9 is the year where all students receive the most curriculum time to learn about the Holocaust and this is delivered in history lessons. However, my primary research showed that in Jewish schools while Year 9 was the year group where all students received the most amount of Holocaust education in history lessons, Year 12 students received slightly more

²⁰⁷ Further discussion on these factors are summarised later in this chapter and in Chapter 6; Phase 2 Research & Analysis.

content hours in Jewish Studies lessons, that were delivered to all students, irrespective of A-Level subject choices.²⁰⁸

Based on both literature and my knowledge as an Insider-Researcher, I believed that a Jewish school setting would have distinctive pedagogical features in relation to Holocaust education in comparison to non-Jewish schools. Bloomberg (1985, p. 21) insists that Jewish students in Jewish schools in America have a different connection to the Holocaust than non-Jewish students in non-denominational schools. As explained in my Literature Review, even though Bloomberg is discussing students in American schools, I believed that the same concept could be applied to Jewish students in Jewish schools in England. Bloomberg's argument is based on the fact that these students are Jewish rather than because of the country in which those students are educated. As previously explained, this was not only evident in terms of teachers' aims for teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools, but also in relation to pedagogy. For example, in Phase III teachers who had also taught in non-Jewish schools explained what they saw as the key differences between their experiences of teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish or non-Jewish school:

The children [in the non-Jewish school] didn't know anything about what the Holocaust was. They didn't know what a Jew was. And like terminology. All of these things. And I think what we had after that [teaching about the Holocaust] was children wanting to go out into their communities and... try and break in and attack some of the racist behaviours they had at home was so important. Here [at Parkview School], my greatest Holocaust lesson or experience has to be Poland, and it really has to be that whole journey (Margaret, Parkview School).

It was really interesting see it [learning about the Holocaust] through the eyes on the kids who were not Jewish, kids from inner London who weren't Jewish had very little sort of emotional attachment to the Holocaust itself, but definitely to some of the issues surrounding racism and antisemitism and so on. It was much more factually taught there. Here we talk a lot more about emotion and choice and things like that, whereas there; this is what happened, this is how they did it perhaps

²⁰⁸ See Chapter 6; Phase II Research & Analysis.

slightly more mechanical... [At Waterford College] we want to impact on their own Jewishness and their own worldview. I mean as a history teacher would I still want it to impact on a non-Jewish student's worldview? Yes, but in perhaps a slightly less personal way (Kathy, Waterford College).

As these teachers explained, in practice the entire mind-set of Jewish students with their own family backgrounds and exposure to the Holocaust are generally different to non-Jewish students, which affects the way that Holocaust education is delivered in a Jewish school. This was shown in the results of my Phase II survey, when comparing the five topics most likely to be taught in schools within my sample with the outcomes of the IoE 2009 survey asking the same question. The IoE's 2009 study found that the five topics most likely to be taught were:

- the experiences of individual men, women and children who were persecuted by the Nazis, 88%
- Auschwitz-Birkenau, 87%
- propaganda and stereotyping, 78%
- Kristallnacht, 70%
- the choices and actions of bystanders, 66% (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009, p. 41).

My research, however, found that the five topics most likely to be taught by the teachers who teach the Holocaust within my sample schools (n36) were:

- The experiences of individual men, women and children who were persecuted by the Nazis, 96.2% (n35)
- Auschwitz-Birkenau, 92% (n33)
- The choices and actions of bystanders, 81% (n29)
- An account of life in the Polish Ghettos, 77% (n28)

- The choices and actions of rescuers, 78% (n28)

While the two highest ranking topics for teaching are the same for teachers in both Jewish and non-Jewish schools, there are then differences in the topics ranked third to fifth.²⁰⁹ The difference in pedagogic priorities when comparing my teacher responses to those in the IoE survey (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), substantiates what the teachers told me in my Phase III interviews. Accordingly, while there are some similarities in terms of pedagogic choices, the needs of Jewish children in Jewish schools often appear different from those in non-Jewish schools. This relates back to the teaching and learning aims of Jewish schools, which again differ to non-Jewish schools. As such, Jewish schools prioritise, for example, life in the Polish Ghettos higher than non-Jewish schools as this relates to their Year 12 educational journeys to Poland and is a medium that Yad Vashem recommend for exploring Jewish identity with their resources. It also helps the Jewish schools to prepare their students for their educational journeys to Poland, which as explained, is considered by Jewish schools as one of the highlights of their Holocaust education.

Although there are similarities between the topics taught across the Jewish schools, there are also key differences from school to school. Teachers explained that they give serious consideration to how their Holocaust education is delivered to reflect the needs of their students in their respective schools. As previously explained, even within the mainstream schools there are vast differences in terms of the religious make-up of the student body from school to school. Therefore, while there were similarities in terms of the aims of Holocaust education, there were distinct differences in terms of pedagogic decisions between the schools in terms of teaching and learning both in school and on their educational journeys to Poland. Teachers explained that this is a

²⁰⁹ See Chapter 6 – Analysis of Phase II Data – for full analysis.

challenge for the schools, but one that they have given clear thought to in order to deliver an appropriate curriculum for their students. In all cases leaders across these schools were eloquently able to justify their rationale for this practice. For example, in my Phase III teacher interviews, teachers expressed the following in relation to what influences their pedagogic decisions when teaching about the Holocaust:

...addressing our student cohort and the needs we have. Our curriculum has to be all things to all mankind and then we have to address the issues of making sure our Jewish children have that feeling of what they need to do as a result of it... So we have to plan with our cohort in mind (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

I think that the kids know that the school is built from the ashes of the Holocaust and that the Kindertransport was one of the reasons behind Schonfeld building the school the way it was. Also they learn about a lot of the people who came here [to Parkview School] were relatives of people who have escaped Europe and came to England and were educated in the school. So I bring that all together and that's how they learn it (Lily, Parkview School).

...we always talk about the differences within the Polish community and how important it is to recognise that you can't describe the Polish community in one way. So in that way, sometimes it impacts because, we do have a core group of students who I wouldn't necessarily say are anti-religious, but are... much less accepting of people who are religious... but at the same time we have a few who, you know, who are ardently Reform or Liberal, are strongly egalitarian or don't have *halachic* status²¹⁰ under the United Synagogue... So we have some of that baggage that inevitably then becomes part of the discussion about what it means to be Jewish and whether Jewish people are a people by choice or Jews by choice or Jews by race. So we do have those kinds of discussions (Kathy, Waterford College).

When trying to identify what factors influenced the provision of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England, it became apparent that there were many variables. The first factor was the denomination of the school and its stakeholders. Across Jewish schools that taught the Holocaust survey analysis revealed that the Holocaust was primarily taught as part of both Jewish Studies and history. The Phase II data showed this to be the case in all of the mainstream and pluralist schools. The Phase III interviews

²¹⁰ The status of being accepted as Jewish.

revealed that how the Holocaust is taught in the Jewish Studies classroom differs to how it is taught in the history classroom. An example of this was articulated by Pamela:

I think there is nothing like teaching the Holocaust with the passion of a Jewish educator. A Jewish educator brings a role modelling - a *Dugma*²¹¹ - that can't be brought to a history curriculum because the needs of the history curriculum is to be able to write the essay, at the end of the day, in the correct analytical way and there has to be a level of removal from the subject in order to be able to teach it well. Teaching it in history means that the students get impartial objective facts and figures and historical impacts and the student can understand it in the context of world history. When we're teaching it in Jewish Studies, we teach in context with Jewish values... So, the students get the absolute facts in context from one, complemented by the nuances and the emotion that a Jewish Studies teacher can bring to it in our Jewish studies lessons (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

What became clear across all the schools within the sample who teach the Holocaust is that it is seen as more than just a topic to be taught within history. It is typically regarded as a powerful educational experience that is visited throughout all key stages through lessons in history, Jewish Studies and memorial events or assemblies in line with Yom HaShoah or HMD.

My research also revealed that in all the schools there would be involvement from the Senior Leadership Team (SLT) in Holocaust education within the school. This was owing to the fact that in all of the schools there is a member of the SLT with responsibility for Jewish education in the school and they all have an active part to play in Holocaust education. Within these schools the actual content of the curriculum was influenced mainly by the respective Heads of Department and teachers. Within history departments, an influencing factor in line with non-Jewish schools in England²¹² was the requirements of the examination specifications selected for GCSE and A-Level.

²¹¹ A Jewish concept of setting a personal example in something by the way that a person acts in their life.

²¹² See Pettigrew *et al.*, (2009).

This was the same in relation to examination specifications selected for GCSE and A-Level Religious Studies.

9.5 Memorialisation of the Holocaust

My research showed that within Jewish schools, Holocaust education is not only about learning the history of this period, but also learning from these facts in terms of both history and Jewish identity, as well as an element of memorialisation. Most Jewish schools commemorate both Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD) and Yom HaShoah as either educational or memorialisation opportunities. As teachers explained in the Phase III data:

We make sure we remember International Holocaust Memorial Day as well as the Jewish calendar date of Yom HaShoah. So we make sure we have both of those calendarised and we talk about them (Margaret, Parkview School).

So around National Holocaust Memorial Week, we have a whole week of themed assemblies, themed programmes and themed activities and special lessons for all the school Key Stage Three and Four and Five taught through the Jewish Studies department primarily, but we also run that through all the departments... When it is Yom HaShoah we also dedicate probably a three day period also themed assemblies, school wide programmes, school wide ideas (Pamela, Millennium Academy).

We don't really do ceremonies at HMD. HMD is more educational, less about memory... Yom HaShoah is a memorial event and it's led by JIEP²¹³ and it's led by Jewish Studies (Sarah, Southview School).

As Sarah from Southview School explained, there was a trend across all the schools in the sample for HMD to be used as more of an educational day than a day for memorialisation. However, as Yom HaShoah is a day that is used to memorialise and learn about the Holocaust, HMD is employed by some schools to explore other genocides as well. As one teacher explained:

²¹³ Jewish Informal Education Provision.

This year we started looking at that [the HMD resources] and then we changed it all quite at the last minute. We talked quite a lot about the 25th anniversary of Rwanda. Actually, we didn't focus on the Jewish Holocaust per se or the Nazi Holocaust. We talked quite a lot about Rwanda this year... Generally we look at the theme... we don't use HMD resources generally. They're not Jewish enough. So we always try and put a bit of text in or a value or a Jewish parable (Sam, Waterford College).

In addition to using the day to focus on other genocides, two schools within the sample also explained that they use the day for their students to be ambassadors and to teach their non-Jewish peers in local schools about the Holocaust:

In Year 12... we host 200 students from 10 schools across the borough at an inter school Holocaust seminar... They sit in round tables of mixed schools with a table host from my school on each table. After they've heard the story [from a survivor] we debrief. We have a series of poems from the Bosnian Genocide and from the Holocaust and we look at lessons we can take and the students present those (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

The interviews conducted with teachers revealed that the educational content for both of those days fall under the responsibility of the Jewish Studies departments. The actual format of these days does vary between the schools and is influenced by the religious make-up of the student body and the ethos of the schools. In some schools, a more religious approach is taken with some form of liturgical component to formal ceremonies, whilst in other schools these days are considered more as educational opportunities to learn about the Holocaust.

My Phase I teacher interviews with school leaders from strictly orthodox schools did indicate that even in some of these schools who do not teach about the Holocaust, there were elements of memorialisation.²¹⁴ While in the mainstream and pluralist

²¹⁴ See Chapter 5 – Holocaust education in strictly orthodox schools.

schools, the main opportunities for memorialisation, not including educational journeys to Poland, were on Yom HaShoah or HMD, this was not the case in the strictly orthodox schools. School leaders from many strictly orthodox schools explained that they memorialised the Holocaust on various Jewish fast days within the Jewish calendar:

We remember the Holocaust on *Asarah b'Teives*²¹⁵ if we are in school. If not, we remember it on *Shiva Asa B'Tamuz*.²¹⁶

We say memorial prayers for the Holocaust on any of the fast days when we are in school.

