

Is education about the history of the Holocaust an **end** in itself? How can knowledge about the past be used for **mastering** the present? Is there a natural link between **Holocaust** education and human rights education? How can **young** people be encouraged to reflect self-critically on their role in society? What brings about a rethinking of **attitudes** and a change in

Discover the Past for the Future

A study on the role of historical sites and museums in Holocaust education and human rights education in the EU

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Main Results Report

January 2010

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List of abbreviations

ANED	National Association of Italian Political Deportees from Nazi Concentration Camps
CDEC	Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation
DIIS	Danish Institute for International Studies
EVZ	Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future
FHAO	Facing History and Ourselves
GDR	the German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
HRE	Human rights education
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICEAH	International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICOM	International Council of Museums
IC MEMO	International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes
ITF	International Task Force
IWM	Imperial War Museum
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NKWD	the Soviet secret service
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UDHR	the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USHMM	the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Foreword

To avoid repeating past mistakes, and to best respond to the challenges facing contemporary society, both a strong knowledge of - and a critical reflection upon - the past are essential. The Holocaust demonstrates the consequences that subscribing to ideologies of ethnic or cultural supremacy, and the concomitant suppression of human rights, can have. There is a duty, therefore, to educate future generations about the role of human rights in their own lives, and in the lives of those around them.

This report presents the findings of the first EU-wide study examining the role of Holocaust-related sites and exhibitions in educating young people about the Holocaust and about human rights. This study by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) contributes to a new discussion at European level, bringing together the fields of Holocaust and human rights education, and suggesting how this dialogue can feed into new thinking about both past and present issues.

Many of the sites studied in the course of this project bear direct witness to National Socialist crimes and the consequences of racist and antisemitic ideologies, discrimination, dehumanization, and ultimately the deprivation of human beings of their right to life. The students and teachers interviewed for the study spoke of the strong effect that visits to former crime scenes had on them and highlighted the importance of dealing with the past in a meaningful way.

But what is a meaningful way to deal with the history of the Holocaust? How can reflection on the history of the Holocaust be sustained? How can young people connect knowledge about history with reflection on contemporary issues of concern?

The FRA hopes that the findings of this study will contribute to advancing the debate on how to preserve memory of the past for the sake of the future. There is no doubt that this task requires approaches that link Holocaust and human rights education, and that commemoration sites and historical museums have a significant role to play in this context.

In addition to this research report, the FRA is also publishing two practical handbooks: a guide for teachers on how to make best use of visits to Holocaust-related sites, and a discussion book addressing issues relevant for the sites themselves, including case studies of educational approaches that seek to link education about the Holocaust with education about human rights.

The FRA would like to thank the Living History Forum for conducting this study.

Morten Kjaerum

Director, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

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Executive summary

The study

This study investigated the role that European memorial sites, museums and exhibitions play with respect to Holocaust education and human rights education for students who visit these sites.

The study was conducted by the Living History Forum in Sweden, with the assistance of academics and practitioners from memorial sites, museums and universities. The experts came from Poland, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland. They were historians, social psychologists and educators. Though most had a background in Holocaust education, several had a background in human rights, anti-racist and intercultural education.

The project involved:

- an examination of the literature on this topic
- a survey among ministries of all EU Member States
- a survey among 22 memorial sites and museums dealing with the Holocaust
- focus group discussions with teachers and students in 9 EU Member States
- on-site research at 14 memorial sites and historical museums and interviews with pedagogical experts and curators of these sites

In addition to publishing this research report the FRA has also developed

- a handbook for teachers providing information on how to make best use of visits to Holocaust-related sites and exhibitions for teaching about the Holocaust and about human rights
- a discussion book addressing issues relevant for Holocaust-related sites and museums and providing case studies of educational approaches that seek to link education about the Holocaust with education about human rights.

In the framework of this study, **Holocaust education** is understood as

education that takes the discrimination, persecution and extermination of the Jews by the National Socialist regime as its focus, but also includes Nazi crimes against other victim groups, both for the purpose of deeper understanding and contextualisation of the Holocaust and out of a desire to

acknowledge and commemorate the suffering of numerous non-Jewish victims of the Nazi era.

Human rights education (HRE) is defined as

education, training and information aimed at building a universal culture of human rights, which not only provides knowledge about human rights and the mechanisms that protect them but also imparts the skills needed to promote, defend and apply human rights in daily life. (UNESCO)

Findings

Importance of sites

All EU Member States confirm the importance of Holocaust education, democracy education and human rights education (HRE). The interviewed students pointed to the impact that confrontation with the Holocaust has had on their personal lives, particularly with regard to visits to memorial sites. Students see memorial sites as places that can have a lasting impression on them and they perceive ‘authentic’ historical sites as more powerful than museums. Meeting with survivors was emphasised by the students as having had a particular impact on them

Educational scope of sites

All interviewees considered Holocaust education to comprise more than confrontation with the past alone. Confrontation with the Holocaust also always touches on contemporary issues. Some of the memorial sites and museums surveyed and visited do follow concepts that are designed to stimulate action among their visitors. However, while many sites have installed education programmes, there is no clear focus of such programmes on human rights related education. Only one of the surveyed sites regards raising awareness about human rights as its most important objective, all other institutions focus on the transmission of historical knowledge.

Human rights education at school and in the literature

Teachers and students make few connections between visits to memorial sites and HRE. Statements by teachers and students also point to a weak link between Holocaust education and HRE at school level. Discussions revealed that there is a lack of knowledge about the history and scope of human rights – this contradicts responses by the ministries in EU Member States stating that

HRE is a priority area. All in all, HRE is not a well established concept, neither at the level of memorial sites nor at school level. Even in the literature there is very little connection between Holocaust education and HRE at memorial sites

Success factors and problems related to education at sites

According to the surveyed sites, factors for the success of educational activities at sites are:

- high quality of the educational programmes and activities
- pedagogical methods that activate and empower students
- positive attitudes of students and teachers and good preparation of visits to memorial sites
- educational skills and motivation of the employees at the sites
- sufficient funding of sites and visits to sites by official authorities

According to students, teachers, and staff employed at sites, the following obstacles are preventing a better use of sites:

- lack of skilled and well-trained staff
- inadequate funding of sites and lack of funding of visits to sites (teachers pointed out the difficulty of financing visits to memorial sites and museums)
- lack of seminar rooms and space for educational activities
- lack of time for the education activities on the site
- poorly prepared groups
- inadequate teaching materials related to the Holocaust, HRE and visits to Holocaust sites
- that students are obliged to participate in activities
- lack of cooperation between teachers on education about the Holocaust
- too little interaction and not enough independent activity of students at sites
- lack of connection of educational activities at sites to the present

Views on pedagogical approaches

Most teachers stated that they were against a “top-down” teaching approach. In their view, and also in the students’ view, students should participate voluntarily in visits to sites. Students should form their own opinions through active,

exploratory, research-based and project-oriented learning. Teachers and students emphasize the importance of work with biographies of victims and perpetrators. Emotions are seen as important for learning processes, but there is the danger of emotional overload or emotional resistance.

Before and after a visit

Students and teachers affirm the importance of preparation and, even more, follow-up activities. A successful strategy would be to arrange discussions with teachers or school groups prior to the visit. In terms of linking human rights education and Holocaust education, pre-visit preparation and post-visit evaluation could play an important role. Overall, institutions tend to have too little knowledge of the interests of the young people that visit them. When asked the main reasons why people go to these sites, the museum and memorial site staff frequently confused the visitors' possible motivation with their own pedagogical objectives.

The role of educators

Substantial importance is attributed to the personality and qualifications of both teachers and guides when dealing with the subject of the Holocaust. Teachers are seen as key figures in terms of the students' interest in the subject. Guides are regarded as key figures for the success of visits to memorial sites. Often, there is insufficient integration of not fully employed guides into the educational departments at the sites. In-depth knowledge of and training about human rights and HRE is rare among staff at Holocaust related institutions.

Conclusions

Holocaust education and HRE at school level

The present study indicates that HRE is insufficiently integrated into the curriculum of schools in the EU, despite the commitment to do so on the part of most EU Member States. Schools should take on the responsibility to promote learning about the Holocaust and human rights, and how the links between these two fields can be achieved. Teaching about the Holocaust, whether presented in a subject-specific, integrated or cross-curricular approach, can most effectively be connected to human rights issues if this period of history is discussed in a broad historical context and in relation to its significance to contemporary society.

Importance of teacher education and training

Teachers need opportunities to gain a better understanding of what human rights education is. One way to achieve this is through including both learning about the Holocaust and learning about the history and present role of human rights in teacher education and training. In addition to this, international and national seminars, meetings and conferences where an exchange of ideas, methodology and concepts can take place, could foster understanding.

Holocaust education and HRE at Holocaust-related sites and museums

At present, there are only a few developed or tested pedagogical concepts that bring together the history of the Holocaust and contemporary issues, not to mention to implement and evaluate them on a regular basis. A first step to rethinking and broadening educational programmes and pedagogical approaches is the evaluation of present programmes and activities. Given that museums and memorial sites work with permanent and/or temporary exhibitions, it is also necessary to examine their educational accessibility and how this might be improved.

If museums and memorial sites are to integrate HRE more extensively into their work, it is necessary to assess what type of training and qualifications will be needed by their staff to make these efforts successful. In addition, memorial sites and museums should explore to what extent they can work more closely with (local) universities and human rights experts. Universities can assist in evaluating projects and programmes, and also guide sites in their attempts to reflect on their educational strategies and develop more materials and programmes.

This study makes it clear that attempts to expand knowledge of human rights and make connections between Holocaust education and HRE need a broader focus than the memorial sites or museums can offer. Much of the work on linking Holocaust education and HRE needs to be done in schools. Visits to memorial sites and museums can stimulate, support and supplement such work.

1. Introduction

During the past decades the historical event of the Holocaust has become, over most of Europe and also in other parts of the world, a central part of the culture of memory. Some authors even see the Holocaust as the point of departure of a ‘European identity’, and there are international efforts to institutionalize memory of the Holocaust as a common negative reference point for moral values (Assmann 2007; Kroh 2008). Many countries have introduced memorial days for the victims of the Holocaust and other Nazi crimes; memorials and Holocaust museums can be found at the historical sites of the crimes and elsewhere. The Holocaust has also become an educational topic and component of the school curriculum, both in the EU and beyond. The associated objective is not only to transmit historical facts and contexts, but also to implement and reinforce political and moral standards and values.

‘The Holocaust provides us with an awareness that democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained; and that the Holocaust occurred because individuals, organisations, and governments made a choice which legalised discrimination and permitted hatred and murder to occur’ (Milton 2000).

In this context, the question is raised today as to whether and how the Holocaust should be explicitly integrated into a broader human rights perspective that includes tracing the past and discussing contemporary human rights issues. It was only recently that 46 states signed the so-called ‘Terezín Declaration’ in which they not only ‘encourage all states as a matter of priority to include education about the Holocaust and other Nazi crimes in the curriculum of their public education system’, but also stress that

‘believing strongly that international human rights laws reflect important lessons from history, and that the understanding of human rights is essential for confronting and preventing all forms of racial, religious or ethnic discrimination, including Anti-Semitism and Anti-Romani sentiment, today we are committed to including human rights education into the curricula of our educational systems.’¹

In many countries, memorial sites to the victims of Nazism above all, but also museums and exhibitions, have assumed an important role in transmitting historical facts and moral values, both in addition to and in conjunction with the work carried out by schools. Each year, millions of people throughout Europe visit memorial sites at places associated with Nazi crimes, as well as museums and exhibitions on the Holocaust. A large number of these visitors are young people taking part in curriculum-based visits, study trips, educational

¹ Terezín Declaration, 30.06.2009, <http://www.holocausteraassets.eu/contacts/> (01.12.2009).

programmes or class trips. What is certain is that considerable significance is attached to memorial sites, particularly in terms of their pedagogical role. After all, despite the extensive organisation required, fairly large numbers travel several hundred kilometres to visit sites with a particular link to Nazi crimes.

The significance of memorial sites to the victims of Nazism at historic locations, as well as the smaller number of museums and Holocaust exhibitions not associated with a specific place, lies above all in the fact that they bear witness to National Socialist crimes which, with the dwindling of the wartime generation, it will soon be impossible to document through direct communication with survivors. Through their topographical and material existence, which creates spatial continuity between past and present, the memorial sites at former concentration camps highlight the impact of these crimes on people's lives and seek to promote a confrontation with history. Through their collections and objects, museums and exhibitions primarily emphasise the reality of what happened. As well as addressing the historical dimensions of Nazi crimes, memorial sites aim to raise awareness of current societal issues and to stimulate action. Due to their historical locations and so-called authenticity, the memorial sites refer to the past in remembering the victims and thereby also point to the perpetrators and crimes. However, exhibitions of history are also not restricted to the documentation of the past. They can also include the victim perspective in order to allow an overall perspective on the Holocaust and some exhibitions connect historic events with the contemporary context. At the same time, they are anchored in the present through their admonitory role that aims for a better future.

Confrontation with Nazi crimes and mass extermination raises so many fundamental moral issues and deep-seated uncertainties about human capabilities that teaching about historical events and contexts is not enough. The aim is to start, on the basis of history, processes of reflection in terms of individual morality or ethics.

Most memorial sites did not initially serve as museums and did not have exhibitions or additional educational resources. These sites are thus faced with a new challenge in having to address both past and present. As a result of greater temporal distance from the Nazi past, along with demographic changes and the increasingly academically-oriented presentation of historical events, it no longer seems sufficient for a memorial site visit to simply provoke the moral rejection of Nazism. Instead, visitors should acquire a differentiated understanding of history and learn to appreciate historical contexts and contradictions. And so, before using history as vantage point for reflection, for example about human rights issues on a more general level, memorial sites must focus on the historical events themselves and describe and explain them.

Nowadays, therefore, they often do much more than mark the site of the crimes. In many countries, they have become institutions that assume a wide range of tasks. Along with serving as public and private places of memory and

graveyards, they are also museums and research and educational establishments. It is therefore not easy to draw a clear distinction between memorial sites, museums and historical exhibitions. Memorial sites, however, often combine all of these functions, being places for remembrance, research and especially learning.

Having said this, there is no clear answer as to the ‘lesson’ or ‘lessons’ to be drawn from history and how the ‘legacy of the victims’ can or should be preserved. There is certainly a broad international political consensus that a repetition of ‘Auschwitz’ should be prevented. However, it is not possible to establish what this means and how it can be implemented from the historical events alone. It is therefore necessary to continue debating the legacy of the Holocaust as a warning or responsibility for future generations, and to discuss at what point it is connected to legitimate current political interests. These debates will continue to be especially pertinent when the last survivors of the concentration camps have passed away.

One of the political lessons to be drawn from the historical experience of National Socialist crimes is the establishment of human rights standards in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and their integration into international law.² In December 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the ‘Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide’. This became binding following its ratification in 1951. There are close historical links between the UDHR, the Convention on Genocide and the awareness that emerged of the perpetration of war crimes and the mass murder of European Jews. The UDHR drew the political and humanitarian consequences from the atrocities of World War II and the mass extermination perpetrated by the Nazis in order to prevent similar crimes from occurring in the future. The Convention on Genocide established a provision within international law to at least punish future perpetrators. The UDHR draws a clear parallel between confrontation with the Nazi past and the commitment to make the world a better place, even though Nazi crimes represent the ultimate violation of human rights and the protection of human rights basically serves to enable people to lead a dignified existence and not only to prevent torture, deportation and mass murder.