Whilst it is the case that the strictly orthodox schools do not directly have a formal curriculum for teaching about the Holocaust, many still memorialise it in line with fast days where the Jewish world memorialise Jewish tragedy throughout history. One school leader also explained that his school may use some time on these Fast Days for some form of Holocaust education as well:

We will always add extra *tefillos*²¹⁷ for the Jews who died in the Holocaust on fast days. We will sometimes have a discussion with the children after *Shacharis*²¹⁸ about this as well.

My research showed that across all denominations of Jewish schools, time was dedicated to the memorialisation of the Holocaust. There was no uniform date or practice of how this was carried out. However, interviews with teachers from across the religious denominations of schools all indicated a form of memorial prayer being recited as part of the memorialisation.

²¹⁵ Fast of 10 Tevet. This fast day occurs in December or January and mourns the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem prior to the destruction of the Temple.

²¹⁶ Fast of 17 Tamuz. This fast day occurs in June or July and mourns the breach of the walls of Jerusalem prior to the destruction of the Temple.

²¹⁷ Prayers.

²¹⁸ The morning prayer service.

9.6 Teacher CPD

My Phase II teacher survey indicated that potentially there was a lack of CPD available for teachers in relation to teaching the Holocaust. 52.8% of teachers stated that they had attended some specific Holocaust CPD in relation to personal knowledge, but only 36.1% of teachers declared that they had attended CPD focussing on teaching the Holocaust. When looking in more detail at who had provided the various forms of CPD, the provider that seemed the most popular was the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Studies. Other sources of CPD that respondents received stemmed from their own school's provision during their teacher training and a very small number said other educational organisations provided CPD. As teachers had identified that aspects of Holocaust education was different in Jewish schools in comparison with non-Jewish schools, I explored further the CPD that was available to teachers in Jewish schools.

In Phase III of my research I asked teachers specifically about the low participation rate of teachers in terms of receiving specific CPD relating to teaching the Holocaust. Teachers interviewed were not surprised by the fact that only 36.1% of teachers said they had received specific CPD. There were various reasons that they felt contributed to this:

It doesn't surprise me. I haven't had any CPD specifically about the Holocaust myself (David, Southview School).

I've also found that we have not been eligible in the past for the things that the Holocaust Educational Trust provide. And I've written to them about it and I've had correspondence with them about it and they're very well-meaning, but actually they kind of say well it's not for you (Kathy, Waterford College).

I think the cost factor of that within education is a big issue. It's also teachers timetables are jam packed and therefore I gave up my February half term to do a CPD course to go to Yad Vashem. And you

know some people can give up that time, some people can't, and it's the cost of that (Margaret, Parkview School).

While teachers all felt that it was a problem that there was not enough CPD provided, they did all comment about the excellent CPD offered by Yad Vashem once a year. Yad Vashem run seminars in Israel during the February half term each year targeted at teachers of the Holocaust from Jewish schools in England. As these are specific to the context of Jewish schools in England, Yad Vashem are able to tailor this seminar to be specific to the needs of these teachers. For example, they focus not only on the history of the Holocaust, but also run sessions specifically targeting teachers in a Jewish school. For example; Jewish identity and the Holocaust, post-Holocaust theology and how to deal with theological questions, the value of educational journeys to Poland and memorialisation activities for Yom HaShoah. All the teachers interviewed stated that teachers from their schools have attended the Yad Vashem seminars. One of the advantages of this CPD to the school is that it is mostly during school holidays and, other than the cost of the flight, is fully funded by Yad Vashem. However, the fact that it is during the school holidays does make it difficult for some teachers to attend due to family commitments. The teachers did speak positively about these seminars in terms of the quality of the CPD received. As one teacher said: 'I think what Yad Vashem does is amazing. I think they do a very good job' (Lily, Parkview School).

Other than the CPD being provided by Yad Vashem there were other elements of CPD taking place that informed staff practice. Teachers often neglected to consider their own academic reading and access to teaching and learning resources as CPD. At the same time, there is also the danger of teachers being stagnated in their practice and they need further CPD, which can be achieved by their own reading. As Sarah explained:

I would count CPD as doing your own reading or having guided reading. It doesn't just mean that you've just gone to the Yad Vashem seminar... I think, you know, people who consider themselves to be serious educators, if they haven't at least started their way through things like David Ceserani's book or Yehuda Bauer's recent book, are not understanding the pace at which understanding of the Holocaust is changing and that means they're teaching and delivering the same material in the same way they were 10 years ago and Shoah education has moved on (Sarah, Southview School).

There was some organised CPD taking place that teachers in Jewish schools were able to access to aid their teaching of the Holocaust. Additionally, many historical and pedagogic books and resources are available in relation to Holocaust education. However, given the low response to those who have completed any formal Holocaust education CPD, this is still clearly an area that needs to be developed further in order to support teachers of the Holocaust in Jewish schools.

9.7 Educational Journeys to Poland

One distinctive feature across many of the schools within the sample is the educational journeys to Poland. As previously explained, these are run by all of the mainstream and pluralist schools and the student uptake is high and these educational journeys are strongly valued by school leaders, teachers and students. On average, 80% of Year 12 students on roll in the sample schools from Phase II, participated in these trips, which typically lasted for six days. Teachers spoke about the importance of these trips on their students' education, both in terms of the Holocaust and their Jewish education. Miller and Pomson, in their longitudinal study exploring Jewish lives of secondary age Jewish schoolchildren in England, also commented on the high impact that students and parents perceive the educational journeys to Poland have had on their personal growth. They explained that across all of the schools that run educational journeys to Poland; '54% [of students and parents]

indicated that it contributed “a lot” or “very much” to their developing Jewish identity’ (Miller and Pomson, 2018, p. 12). Their research also concluded that students perceived the educational journeys to Poland to be the ‘post-GCSE experience’ that contributed the most to their personal growth (2018, p. 13). In addition to the positive effect that that these educational journeys to Poland appeared to have on students, it also affected the time that the schools dedicate to teaching the Holocaust. The curriculum hours devoted to learning about the Holocaust in these schools is, in reality, considerably higher than non-Jewish schools in England, as when teachers stated how many hours they dedicate to teaching the Holocaust, they did not include the 6 days of the journeys to Poland in their calculations.

My research also showed that across the different schools within the sample, there were some similarities in terms of the educational journeys to Poland, but also some differences. For example, leaders from each school explained that they are involved in the design and implementation of these programmes and gave careful consideration to the itinerary and educational content. Teachers across all of the schools that run educational journeys to Poland described them as a highlight of their school's Holocaust education:

There's nothing like being there [Poland] and just knowing that this trip has had a profound impact on their lives... if we could take everybody in the year group to Poland I would do it in a heartbeat (Kathy, Waterford College).

It's immense. As I say, the journey from the beginning to the end. To see what the students go through and to bring that back to the school. It offers so much (Margaret, Parkview School).

There is something so special about the Poland trips. They are different to any other school trip and it is so important that all students go, especially our Jewish students. I would even say that the educational impact and benefit of the Poland trips is more than our Israel trips. This is where the students really understand what it means to be Jewish (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

These views were echoed by a student from one of the schools within my sample who was interviewed for Miller and Pomson's research: 'I feel like everyone who's been on a Poland Trip will say it's one of the most life-changing – like it completely changes your mind-set' (2018, p. 12). There are some non-Jewish schools who run educational journeys to Poland and also some Jewish students who attend non-Jewish schools who are able to participate in educational journeys to Poland that are designed for Jewish students in non-Jewish schools. In addition, the Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) run the Lessons from Auschwitz Project (LFA) taking two students and a teacher per school per year to Auschwitz and other seminars to learn about what happened and become ambassadors in Holocaust education. HET explain that; 'Since 1999, over 41,000 students and teachers have taken part in the Holocaust Educational Trust's ground-breaking Lessons from Auschwitz Project' (Holocaust Educational Trust). Whilst the LFA project reaches thousands of students across the country, who then have the opportunity to go back to their schools and be ambassadors for Holocaust education, this cannot be compared to school based educational journeys that form a core part of the schools' Holocaust education curriculum.

The Jewish schools' educational journeys to Poland are more than just an opportunity to visit and learn about Auschwitz. Typically, student learning goes beyond this focus and it appears that is often what makes these educational journeys unique to the Jewish schools. The aims of the educational journeys to Poland go beyond an immediate focus on the Holocaust and additionally teach their students about Jewish history and provide students with an opportunity to explore their Jewish identity and consider their place within the Jewish community. In my Phase II surveys, I asked teachers; 'What are your school's aims for their Poland visit?' There were a variety of responses to this question, but all articulated why the journeys to Poland had broader

educational goals that reached beyond a study of the Holocaust. Some examples of responses to this question were:

Look at where Jews came from before the war, our history. A focus on the Shoah, the Holocaust, and helping pupils to develop their own understanding of it. As well as the importance of Jewish identity.

To help students reflect on and deepen their Jewish identity - this manifests itself in the students in multiple ways. To learn about lost communities and their impact on the world Jewry. To learn about individuals and their suffering and survival. To ensure students understand that the Holocaust is an unprecedented historical event. To ensure students deepen their familial relationships. To ensure students consider their moral responsibilities to others including non-Jewish communities around the world.

To give pupils opportunity to connect with their Jewish roots. To understand the message that 6 million died because they were Jewish. They MUST live and understand that they are Jewish.

The educational journeys to Poland give the Jewish schools a unique opportunity to extend their Holocaust education for a far higher number of students than in comparative non-Jewish schools. This education is not just extended in terms of contact hours, but the depth described by teachers as well as the opportunity that educational journeys provide for being in-situ, again broadens the depth of their education.

9.8 Methodological Considerations, Originality and Future Research

One of the methodological strengths of this research arguably is that it is built upon some of the research methodologies employed by the IoE in their 2009 study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). My rationale for this was that it would help me in terms of being able to draw comparisons between their data and that of my own. However, I did not follow this rationale rigidly as I believed that this may limit data collection and the scope of my study. For example, the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009) used a 2-

phase approach, whilst I decided to use 3 phases in my research. The main difference between the two was that I added an additional introductory phase which involved carrying out telephone or face to face interviews with school leaders from all of the Jewish schools in England. As this sample was relatively small, I was able to do so with a success rate of 54.05% (n 20) responses²¹⁹. The inclusion of this additional phase provided me with an evidence-based position from which to move on to designing and implementing Phase II of my study.

Upon reflection, my three-phased methodological approach worked extremely well in enabling strategic gathering of original empirical data from within the field. This resulted in me gaining a true insight into the challenges that schools face in teaching the Holocaust in the Jewish community. It also gave me a much better understanding of the differences between the various different denominations of Jewish schools within England. The research allowed me to acquire further insights into how curriculum decisions are made within these schools and how this impacted on the education that the students receive. The first phase of my data collection allowed me to develop a broad overview of the landscape of Holocaust education within Jewish school in England. However, it was not until analysis of the Phase II surveys that I was able to see clear patterns emerging or to truly understand where, how, what and why the Holocaust was being taught in Jewish schools. At the end of the analysis of this phase of research I was able to draw some provisional conclusions and reflect upon what questions were still unanswered. This helped me in my data design for the Phase III interviews where I developed my semi-structured interviews to help enrich and inform my understanding of key issues which I was unable to explore in the first two phases. This worked well and proved to be a valid and effective methodological approach.

²¹⁹ See Chapter 4 – Phase I Research and Analysis.

One of the advantages that I had, which I believe resulted in my ability to access important and difficult to acquire information, resulted from position as an 'Insider Researcher' within the Jewish community. As such, I knew the dynamics of the Jewish community which aided me in gaining access to school leaders and teachers, as well as encouraging participation in my research. This was especially the case with the strictly orthodox schools where there is often reticence in engaging with people outside of the community. As a member of the Jewish community with connections to people from within it, I was able to alleviate fears and therefore have some more open and honest conversations with school leaders than perhaps an 'outsider' would have been able. I also had the 'cultural capital' to understand the unique dynamics of where Holocaust education and Jewish education meet and was therefore able to relate to teachers when discussing this.