This historical link suggests, however, that the duty to protect human rights can also be added to educational strategies that refer to the past, present and future. In other words, knowledge and awareness of the Holocaust should encourage action against discrimination, racism and anti-Semitism. It seems obvious that the Holocaust above all acquires contemporary significance through acknowledgement and commitment to human rights. It is thus hardly surprising that over the past few years the question of the pedagogical relevance of the

² The UDHR contains in total 30 articles of various kinds, focusing on the individual’s freedom of rights, obligations and protections. These rights have their historical background in liberal as well as socialist thinking and values.

history of the Holocaust has been answered with increased reference to the awareness, implementation and protection of human rights. This might in the future also include reference to the Charter of Fundamental Rights proclaimed by the EU in December 2000.³

1.1. The scope of the study

The increased importance of memorial sites, museums and exhibitions for the memory of National Socialist crimes and the special significance of human rights education throughout the EU provide two fundamental criteria for this study. The study was commissioned in 2008 by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights and carried out in 2009 by the Swedish Living History Forum with the assistance of a range of external experts. The objective of the study was to investigate the current role and contribution of Holocaust sites and museums to Holocaust education and human rights education of young people in the EU.

On the basis of the findings of this project the FRA has also developed

- a handbook for teachers providing information on how to make best use of visits to Holocaust-related sites and exhibitions for teaching about the Holocaust and about human rights
- a discussion book addressing issues relevant for Holocaust-related sites and museums and providing case studies of educational approaches that seek to link education about the Holocaust with education about human rights.

The research for the study comprised an assessment of the official guidelines and recommendations of the relevant authorities in each EU Member State, the viewpoints of selected teachers and students, and the descriptions of the respective institutions given by staff working there. The study investigated a range of different institutions which address the Holocaust through historical information and educational activities. The institutions examined included:

1. Authentic historic sites: original sites that are used as memorial sites and for exhibitions (e.g. former concentration and death camps, buildings used by the National Socialist regime or by its collaborators, etc.)
2. Commemoration sites: newly built monuments and sites of memory, which include exhibitions and/or education programmes

³ Under six headings – Dignity, Freedoms, Equality, Solidarity, Citizens’ Rights and Justice – its 54 articles set out the European Union’s fundamental values and the civil, political, economic and social rights of EU citizens. It will become legally binding for all EU Member States with the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty by all EU Member States.

3. Historical museums: museums that host exhibitions and/or run education programmes related to the Holocaust

The criteria for, and definition of the types of institution to be investigated enabled an EU-wide study rather than one limited to those states which have historic memorial sites. The terms Holocaust education and human rights education (HRE) should be defined here. Both terms are imprecise, especially for the purposes of an international study. Furthermore, as the study covers the entire EU, it cannot be expected that teaching and extracurricular activities will apply the same pedagogical concepts or that the educational programmes, themselves not clearly defined, will comprise the same content and methods.

For the purposes of defining the term Holocaust education, this study refers mainly to the documents of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF)⁴, since they were discussed and agreed upon by experts from many countries.⁵ The concept should, however, always be placed in context and relates to highly distinct thematic and methodological priorities.

Within the framework of this study, Holocaust education is understood as:

education that takes the discrimination, persecution and extermination of the Jews by the National Socialist regime as its focus, but also includes Nazi crimes against other victim groups, both for the purpose of deeper understanding and contextualisation of the Holocaust and out of a desire to acknowledge and commemorate the suffering of numerous non-Jewish victims of the Nazi era.

This definition applies to all the pedagogical strategies to teach about National Socialist crimes, their preconditions and history in the states examined as part of the study. Along with the systematic exclusion, persecution and murder of the Jews, these crimes also included the mass murder of Polish civilians, prisoners of war, Roma, Sinti and Travellers, the mass murder of persons with disabilities as part of the so-called euthanasia programme as well as the persecution of homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses. The institutions examined in this study

⁴ The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF), initiated by Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson in 1998, consists of representatives of governments, as well as governmental and non-governmental organisations. Twenty-seven states are currently members of the ITF, among them 20 states of the EU. "Its purpose is to place political and social leaders' support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research both nationally and internationally." The ITF works on the basis of the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust which expressed a commonly held view on the Holocaust and its «universal meaning». By signing the declaration governments also declared their commitment to "reaffirm humanity's common aspiration for mutual understanding and justice" and they stated that the international community "shares a solemn responsibility to fight [...] genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, anti-semitism and xenophobia".

⁵ <http://holocausttaskforce.org> (01.12.2009).

also of course use those definitions which deal either primarily or exclusively with the Holocaust⁶ in the narrow sense of the term.

Holocaust education may have a number of aims, depending upon the perspective of the educator, the curriculum subject in which it is taught, national benchmarks, educational activities and the age and needs of the students. These aims can be primarily historical, seeking to understand the past, to explain why and how the Holocaust happened and to appreciate the significance and legacy of the Holocaust; or the aims can include contemporary and personal reflection on moral, ethical, and civic questions arising from an understanding of the Holocaust. According to the guidelines of the Education Working Group⁷ of the ITF, teaching about the Holocaust should:

1. Advance knowledge about this unprecedented destruction
2. Preserve the memory of those who suffered
3. Encourage educators and students to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust and how they apply in today's world.⁸

A relatively clear term can be used for the second element of this study, which investigated the significance of memorial sites and museums for human rights education (HRE). Human rights education is now an internationally established academic discipline, for which there are a number of concepts. The following definition is used for the purposes of this study:

Human rights education – in its broadest sense – is education, training, and information aimed at building a universal culture of human rights, which not only provides knowledge about human rights and the mechanisms that

⁶ The Holocaust is the name given to the unprecedented genocide of the Jewish people perpetrated by the Nazis and their collaborators, with the intent of murdering every Jewish man, woman and child, wherever possible. 'Holocaust' – a term of Greek origin that means a burnt offering – is the name most often used in the English-speaking world, but some prefer the Hebrew word 'Shoah', which means 'catastrophe'. In Yiddish, it is sometimes called 'Churb'n', a term mostly used by religious Jews. Others speak of the destruction or the Nazi genocide of the European Jews.

⁷ In the ITF's Education Working Group (EWG) two experts from each member state work together to discuss and elaborate concepts for Holocaust education. The EWG has issued recommendations on why the Holocaust should be taught, what and how to teach, as well as guidelines on visiting Holocaust-related sites and suggestions for educators on preparing Holocaust memorial days. These recommendations are not set in stone and the guidelines on "How to teach about the Holocaust" explicitly state: "There can be no single 'correct' way of teaching any subject, no ideal methodology that is appropriate for all teachers and students". But the fact that the guidelines are a result of an intensive discussion, leading to a consensus between experts from many countries, gives them prominence.

⁸ <http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/education/guidelines-for-teaching/what-to-teach-about-the-holocaust.html> (01.12.2009).

protect them but also imparts the skills needed to promote, defend and apply human rights in daily life.

How human rights education should be understood in relation to Holocaust education, and to what extent it is implemented in memorial sites, museums and exhibitions related to the Nazi past, was explored in the course of this study. This is because experts have not reached a consensus as to whether human rights education is, or should also be, a feature of memorial sites and museums focusing on the Holocaust and National Socialism. As human rights education aims to generate empowerment and the capacity for action as well as transmitting knowledge, there may be an analogy with education on National Socialism and the Holocaust, which also closely links the acquisition of knowledge and the capacity to take positive human rights-related action. However, some experts have expressed scepticism in this regard.⁹

1.2. How the study was carried out

The structure of this report essentially follows the chronology of the research, which comprised a literature review, questionnaire analysis of the political and institutional background, focus group discussions with teachers and students, and interviews and direct observation of educational practice in memorial sites and museums. Each stage of the research process built on the previous one and all the stages were related.

Data collection methods were adapted for the respective research questions. Hence, standard questionnaires with semi-closed questions were used to obtain an overall response to the question of how and whether, in the official view of each state, memorial sites and museums should be an integral part of school education. Focus was placed here on whether there are links between Holocaust education and human rights education. This methodology was also used to obtain an initial overview of the respective memorial sites and museums in the EU. At the same time, the large number of such institutions meant that it was necessary from the outset to limit the study to 22 institutions in ten of the Member States (on the selection made, see Chapter 4). At the next stage, two focus group discussions were held in nine of these states: Denmark (Copenhagen), Germany (Berlin), the Czech Republic (Prague), Lithuania (Vilnius), the Netherlands (Amsterdam), Great Britain (London), Austria (Linz), Italy (Milan) and Poland (Cracow). Between three and ten teachers and students took part in the separate groups. The final stage of the data collection involved teams of two to three people from the project group visiting a total of 14 institutions in nine EU Member States. Interviews were carried out at the respective sites with the directors of each institution, with a number of employees and, in a few cases, with young people visiting the site. These on-

⁹ See, for example, Scheurich (2010) and Hormel/Scherr (2008).

site visits firstly served to elaborate on the information provided in the questionnaires. Secondly, they made it possible to gain a direct insight into the institutions, to see their spatial and personnel resources, their exhibitions and their multi-media resources, to consult their educational materials and in some cases to observe educational activities in practice.

One unique feature of this study is its multi-perspective approach to the subject. This does not only relate to the research question itself, but also to the researchers involved. The study was led by the Living History Forum in Sweden but also directly involved academics and practitioners from memorial sites, museums and universities. The experts came from Poland, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

1.3. Structure of the report

Chapter 2 of the report gives, on the basis of a literature review, an overview of theoretical and pedagogical debates in the field. The main aim here is to discuss the terms Holocaust education and human rights education and to identify the possible links between them. In line with the objectives of the study, focus is placed on the work of memorial sites and museums. The chapter looks primarily at the similarities and links between the two discourses, which have been largely separate up to the present.

Chapter 3 presents the results of the questionnaire sent to the education or culture ministries of the EU Member States. The main focus here is on the official guidelines and recommendations on how extracurricular institutions such as memorial sites and historical museums should be used for teaching about National Socialism / the Holocaust and human rights, but reference is also made to the official viewpoints on and expectations of the tasks and objectives of these institutions.

Chapter 4 describes and evaluates the results of the questionnaire sent to selected memorial sites and museums. A total of 22 institutions in nine EU Member States were surveyed. The aim was to acquire information on their pedagogical goals, opportunities and obstacles; their target groups, their resources and the funding they receive. Above all, the questionnaire allowed the institutions to describe themselves, their tasks and their objectives as well as to present their viewpoints on the opportunities, challenges and obstacles associated with achieving their goals. As soon became clear, these were associated with broad-ranging and extensive expectations.

Chapter 5 sums up the results of the focus groups carried out with both teachers and students in nine EU Member States. This shift in perspective to include the views of important users of these sites provides an insight into the expectations of these groups and the factors that they consider crucial for the long-lasting success of Holocaust education. The students and teachers were divided into

separate focus groups. The perspectives of the focus groups essentially reflected criteria linked to good practice. It was possible to identify key elements that both students and teachers in all countries regarded as crucial if a visit to a memorial site was both to leave a firm impression and also have a long-lasting impact.

Chapter 6 again focuses on the Holocaust sites and museums. Of the 22 institutions surveyed by questionnaire, twelve were investigated in more detail through a number of interviews, participation in and observation of their activities. Two further organisations that arrange study trips to Auschwitz were also examined. On the one hand, the aim was to assess how the memorial site staff regard the factors for success identified in the focus groups, and on the other, it was to see whether and how these factors are taken account of and integrated into educational activities. It emerged that there was often a consensus between the wishes of the visitors (students and teachers) and the approach of the memorial site staff, but that in practice there are various obstacles to implementing these factors. At some of the sites, it was possible to observe educational activities in practice, in addition to hearing them described in the interviews. However, because of the small number of educational activities observed, it is not possible to draw any general conclusions about the implementation of these respective pedagogical concepts. Rather, these observations made it possible to give examples as an insight into educational activities that vary according to the circumstances. It should therefore be stressed that the present study did not have the objective of assessing individual institutions on their educational activities.

Chapter 7 sums up the results of the study, particularly in relation to the question of actual and possible links between Holocaust education and human rights education, and it suggests areas where the two could be brought together.

Finally, chapter 8 contains, on the basis of the findings of the study, advice for EU level and national stakeholders on how to strengthen the contribution of Holocaust sites and museums to Holocaust education and human rights education, and on how to advance the link between the two fields.

2. Literature on Holocaust education and human rights education at Holocaust sites and museums

The objective of this chapter¹⁰ is to provide an overview of the current debate surrounding Holocaust education in relation to memorial sites, original sites and museums, and human rights education, in order to analyse areas where common features and relationships exist. Given the vast scope of existing literature on Holocaust education and on human rights education, certain limitations were introduced to make the research task feasible. It should therefore be stressed that the literature research for this study does not deal with some important issues, including the culture of commemoration. Its main focus is on literature that deals with Holocaust education at historical sites and museums. Whereas the debate about human rights education is predominantly found in Anglophone literature (cf. Lohrenscheit 2002: 176), it is mainly in Germany that scholars and practitioners have taken a theoretical and methodological interest in education at original sites, or rather in '*Gedenkstättenpädagogik*'.¹¹ In a similar vein, the vast literature on human rights education has been eliminated from the perspective of this project, which means that, for example, literature focusing on social development or issues concerning globalisation has been left out. A third limitation concerns the chronological scope. The focus has been on literature published in the last ten years.

¹⁰ This chapter is based on a literature review by Oscar Österberg in cooperation with Joanna Stoecker, who researched Polish literature. A study of Israeli literature conducted by Mikael Tossavainen found no references relevant to the limited focus of this study.

¹¹ For an introduction to German literature on education at original sites, cf. Kaiser 2006: 565-572. Some publications resemble handbooks or guidelines for visiting groups, but most of these tend to be highly descriptive (see: Chiappano 2007, Chroboczyński/Trojański 2004, Kranz 2002). There are, however, exceptions. Above all the ITF guidelines, but also Hermansson-Adler/Mattsson 2009, contains a great deal of analytical reasoning and recommendations. Kverndokk 2007 focuses on a Norwegian school trip to Auschwitz.

2.1. Holocaust education at sites

2.1.1. Memorial sites, historical sites and museums – definitions

Since July 2001, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) has had an international committee of ‘Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes (IC MEMO)’. Its goal is ‘to foster a responsible memory of history and to further cultural cooperation through education and through using knowledge in the interests of peace’.¹² These ‘memorial museums’ are characterised by their purpose to:

‘Commemorate victims of state, socially determined and ideologically motivated crimes. The institutions are frequently located at the original historical sites, or at places chosen by survivors of such crimes for the purposes of commemoration. They seek to convey information about historical events in a way which retains a historical perspective while also making strong links to the present.’¹³

In the guidelines of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research (ITF) an authentic site is defined as ‘a place where a historical event occurred during the Holocaust. Many of these sites have been transformed into memorial and/or educational sites and/or museums.’¹⁴ This definition describes fairly well the kind of institutions examined in this study. It also resembles the term mostly used in German, *Gedenkstätte*, that describes something different from a monument or a museum, even though it often resembles both (cf. Knigge 2004: 19). A *Gedenkstätte* could generally be described as a place with a strong connection to a horrific or catastrophic event which has been transformed into a memorial. The concept is closely related to the Nazi period but is nowadays also used in connection with communist oppression.

The multidimensional meaning of *Gedenkstätten* is described by Volkhard Knigge as a sum of various characteristics: they are 1) scenes of crimes 2) sites of martyrdom and suffering 3) graveyards, both symbolically and objectively 4) political monuments 5) places of learning 6) museums and 7) places for individual and collective projections and identity construction, especially in a modern media-dominated society (Knigge 2004: 26-28). As for the Polish

¹² <http://www.gedenkstaettenforum.de/icom/> (03.10.2009).

¹³ <http://www.gedenkstaettenforum.de/icom/> (03.10.2009).

¹⁴ *Recommendations for Study Tours to Holocaust-Related Sites*, <http://taskforce.ushmm.org/teachers/guidelines/trips/english.htm> (31.03.2009). The ITF guidelines are quoted in the text. See also website <http://taskforce.ushmm.org/teachers/guidelines> (01.12.2009).

context, Tomasz Kranz indicates the following additional characteristics: 1) they serve as examples of the past 2) they are components of Polish commemorative culture 3) they are subjects of historical communication and narratives and 4) they bear witness to society. Combining all these elements, they affect both the cognitive and the emotional sphere (cf. Kranz 2002: 38-42, 108).