At the same time, being an 'insider researcher' gave me cultural understanding and access to certain parts of the community, it also meant that I had certain assumptions and perspectives that were influenced by my own socio-cultural position. This was something that I had to be mindful of when designing the research questions and analysing them in order to ensure that my research and analysis were not biased and were explained critically and appropriately.

However, even though I was able to gain access to a variety of schools, there were still methodological challenges around confidentiality. Whilst school leaders were prepared for me to talk to them and their staff about my research, there was some reticence from some schools for the research to be disclosed publicly. This was especially the case in the strictly orthodox schools. Therefore, I agreed with the schools who were not comfortable for their comments or data to be made public not

to identify the respondents or the schools by name. All of the leaders of schools whose schools were included in the Phase II and III research were happy for their schools to be named. One of the challenges of conducting research of this nature in such a small community is that even if I had not named the schools, the contextual descriptions of the schools would potentially make them identifiable for anyone who is familiar with Jewish schools in England. However, in order to maintain ethical standards, I decided not to name staff within these schools and therefore, as previously explained, I used pseudonyms and school names when citing teacher comments from the Phase III interviews.

The overarching aim of my research was to provide an empirical portrait of Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England. I believe that my thesis has largely achieved this aim. I took the active decision to focus my research on the perspective of teachers and not that of students. Therefore, my findings are based on primary and secondary data derived from documentation interviews, surveys and conversations chiefly provided by educators. The primary data that I gathered over my three phases was from teachers and not from students. Therefore, the data included within this study is based on the views of teachers and other stakeholders, but due to practicalities, does not include the views of students. To a point, this does limit the data and a recommendation for further research would be to carry out primary research with students from the same sample of schools. This would further enrich the data by being able to compare the teachers' aims with the students' experiences and perspectives of what they have actually learnt, even though this would be extremely complex to carry out. I believe that this would be extremely beneficial following the educational journeys to Poland to be able to evaluate the impact of the Holocaust education that a student has received throughout their time at that school. Methodologically, this would be similar to the UCL Centre for Holocaust

Education's approach. They began their school focussed research in 2009 with the IoE study (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009), which focussed on teachers and pedagogic practice. It was not until 2016 that they published their report showing their findings based on primary research with students (Foster *et al.*, 2016).

Another limitation within my data was in relation to the response rate of the sample for Phase II. Even though, as a percentage of potential teachers within the field in Jewish education at the time of conducting the research was reasonable, I would have preferred to have gained more responses. In addition, I made an active decision that by the time I reached Phase III of my research I should exclude my own school from the sample due to potential conflicts and bias. However, the exclusion of my school meant that the teaching and learning practice of this school has not fully been considered. Another limitation of Phases II and III was the exclusion of schools outside of London from the data. There was one large mainstream school in Manchester who teach about the Holocaust and participated in Phase I of the research. However, leaders of the school chose not to participate beyond this initial engagement. Even though the responses from this school in Phase I indicated that it was similar to other mainstream schools in London, the inclusion of data from this school, I believe, would have enriched the data further.

9.9 Key Recommendations

The data shows that across Jewish schools in England there is a significant amount of Holocaust education taking place. However, the quantity and content can vary dramatically between the different schools, as explained throughout this thesis. It was clear that within the strictly orthodox sector of the Jewish community there is the least amount of Holocaust education taking place, especially within boys' schools. One

recommendation from this research would be to urge strictly orthodox schools to further consider how and where they could include Holocaust education within their curriculum. As Auron (1994) and Kass (2006) explain, the Holocaust is, to some extent, being taught in strictly orthodox schools in America and Israel. So, a result of this shift in thought, Yad Vashem have set up an entire department of their International School for Holocaust Education to focus on the strictly orthodox community. Therefore, schools in England should consider if they can also revisit their curriculum priorities to find some space within their curriculum to do so. At the present time, the two prevalent factors affecting why the Holocaust is not taught in strictly orthodox schools is: 1. As a result of taking curriculum time away from Talmudic study, especially in boys' schools. 2. A fear of students confronting survivors about events that happened to them that they may be uncomfortable discussing. However, even during the years of my research, there have been some changes in strictly orthodox girls' schools where there is beginning to be some teaching of the Holocaust. This is especially the case in post-16 colleges for strictly orthodox girls. However, my recommendation would be that as per strictly orthodox schools in other countries, the strictly orthodox schools in England should find a way of including the Holocaust within their curriculum. Perhaps some options for the strictly orthodox schools to consider would be; to teach the Holocaust through Jewish texts or through the narrative of the rabbis and Talmudic academies that were destroyed in the Holocaust. Additionally, much of this community currently acquires its Holocaust education from survivors. However, as survivors are fewer and fewer it is vital that the students of this community are taught about this historical event and how it affected their community. Without this education, students growing up in this section of the community will lack the knowledge of what happened in the Holocaust and how it affected the Jewish community. They will also lack an understanding of the sociological, cultural, religious,

psychological and economic impact that the Holocaust had on the Jewish community.

The Phase II survey showed that the aims of teaching the Holocaust were broadly the same across Jewish schools in England but differed to the IoE data looking at non-Jewish schools (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2009). The main factor that differed was that within Jewish schools, the second most prevalent aim for teaching the Holocaust was centred around Jewish identity. Bloomberg (1985), Davidowitz (2013), Ellison (2017) and Gross (2010) all make the case that when teaching the Holocaust to Jewish students the concept of Jewish identity is always going to be important. However, as explained earlier in this chapter, there are differences between how the schools see this developing in practice. All of the schools believe in the importance of strengthening their students' Jewish identity and all include this as an aim for Holocaust education. However, as discussed in the teacher interviews, not all teachers have considered the most appropriate way to do this and there are also differences in opinion between the school in terms of how this should be done. As some teachers explained:

It's [the Holocaust] a door through which you can quite easily pull children and empower them to feel connected to something that they might not feel connected to if you're teaching *Shabbat* and *Kashrut*²²⁰ if it's not in their life (Zoe, Millennium Academy).

[Jewish identity as an aim] is slightly more problematic for me personally because I don't want anyone to say they have a Jewish identity because of the Holocaust. I don't think that is enough of a reason to be Jewish. It can be part of your identity and I think that's really important. But definitely not the main part (Kathy, Waterford College).

I do think there is a space in Holocaust education [for teaching Jewish identity]. You shouldn't be proud of your Jewish identity because Jews died in the Holocaust and you have to be very, very careful with what you say and how you educate... It [the Holocaust] shouldn't solely define your identity, but I think it can play an important role in it and it

²²⁰ The Jewish dietary laws.

can awaken your Jewish identity which I've seen it do in a really positive way for some kids (Sarah, Southview School).

The variance of how Jewish identity is 'taught' between the different schools is a challenge for the schools that requires further thought. Schools see this as an educational aim, but it is equally clear that not all schools or teachers within those schools have necessarily given great enough thought into how this should and could transpire in the classroom. Therefore, my recommendation would be that schools should allocate some time for key teachers and leaders in Holocaust education to give this aim more consideration within their schools in terms of how they would like it to be actualised. As part of this process, it would be advantageous for schools to look at models from other countries and/or engage in educational research around this issue. This exercise is perhaps one where potentially there would be great value in schools working collaboratively in order to discuss and challenge different perspectives and, ultimately, develop some clear outcomes.

Even though there are some similarities in terms of pedagogic practice between Jewish and non-Jewish schools in England, there are some clear differences. It is also evident that, because of the different learning aims and contexts of Holocaust education between Jewish and non-Jewish schools, there are differences in pedagogic practice in terms of the topics that are taught in Jewish schools. Coupled with this, teachers in Jewish schools indicated that apart from the annual seminar run by Yad Vashem in the school holidays, there is no English specific Holocaust education CPD available for teachers in England that is run systematically or regularly. Teachers in Jewish schools in England could apply to participate in the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education CPD or MA modules, but this will not be specific to the Jewish context in which they are teaching. Therefore, a recommendation, as a result of this research, would be for some more systematic and specific CPD to be produced for

teachers of the Holocaust working in Jewish schools in England. This CPD should focus on a combination of historical knowledge as well as sessions on pedagogic practice for teachers in Jewish schools. Specifically, sessions relating to the Holocaust and Jewish identity need to be developed as well as sessions relating to theological dilemmas during the Holocaust and how teachers should address the challenges of post-Holocaust theology in the classroom today. There is also a need for CPD in relation to the educational journeys to Poland. The interviews with teachers indicated that each school provides some preparation and follow up sessions for staff and students. However, a more robust educational approach could be taken for teachers across the Jewish schools to provide them with higher level research-based CPD to better prepare them for these journeys. This could then have a positive impact on the educational content of the journeys to Poland and experience of the students.

The interviews that took place indicated that across all the schools teaching the Holocaust the subject is included in both the history and Jewish Studies curriculum. In addition, across many of the schools, there are also units involving the Holocaust in other subjects. For example, English, drama and art. Berke and Saltzman (1996) argue that an interdisciplinary approach to teaching the Holocaust is the most effective methodology and all teachers interviewed commented on the value of this approach. However, most teachers also commented about a lack of time to ensure that this happens in terms of planning or actualising. Therefore, a recommendation based on the outcomes of this research, would be for schools to prioritise some time for their teachers to be able to map out how the Holocaust is taught across the curriculum within their schools. Teachers commented about not having enough time to teach all the topics on the Holocaust that they would like to teach. If a thorough curriculum mapping took place of what is being taught across all departments in a school it would potentially encourage more interdisciplinary teaching and allow

teachers to build on the prior knowledge that students had learnt in other subjects. My research showed that in the schools where this process has happened, teachers believe that this has helped to enrich their Holocaust education and allowed them to build on topics taught elsewhere within the school. Additionally, some teachers in the Phase III interviews commented on how this would be helpful. For example, when asked if there is any inter-disciplinary teaching of the Holocaust, teachers responded:

...there should be, definitely. Interdisciplinary in terms of like British Values; it's one of the strands that we cover (Margaret, Parkview School).

No there hasn't been. We've shared Schemes of Work, but generally they [the history department] don't (Kathy, Waterford College).

There isn't but there definitely should be. As in, there isn't that I'm aware of. But I don't see why that shouldn't be the case. It would make a lot of sense to actually do that (David, Southview School).

It is clear from many of the schools within my sample that teachers believe interdisciplinary planning and teaching is a good thing but that it is not happening effectively across many schools. Therefore, my recommendation would be that schools need to prioritise some time to initially sit together and map out where the Holocaust is being taught within their school and what students are learning in each department by year group. Only once a clear learning map for Holocaust education is available can teachers effectively know what students should already know and be able to avoid duplication of learning. Most importantly it will provide teachers with a much clearer understanding of students' prior knowledge. For schools where teachers feel they do not have enough curriculum time to cover all of the topics they would like to teach, a second stage of this process would be to consider holistic interdisciplinary planning. This would allow for schools to divide topics between departments and therefore increase the amount of curriculum time that would be able to be designated to Holocaust education. This approach would have

challenges for schools as they would have to consider what may be appropriate to be taught within each department as well as decide on when, in a student's school life, particular issues and topics should be taught. Only if this has thorough planning and robust mapping would it be possible to have a school-wide inter-disciplinary plan for delivering Holocaust education.

One of the overarching benefits of this research was the ability to portray in some detail the landscape of Holocaust education across Jewish schools in England. A focal part of this landscape is the educational journeys to Poland for their Year 12 students which take place in all of the mainstream schools. My research has shown that these journeys are regarded by staff, parents and students as the highlight of their Holocaust education. A considerable amount of time, effort and resources is put into planning and implementing these educational journeys. However, teacher interviews indicated that there is currently no forum or mechanism to work collaboratively between the schools on student preparation, follow up or for planning for the actual journeys themselves. Leaders involved with the planning of these journeys all spoke about the support that they receive from their tour operators in terms of the logistical planning of the journeys, but decisions about educational content does not seem to have as much of a rigorous approach. Therefore, a recommendation from this research would be that a forum should be established and time allocated from schools for leaders who have responsibility for planning their school's Holocaust curriculum and/or journeys to Poland to sit together and have space and time to discuss their aims and desired outcomes for these journeys. They should also discuss the logistical issues around when their journeys take place and the educational opportunities during the trips. This would allow an opportunity to develop a 'best practice' approach and allow for collaborative support to enhance the quality of the various journeys. It is also recommended that this forum was supported by Yad

Vashem and the UCL Holocaust Education Centre in order to support schools using a research-based approach.

Teachers also commented that in some schools there is not enough thought on how to connect the educational journeys to the school's Holocaust education curriculum and therefore students are not always as prepared as they should be. For example:

If they haven't gone through the [Key Stage 3 Holocaust] enrichment they get like three or four lessons before they go... That's I think how they prepare them. Besides the couple lessons they get beforehand I don't think they really know too much (Lily, Parkview School).

We have developed a [preparation] programme that was implemented this year. But this was not as well embedded as I thought it should be. So they've now developed something that will be a series of educational sessions leading up to the trip (Sarah, Southview School).

Schools are realising the importance of thorough preparation for the educational journeys to Poland, but as identified, there are still some gaps in this planning and how it links back to their wider Holocaust curriculum. My recommendation to schools would be to ensure that their Holocaust education throughout the school is systematically planned to ensure that it feeds into and prepares their students for their educational journeys to Poland.

As previously explained, the educational journeys to Poland are recognised by all stakeholders as a key part of the schools' Holocaust education and this is a major opportunity for the schools. However, one challenge for the school is the cost of running these trips and how this affects student uptake. In the Phase III interviews, teachers across all schools explained how for some the cost of these journeys was prohibitive and therefore they worked hard to raise funds for bursaries to help students to be able to attend. Even though, in most schools, there are school-based

programmes in place for the students who do not attend, they will not receive the same amount of Holocaust education as those who participate in the educational journey. As the funding issue is a school-wide challenge, my recommendation would be for the Jewish community to investigate the possibility of putting in place a fund to provide bursaries to students across the schools as a method of increasing participation in these journeys.

Although it is clear that across the Jewish schools in England a considerable amount of time and resources are put into Holocaust education, there is little coordination or collaboration between the schools. A final recommendation therefore is for schools to conduct some inter-school planning for the development of resources and sharing good practice. As part of this process, there would be merit in considering the IHRA recommendations and guidance for Holocaust education in schools (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), 2019). Teachers should reflect on these recommendations and consider the implications for teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools. At the same time, consideration should also be given to how the International School for Holocaust Education at Yad Vashem and their resources could be used to further support a cross-school approach to Holocaust education in Jewish schools in England. This is something that would need coordination and direction and could possibly be facilitated by Partnership for Jewish Schools (PaJeS).

9.10 Conclusion

When thinking about this research and the time that I have devoted to it, I must reflect on its value and importance. I have had discussions with leaders within Jewish education in England regarding my research and a number of them have expressed interest in the findings. I have also been approached by a funding body interested

in the possibility of me working with them to implement some of my findings and recommendations. Thus, as well as outlining a detailed landscape of Holocaust education which was previously missing, I am excited about the possibility of the impact that my research can have on Holocaust education across the Jewish community.

Although I am enthused by the possibility of being able to build further on this research, I am most proud of the fact that this doctoral research has practical implications for teachers, schools and community leaders in relation to Holocaust education within the Jewish community in England. This research highlights what Holocaust education is currently taking place in Jewish schools in England and the rationale that teachers have behind their various approaches. This is new and original research for the field and it will allow teachers and leaders to learn from what other schools are doing as they reflect on and shape their own practice. My hope is that this study will have a positive impact on the quality of Holocaust education that students in Jewish schools in England receive, now and in the future.

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Appendix 1 – List of Schools in Phase I Sample:

| Name of school | Denomination | All-through? | Local Authority | Type | Gender | Total on Roll 2014 Census | Num of Y7+ pupils (if all-through) | Ages |
|--|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|
| Beis Aharon School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Boys | 314 | 46 | 3-13 |
| Jewish Senior Boys' School | SO | | Salford | Other Independent School | Boys | 95 | | 10-16 |
| Talmud Torah Chinuch Norim School | SO | Yes | Salford | Other Independent School | Boys | 277 | 31 | 2-12 |
| Beis Chinuch High School | SO | Yes | Salford | Other Independent School | Girls | 82 | 53 | 3-13 |
| King David High School | MS | | Liverpool | Voluntary Aided School | Mixed | 642 | | 11-18 |
| Yavneh College | MS | | Hertfordshire | Academy Converter | Mixed | 878 | | 11-18 |
| Beis Hatalmud School | SO | | Salford | Other Independent School | Boys | 75 | | 11-16 |
| Beis Medrash Elyon of North West London | SO | | Barnet | Other Independent School | Boys | 65 | | 11-14 |
| Beth Jacob Grammar School for Girls | SO | | Barnet | Other Independent School | Girls | 245 | | 11-17 |
| Lubavitch House School (Senior Girls) | SO | | Hackney | Voluntary Aided School | Girls | 110 | | 11-18 |
| Etz Chaim School at the Belmont | SO | | Manchester | Other Independent School | Boys | 137 | | 11-16 |
| Menorah Grammar School | SO | | Barnet | Other Independent School | Boys | 156 | | 11-18 |
| Gateshead Jewish High School for Girls Ltd | SO | | Gateshead | Other Independent School | Girls | 70 | | 11-16 |

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|--|----|-----|---------------|--------------------------|-------|------|-----|-------|
| King Solomon High School | MS | | Redbridge | Voluntary Aided School | Mixed | 866 | | 11-18 |
| Mechinoh School | SO | | Salford | Other Independent School | Boys | 70 | | 11-16 |
| Talmud Torah Yetev Lev | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Boys | 730 | 63 | 2-12 |
| Gateshead Jewish Boarding School | SO | | Gateshead | Other Independent School | Boys | 130 | | 10-16 |
| Talmud Torah Chaim Meirim Wiznitz School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Boys | 220 | 30 | 2-13 |
| JCoSS | PP | | Barnet | Voluntary Aided School | Mixed | 789 | | 11-19 |
| Hasmonean High School | MS | | Barnet | Academy Converter | Mixed | 1045 | | 11-18 |
| Beis Rochel d'Satmar Girls' School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Mixed | 1439 | 450 | 2-19 |
| Immanuel College | MS | Yes | Hertfordshire | Other Independent School | Mixed | 476 | 422 | 4-19 |
| Getters Talmud Torah | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Boys | 240 | 46 | 3-14 |
| Ahavas Torah Boys Academy | SO | | Salford | Other Independent School | Boys | 17 | | 11-16 |
| Beis Malka Girls' School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Girls | 471 | 150 | 2-15 |
| Ateres Girls High School | SO | | Gateshead | Other Independent School | Girls | 126 | | 11-16 |
| Beis Chinuch Lebonos Girls School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Girls | 602 | 199 | 2-16 |
| Beis Ruchel Girls School | SO | | Salford | Other Independent School | Girls | 110 | | 11-16 |
| Beis Trana Girls' School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Girls | 242 | 91 | 3-15 |
| Beis Yaakov High School | SO | | Salford | Academy Converter | Girls | 265 | | 11-15 |

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|-------------------------------------|----|-----|------------|--------------------------|-------|------|-----|-------|
| Bnois Jerusalem Girls School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Girls | 697 | 205 | 3-16 |
| Bnos Yisroel School Manchester | SO | Yes | Salford | Other Independent School | Girls | 592 | 247 | 3-16 |
| JFS | MS | | Brent | Voluntary Aided School | Mixed | 2055 | | 11-18 |
| London Jewish Girls' High School | SO | | Barnet | Other Independent School | Girls | 140 | | 11-16 |
| Manchester Mesivta School | SO | | Bury | Voluntary Aided School | Boys | 121 | | 11-16 |
| Menorah High School | SO | | Brent | Other Independent School | Girls | 205 | | 11-18 |
| OYY Lubavitch Girls' School | SO | Yes | Salford | Other Independent School | Mixed | 115 | 22 | 2-16 |
| Pardes House Grammar School | SO | | Barnet | Other Independent School | Boys | 170 | | 10-16 |
| T T T Y Y School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Boys | 221 | 36 | 2-13 |
| Talmud Torah Bobov Primary School | SO | Yes | Hackney | Other Independent School | Boys | 296 | 66 | 2-13 |
| Talmud Torah Tiferes Shlomoh | SO | Yes | Barnet | Other Independent School | Boys | 183 | 58 | 3-15 |
| The King David High School | MS | | Manchester | Academy Converter | Mixed | 812 | | 11-18 |
| Yeshivah Ohr Torah School | SO | | Salford | Other Independent School | Boys | 41 | | 11-16 |
| Yesodey Hatorah Senior Girls School | SO | | Hackney | Voluntary Aided School | Girls | 320 | | 11-16 |

Appendix 2 – Structured questions for Phase I Interviews

1. Does the school have a foundation body or sponsor who set the curriculum parameters? If so, who?
2. Where do the pupil body come from (Geographic area and religious group(s))?
3. Does the school enter students for GCSEs and A-Levels? If so, at what ages?
4. Is your school open Sunday – Friday or Monday – Friday?
5. What time does the school day start and end?
6. What percentage of the school day/week is dedicated to Jewish Studies and Secular Studies (Kodesh and Chol)?
7. What are the educational aims of the school?
8. Is the Holocaust taught in your school? If so, in which subjects/disciplines?
9. What are the school's aims in teaching the Holocaust?
10. If the Holocaust is taught in your school, what are the main topics that are studied?
11. If the Holocaust is taught in your school, which of the following pedagogic techniques are used:
 - a. invite a Holocaust survivor to talk to my students
 - b. invite experts and/or guest speakers to talk about the Holocaust
 - c. incorporate visits to a memorial site, research centre or museum within the
 - d. incorporate visits to a memorial site, research centre or museum outside of the UK
 - e. use feature films about the Holocaust
 - f. use TV/Film documentaries about the Holocaust
 - g. use docudrama about the Holocaust
 - h. use the Internet to research the Holocaust
 - i. use the Internet in the classroom
 - j. use school textbooks
 - k. use the DfE scheme of work
 - l. use museum resource packs
 - m. use resource packs from Holocaust Education organisations
 - n. use in-school produced study packs
 - o. use what I can find in the department
 - p. I have adequate educational resources
 - q. use resources that I developed from my own reading
12. Does your school formally commemorate the Holocaust on any of the following days: HMD, Yom HaShoah, Fast of Tevet, Fast of Tamuz, Tisha B'Av? If so, how is this done?
13. Does your school run any Educational Visits around Holocaust Education? If so, to where, for which year group(s), who runs it, how many days is it for and roughly what percentage of that cohort attend?