In the emerging field of ‘dark tourism’ studies (Lennon/Foley 2000) scholars have approached the question of historical sites and museums by looking at the act of travelling to sites associated with death and suffering. There is, for example, a crucial difference between the Imperial War Museum and Auschwitz-Birkenau (Miles 2002). Drawing upon the existing literature, Philip R. Stone has therefore suggested that dark tourism sites could be analysed based on a ‘spectrum’ stretching from the ‘lightest’ to the ‘darkest sites’. While the lightest ones are associated with death and suffering; the ‘darkest’ sites are places where death and suffering actually took place (Stone 2006: 151-152). Even though almost all the institutions of interest to this project are towards the ‘darker’ side of the spectrum, there may still be differences in terms of location authenticity and of logistic infrastructure, meaning that different solutions have to be found to create an experience of authenticity for the visitors.

Stone has also constructed a typology of ‘dark tourism supply’. He distinguishes between seven different types of sites, two of which will be retained here in order to differentiate the institutions in the current research (Stone 2006: 152-157). This chapter will focus on educational activities at sites which either belong to the category of ‘dark exhibitions’ (whether permanent, such as the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, or temporary, such as ‘Holocaust by Bullets’ which is now touring Europe) or to the category of ‘dark camps of genocide’ and other mass-crimes committed by the Nazis (Buchenwald, Auschwitz).

2.1.2. Holocaust education – notional difficulties

Education on the Holocaust and other mass crimes committed by the Nazis is now mandatory in the school curriculum of many European countries, but it is seldom treated as an educational field in itself. Instead, it is most often integrated into the general curriculum for history or civics. The term Holocaust education is, as already mentioned, problematic, even though it does appear in official documents and in the titles of professional journals. It is especially problematic in a European context, because there is no common agreement as to what exactly is to be covered by the curriculum. The OSCE/ODHIR for example recommends that

‘Teachers should not focus solely on the victims of the National Socialist regime and those who resisted it but should also discuss the perpetrators, collaborators, and bystanders. Jewish life in Europe before the Holocaust,

the National Socialists' rise to power, and the history of anti-Semitism are important pre-war topics to include in Holocaust education. The aftermath of the war should also be dealt with: the post-war trials and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.' (OSCE/ODIHR 2006: 12)

Although the genocide of European Jewry is a central and accepted common denominator, Holocaust education also includes the examination of other Nazi crimes that go beyond the narrow scope of the term Holocaust. The term Holocaust education has been criticised for various reasons. For example, can a concentration camp which had little or no importance for the genocide of European Jewry but was used for the oppression of political prisoners, or an original site connected to the T-4 euthanasia programme,¹⁵ be part of Holocaust education? In addition, there is the question of whether the Holocaust should be dealt with separately from the general historical narrative of the Second World War. Furthermore, as different European nations were affected by the Second World War in quite different ways, and the post-war narratives about these events are far from homogenous, it is far from clear how the Holocaust will be integrated into the different national narratives which still tend to dominate the school curriculum. Ambiguities such as these have led many (European) scholars to be sceptical about the use of the term Holocaust education (Ehmann 2001: 175; Knigge 2001). In spite of these objections, the expression Holocaust education will be retained in the context of this present study, partly because it is broader than the expression 'Education about the Holocaust'.¹⁶

2.1.3. Holocaust education at original sites, commemoration sites and museums

Even though Holocaust education is now included in the history teaching of most European countries, the role of visits to museums or original sites is still not always dealt with in the general literature outside the German language area. For example, in the Council of Europe's publication 'Teaching 20th-century European history', the Holocaust is dealt with, but not in connection with out-of-school learning opportunities (Stradling 2001: 157-170). Even in the specially developed handbook 'Teaching about the Holocaust in the 21st century', the reader will find no recommendations or suggestions about visiting museums or original sites (Lecomte 2001). The same could be said of the new official guidelines for Holocaust education in French schools (Ministère de

¹⁵ The so-called "Action T 4" referred to the centrally organised murder of tens of thousands of persons with intellectual or physical disabilities between 1940 and 1941. The term "T 4" comes from the postal address of the programme's headquarters, Tiergartenstraße 4, in Berlin.

¹⁶ The need to specify what "Holocaust education" means in each individual case is self-evident. The usage of the term in the scope of this study is explained in the introduction.

l'Éducation nationale 2008). By contrast, the Polish Ministry of Education accepted the core requirements for history and social education that include teaching about the Holocaust and visits to memorial sites. Due to the number and proximity of memorial sites in Poland, it has been customary to arrange visits to memorial museums during middle- and high-school education for many years (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej 2009). However, we know from statistics that every year, thousands of European schoolchildren, not only from Germany and Poland, visit sites and museums connected to the Holocaust with their teachers.

Basically, three main goals for Holocaust education are described in the literature and will be discussed in the following: (1) history teaching/historical learning, (2) commemoration, and (3) providing moral insights for the future.

History teaching, Historical learning

Firstly, there is the uncontroversial goal to teach about the Holocaust as an important event in history. The aim is to include and integrate an earlier ignored body of historical knowledge into the general historical narrative which is taught and communicated in society. There is little that sets this undertaking apart from the commonly used mode of historical thinking used in academic research and teaching. Historical teaching usually starts at a certain point in the past and follows developments chronologically towards the present, and tries to identify the factors and processes which led up to and brought about the genocide. The emphasis typically lies on contextualization and the avoidance of anachronisms and simplifications.

In the literature on education at original sites that has been studied, special emphasis is placed on the importance of local history. However, most authors also emphasise the need for historical contextualisation and stress the importance of presenting local events within a larger historical context. This not only relates to the teaching of factual knowledge but also to historical education about ideologies, political aspirations and personal motivations, as well as the structural and institutional processes which brought about these events. It is stressed that solid contextualisation will counter the tendency to give the Holocaust a transcendental status 'outside' the historical process (Kaiser 2000) and that Holocaust education requires a precise handling of historical facts. The task at hand is to combine the transmission of factual knowledge with the development of the students' ability to deliberate and use a conscious shift of perspectives (Kößler 2001: 198-199).

Many authors stress the importance of considering the perspective of individual historical actors (cf. Kößler 2001; Salmons 2001: 142-144; Santerini 2008: 99). According to Uwe Neirich, education at original sites does not only mean the transmission of facts about Nazi Germany and the genocide of European Jewry, but it also brings about an understanding of the motives and goals of the

perpetrators, yet without ignoring the victims. This avoids the perpetrators being presented as ‘monsters’ who have little in common with normal people, which means that students have to confront the often seemingly petty or banal reasons why people became perpetrators (Neirich 2000: 32-33). It is, of course, equally important that the focus on the perpetrators does not lead to identification with the perpetrators as active subjects, in contrast to the seemingly helpless victims (Neirich 2000: 35).

Ideally, like the teaching of history in general, historical education at sites should also stimulate critical reflection about the information given. This is, however, a controversial issue which might be difficult to carry out at many sites. Annette Eberle, for example, stresses that knowledge about historical facts, events and connections must not be lost in the attempt to reach other goals motivated by the needs of the present, such as promoting subjective and individual interpretations of the past (Eberle 2008: 63).

Commemoration and developing empathy with the victims

The second objective is about preserving and respecting the memory of the victims, by rescuing their individual identities and developing empathy with them. This aspect has recently been given much attention, particularly as the number of eye-witnesses to the historical events is rapidly declining (cf. Torner 2001; Bidussa 2009). One important objective of original sites and museums, it is argued, is therefore to help maintain a public memory of the Holocaust and its victims. In this context, historical thinking reaches backwards from the present to the past and might therefore be best described as genealogical. Unlike an approach to historical thinking which tries to (re)construct historical events on their own terms and free from present concerns, genealogical historical thinking is mainly concerned with the present and its needs.

The objective of commemoration is very explicit for most original sites. For decades, most of them have also been primarily sites-of-memory and it is only recently that there has been a shift in focus towards education and learning (Knigge 1997; Knigge 2001; Knigge 2004). As a rule, memorials for the victims of fascism in former communist countries had educational functions relatively early on. The issue of remembrance without a purpose or, as Micha Brumlik labels it in connection with the theologian Jean Baptist Metz, the ‘anamnetic solidarity’ (Brumlik 1995: 112), is also connected to the critical discussion of the instrumentalisation of victims in order to legitimise communist post-war states. (For more information about memorial sites in this connection, see Kranz 2002: 108).

An important part of the commemoration work at original sites and in museums lies in creating empathy with the victims (Köbler 2001: 202; Lutz 2004: 174; Eberle 2008: 71). In this context, there seems to be complete agreement in the literature about the importance of not differentiating between different victim

groups (Neirich 2000: 24; Brumlik 2001: 52-53; Lange, 2006: 10). While empathy means the ability to change perspectives and imagine oneself in the place of another human being (Lutz 1995: 18; Steinebach 2007: 110), most authors argue that people should remain aware of the difference between the victims of the past and the visitors of today (cf. Kaiser 2001: 24). According to Wolf Kaiser, any attempt at obliterating this difference is not only false and could lead to a trivialisation of the victims' suffering, but, at least from a German point of view, it would also be illegitimate because it would be a move towards avoiding acceptance of the special German responsibility for what took place in the past (cf. Kaiser 2001: 24). However, the Polish teacher Ewa Lorkowska, for example, uses and recommends the identification strategy. In her opinion, focusing on the fate of Polish youths in Auschwitz, who were the same age as the students, helps to better understand the conditions prisoners suffered and to develop empathy for the victims (Lorkowska 2004: 250-252).

Creating empathy does not necessarily mean playing with emotions or provoking strong feelings among visitors. While a great deal of current research suggests that a certain amount of emotional involvement is a prerequisite for long-lasting educational effects (Hinton et al. 2008), most authors advise against an emotional overload or '*Schockpädagogik*' (cf. Lutz 1995: 18; Ehmann 1997: 48-49; Kaiser 2000; Brockhaus 2008). In the theoretical discussion there is wide agreement that rather than playing with emotions and moral slogans, education should be conceived as a rational process guided by questions such as 'Why?' and 'How?' (Neirich 2000: 23-24). *Gedenkstätten*/memorial places cannot make people sensitive to the history and suffering of those persecuted by the Nazi regime by increasing the horror level in the historical narrative, especially as young people are in any case widely exposed and accustomed to horror via modern mass media (Lutz 1995: 22).¹⁷ Indeed, young visitors to original sites often experience disappointment because they do not see enough horror and the expected 'kick' fails to materialise (Neirich 2000: 25; Gryglewski 2005: 185-186). Eberle therefore emphasises the importance of people confronting the iconic fictional images of the Holocaust created and reproduced by mass media, which requires a media-critical approach in this education (Eberle 2008: 70).

'Lessons for the future'

Finally, the third and perhaps most controversial goal is providing students with insights and lessons which could serve as a basis for present and future action. Most original sites and Holocaust museums state that an important aim of their activities is to provoke reflection about present-day conditions and to make visitors, for example, sensitive to human rights violations. They do not consider themselves as 'merely' historical museums or memorial sites. Instead, their

¹⁷ See also the discussion in Langer 2008.

educational work aims at a ‘reflective process’ in which questions related to the ideological, social, political and socio-psychological conditions of the past stretch to underlying questions concerning the present’ (Pampel 2007: 57). However, these objectives that go beyond the teaching of history are disparate (Morsch 2003: 67) and there is seldom an elaborate discussion in the literature as to exactly how this process – from the history to the present – works. Often there seems to be an implicit understanding that a thorough historical education, in combination with an empathetic understanding of the protagonists, especially the victims, will produce the desired outcome in the end.

It seems that many perceive a focus on individual action as perhaps the best tool to stimulate moral reflection. The focus on the individual protagonists, for example, characterises the ‘*Konfrontationen*’ approach, developed at the Fritz-Bauer Institut (Hollstein et al. 2002: 16-18). The concept is influenced significantly by the ‘facing history and ourselves’ approach, but much more attention has been placed on historical accuracy and nuance (Köbller 2001: 197-199).¹⁸

Even though the objective of ‘lessons for the future’ is very common in, for example, political statements, there is no common agreement about what effects could realistically be hoped to be achieved. Some studies indicate that education about the Holocaust might at least have some effect on students’ attitudes to different issues related to human rights (Cowan/Maitles 2007). However, there is also considerable scepticism about the effectiveness of short visits to memorial sites in this respect (Lutz 1995: 20-21; Ehmann 2001: 183-184; Rook 2004: 110). The underlying problem – that there are hardly any theoretical models for connecting the learning of history with topically-based education in human rights and the creation of democracy – is rarely discussed, although this is expected to be put into practice. The conclusion is often that working with historical events will not shape attitudes, but could strengthen or question beliefs that people already have (Neirich 2000: 32). It is therefore important that visits become components of much broader and comprehensive educational undertakings, which manage to involve important parts of young people’s *Lebenswelt* (Steinebach 2007: 113-114). This seems to be especially important in Poland where students have many opportunities to visit memorial sites. It is therefore part of school education to prepare students for structured educational visits (Lorkowska et al., 2004: 278-281).

There are obviously tensions between the three outlined aspects of Holocaust education at original sites. However, rather than viewing these as dichotomies, it would be more fruitful to suggest that history education, commemoration and moral awareness-raising form a triangular relationship with each other. Good education about the Holocaust contains elements of all three, and the question is

¹⁸ A similar adaption of the American HRE programme was introduced in teacher education in Germany (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) in 2002: *Sich und der Geschichte begegnen – Auseinandersetzung mit Diktaturen*. (Cf. Ehmann, 2005: 176).

primarily where to place the emphasis. Arguably, this depends not only on the educational goals of the institution but also on the social and political demands of society and, when it comes to original sites, on the history of the site in question.

2.1.4. Experiences of education at authentic sites

One assumption of this project is that original sites related to the Holocaust will become more important over time, as no eye witnesses will be left. This idea has also been given support in the reviewed literature (Lutz 1995: 22; Kranz 2002: 108; Chrobaczyński 2004: 170; Mantelli 2007; Ahlheim 2008) and is based on two main aspects. On the one hand, these places have a special meaning because they are evidence of what happened and manifestations of memory. The key mission of these organised museums is to 'let the relics and places speak' and to include them in broader historical narration (Kranz, 2000: 57-63). On the other hand, memorial sites are places where the legacy of the victims is preserved. The material relics alone are not the decisive factors in this; rather, it is the collection of testimonies in the form of written and oral records which plays a key role, as well as the 'acquired' knowledge of the institutions and their staff. Many authors see a special educational quality in the authenticity or 'aura' of original sites (and objects) (cf. Köbler, 1997: 33-35; Popp 2003; Kranz, 2005: 238; Pampel 2007: 269-276; Grillmeyer/Wirtz 2008: 12).

There are various ways to describe and discuss authenticity. It usually involves an individual feeling more directly connected to the events of the past through an encounter with a tangible remnant of that past. This encounter might be with a site where these events physically took place, with an artefact or original document exhibited in a museum, or by meeting an eyewitness to those events. This 'authenticity' offers the opportunity to create a learning situation in which concepts, contexts and structures can be experienced. Wolf Kaiser, for example, argues that original sites have a special aura, which originates in the visitors' knowledge about what happened there. Many visitors feel that memorial sites have a specific aura that is linked to the visitor's imagination of the destruction of human lives that took place there. This imagination is something which should be used as an educational tool by making sure that there will always be time for reflection and pause in the midst of the educational programme (Kaiser 2001: 23; see also Hermansson-Adler/Mattsson 2009: 29).

Furthermore, most visitors are actually looking for authenticity and could be disappointed if their expectations are not fulfilled (Lutz 2004: 171; Pampel 2007: 101-104). According to Neirich, however, it can often be difficult to meet this demand because later events have changed an original site so that only parts are original (Neirich 2000: 23). Unlike Kaiser's claim that the 'aura' originates from the visitors' knowledge, this suggests that the perception of authenticity depends on the remains on the site.