Appendix 3 – Schools that Responded to Phase I Interviews:

| Name of school | Denomination |
|--|--------------|
| Beis Aharon School | SO |
| Jewish Senior Boys' School | SO |
| Talmud Torah Chinuch Norim School | SO |
| Beis Chinuch High School | SO |
| King David High School | MS |
| Yavneh College | MS |
| Beis Hatalmud School | SO |
| Beis Medrash Elyon of North West London | SO |
| Beth Jacob Grammar School for Girls | SO |
| Leeds Menorah School | SO |
| Lubavitch House School (Senior Girls) | SO |
| Etz Chaim School at the Belmont | SO |
| Menorah Grammar School | SO |
| Gateshead Jewish High School for Girls Ltd | SO |
| King Solomon High School | MS |
| Mechinoh School | SO |
| Talmud Torah Yetev Lev | SO |
| Gateshead Jewish Boarding School | SO |
| Talmud Torah Chaim Meirim Wiznitz School | SO |
| JCoSS | PP |
| Hasmonean High School | MS |
| Beis Rochel d'Satmar Girls' School | SO |
| Immanuel College | MS |
| Getters Talmud Torah | SO |
| Ahavas Torah Boys Academy | SO |
| Beis Malka Girls' School | SO |
| JFS | MS |
| The King David High School | MS |

Appendix 4 – Phase II Survey Questions

| Question Number | Question/Response text and/or description |
|-----------------|--|
| 1 | Please confirm below that you have read the data protection statement and consent |
| 2 | Sex <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male • Female |
| 3 | School <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Southview School • Northview School • Greenville School • Parkview School • Waterford College • Millennium Academy • Abbots School • Ridgeview College • Rainbow Academy • Stonewall Academy |
| 4 | In which year did you begin teaching? <i>Drop-down list 2015 – 1940</i> |
| 5 | How many years in total have you been teaching? <i>Drop-down list 1-60</i> |
| 6 | Do you have, or are you in the process of obtaining, QTS? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 7 | If you have or are in the process of obtaining QTS, which subject(s) are you trained to teach? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art & Design • Citizenship • English • Geography • History • ICT/Computing • Maths • Ivrit • MfL (not including Ivrit) • Music • PE • PSHE • Religious Studies (including Jewish Studies specific courses) • Science • Not applicable |
| 8 | If you selected 'Religious Studies' was your training course a specific Jewish Studies programme? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 9 | What subjects do you currently teach or have taught in the past 5 years? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art & Design • Citizenship • English • Geography • History |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ICT/Computing • Maths • Ivrit • MfL (not including Ivrit) • Music • PE • PSHE • Religious Studies (including Jewish Studies specific courses) • Science • Not applicable |
| 10 | <p>What do you consider your principal subject?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art & Design • Citizenship • English • Geography • History • ICT/Computing • Maths • Ivrit • Jewish Studies • MfL (not including Ivrit) • Music • PE • PSHE • Religious Studies (not including Jewish Studies) • Science |
| 11 | <p>How many hours per week do pupils study your principal subject?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year 7 - Hours per week (drop-down list 1-35) • Year 8 - Hours per week (drop-down list 1-35) • Year 9 - Hours per week (drop-down list 1-35) • Year 10 - Hours per week (drop-down list 1-35) • Year 11 - Hours per week (drop-down list 1-35) • Year 12 - Hours per week (drop-down list 1-35) • Year 13 - Hours per week (drop-down list 1-35) |
| 12 | <p>Who is responsible for making curriculum decisions within your school? (Free Text)</p> |
| 13 | <p>What is your current employment status?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full-time • Part-time |
| 14 | <p>Which of the following best describes your position within your school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A member of the Senior Leadership Team • Head of Department • Head of Year • Assistant Head of Department • TLR holder within your department • Teacher with no additional responsibility • NQT • Trainee Teacher on School Direct Programme • PGCE Student |
| 15 | <p>Do you teach about the Holocaust?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 16 | <p>Listed below are 14 possible aims for teaching about the Holocaust. Please rank from 1 – 3 the three statements that most closely match the</p> |

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| | <p>aims you consider to be the most important with 1 being your highest in importance. . .</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society • to reflect upon the theological questions raised by events of the Holocaust • to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust • to reflect upon the moral and/or ethical questions raised by events of the Holocaust • to reflect upon political questions, about power and/or abuse of power, raised by events of the Holocaust • to explore the roles and responsibilities of individuals, organisations, and governments when confronted with human rights violations and/or policies of genocide • to deepen knowledge of World War II and Twentieth Century history • to learn about the Jewish communities that were lost as a result of the Holocaust • to preserve the memory of those who suffered • to understand and explain the actions of people involved in and affected by an unprecedented historical event • to consider how the Holocaust affected the Jews' struggle for a homeland • to explore questions about the foundations of Western civilisation • to explore the implications of remaining silent and indifferent in the face of the oppression of others • to learn the lessons of the Holocaust and to ensure that a similar human atrocity never happens again |
| 17 | If you would like to comment on these aims, offer your own aims, or explain your rationale further, please use space below |
| 18 | <p>Please read each of the following questions and indicate a relevant rating:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am confident that I am very knowledgeable about the Holocaust (strongly disagree/ disagree/ neither agree nor disagree/ agree/ strongly agree) • I am confident in my preparedness to teach secondary school students about the Holocaust (strongly disagree/ disagree/ neither agree nor disagree/ agree/ strongly agree) |
| 19 | <p>Have you attended any CPD or other forms of training relating to your personal knowledge of the Holocaust?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 20 | If Yes, please list below what training you have attended (Free Text) |
| 21 | <p>Have you attended any CPD or other forms of training relating to teaching about the Holocaust?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 22 | If Yes, please list below what training you have attended (Free Text) |
| 23 | <p>In which subjects is the Holocaust taught about within your school? Please tick all that apply</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art & Design • Citizenship • English • Geography |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History • ICT/Computing • Maths • Ivrit • Jewish Studies • MfL (not including Ivrit) • Music • PE • PSHE • Religious Studies (not including Jewish Studies) • Science |
| 24 | <p>In which subject do you principally teach about the Holocaust? (Please select 1 subject)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art & Design • Citizenship • English • Geography • History • ICT/Computing • Maths • Ivrit • Jewish Studies • MfL (not including Ivrit) • Music • PE • PSHE • Religious Studies (not including Jewish Studies) • Science |
| 25 | <p>If applicable, please list any other subjects in which you teach about the Holocaust</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art & Design • Citizenship • English • Geography • History • ICT/Computing • Maths • Ivrit • Jewish Studies • MfL (not including Ivrit) • Music • PE • PSHE • Religious Studies (not including Jewish Studies) • Science |
| 26 | <p>Focusing on your principal subject, how much time do you spend on teaching about the Holocaust in hours for each year group? If your school runs a Poland Trip, please do not include the time spent in Poland within your hours.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year 7 - Hours per school year (drop-down list 1-75) • Year 8 - Hours per school year (1-75) • Year 9 - Hours per school year (1-75) • Year 10 - Hours per school year (1-75) • Year 11 - Hours per school year (1-75) • Year 12 - Hours per school year (1-75) |

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| 27 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year 13 - Hours per school year (1-75) <p>When planning and teaching about the Holocaust, which other departments within your school have you collaborated with? (please tick all that apply)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art & Design • Citizenship • English • Geography • History • ICT/Computing • Maths • Ivrit • Jewish Studies • MfL (not including Ivrit) • Music • PE • PSHE • Religious Studies (not including Jewish Studies) • Science |
| 28 | <p>Please read each of the following statements and indicate the extent to which you agree with them</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pedagogical Approaches: • I try to give students key facts and information about the Holocaust, providing them with a clear narrative outline (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I emphasise the horror of those events and the human suffering – I want students to have a deep emotional response to this topic (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I use testimony and individual stories to encourage students to engage with this subject on an empathetic level (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I take a disciplinary approach and focus on historical teaching (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I allow time for debate and discussion (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I adopt a source-based 'skills' approach (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I take an enquiry-based approach and work to address big questions (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I ask students to consider theological questions (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I ask students to consider moral and/or ethical questions (strongly |

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| | <p>disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When teaching about the Holocaust I engage students in political questions about power and/or the abuse of power (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • When teaching about the Holocaust I start with students' perceptions and understandings of the Jewish community today (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) |
| 29 | <p>Please read each of the following statements and indicate the extent to which you agree with them</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aims of Teaching the Holocaust & Holocaust Denial: • Holocaust denial has no legitimacy and should have no place in the classroom, hence I do not teach about it (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I consider all perspectives about the Holocaust in a balanced way, including Holocaust denial (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I teach about Holocaust denial to expose it as antisemitic propaganda (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I teach about the Holocaust to encourage student action on current human rights issues (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) |
| 30 | <p>Please read each of the following statements and indicate the extent to which you agree with them</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Place of teaching the Holocaust in the Curriculum: • I do not have enough curriculum time to teach about the Holocaust effectively (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think it will always be important to teach about the Holocaust (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think the Holocaust will become less relevant to our daily lives as the events of that time recede further into the past (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think that it is right that teaching about the Holocaust is compulsory in the history school curriculum (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think that teaching about the Holocaust should be compulsory in one or more other subject areas (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think the Holocaust gets too little attention, relative to other topics (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think that it is very difficult to teach about the Holocaust effectively (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Holocaust is clearly very important but so are other genocides and crimes against humanity: these should get similar curricular time and attention (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think the Holocaust is more important than most other topics I teach (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think that devoting insufficient time to teaching about the Holocaust can do more harm than good with respect to what students learn from it (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I find that teaching in a Jewish school influences the way that I teach about the Holocaust (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) • I think that teaching about the Holocaust is a good opportunity to promote the importance of Zionism and the State of Israel (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree) <p>I think that teaching about the Holocaust gives me a good opportunity to promote the importance of Jewish continuity to my students (strongly disagree/disagree/neither agree nor disagree/agree/strongly agree)</p> |
| 31 | <p>Due to time and other constraints, teachers are often restricted in what they are able to cover. When teaching about the Holocaust, which of the following do you include in your teaching?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The long history of antisemitism (never/.../.../.../always) • Jewish social and cultural life before 1933 (never/.../.../.../always) • The contribution of the Jews to European social and cultural life before 1933 (never/.../.../.../ always) • National Socialist Ideology (never/.../.../.../always) • The Nuremberg Laws (never/.../.../.../always) • Neo-Nazism (never/.../.../.../always) • Kristallnacht (never/.../.../.../always) • The experiences of individual men, women and children who were persecuted by the Nazis (never/.../.../.../always) • The impact of the policies of the Christian Churches (never/.../.../.../always) • The choices and actions of bystanders (never/.../.../.../always) • The choices and actions of rescuers (never/.../.../.../always) • The reaction of countries around the world to Jewish refugees (never/.../.../.../always) • The Katyn Massacre (never/.../.../.../always) • An account of life in the Polish ghettos (e.g. Lodz) (never/.../.../.../always) • Resistance to Nazi policies by Jewish partisans (never/.../.../.../always) • Operation Reinhard (never/.../.../.../always) • The Einsatzgruppen (never/.../.../.../always) • The Wannsee Conference (never/.../.../.../always) • Auschwitz-Birkenau (never/.../.../.../always) • Jewish resistance in the camp system (never/.../.../.../always) • The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (never/.../.../.../always) • Post-war justice and the Nuremberg trials (never/.../.../.../always) • The experiences of Holocaust survivors since 1945 (never/.../.../.../always) |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in awareness and understanding of the Holocaust since 1945 (never/.../.../.../always) • The impact of the Holocaust on the Declaration of Human Rights (never/.../.../.../always) • Propaganda and stereotyping (never/.../.../.../always) • Combating current racist ideology (never/.../.../.../always) • The study of World War II (never/.../.../.../always) • The study of Hitler's rise to power and the Nazi State (never/.../.../.../always) • The Arab/Israeli conflict (never/.../.../.../always) • Other genocides (never/.../.../.../always) • Exploring the concept of suffering (never/.../.../.../always) • Human motivation and behaviour (never/.../.../.../always) • The Holocaust as an unprecedented event in human history (never/.../.../.../always) • Holocaust related events (e.g. Holocaust Memorial Day) (never/.../.../.../always) |
| 32 | In my school we have to work to a rigid scheme of work (strongly disagree/.../.../.../strongly agree) |
| 33 | In my school I have the freedom to decide what topics I wish to teach about the Holocaust (strongly disagree/.../.../.../strongly agree) |
| 34 | Which topic do you teach about the Holocaust that you feel is the most important topic and why? (Free text) |
| 35 | Are there topics surrounding the Holocaust that you would like to teach but are currently unable? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 36 | If Yes, what are they and why are you currently unable? |
| 37 | <p>'Taking into account the opportunities and restrictions at my school, when teaching about the Holocaust I...'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invite a Holocaust survivor to talk to my students (never/.../.../.../always) • Invite experts and/or guest speakers to talk about the Holocaust (never/.../.../.../always) • Incorporate visits to a memorial site, research centre, or museum within the UK (never/.../.../.../always) • Use feature films about the Holocaust (never/.../.../.../always) • Use TV/Film documentaries about the Holocaust (never/.../.../.../always) • Use docudrama about the Holocaust (never/.../.../.../always) • Use the internet to research the Holocaust (never/.../.../.../always) • Use the internet in the classroom (never/.../.../.../always) • Use school textbooks (never/.../.../.../always) • Use the QCA scheme of work (never/.../.../.../always) • Use museum resource packs (never/.../.../.../always) • Use resource packs from Holocaust Education organisations (never/.../.../.../always) • Use in-school produced study packs (never/.../.../.../always) • Use what I can find in the department (never/.../.../.../always) • Have adequate educational resources (never/.../.../.../always) • Use resources that I have developed from my own reading (other than textbooks) (never/.../.../.../always) • Use resources from the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Studies (never/.../.../.../always) |

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| 38 | Please list any other types Teaching & Learning resources that you use to teach the Holocaust (Free text) |
| 39 | Does your school commemorate Yom HaShoah? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 40 | If yes, please tick all of the activities that take place to commemorate Yom HaShoah <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorial Services • Special assemblies • Survivors coming into school to speak to pupils • Recitation of memorial prayers/<i>Tehillim</i> as part of <i>tefilla</i> • Special lessons taught about the Holocaust • Memorial candles lit • Participation in March of the Living • Video links with Israel • Learning about other genocides • Social action campaigns • Collection of <i>Tzedaka</i> in the memory of those murdered |
| 41 | Does your school commemorate Holocaust Memorial Day? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 42 | If yes, please tick all of the activities that take place to commemorate Yom HaShoah <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorial Services • Special assemblies • Survivors coming into school to speak to pupils • Recitation of memorial prayers/<i>Tehillim</i> as part of <i>tefilla</i> • Special lessons taught about the Holocaust • Memorial candles lit • Video links with Israel • Learning about other genocides • Social action campaigns • Collection of <i>Tzedaka</i> in the memory of those murdered |
| 43 | Does your school work with any partner organisations to provide Holocaust education? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 44 | If yes, which organisations? |
| 45 | Does your school run a Poland visit? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 46 | Have you attended your school's Poland visit? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 47 | If Yes, how many days is this visit for? (Drop-down list 1 – 10) |
| 48 | Which of the following agents operates your school's Poland visit: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Israel Experience • JLE • J-Roots • Other |
| 49 | Are your tour guides for the Poland visit employees of your school? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |

| | |
|----|--|
| 50 | If not, how does your school select them and please explain how you think they relate to your students? (Free text) |
| 51 | Does your school take external staff or madrichim on the Poland visit? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 52 | If you answered yes, how are these staff recruited and selected? (Free text) |
| 53 | Who designs the itinerary for your school's Poland Trip? (Tick all that apply) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tour Agency • Tour Guide • Headteacher • Head of Jewish Studies • Head of History • Lead teacher on the trip • All teachers on the trip • Other |
| 54 | What are your school's aims for their Poland trip? (Free text) |
| 55 | Which school year is your Poland trip aimed at? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year 9 • Year 10 • Year 11 • Year 12 • Year 13 |
| 56 | On average, what percentage of the school year attend the Poland trip? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100% • 90 – 99% • 80 – 89% • 70 – 79% • 60 – 69% • 50 – 59% • 40 – 49% • 30 – 39% • Less than 30% |
| 57 | Which of the following do you think are an aim of your school Poland trip? (tick all that apply) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For students to gain a greater understanding of what happened during the Holocaust • For students to gain a greater understanding into Jewish life before the Holocaust • For students to see first-hand sites of mass murder • For students to hear from survivors at the sites where the Holocaust took place • For students to gain a greater understanding into how the Holocaust affected the Jewish world • For students to gain a wider understanding into how the Holocaust affected the world at large • For students to experience a group Shabbat • For students to be emotionally moved at sites of mass destruction • For students to leave the trip with a stronger commitment to Judaism • For students to leave the trip being more religious committed to Judaism |

| | |
|----|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For students to leave the trip with a stronger sense of Jewish identity • For students to leave the trip more committed to marrying a Jewish person • For students to consider what they can do to ensure that the Holocaust never happens again • For students to consider what they can do to help stop other genocides in the world • Other |
| 58 | <p>Please tick all of the sites below that are usually included within your school's Poland Trip:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warsaw Jewish cemetery • Ghetto Wall in Warsaw • Nojek Shul in Warsaw • Mila 18 • Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw • Monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (Rappaport Memorial) • Monument to the Polish Underground • Treblinka Death Camp • Bialistock • Tikotchin • Lopchowa Forest • Yeshivat Chachmei Lublin • Majdanek Death Camp • Lizensk • Gur • Lelow • Tarnow • Lancut • Zbilatowska Gora • Site of former ghetto in Lublin • 'Cattle Car' in Lublin • Tour of Kazimierz • Shabbat in Krakow • Plaszow Labour Camp • Schindler's Factory • Ghetto Wall in Krakow • Jewish Centre / Shul in Oswiecim • Auschwitz 1 • Auschwitz 2 Birkenau • Galicia Museum • Sobivor Death Camp • Chelmno Death Camp • Belzec Death Camp • Meeting with a Righteous Gentile • Other key sites |
| 59 | What do you do to prepare students for their journey to Poland? |
| 60 | <p>Do students have a way of processing their feelings/emotions during the trip?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 61 | If yes, how does this happen? (Free text) |
| 62 | What follow up work takes place with the students after their Poland trip? (Free text) |

| | |
|----|--|
| 63 | What activities/site visit do you think is the most important on your Poland trip and why? (Free text) |
| 64 | What activity/site visit do you think has the most impact on your students and why? (Free text) |
| 65 | Does your school carry out any form of evaluation with participants after their Poland trip? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 66 | If Yes, how is this done? (Free text) |
| 67 | If you could change one element of your school's Poland trip what would it be and why? (Free text) |
| 68 | If you could see your student's change one element of their lives as a result of attending your school's Poland trip, what would it be? (Free text) |
| 69 | If you have any further comments to make regarding your school's Poland visit, please use the comment box below. (Free text) |
| 70 | If you have any general comments about this survey or my research, please use the comment box below. (Free text) |
| 71 | Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No |
| 72 | Name |
| 73 | Telephone Number |
| 74 | Email address |

Appendix 5 – Phase II Follow Up Interviews

| Follow Up ID | School | School Type | Position within School | Principal Subject | Interview Aim |
|--------------|--------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--|
| 1 | 2 | Mainstream | SLT | Science | To find out more about staffing structures and number of teachers within the school |
| 2 | 2 | Mainstream | Middle Leader | History | To find out more about how many history teachers within the department and if any inter-disciplinary planning or teaching took place. To find out more about what pedagogical approaches should be used when teaching the Holocaust. |
| 3 | 2 | Mainstream | SLT | Jewish Studies | To find out more about how many Jewish Studied teachers within the school and if any inter-disciplinary planning or teaching took place |
| 4 | 1 | Strictly orthodox | Middle Leader | History | To understand more about curriculum priorities and how the Holocaust is taught within this school. |
| 5 | 5 | Mainstream | SLT | Jewish Studies | To clarify some of the answers given by respondents when there were discrepancies between them. |
| 6 | 9 | Mainstream | Teacher | Jewish Studies | To understand how Jewish Studies and history teachers plan and work together in teaching the Holocaust. |
| 7 | 9 | Mainstream | Teacher | Jewish Studies | To understand how the Holocaust is taught within this school and how much time is dedicated to delivering this subject. |

| | | | | | |
|----|---|------------|---------------|----------------|--|
| 8 | 3 | Mainstream | Middle Leader | History | To understand how the Holocaust is taught within this school and how much time is dedicated to delivering this subject. To find out more about what pedagogical approaches should be used when teaching the Holocaust. |
| 9 | 9 | Mainstream | SLT | Jewish Studies | To understand how the Holocaust is taught within this school and how much time is dedicated to delivering this subject. |
| 10 | 7 | Mainstream | SLT | Jewish Studies | To understand which pedagogical approaches are the most important/relevant within your school. |

Appendix 6 – Phase II Follow Up Interviews – Educational Journeys to Poland

| Follow Up ID | School | School Type | Position within School | Principal Subject | Interview Aim |
|--------------|--------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---|
| 1 | 2 | Mainstream | SLT | Science | To explore further the educational aims of the journeys to Poland. |
| 2 | 1 | Strictly orthodox | Middle Leader | History | To understand more about curriculum priorities and how the Holocaust is taught within this school. |
| 3 | 5 | Mainstream | SLT | Jewish Studies | To clarify some of the answers given by respondents surrounding design of the itinerary. |
| 4 | 9 | Mainstream | Teacher | Jewish Studies | To understand more why there is such a high student uptake of Poland trips? |
| 5 | 9 | Mainstream | Teacher | Jewish Studies | To understand why this respondent felt certain activities should take place at certain sites and how they can be impactful. |
| 6 | 7 | Mainstream | SLT | Jewish Studies | To understand why the school selected to run their journey to Poland in the way that they do. |

| Follow Up Interviews with Tour Guides | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|---|
| 1 | | | | | To understand the aims of running educational journeys to Poland. |
| 2 | | | | | To understand the aims of running educational journeys to Poland. |
| 3 | | | | | To understand the aims of running educational journeys to Poland. |

Appendix 7 – Final Questions for Phase III Interviews

1. What is your position within the school?
2. What subjects do you teach the Holocaust in?
3. How much time does your school dedicate to teaching the Holocaust in KS4 & 5 outside of examined (i.e. GCSE/A-Level) courses? Who does this teaching (i.e. which department(s))?
4. Do you know what the aims of teaching the Holocaust are in your school?
 - a. If yes, what are they?
 - b. If no, are there agreed aims or is it up to each individual teacher to set their own aims?
5. Have you taught the Holocaust in other schools? If so, were the aims the same or different to your current school? If different, why do you think that was and did this make a difference to how you taught the Holocaust?
6. In Phase 2 of my research the following 2 aims of teaching about the Holocaust ranked the highest:
 - i - to develop an understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society
 - ii -to strengthen Jewish identity as a result of the events of the Holocaust
 - a. Could you please comment on why you think teachers ranked these two aims as the highest.
 - b. Are these two aims consistent with your aims and/or the aims of your school? Why or why not?
7. What do you think are the distinctive features of teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools today?
8. Do you think these (answers to Q7) should be the distinctive features of teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools today? If no, what do you think they should be?
9. Have you ever taught in a non-Jewish school?
 - a. If so, are there any differences between teaching the Holocaust in a Jewish and non-Jewish school and what are they?
10. In your experience, how do you think Holocaust education differs in History and Jewish Studies classrooms?
11. What do you think influences the way that the Holocaust is taught in your school? For example, are there any specific internal or external factors that have an influence on your pedagogic decisions?
12. What is your role in teaching about the Holocaust in your school?
13. Is there inter-disciplinary discussion around teaching the Holocaust in your school?
14. How are decisions made about what should be taught by whom in terms of which department teaches what in relation to teaching about the Holocaust?
15. What role, if any, do history teachers have in ceremonies to memorialise the Holocaust in your school?
16. Are the history teachers involved in the educational journeys to Poland and if so how?
17. Is strengthening your students' Jewish identity one of the aims of your school? If so, how is this done in practice?
18. Do you think the Holocaust should be a springboard for teaching Jewish identity and why?