While some authors believe that this aura can help students to be more aware of what happened at these sites, Charles S. Maier has warned: ‘Memories linked to sites are in danger of becoming passive – remaining melancholic and being almost comfortable in their sadness...Their aesthetic dimension overwhelms their moral dimension’ (Maier 2002: 332¹⁹). He argues that documentation in exhibitions is more conducive to reflection on the meaning of the past in the present. Perceiving a competition between authentic relics and curated exhibitions, Maier asks how the latter can be made as powerful as the authentic remnants. However, this issue – of how ‘authenticity,’ especially that of the sites, also limits educational possibilities and represents a challenge to the examination of history – is only discussed in the literature in isolated cases.

Is there authenticity?

In the field of tourism studies the question of authenticity has long been the subject of a great deal of theoretical interest. There are basically three paradigmatic approaches in tourism studies: the objectivist approach, the constructivist approach, and the existentialist approach.

The *objectivist approach* assumes that authenticity stems from the originality of a visited object such as a site. In theory, this originality could be measured using different objective criteria to determine whether the object is authentic or not. In this case, authenticity basically stands for knowledge rather than feeling (Wang 1999: 352-353). This view has been criticised by the proponents of the *constructivist approach* which instead emphasises the symbolic meanings created by discourse. There is no static origin or original against which absolute authenticity can be measured (Auschwitz also changed while it was a Nazi camp). Rather, authenticity is the result of subjective perspectives and interpretations. As a consequence, cultural discourses might intervene so that what visitors label as ‘authentic’ is founded in stereotypic images and expectations held by their own cultural group, rather than in what they see at the site visited. Instead, the constructivist approach emphasises the pluralistic nature of the meaning-making processes that establish authenticity and assumes that authenticity is projected onto an object by social discourses (Wang 1999: 353-356).

There is much in favour of the *constructivist perspective*. Bert Pampel, for example, notes that the more connections there are to the visitors’ existing knowledge, the less important are the physical remains on the site. This pre-understanding compensates for the lack of physical remains (Pampel 2007: 273). Following the argument of Belhassen et al., it is possible to assert that even though most scholars currently support the constructivist view, there are occasions when the ‘toured objects and social constructions surrounding the

¹⁹ Quoted from German and translated into English.

experience cannot be separated from the experience itself when analyzing it' (Belhassen et al. 2008: 673), as, for example, when studying pilgrimage experiences. This might also have some relevance for this project as many authors emphasise that modern visits to original sites related to the Holocaust often tend to take on the character of a modern pilgrimage (Gross 2006: 93-95). Arguably, many people today bring with them a socially constructed 'imaginary topography' of the Holocaust, centred on most death camps, with Auschwitz as the main marker.²⁰ As Langer has pointed out, Auschwitz has become a place against which people measure other sites in terms of 'authenticity': 'the closer a site is to the imaginary centre of the annihilation process, the more authentic is it perceived and the more it is attributed the quality to 'affect' young people' (Langer 2008). This, of course, supports the constructivist view, but it also suggests that some original sites situated in this 'topography' might more easily create experiences of authenticity among visitors. Furthermore, especially given the question of revisionism etc., even the physical remains on an original site have a particular status as historical evidence (Hoffmann 2002). For this reason as well, there is probably a need to distinguish between original sites and museums. From the perspective of Tomasz Kranz, who is both a researcher, the director at the State Museum at Majdanek and a historian interested in teaching about the Holocaust and Nazi crimes, the combination of museum and original site provides a unique opportunity for educational purposes: such a memorial museum can reach both the mind and heart of the visitor (Kranz 2002: 116; Kranz 2000: 76-78).

The *existentialist approach* focuses on a potential existential state of being, which can be activated by tourism activities. Existential authenticity, therefore, can have nothing to do with the authenticity of the objects visited, which perhaps makes this approach of less interest to our purpose (Wang 1999: 358-361).

Summing up, authenticity could be seen as being produced when three separate 'fields' of influence overlap. To begin with, there is the place visited which might contain more or less original objects from the historical period in focus for the visit, and which might have retained more or less of the topography it had at that time. Secondly, there are the knowledge, expectations and beliefs which visitors bring with them. Finally, there is the action which takes place during the visit (educational activities, ceremonies, time for solitary reflection, etc.). In order to create experiences of authenticity for educational purposes (an activity which belongs to the field of 'action'), attention should not only be focussed on the site and its objects, but also on the knowledge and expectations of visitors.

²⁰ One could draw upon the findings of Maurice Halbwachs, who was well before his time in emphasising the "constructedness" of historical sites. (Cf. Halbwachs 1941).

Preparing for experiences?

The field of ‘knowledge, expectations and beliefs’ is definitely worth additional attention. Most literature stresses the importance of the group’s preparation in advance of the visit (Michelsen 2001; Popp 2002: 7-8; Ahlheim et al., 2004: 14-15; Rook 2004: 111-112; Nickolai 2007: 54; Lutz 2004: 173; Chiappano 2007: 3). A visit that has been well prepared stands a much better chance of leaving a good and long-lasting impression than one that has not been prepared beforehand (Ahlheim et al.: 9-12; Mađry 2004: 278-281). However, when reading the literature, it is not obvious what kind of preparation is needed, apart from an introduction to the historical context. Is a certain level of general knowledge or previous knowledge expected? Is familiarization with certain behavioural conventions a requirement, or the ability to relate history to topical issues? Should emotional reactions be anticipated? Or should one expect the reflection of individual, nationally or (sub)culturally determined ideas of history?

For example, there is an open question as to how international groups should be prepared for memorial visits, even though many museums and original sites receive many visiting groups from abroad. However, this can be problematic as visitors with different national and biographical backgrounds have often focused on different historical facts and also interpreted them based on different perspectives and different master narratives (cf. Grynberg 2005; Bartel 2005; Kaiser 2007: 345-353). This is particularly true of many states in Eastern Europe, where the Holocaust is often given less importance than the period of Communist rule and where national involvement in the genocide of European Jewry is often played down. In addition, in countries such as Sweden, the Holocaust has mainly been perceived as external to national history (Dietsch 2006; Wight/Lennon 2007).

A closely-related issue is that of multicultural society. In most European societies many students have extra-European origins, which not only means that they might have difficulty identifying with the protagonists of European history, but also that other genocides, crimes against humanity and atrocities might seem equally or more urgent for them to address (Brumlik 2001: 51-52). This issue, however, has received much attention in the German debate and many *Gedenkstätten* work actively towards the development of educational strategies to accommodate these developments (cf. Kaiser n.d.).

2.2. Human rights education (HRE)

While the site itself is of particular importance in terms of education and enlightenment with regard to memorial sites and museums, it seems that HRE has a tendency not to be bound to a particular location. Furthermore, the claim to the universal validity of human rights appears in principle to be rational and

plausible in any location. An overview of the current status of HRE should allow for an assessment of the degree to which HRE is looking in the direction of Holocaust education, and whether and how it can be ‘at home’ there.

2.2.1. Human rights education – definitions, aims and methods

The right to education, and to human rights education as a means to realise human rights, forms part of several documents and declarations of the United Nations and other supranational organisations. The core statements are to be found in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), adopted in 1966 and in force from 1976, which together form the Universal Bill of Rights. After the United Nations’ ‘Decade for Human Rights Education’ (1995-2004) and the consequent adoption of a ‘Plan of Action for the first phase of the World Program for Human Rights Education’, training and education in human rights have increased significantly, and now cover a vast field involving a huge number of institutions and agencies (cf. UNESCO 2006). What is common to most of these approaches is that they take the Universal Bill of Rights as their starting point. UNESCO defines human rights education broadly as

‘Education, training and information aimed at building a universal culture of human rights. A comprehensive education in human rights not only provides knowledge about human rights and the mechanisms that protect them, but also imparts the skills needed to promote, defend and apply human rights in daily life. Human rights education fosters the attitudes and behaviors needed to uphold human rights for all members of society’
(UNESCO 2006: 1).

Human rights education aims to develop an understanding of our common responsibility to make human rights a reality in every community and in society at large. This kind of education is quite a new development, especially in post-communist countries. It is a practice that tries to involve the learners in an ‘empowerment process’. This means that human rights education is not only about appreciating and respecting human rights, but also about stimulating personal action in order to guarantee these conditions (Tibbitts 2005: 107). Human rights education, therefore, has a much broader scope than combating xenophobia, intolerance and racism. Especially in developing countries, perhaps the most important objective is to help people to self-empowerment. In this respect, promoting economic and social improvement is also an important objective. It should be noted that human rights education also aims to develop a school system in concordance with human rights, i.e. education should be carried out in ways that are democratic and non-authoritarian.

Felisa Tibbitts has analysed different practices in the field of human rights education and produced a much cited analytical framework with three basic types of approaches or models (Tibbitts 2002: 163-167).

In the *values and awareness model* (Model I), the main focus is to transmit basic knowledge of human rights and to promote its integration into public values. This approach puts relatively little emphasis on the development of skills. Instead, it focuses on developing critical thinking and the ability to apply a human rights framework to the analysis of politics. A typical example would be the inclusion of human rights-related lessons within citizenship, social science or history classes in schools.

In the *accountability model* (Model II), learners are expected to be directly or indirectly linked to the guarantee of human rights through their professional roles. Human rights education, in this model, is therefore part of professional training.

Finally, in the *transformational model* (Model III) human rights education is directed towards empowering the individual both to recognise human rights abuses and ensure their prevention. Model III can, for example, be found in programmes operating in refugee camps, in post-conflict societies, with victims of abuse and with people helping the poor. However, in some cases this model can also be found in the school system: ‘where an in-depth case study on a human rights violation (such as the Holocaust and genocide) can serve as an affective catalyst for examining human rights violations’ (Tibbitts 2002: 166-167).

2.2.2. Teaching about the Holocaust in human rights education – and teaching about human rights in Holocaust education

In the literature examined on human rights education, the most striking feature is the complete absence of discussions about museums or original sites as places of learning. There is also little discussion of Holocaust education as a method for human rights education. It falls outside the scope of this survey to explain the reason for this. However, Barry van Driel made a similar observation concerning the relationship between literature on Holocaust education and literature on intercultural education:

‘At a more theoretical level, professionals in the field of Holocaust education and intercultural education hardly seem to be aware of each other’s work. When reading countless papers and books on intercultural education, reference is almost never made to studies done on Holocaust education, and vice versa’ (van Driel 2003: 128)

Also, the fields of antiracist education and Holocaust education have evolved completely separately (Eckmann/Eser 2003: 30-36).

The absence of an explicit discussion in the literature does not mean that human rights education could not take place on memorial sites, or that there is no connection between Holocaust education and human rights education in general.

It is important to note that human rights education encompasses education *about* human rights as well as education *for* human rights.²¹ The first field covers knowledge of the development and meaning of human rights and the internationally established instruments created to realise them. The main focus rests on knowledge, understanding and evaluating. The second field aims to make the individual understand the nature of his or her own needs and the causes and effects of the political and social structures which prevent their realisation. The focus will be placed on concepts such as respect, responsibility and solidarity (Lenhart/Savolainen 2002: 145-147; Lohrenscheit 2002: 176-177).

Human rights education is strongly oriented towards the present and the future. There is also little discussion of the historical dimension in the material that is most frequently used. Sometimes, in fact, history, or rather different perceptions of history, is the problem which HRE sets out to solve. This is the case, for example, in the programmes set up in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the objective has been to address the ethnic-national historical narratives, which are seen as obstacles to peaceful coexistence in the region (Lenhart 2006: 87-88). A similar idea governs one of the exercises in *Companion*, a companion guide about education and learning for change in Diversity, Human Rights and Participation, in which the purpose is to make students reflect upon national myths about war that are built into public memorials, and to create a vision of how the group would like the Second World War to be remembered (Council of Europe 2007: 28-31). Furthermore, with its starting point in the individual human being and his universal aspirations, human rights education often neglects its own historicity, i.e. it fails to discuss how the present normative system was created and upheld by historical forces set at a certain time and place (Hormel/Scherr 2008: 10, 19-20).

While historical examples are often used in education for and about human rights, there is debate on how these examples are used and taught. For example, Amnesty International's much used textbook 'First Steps' suggests that human

²¹ In practice, local conditions will often influence where the emphasis will lie. In developing countries, human rights education is commonly associated with economic and community development, as well as with women's rights. In post-totalitarian or post-authoritarian states, human rights education is often linked to the development of civil society, democracy and the rule of law. Here, it often overlaps with different forms of civic or political education which promote respect for rights, the rule-of-law and social responsibility (cf. Tibbitts 1994: 366).

rights can be introduced when teaching history in traditional subject matters. A few examples are presented: famous documents (Magna Carta, the US Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of the Rights of Man), major events (war, slavery, colonialism, imperialism and Nazism, apartheid, political oppression in Latin America or under Stalinism) or historical figures such as Anne Frank, Martin Luther King or Rigoberta Menchú (cf. Amnesty International, *First Steps*). In this case, we find a rather instrumental use of history in which historical cases are used to demonstrate human rights issues. The past is used above all as a storage room for good educational stories brought together to form a coherent narrative of universal human rights as interpreted from today's perspective, without too much focus on historical context (a trained medievalist might, for example, take a slightly different view of the Magna Carta). This use of historical 'cases' can be problematic and has furthermore been criticised for attempting to establish a sense of civic responsibility from the recognition of its limits (cf. Sliwinski 2005: 222).

At other times the goal could be to create empathy for historical victims and try to understand why an event took place, who was involved in it, in what way and who was responsible for what, thereby stimulating students' sensitivity to human rights abuses and interest in the topic. One such example is the case study of Anne Frank used in the HRE material, Resources for Human Rights Education, in the Euro-Mediterranean region. The method used is peer education, a common educational approach in HRE, and the objective is to train students (aged 15-18) to be guides for peer groups to the exhibition 'Anne Frank – A History for Today'. The emphasis lies on Anne Frank's 'personal history and its implications for today'. The aim is not to give 'a comprehensive account of World War II and the Holocaust', but to provide a better understanding of the decisions that 'helpers, perpetrators, victims and bystanders' made (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network 2008: 15-16). This approach strongly resembles methods used in the field of Holocaust education.

Other educational models integrate historical examples into an approach based on socio-psychological and sociological theory. In this approach, working with historical cases is used to make students aware of, and reflect upon, general behavioural patterns and social processes that can help them connect historical events with present problems. The most elaborate example is the approach developed and used by Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO)²² which, given its purposes and content, is basically a programme within the field of human rights education, even if it sometimes serves as an example of Holocaust education. FHAO trains educators to engage students in an examination of different forms of inter-group conflict in order to develop multiple perspectives, critical thinking and moral decision-making. As such, the programme easily fits into the framework of education for human rights. The educational goal is to stimulate

²² <http://www.facinghistory.org/> (7.12.2009)

reflection on the causes and consequences of prejudice, discrimination and group violence, as well as highlighting the importance of solidarity and social action. Evaluations indicate that this approach could indeed have some of the desired educational effects (Brabeck/Kenny 1994; Schultz et al. 2001; van Driel 2003: 132-133; Barr 2005).

HRE education covers a vast scope in which genocide and discrimination are only one part, and the educational packages are often produced to be used in different parts of the world, which might explain the relatively scarce use of references to the Holocaust in the literature that has been studied. However, there is nothing to suggest that Holocaust education could not be included in HRE programmes. On the contrary, it would, for example, be possible to include the history of the Holocaust as one of the major events that led to the establishment of the 1948 UDHR.

2.3. Summary

In conclusion, there are certain differences between literature on Holocaust education and literature on human rights education. Holocaust education places comparatively more emphasis on a contextualised and complex understanding of historical events than is normally the case with texts on human rights education, for which universalism and future-orientation is the focus.

Some authors warn against a focus that is too future-oriented in education on authentic sites, as there is always the possibility of creating a hierarchy which would contrast the 'positive' theme of human rights and future democracy with the 'negative' Nazi themes of the past. However, Holocaust education at original sites and in museums strives to influence the moral awareness of visitors and might therefore also be seen as education for human rights. Furthermore, even though there are rarely any references to social theory, the presumed reason why increased historical knowledge helps us take note of, and perhaps even avoid, human rights abuse today is because it allows for identifying similarities between present developments and developments in the past that led to gross violations of human rights.

In terms of methodology, there are also many similarities between the two educational fields. For example, the importance of voluntary participation is emphasized in both fields (Lutz 1995: 24; Neirich 2000: 36-37; Ehmann 2001: 189; Ahlheim 2004: 17; Nickolai 2007: 51). It is also considered important to avoid formal grading (Ehmann 1998: 49; Rook 2004: 113), while students' active participation and project-oriented work are much favoured in the literature (Neirich 2000: 36-37; Ehmann 2001: 189; Ahlheim 2004: 19.)

Unlike standard human rights education, with its stress on democratic and anti-authoritarian education, there is also a limit as to how much 'hostile questioning' or even scientific source critique of oral testimony can be allowed

on an original site out of respect for surviving victims and their relatives.²³ Kaiser, for example, recommends clarifying that difficult or controversial questions are better discussed in a closed seminar room. In the end, however, the interests of survivors and their relatives will always have to be prioritised (Kaiser 2001: 19). In this respect, there is a clear tension between the two fields, which probably also reflects the lack of discussion about visits to original sites in the literature on human rights education. Ethical problems relating to this issue are questions which human rights educators have never normally had to consider.

In the literature on Holocaust education at memorial sites, there is little discussion of education about human rights and only a few references to literature on human rights education. This probably reflects not only the different traditions according to which Holocaust education tends to be focused on history education, whereas human rights education is directed towards law and social sciences, but probably also the fact that visits to museums and original sites normally only last a few hours, at the most a couple of days. This means that there is little time to educate students about historical events, and the topic of human rights is therefore left to other institutions. This is, of course, understandable. However, in the literature that has been examined for this study, there is no detailed discussion of how to integrate visits to museums or original sites connected to the Holocaust into larger projects focused on human rights education. This neglect must be considered unfortunate, bearing in mind that research indicates that teachers in European countries often consider the Holocaust as a way of introducing the topic of human rights to their students (cf. Lange 2008; Russell 2008).

Nevertheless, there have been a number of attempts in the interim to bring the topics together in pedagogic practice. Some of these initiatives and approaches are described in greater detail in two further publications of this project, a handbook for schools and teachers and a discussion book for memorial sites and historical museums and the staff working there.

²³ Christian Gudehus, for example, has pointed out that guides on German original sites seldom allow such source criticism (cf. Gudehus 2006: 194-195).

3. Perspectives from Ministries

3.1. Ministries responsible

In a study examining the role of memorial sites and historical museums in Holocaust education and human rights education, the key issue brings institutions of formal and informal education – schools and memorial sites/museums – into close connection. As sites and museums fall into the cultural sector, but schools come under the responsibility of the Ministries of Education, there are, as a rule, at least two different authorities involved at state level. In addition, the educational systems of the individual Member States are in part substantially different. In the Federal States, no uniform decisions can be made on education, which means that several parties with responsibility for education have, therefore, to be included in the survey in order to gain an impression of the situation in these states. As well as the Ministries of Education of the Member States, government authorities responsible for cultural matters also had to be included.

In some states the questionnaire was completed by the Ministries of Education, while in other cases the authorities responsible for culture provided the responses, and in some instances both sectors (in part by referring the particular question at issue to the ministry concerned). The assessment of the questionnaires, on which the report is based, therefore describes the situation in the individual states in part from different sources.

In states organised on a federal system, not all the authorities relevant to the scope of the study were questioned; and of the countries within the United Kingdom, only England was considered. In Germany, questionnaires were submitted to the ministries of culture in 6 of the 16 Federal States²⁴ and also, at Federal Government level, to the State Ministry for Culture and Media. In Belgium, questionnaires were sent to the relevant authorities in the three regions. In Austria, responses to questionnaires were provided by the Federal

²⁴ In the 6 Federal States selected, memorial sites have been established on the sites of former concentration camps. These include the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück memorial sites in Brandenburg, the Dachau and Flossenbürg memorial sites in Bavaria, the Neuengamme memorial site in Hamburg, the Bergen-Belsen memorial site in Lower Saxony, and the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora memorial sites in Thüringen. Questionnaires were also sent to Nordrhein-Westfalen which has a close network of regional memorial sites at historical locations. Responses were received from all the Federal States questioned, with the one exception of Thüringen, and from the State Ministry for Culture and Media, providing a total of 6 sources for analysis of the German situation. The origin of the information is specified in each case.

Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture, supported by the Federal Ministry of the Interior.²⁵

Table 1
Questionnaires received from the following Ministries in 26 EU Member States²⁶

Member States		Ministries
Belgium	Flemish-speaking	Flemish Ministry for Work, Education and Training; Ministry for Culture, Youth, Sport and Brussels Affairs
	French-speaking	Ministry for Education
	German-speaking	Ministry of Education and Science
Bulgaria		Ministry of Education and Science
Czech Republic		Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports; Ministry of Culture
Denmark		Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture
Germany		Fed. Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media
	Bayern	Ministry of Culture and Education
	Brandenburg	Ministry of Science, Education and Culture
	Hamburg	Senator, Authority for Culture, Sport and Media
	Niedersachsen	Ministry of Culture
	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Ministry for School and Further Education
Estonia		Ministry of Education and Research; Ministry of Culture
Ireland		Ministry of Education and Science
Greece		Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs
Spain		Ministry of Education and Science
France		Ministry of National Education
Italy		Ministry of Education
Latvia		Ministry of Education and Science
Lithuania		Ministry of Education and Science;

²⁵ The Mauthausen Memorial lies within the jurisdiction of the Austrian Ministry of the Interior.

²⁶ Questionnaires were sent to a total of 62 Ministries of Education and Culture in the 27 Member States. A total of 41 were returned with replies from 26 states. Ministries in Cyprus decided not to take part in the study.

	Ministry of Culture
Luxembourg	Ministry of National Education
Hungary	Ministry of Education and Culture
Malta	Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport
Netherlands	Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports Department of Education, Arts and Culture
Austria	Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture; with the Ministry of the Interior
Poland	Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture and National Heritage
Portugal	Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture
Romania	Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation; Ministry of Culture
Slovenia	Ministry of Higher Education and Ministry of Education and Sports
Slovakia	Ministry of Education and Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Culture
Finland	Ministry of Education
Sweden	Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education
United Kingdom	Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families and Ministry for Culture, Creative Industries and Tourism

3.2. Questions posed

This chapter provides a general overview of the present situation in the EU. It must, however, be pointed out that there are limits to surveys conducted by questionnaire, in particular as a result of self-analysis by the respective ministries. On the one hand, it is not surprising that a positive appraisal is given. On the other, it cannot be assumed that all information relevant to the study has been provided. For example, in the questionnaire to the German State Ministry for Culture and Media on the issue of promoting projects connected with Holocaust education and HRE, there was no reference made to the human rights education programme of the Foundation EVZ (Erinnerung, Verantwortung, Zukunft, i.e. Remembrance, Responsibility, Future), established with considerable financial support from the Federal Government in Germany.²⁷ To

²⁷ http://www.stiftung-evz.de/projekte/handeln-fuer-menschenrechte/menschen_rechte_bilden/ (01.12.2009).

what extent similar activities have also been omitted in other cases is not known to the research group.

The questionnaires to the ministries focused on three subject areas:

- Official recommendations (on human rights education, Holocaust education, visits to sites, school curricula)
- Judgements (most important national institutions for Holocaust education, priority areas for learning, main educational aims for young visitors, role of sites for awareness-raising)
- Facilitation activities (educational concepts and didactic support, recommendations for schools and Holocaust education, funding, documentation of good practices)

Some questionnaires were filled in with all the details and examples of practices requested, but many questionnaires lacked the full information requested. In general, the ministries of education returned more complete forms than the ministries of culture, which was partly a result of the many questions related to the governments' education policies. The questions most often left unanswered were those asking for the governments' judgments on (i) the role of authentic sites, commemoration sites and museums for raising awareness and understanding of intolerance, racism and anti-Semitism today; (ii) the main aims of education for young visitors at the sites; and (iii) the most important area to learn about as part of HRE from the Nazi period. In addition, the question regarding governmental plans to increase the budget for funding visits was also left unanswered. Two of the EU Member States, Greece and Malta, seemed to have more difficulty than others in answering the questionnaires, and left more questions unanswered.

3.3. Official recommendations for human rights education

In almost all of the states questioned, human rights education (HRE) forms, according to the information provided by the ministries, an explicit part of the core curricula, and is introduced into different subjects in all forms of schools and at all levels. Twenty-four states indicated that in their states official recommendations have been, and are, issued by governmental ministries and/or local authorities with regard to human rights education as part of the school curriculum.

The approaches often follow a multi-disciplinary implementation, with the aim to provide knowledge, values, skills, and the development of political-moral attitudes. For example, the Czech Republic indicated that:

'In the curricular documents for the relevant fields and levels of secondary education the issues of multicultural tolerance and plurality, freedom, equality and human rights, prevention of discrimination etc. are covered in form of a cross-curricular subject. This subject covers both knowledge and skills and values and attitudes' (Czech Republic).

In addition, HRE is often part of a general educational and school principle. The most comprehensive statement in this connection is the information from the Swedish Ministry of Culture, which points to a fundamental basis in schools not only for human rights education, but for human rights themselves:

'The inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, the equal value of all people, equality between women and men and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable are all values that the school should represent and impart' (Sweden).

Where specific subjects are referred to with regard to the implementation of HRE, these frequently involve Civic Education (Portugal, Slovenia, Estonia), Civic Social and Political Education (Ireland), Civil Science (Slovak Republic), or Citizenship Education (Bulgaria). However, reference was also made to the subjects of politics, social science, history, philosophy, 'economy, law, and political education' (Austria), and (foreign) languages. Spain referred to newly introduced legislation which makes provision not only to implement HRE at all levels of education, but also to institute a separate subject, Civic and Human Rights Education.

The fact that the question concerning official (government) recommendations for HRE resulted in a negative response from two Member States, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, by no means implies that a concern with human rights forms no part of school education in those states. In the United Kingdom, the issue is referred among those values which are related to human rights and imparting these values naturally forms part of school education, even if no direct instructions from the State appear to be forthcoming. The Netherlands emphasise the possibilities of learning for the present when the subjects of the Second World War and the Holocaust are being taught:

'We consider it important that what happened in WWII is relevant for our actions and opinions regarding the world we live in. WWII is in a roundabout way used to pay attention to racism, human rights, etc.'
(Netherlands).

3.4. Relevant institutions for the dissemination of awareness of human rights

Not all the states established such an unambiguous link as the Netherlands between confrontation with the Holocaust and human rights education. A uniform answer cannot therefore be given to the question of how human rights education and Holocaust education are linked across the EU, and how historical sites and museums are used within the framework of HRE. The question as to which museums, memorial sites, and monuments are particularly sought out within the framework of HRE frequently resulted in the same institutions and places being named – the same ones which were also referred to with regard to Holocaust education, since in the first instance they relate to Nazi atrocities. The Czech Republic, for example, made reference to the memorial sites of Terezín and Lidice; Austria to the Mauthausen Memorial and Hartheim Castle sites and the Jewish museums; the Netherlands referred to the Anne Frank House and the memorial sites of Westerbork and Amersfoort; and Poland to Auschwitz and Majdanek.

In the case of former Communist States, however, mention is also made of places associated with state injustice and political persecution by those in power (such as the Museum of Occupation of Latvia or the Latvian War Museum). Belgium also has battle sites from the First World War, and the Slovak Republic identified the museums that relate to the history of the different minority groups in the country. France refers mainly to the memorials and historical sites of the Resistance and deportations.

The locations that were frequently named were sites which have acquired significance because of their local history, or museums which concentrate on history in general. Their focus on human rights is an element which has only evolved over the course of time, or their importance has only recently been realised from the viewpoint of human rights and their infringement.

Other institutions of less unambiguous historical orientation, or not located at places of massive infringement of human rights, are also sought out in the context of HRE: France mentioned in first place the Memorial Caen-Normandy, Centre for History; Sweden makes reference to the Världskulturmuseet (Museum of World Culture) in Göteborg; and Portugal to the Assembleia da Republica (Portuguese Parliament and its Museum). Belgium also indicates that a series of educational materials and exhibitions are offered and created by NGOs with a human rights orientation, which are not associated with memorial sites or historical museums. Since internationally the field of HRE is very strongly shaped by the work of the NGOs involved, this may well apply to other EU States as well (see Tibbits 2004).

In two thirds of the Member States (17 out of 26) there are recommendations from ministries or local authorities regarding Holocaust education and Human Rights education at museums, authentic sites or commemoration sites, see Table 2.

Table 2
Recommendations from ministries and/or local authorities regarding Holocaust education and HRE at authentic sites, commemoration sites and museums

Member States with recommendations	Member States without recommendations
Belgium (French-speaking and German-speaking), Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Greece, France, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia	Belgium (Flemish-speaking), Bulgaria, Ireland, Spain, Latvia, Malta, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, Finland, United Kingdom

3.5. Project promotion in the Holocaust education and HRE sector

With two exceptions, Bulgaria and the United Kingdom, all EU Member States state that they support and promote projects and initiatives which expressly develop connections between Holocaust education and HRE. Reference was very frequently made in this context to advanced teacher training (Estonia, Poland, Spain, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Luxembourg, Romania, Malta, Austria, Slovenia, Czech Republic), school curricula (Greece, Spain, Ireland, Portugal), school project activities (Lithuania, Romania), and networking possibilities such as virtual forums (Belgium, Poland). In addition, state-initiated institutions for history education were also mentioned (Austria, Sweden) as well as the possibilities of promoting visits to memorial sites. A number of states referred to the organisation of memorial days (Italy, Denmark, Romania) and the erection and maintenance of individual memorials and archives (Poland, Lithuania, Belgium).

Only the United Kingdom (England) and Bulgaria gave a negative response to the question about project promotion with respect to linking Holocaust education and HRE. In the United Kingdom, this connection is not expressly and specifically promoted, and Bulgaria notes that there are no particular grounds for the absence of promotional measures. However, both states do make it clear that the Holocaust is of great importance in the core curricula. In the United Kingdom this is expressed in history lessons, but also in the subjects of ‘citizenship’, ‘religious education’, and English. In addition, the programme

‘Lessons from Auschwitz’ by the Holocaust Educational Trust is promoted by the state.

3.6. The role of memorial sites and museums in confronting the intolerance, racism and anti-Semitism of today

The fact that memorial sites (and museums) have in the interim acquired the status of acknowledged educational institutions is made clear in the assessment of the German Minister of State for Culture:

‘The task set for memorial sites in terms of education and explanation, as well as their function as places of remembrance, is of particular importance. It is precisely at these places that democratic principles and tolerance towards minorities can be conveyed.’

Because of the spiritual link between the present and the past, they are considered to be special institutions, and not only with regard to the individual quest for social and cultural orientation. They are also attributed a substantial community-forming function (‘Museums have an important role in building social cohesion’ – United Kingdom). From an educational point of view, memorial sites and museums are regarded in particular as a supplement and enhancement to school education (‘To improve knowledge and make the young generation aware of the damage that intolerance, racism and anti-Semitism can do to democratic society’ – Netherlands). They offer a particular medium for history, which is understood with greater effect than ‘the traditional conveying of teaching material’ (Belgium)²⁸ and this is compared with the effect made by the testimony of contemporary witnesses.

As manifestations of historical reality, memorial sites are regarded as proof of the events, but also as places of reflection. Reference is made to their special qualities in contrast to school. Memorial sites and museums are also associated with more intensive (learning) experiences than would be possible in the school context. In particular, emphasis is placed on the possibility of emotional learning.