19. When planning your lessons about the Holocaust, does the religious beliefs of your students affect the way you plan and deliver your lessons? If so, why? Can you give any examples of this?
20. For Jewish Studies teachers
 - a. Is the Holocaust taught in your school as a unique event or another step in Jewish History?
21. From your experience, what are the challenges and opportunities that teachers face when teaching about the Holocaust? Can you provide any examples?
22. CPD – Only 36.1% of teachers in my Phase 2 sample said that they had received formal CPD for teaching about the Holocaust.
 - a. Does this surprise you? Do you think this is a problem?
 - b. What CPD do you think they should receive and why?
23. Do Yad Vashem have any influence on the way that the Holocaust is taught in your school? If so, how?
 - a. Do staff in your school use their resources or attend their CPD?
24. Does your school participate in Bar/Bat Mitzvah twinning programmes or other programmes throughout school life where they twin or link a student to a Holocaust victim or survivor?
 - a. If so, when and why do they do this?
 - b. What impact do you think such programmes have?
25. What role do the educational journeys to Poland play on teaching about the Holocaust in Jewish schools today?
26. What do you think are the distinctive features of your educational journey to Poland and why?
27. How does your school design the educational content of your journey to Poland and what factors influence this?
28. What challenges and opportunities does your educational journey to Poland present?
29. What do you think is the most important piece of Holocaust education that you have ever delivered and why?



Ethics Application Form: Research Degree Students

All student research that use research methods to collect data from human participants is required to gain ethical approval before starting. Please answer all relevant questions. Your form may be returned if incomplete. Please write your responses in terms that can be understood by a lay person.

For further support and guidance please see Ethics Review Procedures for Student Research <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/studentethics/> or contact your supervisor or researchethics@ioe.ac.uk.

| Section 1 Project details | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| a. | Project title | Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools in England |
| b. | Student name | Andrew Marc Davis |
| c. | Supervisor | Prof Stuart Foster |
| d. | Advisory committee members | Professor H. Starkey; Dr. A. Pettigrew; Dr. R. Whitburn; Dr. J. Perryman. |
| e. | Department | Curriculum, Pedagogy and Assessment |
| f. | Faculty | Children & Learning |
| g. | Intended research start date | 26/02/14 |
| h. | Intended research end date | 31/08/17 |
| i. | Funder (if applicable) | The Pears Foundation |
| j. | Funding confirmed? | Yes |
| k. | Country fieldwork will be conducted in <i>If research to be conducted abroad please check www.fco.gov.uk If the FCO advice against travel a full travel risk assessment form should also be completed and submitted: http://intranet.ioead/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=14460&14460_0=22640</i> | UK |
| l. | All research projects at the Institute of Education are required to specify a professional code of ethics according to which the research will be conducted. Which organisation’s research code will be used? | BERA |
| m. | <i>If your research is based in another institution then you may be required to submit your research to that institution’s ethics review process. If your research involves patients recruited through the NHS then you will need to apply for ethics approval through an NHS Local Research Ethics Committee. In either of these cases, you don’t need ethics approval from the Institute of Education.</i> | |
| | Has this project been considered by another (external) Research Ethics Committee? | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ⇒ go to Section 2 |

If so, please insert the name of the committee, the date on which the project was considered, and attach the approval letter in either hard or electronic format with this form.

External Committee Name:

Date of Approval:

⇒ *If your project has been externally approved please go to **Section 9 Attachments**.*

Section 2 Research Summary

Please provide an overview of your research. This can include some or all of the following: purpose of the research, aims, main research questions, research design, participants, sampling, data collection, reporting and dissemination. *It is expected that this will take approximately 200-300 words, and you may write more if you feel it is necessary.*

The case for Holocaust education is clear and strong, and has adequately been addressed in a wide range of materials. Schools across Europe, North America and in Australia are required to include The Holocaust within all pupils' education. Education materials are widely available for teachers of different subjects within those schools. Similarly, the methods for teaching The Holocaust in schools within Israel has also been widely written about and addressed. There is, however, a significant gap in this literature and in the discussions of teaching The Holocaust; that gap is the failure to address Holocaust education within Jewish schools outside of Israel. This research project will try to gather information about how the Holocaust is being taught in Jewish schools in England.

There are numerous types of Jewish schools that exist within England, mainly based on denominational beliefs in terms of religious practice. Therefore, some schools dedicate a higher percentage of their curriculum time to Jewish Studies and others a lesser amount. There is very limited literature that provides a comparison stating the similarities and differences in how the Holocaust is taught in these different schools to address the particular needs of their pupil. In addition to this, this research may consider how the Holocaust is being taught in these Jewish schools with similar schools in other parts of the world. This research will provide insight and materials relevant to scholars of Education and of the Holocaust as well as materials directly relevant to educators within Jewish schools.

Section 3 Security-sensitive material

Security sensitive research includes: commissioned by the military; commissioned under an EU security call; involves the acquisition of security clearances; concerns terrorist or extreme groups.

| | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------------|--|
| d. | Will your project consider or encounter security-sensitive material? | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
|----|--|---------------------------------|--|

⇒ If you have answered **Yes** please give further details in **Section 8 Ethical Issues**.
 Will you be visiting websites associated with extreme or terrorist organisations?
 Will you be storing or transmitting any materials that could be interpreted as promoting or endorsing terrorist acts?

Section 4 Research participants Tick all that apply

| | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Early years/pre-school | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Primary School age 5-11 | <input type="checkbox"/> Advisory/consultation groups |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary School age 12-16 | <input type="checkbox"/> No participants |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Young people aged 17-18 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Adults <i>please specify below</i> |

Teachers from a range of schools as well as experts in Holocaust education from various educational and Holocaust institutions.

Section 5 Research methods Tick all that apply

| | |
|---|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Interviews | <input type="checkbox"/> Controlled trial/other intervention study |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Focus groups | <input type="checkbox"/> Use of personal records |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Questionnaire | <input type="checkbox"/> Systematic review |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Action research | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secondary data analysis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Observation | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, give details: |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Literature review | |

Section 6 Systematic reviews Only complete if systematic reviews will be used

| | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | Will you be collecting any new data from participants? | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. | Will you be analysing any secondary data? | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

Section 7 Secondary data analysis Only complete if secondary data analysis will be used

| | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| a. | Name of dataset/s | Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools: An empirical study of national trends, perspectives and practice | |
| b. | Owner of dataset/s | Institute of Education | |
| c. | Are the data in the public domain? | Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | If no, do you have the owner's permission/license? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| d. | Are the data anonymised? | Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | Do you plan to anonymise the data? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Do you plan to use individual level data? Yes* <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| | | | Will you be linking data to individuals? Yes* <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. | Are the data sensitive (DPA definition)? | Yes* <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| f. | Will you be conducting analysis within the remit it was originally collected for? | Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | No* <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | Was consent gained from participants for subsequent/future analysis? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | Was data collected prior to ethics approval process? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ⇒ If you have ticked any asterisked responses, this indicates possible increased ethical issues for your research please give further details in Section 8 Ethical Issues | | | |

Section 8 Ethical issues

What are the ethical issues which may arise in the course of your research, and how will they be addressed?

It is important that you demonstrate your awareness of potential risks or harm that may arise as a result of your research. You should then demonstrate that you have considered ways to minimise the likelihood and impact of each potential harm that you have identified. Please be as specific as possible in describing the ethical issues you will have to address. Please consider / address ALL issues that may apply.

A minimum of 200 words is required. Less than this and your application may be returned to you. Ethical concerns may include, but not be limited to, the following areas:

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potentially vulnerable participants • Safeguarding/child protection • Risks to participants and/or researchers • International research • Sensitive topics • Sampling • Gatekeepers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informed consent • Assent • Methods • Confidentiality • Anonymity • Data storage/security • Data transfer/transmission | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data sharing/encryption • Data documentation • Data management plan • Data protection • Reporting • Dissemination and use of findings |
|---|--|--|

I will be following the BERA ethical guidelines.

As I will be working with a small sample of schools and staff, from within the UK Jewish community, there may be some concern re information and reticence to speak against schools. I will therefore ensure anonymity in writing up of information and will ensure that schools and interviewees are aware of this.

I will contact the various Headteachers of the schools who I hope to participate in this research as they are the gatekeepers to their schools and data. I will inform them of the outline of the research and ask them to consent to participating in the research with the reassurance that the general outcomes will not name individual schools. I will ask the Headteachers to sign a consent form to me having access and use for analysis to their respective Schemes of Work and permission to talk to members of their staff.

Some specific areas of ethical consideration include obtaining all necessary, informed consents. Before beginning any interview, I will set out the rationale behind my interview and ensure that all of the interviewees are comfortable with my research and informed about how I will use the findings in the 'Findings' section of this thesis. This will be done by providing the interviewees with an 'Information Sheet' which we will read through and I shall ensure that they are happy with before asking them to sign a 'Consent Form'. I will also ask them to consent to data reuse and republication and to sign the appropriate consent together with archiving permission forms. I shall also set out that I will be recording and transcribing the interviews / Focus Groups and will offer to show these transcriptions to the interviewee once transcribed if requested. The same process will be included within any questionnaires that I produce. Interviewees/Focus Group respondents will also be told that they have the right to withdraw for up to 3 months from the date of their interview.

In order to protect the anonymity of my interviewees and focus groups, which will be from a small sample of teachers, each will be assigned a code 'T1', 'T2', etc in order to be able to quote responses in my 'Findings' section, without compromising anonymity.

I will ensure that all data is stored in a secure manner on password protected computers and backed up via Dropbox and on the university servers, all of which are secure.

As I may be considered an Insider Researcher, Ethical Considerations will be vital to ensure that my research is impartial, but also to allay any fears that my sample may have regarding my impartiality.

Section 9 Attachments Please attach the following items to this form, or explain if not attached

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| a. | Information sheet and other materials to be used to inform potential participants about the research. | Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. | Consent form | Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. | The proposal for the project, if applicable | Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. | Approval letter from external Research Ethics Committee, if applicable | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) is not applicable | | | |

Section 10 Declaration

I confirm that to the best of my knowledge this is a full description of the ethics issues that may arise in the course of this project

| | |
|------|-------------------|
| Name | Andrew Marc Davis |
| Date | 23 February 2014 |

Please submit your completed ethics forms to your supervisor/course administrator.

Appendix 9 – Ethical Approval Confirmation

Ms Hazel Croft
Faculty of Children & Learning
Dean of Faculty: Professor Richard Andrews

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Mr Andrew Davis
c/o Dept. of Curriculum, Pedagogy & Assessment

7 March 2014

Dear Mr Davis

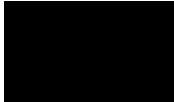
Ethics approval

Project title: Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish schools in England

I am pleased to formally confirm that ethics approval has been granted by the Institute of Education for the above research project. This approval is effective from 4 March 2014..

I wish you every success with this project.

Yours sincerely



+++++
Hazel Croft
Research Student Administrator
On behalf of the Faculty of Children & Learning Research Ethics Committee

cc: Professor Stuart Foster
IOE Research Ethics office

Appendix 10 – Phase I Participant Information and Consent Sheets

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of study:

Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools in England

Invitation to participate in the study:

I would like to invite you to participate in this original doctoral research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Recruitment Criteria: Leaders of Jewish secondary schools in England with an oversight of how the Holocaust is taught in their schools.

What am I required to do? In a one to one interview setting, the researcher will ask you questions relating to your aims and teaching priorities and methods for teaching the Holocaust. There will also be questions relating to your current practice when teaching the Holocaust and any challenges that you have found when doing so. You will have access to the prepared questions prior to the interview.

Confidentiality & Anonymity: The interview will be recorded digitally and transcribed to notes. Once the transcription has been completed, and during the research process, you are able to request to view a copy of your interview transcript and the interviewer will happily provide you with a copy of this. The electronic transcripts will be encrypted and kept on secure computers to which the researcher alone will have access. The transcripts will be made available only to his supervisors. Any references to you or your school in the study will be anonymous.