There is less mention of the educational concepts of memorial sites and museums than of the historical locations themselves, symbolically charged as they may be. Their ability to create an educational effect in this context is largely assessed positively (‘visits to Holocaust commemoration sites, authentic sites and museums develop schoolchildren’s awareness of Holocaust and human

²⁸ German-speaking community, Ministry of Education and Science.

rights, historical knowledge, tolerance, etc.’ – Lithuania; ‘Tolerance and awareness of democratic values. Lessons from history as to what can happen if human rights are not guaranteed in reality’ – Estonia; ‘the visit of sites are an educational tool to raise consciousness to fight against all forms of exclusion and discrimination – France).

One decisive difference in the assessment and evaluation of the significance of memorial sites results in particular from whether there are any historical sites associated with the crimes of the Nazis in the particular country. The fact that Germany and Poland, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic States stress the importance of these places is hardly surprising. They are not only a reminder of the crimes; they have stood for decades as testimonies to those crimes, and have communicated the memory to several generations, however conscious they may be of this fact. However, among those countries which provided no answer to the question about the topical significance of memorial sites and Holocaust museums (Denmark, Malta, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Greece), there are certainly some which, in very different ways, were directly associated with the deportation of the former Jewish population, even if no Nazi concentration camps or death camps actually existed in the local area. It can therefore be seen that a different approach is adopted when dealing with the places of deportation and extermination in the different states, but this cannot be definitively explained on the basis of the data available.

However, in a number of other states, where contact with Nazi atrocities did not leave a legacy of specific locations, some institutions have been established over the past few years which to a certain extent represent functional equivalents – at least on the level of educational confrontation with the Holocaust – such as in Sweden or Denmark. In both countries institutions were established with the aim of increasing the understanding of contemporary events in the light of the Holocaust and other genocides and crimes against humanity.²⁹

3.7. Promotion of visits to memorial sites and museums in the EU

The majority of EU Member States (20 out of 26 states) expressly recommend the integration of visits to historic locations/memorial sites and museums into school teaching about the Holocaust (see Table 3). The incentive to make use of such extra-curricular activities is embedded in the school curricula. In the other states, the decision as to whether, and how, such visits are used within the framework of school education rests with regional education authorities, individual schools, and individual teachers.

²⁹ <http://www.diis.dk> (04.12.2009); <http://www.levandehistoria.se> (04.12.2009).

Table 3
Governmental recommendations for school curricula or guidelines to explicitly encourage visits to authentic sites, commemoration sites and museums

Member States with recommendations	Member States without recommendations
Belgium (French-speaking and German-speaking), Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia	Belgium (Flemish-speaking), Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom

With three exceptions, Ireland, Greece and Malta, visits to memorial sites and museums are promoted in all Member States by public funds. In 17 states, governments provide financial support for school visits to sites and museums, and in 22 of the Member States, governments fund the visits (see Table 4). Apart from government funding, other sources of public funding are from provincial school authorities, individual schools, museums/memorial sites, and in individual cases also Jewish communities (Czech Republic) or parents' associations (Austria). France also mentions public foundations and national associations of former combatants and victims. In this context, the possibilities for promoting these visits range from partial to complete funding. Malta is the only state where the public sector does not provide financial support. There was no answer from Greece.

Table 4
Governmental and other public funding of visits to and/or educational activities at authentic sites, commemoration sites and museums

Visits funded by government	Other public funding
Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, United Kingdom, Slovenia, Slovakia, Sweden	Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Spain, France, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom

3.8. Aims of visits to memorial sites by school students

Visits to memorial sites within the framework of school education are associated with different educational aims by the state. The following aims were offered for selection in the questionnaire:

- Knowledge of the history of site
- Knowledge of national history
- Development of anti-racist attitudes
- Awareness of democratic values
- Awareness of the importance of human rights
- Knowledge about the history of the Holocaust

In several cases, the request made that only the three most important goals should be selected and these ranked in order of their significance was specifically rejected. Austria, Belgium (German-speaking) and Germany (Bayern) regard all the alternatives given as being of equal status, while for Germany (Brandenburg and Hamburg), Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Sweden, four out of six options are of equal importance. France states that the objectives are equally knowledge of history and ‘civic’ objectives. Bulgaria, Ireland, Greece, and the United Kingdom did not respond to this question (see Table 5).

Table 5
Ministries’ judgement of main educational aims per Member State

Member State		History of site	National history	Anti-racist attitude	Democratic values	Human rights	History of Holocaust
Belgium	Flemish-Speaking			x	x	x	
	French-speaking				x	x	x
	German-speaking	x	x	x	x	x	x
Czech Republic			x	x		x	
Denmark			x		x		x
Germany	Bayern	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Brandenburg	x	x		x	x	

	Hamburg	x			x	x	x
	Niedersachsen			x	x	x	
	Nordrhein-Westfalen				x	x	x
Estonia				x	x		x
Spain					x	x	x
France							
Italy				x		x	x
Latvia				x	x		x
Lithuania	x			x			x
Luxembourg	x	x					x
Hungary					x	x	x
Malta	x	x			x	x	
The Netherlands	x			x	x		
Austria	x	x		x	x	x	x
Poland	x	x		x			x
Portugal	x				x	x	x
Romania	x	x			x		x
Slovenia				x	x	x	
Slovakia	x	x		x		x	x
Finland					x	x	x
Sweden				x	x	x	x

The majority distribution shows that certain specific focal points in education can be identified that are associated with visits to memorial sites across the EU. The two most important in this context appear to be knowledge about the history of the Holocaust and an awareness of democratic values, followed by awareness of the importance of human rights. These are cited in almost equal measure by a majority of Member States.

The fact that a knowledge of history and, in the broadest sense, democratically oriented attitudes, are regarded as almost equally significant aims for memorial site visits, is confirmed by the assessment of memorial sites as institutions of Holocaust education which at all times pursue knowledge of history, as well as teaching deriving from this knowledge, to develop political attitudes and opinions. This result is supported by the option of selecting multiple possibilities of aims. In the identification of the most important aims, not one

single ministry exclusively chose replies relating to knowledge of history or to political attitudes.

The aim which was actually mentioned by more than a third of all those asked, that is, the acquisition of historical knowledge of the particular location, shows that visits to these sites are now considered particularly important for localising historic events and representing them in a differentiated meaning. They are seen as institutions which can convey history, instead of being places of purely symbolic significance in terms of the politics and culture of remembrance.

3.9. Examples of good practice

The ministries asked refer to a variety of examples of good practices relating to school visits and educational activities at Holocaust-related sites, though most of them do not specifically imply HRE. There does not seem to be a differentiated understanding between HRE and civic education. In the UK, the Imperial War Museum's education programme 'Their Past Your Future' was mentioned, which includes a number of activities and resources aiming to promote good practice in teaching and learning about the Holocaust especially through site visits. Other Member States refer to good practice available in handbooks (Estonia, The Netherlands), in pedagogic journals (Belgium) or on the web sites of the commemoration sites (Germany, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden). Germany refers to the Federal Agency for Civic Education, a working group of memorial sites' libraries and a joint website for memorial sites. The website 'Learning from History'³⁰, which provides educational support and important links, is not mentioned. This web site is available in German, English, Spanish and Polish. In the Czech Republic two web sites exist, both containing good practice examples of methodological materials for teaching about the Holocaust. In Poland, two seminars for teachers are referred to as good practice; the Polish German Centre and the project 'Traces of the past'³¹ in which children and teenagers search for a historical monument in their region. They learn about its history and take care of it. Research has brought good practice into teaching (Latvia, Hungary). Ministries in Poland additionally mentioned two specific annual events as good practice: Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Holocaust and the March of the Living, which is not actually a Polish initiative but takes place in Poland. A commemoration day was also mentioned by ministries in Slovenia. The Slovakian Ministry of Foreign Affairs referred to the creation of the first

³⁰ <http://www.lernen-aus-der-geschichte.de/> (07.12.2009)

³¹ This is a programme for children and teenagers to protect cultural heritage. They search for a historical monument in their region, learn about its history and take care of it. They try to restore memories of the place and the people connected with it. NGO organizing it provides workshops for teachers and students, mainly on how to adopt monuments.

specialized Holocaust museum and education centre on a former camp site as good practice.

3.10. Summary

The ministries of all the 26 states who responded to the questionnaire, invariably emphasised the importance of human rights education, and just as clearly stated the importance of memorial sites and museums as tools to supplement education, and also a willingness to provide financial support to the institutions and promote school visits. In the following chapters, these positive self-assessments will be compared and contrasted with the assessments and perspectives outlined by the institutions, teachers and students questioned in the course of the study.

The responses of the ministries show that HRE forms part of school curricula in 24 of the 26 Member States. In 24 Member States governments support and promote the connection between Holocaust education and HRE. And in 17 states, ministries or local authorities issue recommendations about Holocaust education and HRE at commemoration sites, authentic sites and museums. The majority of EU Member States expressly recommend the integration of visits to historic locations, memorial sites and museums into school teaching about the Holocaust. There is no consensus, however, on how far memorials and museums should also contribute to HRE. Several ministries refrained from making explicit recommendations for the content of excursions to historical sites and museums, referring to the autonomy of schools and the teachers' freedom of choice. Public funding, by governments or other authorities for visits and educational activities at Holocaust commemoration sites, authentic sites and museums is, with a few exceptions, provided by all EU Member States. None of the governments questioned plans to reduce financial support for visits. There is a huge variation in the level of support and amount of financial resources spent on excursions, but this cannot be assessed exactly on the basis of the collected data, nor can a reasonable comparison be made. The following chapters will show that some ministries' positive views of financial support are by no means shared by all the institutions and teachers who were asked about this.

Ministries in the EU consider knowledge about history of the Holocaust and awareness of democratic values and human rights to be the main educational aims for young visitors at Holocaust commemoration sites, authentic sites and museums. The link between learning about history and learning for the present is clearly emphasized. However, in order for the ministries to document and foster existing good practice activities, and develop new ones, in the field of Holocaust education, HRE or a combination of both, there might be a need for new routines. These routines need to be based on clear definitions of Holocaust education and Human Rights Education and related educational goals.

4. Perspectives from selected Holocaust sites and museums

4.1. Choices of Member States and institutions

In order to study which educational aspects are focussed on by the memorials and museums, what role human rights and HRE play in this, and in what conditions the teaching work is done on the site, a second standardised questionnaire was developed, with a series of semi-closed questions (see overview of subject areas). The questionnaire was sent to a total of 22 institutions in 10 EU Member States. Institutions were selected according to a number of criteria, taking into account the geographical location as well as the type of institution, i.e. whether they were memorial sites at historical locations or museums.

In just over half of all cases (12 out of 22), the institutions surveyed are located on historical sites. However, these do not solely include former camps, such as Auschwitz or Mauthausen, or extermination sites, such as Hartheim Castle, but also for instance the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and the House of the Wannsee Conference in Berlin. While the historical locations represent examples of specific and complex criminal events the museums and other institutions surveyed chiefly deal with the mass murder of European Jews.

However, the distinction between memorial sites and historical museums is not totally clear-cut. All the memorial sites studied have exhibitions and are fitted out like museums in many respects. Many of them officially describe themselves as museums, such as the State Museum of Auschwitz Birkenau or the Danish National Museum of Froeslev Lager. Other institutions also have a commemorative function, either because their locations are linked to a historical place, or because they officially describe themselves as memorials, such as the ‘Mémorial de la Shoah’ in Paris.

Table 6
Overview of the selected institutions

Institutions/Sites	Member States/Cities
Terezín Memorial	Czech Republic, Terezín
Jewish Museum Prague	Czech Republic, Prague
The Danish Jewish Museum	Denmark, Copenhagen

The Frøslev Prison Camp	Denmark, Padborg
Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), Department of Holocaust and Genocide Studies	Denmark, Copenhagen
The Buchenwald Memorial	Germany, Weimar-Buchenwald
Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site	Germany, Dachau
The Anne Frank Centre in Berlin	Germany, Berlin
House of the Wannsee Conference	Germany, Berlin
The Shoah Memorial	France, Paris
Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC)	Italy, Milano
The San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum	Italy, Trieste
Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum	Lithuania, Vilnius
Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site	Lithuania, Kaunas
Anne Frank House	the Netherlands, Amsterdam
Hartheim Castle – Place of Learning and Remembrance	Austria, Alkoven
Mauthausen Memorial	Austria, Mauthausen
State Museum at Majdanek	Poland, Lublin
Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum	Poland, Oświęcim
The ‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre’ Centre	Poland, Lublin
The Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom	United Kingdom, Laxton Newark
Imperial War Museum London (The Holocaust Exhibition)	United Kingdom, London

The questionnaires sent to the Directors of the selected institutions contained in total 32 questions covering four subject areas:

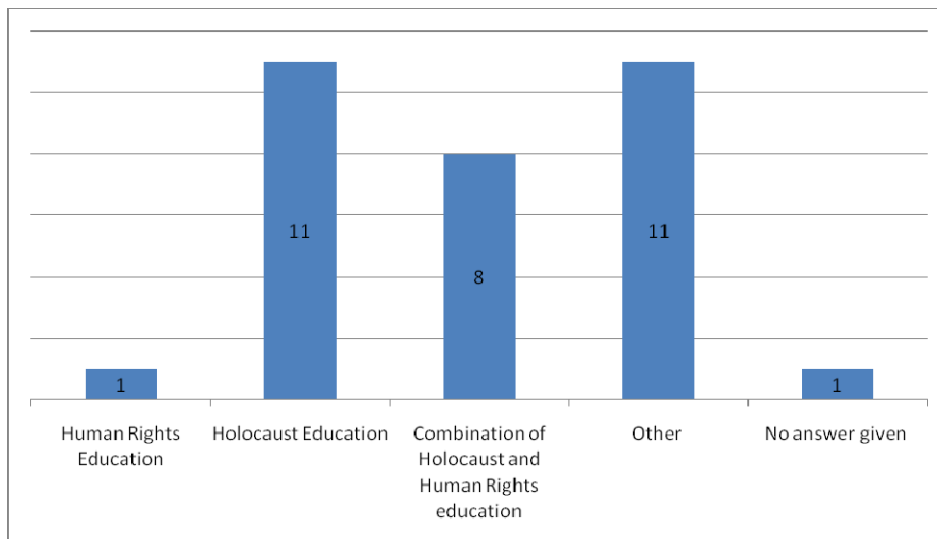
- Content of education (focus, main educational aims, challenges, success factors and good practice)
- Educational facilities (number of staff, training of staff, sources for advice)
- Resources (total number of staff, budget, funding sources, official support)
- Visitors (total number, number of young visitors, number of non-national visitors, length of stay)

The questionnaire’s purpose was to collect information on how, and with what support, the specific site organises education, and in particular education for young visitors, and whether it covers the subject of human rights.

4.2. Educational focus of the institutions

The first question asked in the questionnaire dealt with the educational focus of the institutions. Respondents were asked whether the major focus was on human rights education (HRE), Holocaust education, a combination of the two, or something else, see Figure 1.

Figure 1
Major focus in terms of education



Eight out of 22 sites answered that the focus was on a combination of HRE and Holocaust education and one site answered specifically HRE.³² Table 7 gives the answers per institution. The one institution that placed its educational focus on HRE was the Hartheim Castle - Place of Learning and Remembrance, which commemorates the murder of more than 30,000 people in the Nazi euthanasia programme.

³² The reason why the figures add up to more than the 22 respondents is because several cited more than one category. This was chiefly because the option “other” was often ticked in addition to another point.