Where will the interview take place and how long will it take? The interview will take place either at your school or another location which is convenient for you. In circumstances where it is difficult to find a convenient location, the interview will take place by telephone. The interview is expected to take approximately 25 minutes.

Consent and withdrawal

If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time during the interview process and without giving a reason. Should you feel uncomfortable answering any of the questions, please indicate this to the researcher and he will withdraw the question. In addition to withdrawing yourself from the study, you may also ask to withdraw your data transcript that you have already provided. You may do this up until 3 months from the date of your interview following which it will no longer be practical. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you personally or professionally. If you do decide to take part you will be given this Information Sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. We will be pleased to offer you an electronic copy of the submitted research upon request.

Contact

Should you have any queries relating to the study, please contact Andrew Davis, the principal researcher.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study:

Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools in England

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or the explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to participate. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up until 3 months after the date of my interview.
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- The information you have submitted will be published as a report and a copy of the report will be made available to you should you so wish. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.
- I consent to my interview being digitally recorded and then transcribed.

Please tick
or initial

Participant's Statement:

I _____ agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed

Date

Researcher's Statement:

I _____ confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed

Date

Appendix 11 – Phase III Participant Information and Consent Sheets

Institute of Education



Doctoral Study Research Title: Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools in England: An investigation into practice, perspectives and challenges

Research information sheet: interviews

Introduction

An important element of my doctoral study is primary research with leaders and teachers of Jewish secondary schools in England who are involved in Holocaust education within their school. In particular, I am interested in gaining a greater understanding of how the Holocaust is taught in Jewish schools as well as what influences curriculum and pedagogic decisions. The purpose of this information sheet is to give some additional details specific to the interview strand of my research.

Interview aims

As part of the primary research element of my study I would like to invite you to participate in a short interview to explore your experiences and reflections as a leader or teacher in a Jewish school in England who teaches or oversees Holocaust education within your school. The interview will be conducted by myself - Rabbi Andrew Davis - and depending on how much detail you want to give will take between 30 minutes and an hour. I have some set questions relating to Holocaust education within your school, but may also deviate to ask follow up questions based on things that you say. Please also feel free to discuss anything that you feel is relevant to how the Holocaust is taught in your school. For any questions that I ask, you do not have to answer them, nor do you have to give a reason for declining to answer.

How your information will be used

With your permission the interview will be audio-recorded. This is so there is an accurate record of the discussion. The recording will be electronically converted into a transcript and thematic analysis conducted. This will involve me going through everyone's transcripts and identifying recurring themes, like the challenges teachers face when teaching about the Holocaust and the role that educational journeys to Poland play in Holocaust education in Jewish schools. The transcript will be anonymised and an ID number or pseudonym will be used to identify it. Any names you mention will also be removed. If you do not want to be audio-recorded, but still want to participate in the interview and have your views included in the research, please let me know and with your permission I will make notes during the interview (instead of recording it).

All research data will be stored in line with the UCL Research Data Policy. This will include me securely storing audio files as well as digital transcripts of your interview. All data will be stored on secure computers, which will be password protected and backed up to secure cloud storage on both Dropbox and OneDrive as well as stored on the UCL servers. In line with the UCL Research Data Policy, all data is kept for a minimum of ten years after publication. Thus, at the university, paper copies of data (e.g. transcripts) are kept in secure offices and

electronic data (e.g. recordings of interviews) are kept on password protected computers and only the research team at the Centre have access to this information. If you have questions or concerns about any of this, please contact Andrew Davis (details below).

The findings from the thematic analysis will be used in my final doctoral thesis and in academic journals/presentations. With your permission I may use small anonymised quotes from your transcript to illustrate a point. After the interview has finished, I will check – in light of the discussion – you are still happy for your interview to be included in the research. You may decide that you do not want some of the things you said to be included. That is absolutely fine – just let me know as soon as possible and I will destroy the recording of your interview and any transcripts that have been made.

Processing of personal data

If you decide to take part in the research, you will be asked to provide your initials so that we can identify which data belongs to you. When interview transcripts are produced, your initials/name will be removed and an ID number or pseudonym will be assigned instead. A separate file will be kept which lists teachers' names and their ID numbers. This document will be password protected and only my supervisors and I will have access to it. The reason an ID number is linked to your data is so the I know which data belongs to you, ensuring (a) it can be identified and destroyed if you want to withdraw from the research and (b) if you take part in more than one research strand your responses can be matched up and viewed together. Therefore, I am collecting a form of personal data from you. All personal information is kept confidential and stored securely as explained in this Information Sheet. Please also read the attached Data Protection Privacy Notice which explains your rights under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

An important point about anonymity

While your name will not be used in any publications, keep in mind that (with your permission) members of the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education may see excerpts from your interview. In addition, it is important to remember that even though excerpts of interview transcripts will be anonymised, as the sample of schools is small within a small Jewish community it is possible that some people reading my thesis may be able to identify you or your school from comments that you make. Subsequently, only provide information that you are happy for me to publish in my thesis. If you agree to participate and provide information, and then afterwards decide you want to withdraw your comments – that is absolutely fine – but please inform me as soon as possible so that I can destroy the relevant data.

Further Information

If you have any questions and/or concerns about any aspect of this study, I will be very happy to talk to you about the research. I can be contacted via email: a.davis.14@ucl.ac.uk

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Teaching the Holocaust in Jewish Schools in England: An investigation into practice, perspectives and challenges:

INTERVIEW CONSENT QUESTIONS

I have read and understood the information sheet about the interview. **Yes** **No**

I agree that my interview can be recorded. **Yes** **No**

I agree that during the interview the researcher can make notes on my responses. **Yes** **No**

I agree to my interview responses being included in the research. **Yes** **No**

I agree that my interview responses can be quoted anonymously in materials such as the final thesis, conference presentations and academic publications. **Yes** **No**

I understand that where I have agreed to my interview responses being used and/or quoted anonymously, the materials and publications will be publicly available. **Yes** **No**

I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time and data I have provided will be destroyed. **Yes** **No**

I understand that I can contact the researcher at any time. **Yes** **No**

I understand that the results may be published in research publications and/or presentations. **Yes** **No**

I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the UK Data Service. I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. **Yes** **No**

I understand that genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. **Yes** **No**

Print name:

Signature:

Date:

Andrew Davis
UCL Institute of Education
Assessment
20 Bedford Way London WC1H 0AL
a.davis.14@ucl.ac.uk

Andrew Davis
Department of Curriculum, Pedagogy and
UCL Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way London WC1H 0AL

If you would like to participate please read the Data Protection Privacy Notice

Data Protection Privacy

Notice

Notice: The data controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Office provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. UCL's Data Protection Officer can also be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

Your personal data will be processed for the purposes outlined in this notice. The legal basis that would be used to process your *personal data* will be the performance of a task in the public interest. The legal basis used to process *special category personal data* will be for scientific and historical research or statistical purposes/explicit consent.

The personal data to be processed is: your email address, name and telephone number (provided as part of the interview process).

Your email address, name and telephone number will be processed until the successful completion of my doctoral studies by August 2021. Before this point, these details will be stored separately from your interview responses. After this point these details will be destroyed and your interview will become fully anonymous. I will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible.

Whilst I have your name, email address and telephone number, I can use it to identify your interview, and you have certain rights under data protection legislation in relation to the personal information that we hold about you. These rights apply only in particular circumstances and are subject to certain exemptions such as public interest (for example the prevention of crime). They include:

- The right to access your personal information;
- The right to rectification of your personal information;
- The right to erasure of your personal data;
- The right to restrict or object to the processing of your personal data;
- The right to object to the use of your data for direct marketing purposes;
- The right to data portability;
- Where the justification for processing is based on your consent, the right to withdraw such consent at any time; and
- The right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) about the use of your personal data.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact me about your rights, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. If you remain unsatisfied, you may wish to contact the ICO. Contact details, and further details of data subject rights, are available on the ICO website at: <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/data-protection-reform/overview-of-the-gdpr/individuals-right>

Appendix 12 – Section of an Interview Transcript from Phase III Research

Andrew Davis: [00:04:26] It's really interesting. OK thank you. Do you know what the aims of teaching the Holocaust are in your school?

Pamela: [00:04:34] Yeah. There are many aims. So from the point of view of the history department the aim is to give a thorough knowledge of the facts and figures surrounding the Holocaust, of the historical factors and causes impacting on why the Holocaust happened. Looking on how the Holocaust impacted across Europe how the Holocaust is connected with, and separate from World War 2, and the impact of the Holocaust on society post holocaust.

Pamela: [00:05:09] In the Jewish Studies department we teach the Holocaust in Year 8 because we start our GCSEs in Year 9 and because the current GCSE does not have the Holocaust as part of its teaching. So we do a key component in Year 8 in the January term for half a term immediately followed by units on Israel so that the Holocaust is in a historical Jewish context with Israel as a follow through so that they can see the outcome of one from the other. The aim of teaching it at all at Key Stage Three is that our students are aware of what the Holocaust is, of the impact it had on Jews, the impact it had on anyone who wasn't part of Hitler's master plan and how our cohort in the school personally would have been impacted on had they lived at that time. That the students in our school understand why it's important to learn the messages of the Holocaust to pass them on to their peers and pass them onto the next generation. And because our cohort is so diverse we see that they have to learn that as soon as possible. So the aim is to teach historical facts and figures. The aim is to teach historical causes. The aim is to teach the impact of the Holocaust on the Jewish community. The impact of Holocaust on humanity and society and most importantly the lessons we as a school can take going forward. In Year 12 as part of our general J.S. we host 200 students from 10 schools across the borough at an inter school Holocaust seminar where we have an amazing speaker. You may know her XXXXX XXXXX XXXXX who comes with her daughter XXXXX XXXXX. All the more poignant now because she's losing her memory. And they sit in round tables of mixed schools with a table host from my school on each table. After they've heard the story we debrief. We have a series of poems from the Bosnian Genocide and from the Holocaust and we look at lessons we can take and the students present those. I also train all of the schools from the borough to speak at the HMD ceremony in XXXX XXXX and we take Sixth Form ambassadors to go and do that. The aim of all of these things is that our students should be informed knowledgeable ambassadors for Holocaust Education when they leave the school. It's taken a long time to get that going and get that working smoothly. It's really great and it really impacts.

Andrew Davis: [00:07:42] Do you think there is a difference between your Jewish children and your non-Jewish children?

Pamela: [00:07:46] In terms of what?

Andrew Davis: [00:07:46] You said you want them to be Holocaust educators in the wider community. Do you think the way that they perceive the importance of it or the way that they respond to it is different?

Pamela: [00:07:59] It's really great question. I think objectively no there's no difference. I think what we see from the point of view of what they say is very similar. If you ask what they feel, I think there's a difference. I think if you say well; what is the

connectedness of a Jew to this subject? If our students are Ashkenazi Jews who've been brought up in a traditional Jewish home there's an emotional connection that is clearly different to anyone else's. There's clearly a greater attachment to the victims to the situation and to the outcome. Many of our Muslim students understand what it feel like, in fact most of us students understand what it feels like to be considered as 'other'. And to be possibly not persecuted, but to be thought about differently because of who they are. So our Muslim students, our students who have just come to this country, because we link it to other genocides, I think they have an understanding of what that feeling is like. I think they own it in a different way. I think they all take the same messages from it. Does it build tolerance between our students? Yeah I think so.

Andrew Davis: [00:09:11] Thank you. Have you taught the Holocaust in other schools?

Pamela: [00:09:18] I've taught the Holocaust in lots of other settings. I've taught the Holocaust in lots of schools when I worked at the XXXXX XXXXXX and we used to do Holocaust roadshow workshops. So I've taught it in lots of primary schools. I have not taught the Holocaust in any other secondary school but this one.