Table 7
Major focus in terms of education per institution

Institution	Human Rights Education (HRE)	Holocaust Education	Combination of Holocaust and HRE	Other
Terezín Memorial		x		Not specified
Jewish Museum Prague		x	x	
The Danish Jewish Museum				Cultural history of Jews in Denmark
The Frøslev Prison Camp				To inform about the Froeslev Camp and about the deportations of Danish citizens to concentration camps
Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)		x		Holocaust and other
Buchenwald Memorial	No Answer			
Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site			x	Historical and political education
Anne Frank Centre in Berlin			x	
House of the Wannsee Conference		x		
Shoah Memorial		x		
Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC)		x		
The San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum		x		Resistance movement against Nazism and Fascism
Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum			x	

Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site		x		
Anne Frank House			x	
Hartheim Castle- Place of Learning and Remembrance	x			The value of life, the rights of the disabled
Mauthausen Memorial			x	
State Museum at Majdanek				Pedagogy of remembrance
Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum		x	x	Genocide of Poles and other victims of the Nazi Regime
‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre’ Centre		x		Memory and history of Lublin
Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom			x	
Imperial War Museum London (The Holocaust Exhibition)		x		The history of war and conflicts since WW1

The German memorial site at Buchenwald, who did not select any of the options offered by the questionnaire, pointed out that

‘the organisation and content of the commemorative work cannot be reduced simply to Holocaust education and human rights education. Both of the subjects represent only part of the commemorative education, which should also comprise specifically developing historical judgment and considered historical awareness in actual action-based discussion of the history of Nazism, as well as modern-day social sensitivity and the corresponding awareness of democratic and social responsibility and the readiness to act. This includes intensive discussion of the Shoah as much as the teaching of the significance of human rights, but also extends far beyond this.’

4.3. Numbers of visitors and target groups for educational work

The institutions studied differed considerably in terms of their visitor numbers. The total visitor numbers requested were for the year 2008 and ranged from 15,000 to 1,130,000 (see Table 8).

Table 8
Number of visitors in the year 2008

Institution	Number of visitors
Terezín Memorial	225,304
Jewish Museum Prague	About 20,000
Danish Jewish Museum	24,000
Frøslev Prison Camp	37,000
Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)	No answer
Buchenwald Memorial	More than 600,000
Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site	800,000
Anne Frank Centre in Berlin	21,000
House of the Wannsee Conference	104,375
Shoah Memorial	200,000
Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC)	No answer
San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum	About 100,000
Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum	22,709
Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site	128,804
Anne Frank House	1,000,000
Hartheim Castle- Place of Learning and Remembrance	15,000
Mauthausen Memorial	189,021
State Museum at Majdanek	130,000
Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum	1,130,000
‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre’ Centre	11,000
Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom	36,100
Imperial War Museum (London)	294,925

Some sites attract individual visitors and groups from all over the world, while others are more strongly rooted in their local environment. Some institutions were mainly visited for educational purposes, while others are places where visitors' interests are quite diverse. Auschwitz, for example, is the most visited memorial site of the institutions surveyed. Although it is still very much a place for former prisoners and their relatives to visit, it is the biggest Jewish and Polish cemetery in the world and also a significant public place of remembrance. It is also a major tourist attraction, which features in every travel guide to Central Eastern Europe. The other well-known and heavily symbolic concentration camp sites, such as Buchenwald, Dachau or Mauthausen, have a similar status.³³ Although the majority of visitors are under 18 years of age, the sites are not primarily or exclusively educational.

Twelve of the 22 selected institutions received more than 50 per cent of young visitors (see Table 9). The two institutions with the largest annual number of visitors, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum (1,130,000) and Anne Frank House in Amsterdam (1,000,000) have different profiles when it comes to young visitors. More than 50 per cent of the visitors to Auschwitz are under the age of 18, while less than 20 per cent of the visitors to Anne Frank House are in this category. For the two concentration camp memorial sites in Germany, Buchenwald and Dachau, the number of young visitors is less than half the total number of visitors.

³³ Why many of the former concentration camps have achieved great significance in the commemorative history of Nazism and the Holocaust, while others have been forgotten, is a question that cannot be explained solely by the historical significance of the camps or the crimes perpetrated there. The symbolic significance of the sites and their roots in the collective memory are above all a more or less conscious process of commemoration policy. The consequences are noticeable even today and are naturally reflected in the present study. The fact that the Holocaust is associated above all with Auschwitz as the site of mass extermination on an industrial scale means that even today people forget that millions of Jews were murdered in other death camps and also by mobile commando groups, the SS and the Wehrmacht, and also by collaborators among the populations of occupied countries. The sites associated with these mass crimes are less well-known even today and less symbolically significant than Auschwitz. This is particularly noticeable in the context of this study, with the example of the 9th Fort in Kaunas, Lithuania, and that of the State Museum at Majdanek in Poland.

Table 9
Percentage of visitors under the age of 18 in 2008³⁴

Less than 20%	Between 20 and 50%	More than 50%
Danish Jewish Museum, Frøslev Prison Camp, Anne Frank Centre in Berlin, Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, Anne Frank House,	Buchenwald Memorial, Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, House of the Wannsee Conference, Imperial War Museum London	Terezín Memorial, Jewish Museum Prague, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), Shoah Memorial, San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum, Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site, Hartheim Castle- Place of Learning and Remembrance, Mauthausen Memorial, State Museum at Majdanek, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre’ Centre, Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom

As a rule, the focus of the institutions is more on educational work, while the remembrance aspect is subordinated to that of learning. Although the highly symbolic memorial sites are sought out by many as places of remembrance, with visitors to a certain extent knowing who they want to remember, the lesser-known institutions have primarily set themselves the task of using educational activities to explore what happened at that site. This has also been taking place at the better-known memorial sites, but it is still not their main function. The majority of the institutions surveyed claim that their young visitors make use of the educational activities of the memorial sites and museums see Table 10.

Table 10
Percentage of visitors under the age of 18 taking part in educational programmes per institution³⁵

Less than 20%	20-50%	More than 50%
Shoah Memorial, Anne Frank House, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum,	Danish Jewish Museum, Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum, Mauthausen Memorial, ‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre’ Centre,	Terezín Memorial, Frøslev Prison Camp, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), Buchenwald Memorial, House of the Wannsee Conference ³⁶ , Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site, Hartheim Castle- Place of Learning and Remembrance, State Museum at Majdanek, Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom, Imperial War Museum London

³⁴ No answer was provided by the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC).

³⁵ No answer was provided by the Jewish Museum Prague, the Anne Frank Centre in Berlin, and the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC).

³⁶ The numbers from House of the Wannsee Conference represent group visitors.

The majority of the institutions suggest that the number of young people under 18 taking part in educational activities has increased in the last 10 years. Twelve out of 22 institutions replied along these lines.

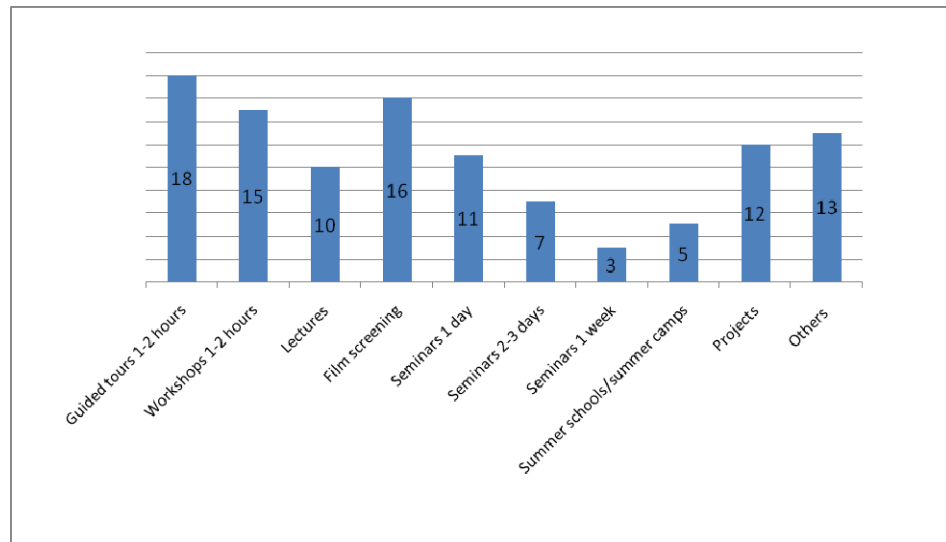
Since education primarily concerns the upbringing and training of children, young people and young adults, and is very much associated with the institution of school, it is scarcely surprising that the main target group for educational activities at memorial sites is young people. Across states and institutions, the target groups are mainly students from sixth forms and high schools aged between 14 and 18 years old. All the institutions included senior high school students, while 18 of the 22 institutions also specified junior high school students as one of their three main target groups. Only 6 of the 22 memorial sites and museums gave primary pupils as the target of their educational activities. Overall, the category of 'other' was chosen five times. In all five cases, teachers were named as a specific group of adults, while occupational groups were named in one case. The majority of the institutions surveyed (16 out of 22) offer further training for teachers.

4.4. Educational activities of the institutions

The surveyed memorial sites and historical museums offer their visitors a variety of educational activities of different length and using different approaches. Most of the educational activities involve guided tours and short workshops, often combined with film presentations.³⁷ One-day events were also mentioned relatively often, see Figure 2.

³⁷ The questions asked did not allow differentiation between the use of documentary and fictional film material.

Figure 2
Number of sites offering certain educational activities

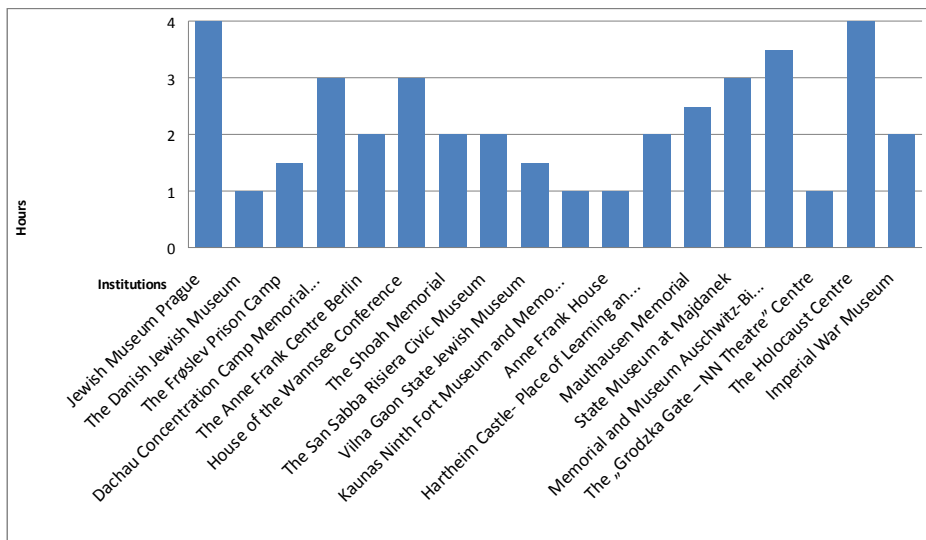


The answers received reveal a difference in the understanding of what is considered an educational activity. This is typical of institutions whose content focus cannot be clearly distinguished from how they impart this knowledge. It is therefore revealing, both in terms of perspective and the educational concept adopted by an institution, if they include under their educational activities exhibitions and archives (San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum), libraries (San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum, the Buchenwald memorial site, the House of the Wannsee Conference) and lectures, as well as individual assistance provided to trainees and volunteers (Buchenwald memorial site). Other institutions show a narrower understanding of their educational work and primarily describe forms of interactive encounters and discussions with groups as being educational. However, there is also a lack of clarity as to whether, for example, a distinction is made between educational activities and guided tours (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum), or if the guided tour itself is seen not as an educational activity but as an introduction to the exhibition or a feedback-discussion session at the end of the visit to the exhibition (Imperial War Museum London).

4.5. Duration of the visits of young people to commemoration sites and museums

In spite of the broad spectrum of the various activities offered, ranging from a few hours to several days or even weeks for ‘summer schools’ and ‘summer camps’, the following table clearly shows that activities for young visitors at memorial sites and in museums tend to be short-lived, see Figure 3.

Figure 3
Average duration of stay in hours for a visitor under the age of 18



The duration of the visit bears no relation to the size of the institution. Considering that at the large concentration camp sites it takes quite a long time just to cover the walking distances between the individual areas of the site, there might not be any time for educational activities in addition to the guided tours. Figure 3 shows the longest average duration to be four hours at two museum-style institutions not located at external historical sites: the Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom and the Jewish Museum in Prague.

Comparing actual visit durations, it appears that it is difficult to meet the high public expectations that the memorial sites are expected to fulfil, for example those raised in official memorial addresses. After all, it is not just a question of reconstructing the history of the sites, but also explaining the material traces and remains. The prisoners' viewpoint has to be included and life in the camp explained. In addition, the significance of the knowledge and experiences acquired at the memorial site have to be worked through with the young people in relation to their own lives, and they are expected to develop political awareness and an ability to act correspondingly.

4.6. Resources

When asked about resources, both economic and personnel, seven out of 22 establishments answered that they are satisfied with resources, while twice as many replied that they are not (15 out of 22), see Table 11. One institution, Buchenwald, did not provide an answer. There are a number of perceived shortcomings associated with the question of institutional resources. One

perceived shortcoming is that of time; others relate to the need for suitable staff, appropriate methods and materials.

Table 11
Opinion on resources (economic and personnel) per institution

Satisfactory	Not satisfactory
Terezín Memorial, Jewish Museum Prague, Anne Frank Centre in Berlin, San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum, Anne Frank House, Mauthausen Memorial, Imperial War Museum London	Danish Jewish Museum, Frøslev Prison Camp, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, House of the Wannsee Conference, Shoah Memorial, Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC), Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site, Hartheim Castle- Place of Learning and Remembrance, State Museum at Majdanek, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre’ Centre, Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom

4.6.1. Financial resources

There are major differences between the funds available to the various institutions. The resources and attendant educational possibilities seem to vary not only internationally but also between institutions. Obviously, this has a decisive influence on the potential for educational activities, but it is not possible to assess the extent of this based on the present data. The subjective estimate of the resources available for educational work is far more significant. One of the institutions, DIIS, directs half of the total budget to education activities. A further three of the institutions, the House of the Wannsee Conference, the San Sabbia Risiera Civic Museum and the Holocaust Centre, advise that about one third of the total budget is allocated to educational activities. For four of the surveyed institutions, less than 10 per cent of the total budget is directed to education activities. As many as six institutions gave no answer to the question.

As already mentioned, seven of the 22 institutions stated that they considered their financial and human resources to be satisfactory. In particular, the concentration camp memorial sites made varying direct reference to the financial allocations for the maintenance of the sites, which has a direct bearing on the educational work there. While the Buchenwald site considers site maintenance basically secure, the Auschwitz-Birkenau site points out the enormous costs of maintaining and safeguarding the sites, buildings and property. Even in a comparison within Germany, there are clear differences of opinions on the resources available. The Buchenwald memorial site describes its educational work as pretty well secure, while in Dachau there is felt to be a

lack of professionally trained personnel to develop the material and support the freelance educational staff.³⁸ Many other institutions also see personnel training as a problem. In one case (the Anne Frank Centre in Berlin), the fact that only ‘project-financed posts’ exist is described as a ‘structural problem’, or ‘longer-term educational work’. Other answers suggest that the institutions would like to employ more staff (Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre, Shoah Memorial, Danish Jewish Museum), while others refer to the ‘inadequate infrastructure’ (Majdanek), lack of resources for further/more research (DIIS), need for technical equipment and educational materials (House of the Wannsee Conference).

4.6.2. Human resources of commemoration sites and museums

When considering the lack of resources, the question of suitable personnel has naturally to come into the equation. An overview of the staffing of institutions in respect of educational work is given in the following Table 12:

Table 12
Number of staff employed per institution

Institution	In total	In educational activities
Terezín Memorial	126	8
Jewish Museum Prague	6	4
Danish Jewish Museum	30	2 students
Frøslev Prison Camp	7 (only 3 full time)	4 freelance staff
Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)	8	6
Buchenwald Memorial	Permanent staff of over 62. In addition: 30 museum supervisors and security guards, as well as a changing number of temporary employees and volunteers. Furthermore: about 40 fee-paid visitor guides.	
Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site	32	121

³⁸ Conditions for educational work in the two German concentration camp memorial sites may become more similar over the next few years, because in the current year permanent teaching posts are to be set up (for the first time) in Dachau with the help of national funds.

Anne Frank Centre in Berlin	16 key employees, 25 freelance employees	
House of the Wannsee Conference	15 permanent, 30 freelance employees	4 permanent, 30 freelance employees
Shoah Memorial	100	30
Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC)	8	2 part time
San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum	6 full time + 10 part time	10 part time
Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum	26	3
Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site	73	5
Anne Frank House	98	24
Hartheim Castle- Place of Learning and Remembrance	5	10
Mauthausen Memorial	39	22
State Museum at Majdanek	72	7
Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum	250	23 plus 220 licensed museum guides
'Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre' Centre	38	32
Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom	25	7
Imperial War Museum	660 (over the 5 sites)/14 for IWM London in total. 30 (over the 5 sites) in education activities. For Holocaust education (IWM London): 2 permanent staff members and 12 fee-paid staff members.	

Major differences between the institutions surveyed are also apparent here. However, since the survey only asked about the educational employees in relation to the total number of employees, it is not possible to draw any conclusions as to whether and how the memorial sites and museums can meet the demand for educational activities.

The survey reveals that many institutions employ freelance and contract workers; some indeed use freelance workers virtually exclusively (including the

Hartheim Castle memorial site and the San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum in Trieste, the Froeslev Camp, and the Mauthausen concentration camp memorial site. In the majority of the institutions surveyed, the educational personnel consists of both permanent and fixed-term employees. The answers given, which reveal an internal distinction (not expressly requested) between different categories of employment, do, however, show that there is always a small number of employed staff compared with a large number of fixed-term contract staff. The three institutions surveyed which works solely with permanent educational staff are all located in former communist states (Terezín Memorial, Jewish Museum Prague, Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site).

The questionnaire did not ask respondents to assess the advantages and disadvantages of the various employment relationships. On the basis of the collected data, it is not, therefore, possible to describe how freelancers are integrated into the institutions, how their pre- and in-service-training is done and what role they have in the teams. It has to be mentioned, however, that teachers and students in the focus-groups attached a great deal of importance to the guides, who are frequently not employees of the institutions and who get, according to the findings of the on-site research, not always adequate support. They are often one-sidedly channelled towards transmitting historical knowledge; their services are often coordinated by 'visitor service centres' rather than by the educational departments and they are barely integrated into the conceptual work of the educational departments. Whether, to what extent and how the different employment arrangements, the composition of the educational departments and the various models of educational responsibility affect the quality of the work cannot be judged on the basis of an evaluation of the questionnaires. This question is addressed once again in the chapter on the on-site visits.

4.7. Factors for the success of the educational work

If one analyses the factors in the various institutions which they report are significant for their continuing educational work on site, they are many and wide-ranging. They comprise

- employment conditions and educational skills of the guides and employees of the institutions
- official decisions by ministries and school authorities
- attitudes of the students and teachers
- motivation of employees of memorial sites and museums and the quality of the educational programmes and activities

- importance of the preparation of visits to memorial sites
- suitable pedagogical methods (all refer to the need for students to have as independent an approach as possible to the topics and sites)

Looking at the answers, it is apparent that the memorial sites and museums do not in any way consider themselves solely responsible for their fate, but feel that they are dependent on various factors which they can only influence to a certain extent. The success of their work is considered to be very dependent on the schools, particularly in the preparation of visits to memorial sites and museums. However, they do distinguish their approach from that of schools, by using non-school methods, which is precisely where they think their strength lies. Individually, the answers refer to various conditions and requirements for dealing with educational problems, but also offer conceptual solutions. However, if treated as a whole, as a list of fundamentally necessary conditions for the success of educational work at memorial sites and in museums, these answers could also be interpreted as a rejection of unrealistic expectations, some of which are therefore re-assigned to other fields of responsibility.

4.8. Challenges and obstacles to the educational work

In order to facilitate description of the conditions for the educational work in memorial sites and museums more precisely, the institutions were finally offered a list of possible difficulties. The respondents were asked to describe the challenges they faced with the help of answer options, both in the context of Holocaust education and for HRE. The greatest number of responses were allocated to the same answer options for both Holocaust education and for HRE and dealt primarily with

- the inadequate funding of visits,
- lack of time on site,
- poorly prepared groups
- and lack of trained staff.

The fact that the answers in both areas were largely the same suggests that these are references to fundamental challenges and obstacles to educational work and are not associated with a particular content focus.

4.8.1. Insufficient funding

In contrast to the answers from the ministries responsible, many memorial sites and museums surveyed evidently consider the promotion of out-of-school activities relating to their own institution to be inadequate. While four out of 22 institutions cited either national, regional or local school authorities as their sponsor institutions, and a further six out of 22 cite other state institutions, the majority of the institutions cite the schools themselves (15 out of 22) and the parents of the young people (14 out of 22) as the people who finance the visits to memorial sites and museums. Judging from the institutional responses, the sponsorship situation is not what would have been expected from the statements of the ministries responsible (cf. Chapter 3).

4.8.2. Lack of time

The complaint of a lack of time for the activities and inadequate preparation of the groups before visits can be understood in various ways. It indicates a concern which seems to arise from a mismatch between expectations and demands on the one hand and the actual possibilities offered on the other. Owing to the short time allocated for educational work at memorial sites and museums (see Figure 3 above), it is easy to see that the preparation of visits could make the work easier. On the other hand the answers suggest that:

- the schools have the scope to decide to make more time available for out-of-school activities than they actually spend and
- for their part, the memorial sites and museums have the capacity to provide more comprehensive educational activities than just guided tours.

4.8.3. Visitors' lack of preparation

The fact that the preparation of the visitors/school groups often seems inadequate is a difficulty which is frequently mentioned in connection with memorial sites and museums. However, this probably indicates a problem which cannot be solved entirely. Clearly, it is fundamentally difficult to have consultations between schools on the one hand and memorial sites and museums on the other, as there are time and capacity restraints for both. Arrangements are easier to make when the parties are familiar with each other. This may be the case for institutions which are more strongly anchored in the local area, or have worked with particular schools or even teachers for a long period of time, rather than for institutions with an enormous number of external visitors.

4.8.4. Lack of qualified staff

The fourth most frequent answer was a complaint about the lack of trained staff. This answer was given to almost the same extent for both topics, Holocaust education and HRE, (five out of 22 in relation to Holocaust education, six out of 22 in relation to HRE). In two cases (the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, Hartheim Castle), specific shortcomings were identified: both stated that educational emphasis was placed on the combination of Holocaust education and HRE (the Anne Frank House) or HRE (Hartheim Castle). A lack of trained staff in the HRE sector is mentioned by both institutions.

4.9. The main aims of the educational work

To clarify the main aims of the educational work of the memorial sites and museums in their own view, the institutions were also offered a choice of six alternative responses. They correspond to the response options to the same questions offered to the ministries. The institutions were asked to rank the responses, but only 12 out of the 22 institutions followed this request. Two institutions (the Buchenwald Memorial and the Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation) did not respond to this question. Table 13 shows the distribution of the main aims by the institutions.

Table 13
The main aims of education activities for young visitors per institution

Institution	Know- ledge of the history of the site	Know- ledge of national history	Develop- ment of anti-racist attitude	Aware- ness of democ- ratic values	Awareness of the importance of Human Rights	Know- ledge about the Holocaust
Terezín Memorial			x	x		x
Jewish Museum Prague	3	2				1
Danish Jewish Museum			x	x		
Frøslev Prison Camp	1	2		3		
Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)		x	x			x

Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site	3				2	
Anne Frank Centre in Berlin				x		x
House of the Wannsee Conference	2		3			1
Shoah Memorial		2				1
San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum	x	x	x			
Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum			3			1
Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site		x	x			x
Anne Frank House	1		5	4	3	2
Hartheim Castle-Place of Learning and Remembrance	1			3	2	
Mauthausen Memorial				1	2	3
State Museum at Majdanek	2	3		4		
Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum	x					x
‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre’ Centre						x
Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom			2	3		1
Imperial War Museum			3		2	1

If the answers are collected into two groups, one covering the learning of history and the other political education for the present day, a different set of priorities is evident from those in the answers provided by the ministries to the same question (cf. Chapter 3). The aims of the institutions surveyed are chiefly the dissemination of knowledge on the subject of the Holocaust; and in particular the specific history of the respective location is especially important.

The most remarkable outcome of this evaluation is that none of the institutions surveyed chose the option ‘Awareness about Human Rights’ as their most important aim. Irrespective of sequence, this response option was selected by only five of the 22 institutions.

4.10. Summary

Results show that the emphasis in terms of content of most of the 22 institutions surveyed lies in the field of Holocaust education, irrespective of whether they are memorial sites at historical locations or museums. However, the goals to be achieved through educational initiatives are not exclusively related to the dissemination of historical knowledge. There is variability in the way in which history is related to the present and connected with political education. Overall, it appears that the implementation of HRE within the institutions’ educational initiatives is not very pronounced, even though nearly half of the selected institutions, commemoration sites and original sites and museums see human rights as part of their educational focus. The others focus exclusively on Nazi crimes or the Holocaust in their educational activities. However, hardly any of the institutions provide a concept for HRE at the historical site, and even the institution which explicitly points to HRE as its specific focus, mentions transmitting the history of the site as its most important goal to be achieved.

The sizes of the selected institutions vary substantially and therefore also the number of visitors. The variation range was from 12,000 visitors to 1.130.000 visitors in 2008. The concentration camps attract numerous visitors. Half of the selected institutions count more than 50 per cent of young visitors, and the trend seems to be for an increasing number of young visitors.

In all the institutions, educational initiatives are aimed primarily at students between the ages of 14 and 18 and consist for the most part of short-term activities. The activities are first of all guided tours and workshops, each for about 1-2 hours. The average duration of a visit for young visitors is between 2.5 and 3.5 hours. This information already suggests that the desired educational goals which encompass historical understanding as well as learning for the present (emphasized by both the institutions and the ministries in charge), are difficult to attain.

Given the selection of sites for the study, there is also a huge variation of financial resources. Fifteen out of 22 institutions express dissatisfaction with their resources (financial and personnel). Other challenges relate to lack of time for adequate teaching, in addition to poorly prepared groups and lack of trained staff.

The number of employees involved in the institutions’ education programme varies considerably, and usually comprises a few permanent staff and a number of temporary employees.

A number of different requirements were identified as factors for success in relation to educational activities. They include individual educational concepts and principles (above all the facilitation of independent learning experiences), financial conditions, and successful cooperation between schools and memorial sites/museums in the preparation of visits.

5. Perspectives from teachers and students

5.1. Conducting focus group discussions

Focus groups of approximately two hours, involving teachers and students, were held in nine EU Member States. The objective was to evaluate the importance that teachers and students attach to memorial sites and museums in terms of Holocaust education and human rights education.

5.1.1. Decisions on locations and participants

Focus groups are used to explore a particular subject area. They do not provide generalised or even representative results. Their purpose is more to give an in-depth impression of the perceptions, ideas and opinions of those being questioned. The choice of participants, and in this case the countries in which they live, was thus not random. Teacher participants were selected for their expertise in the field and their clear interest in teaching about the Holocaust. Also students were selected for their interest in the subject. Both teachers and students were expected to have previously visited memorial sites or museums devoted to this subject. In total, 118 teachers and students as experts took part in the focus group interviews.

When selecting locations for the group discussions, an important factor was their proximity to those institutions that were visited as well as being surveyed by questionnaire. The focus groups took place in the United Kingdom (London), the Netherlands (Amsterdam), Denmark (Copenhagen), Lithuania (Vilnius), Poland (Cracow), the Czech Republic (Prague), Germany (Berlin), Austria (Linz) and Italy (Milan).³⁹

³⁹ The groups were put together in the various EU states. The process was facilitated by contacts at the ITF, which made it possible to get in touch with teachers who had agreed to participate in the study in the respective countries. In turn, the teachers were then able to use a “snowball” system to motivate individual students to participate in the focus groups. It must

The majority of teachers taking part in the discussion taught at secondary schools, mainly at senior level. Some, however, also taught at lower secondary school/junior high school level, and at primary level. In most cases, the teachers involved were history teachers, but teachers of other subjects, such as literature and religion, were also represented. Most of the students were between 14 and 20 years old; the Austrian group also contained three 23-26-year-old students from a vocational college. Students were mainly drawn from the senior classes of secondary schools.⁴⁰ The groups comprised between three and ten participants. A total of 56 teachers and 63 students took part in the focus groups. The majority of participants were female, the student groups containing twice as many girls (41) as boys (21). One student group was composed solely of girls (London).

Table 14
Participating Teachers

City	Participants	female	male
Amsterdam	4	2	2
Berlin	5	3	2
Copenhagen	7	3	4
Cracow	8	4	4
Linz	5	3	2
London	6	5	1
Milan	5	1	4
Prague	8	4	4
Vilnius	8	8	0
Total	56	33	23

Table 15
Participating Students

City	Participants	female	male
Amsterdam	10	5	5
Berlin	8	7	1

again be pointed out that France, the tenth country targeted for hosting a focus group, could not be included in this stage of the study.

⁴⁰ The participant selection process ensured that the groups were not made up of teaching staff from one school or students from one individual school class; instead the groups comprised participants from different institutions and classes.

Copenhagen	7	4	3
Cracow	8	5	3
Linz	6	3	3
London	5	5	0
Milan	3	1	2
Prague	8	6	2
Vilnius	7	5	2
Total	62	41	21

5.1.2. Moderation and guidelines

All focus groups were conducted in the language of the respective country under the direction of a native-speaker moderator and a facilitator. A member of the project team was also always present as an observer.⁴¹ The purpose of the questions in the teacher and student groups was:

- to evaluate teaching on the Holocaust,
- to evaluate the importance of visits to memorial sites and museums for Holocaust education, and
- to assess the connection between Holocaust education and HRE in schools and with regard to out-of-school activities.

The guidelines took into account the specific perspectives of the teacher and student groups. Teachers were essentially asked to reflect on the aims and difficulties of teaching the Holocaust and describe the opportunities presented, in their view, by utilising memorial sites and museums for Holocaust education and HRE. In contrast, in the student focus groups, much greater emphasis was placed on the aspects of the Holocaust and human rights that students found interesting and what they thought of memorial site and museum visits within the framework of Holocaust education and HRE.

A number of supplementary questions on other optional topics were also discussed with both teachers and students. In both cases, these related to aspects of the participants' professional or practical role as teachers or students. The idea was to evaluate teaching practice and experiences of memorial site and

⁴¹ The moderator's task was to open the discussion and use the guidelines to direct it. The facilitator's goal was to observe the discussion process to ensure a balanced input from everyone present. It was also the facilitator's task to ensure that the timetable was adhered to and to summarise the results for further discussion in the final part of each focus group.

museum visits, to identify obstacles and difficulties and to suggest improvements.

5.2. Teachers' discussions

The questions to teachers were primarily concerned with teaching practice. The teachers were firstly asked general questions about the aims and difficulties of teaching the Holocaust. The second part of the teacher discussions examined the conditions for successful teaching of this subject and to establish the factors that make it difficult. The aim of the third part was to examine the use of memorial sites and historical museums in greater detail and, as a separate issue, asked about their role in Holocaust education and HRE. The final question was aimed at possible differences with regard to the use of memorial sites at historical locations or museums in education.

5.2.1. Aims of Holocaust education

The teachers gave a broad range of responses when asked about the aims of teaching the Holocaust. These roughly correspond to the classification of the general aims of Holocaust education. The teachers mentioned

- aspects of historical learning,
- aspects of empathy/victim commemoration and
- aims that to a greater or lesser extent are connected with the 'lessons from history'.

There were differences of opinion, not only internationally but also within the respective countries, as to how these aims interrelate and what emphasis they have or should be given. The teacher groups in London and Berlin disagreed on whether the aim of the teaching was the learning of history by placing Nazism and the Holocaust into their historical context or to establish the 'lessons from history'. By contrast, teachers in Amsterdam and Linz were in agreement over their priorities, although these were different: While the teachers in Amsterdam stressed that the primary aim was the transmission of historical knowledge and that other goals (e.g. 'teach the students to start thinking about discrimination in general', 'learn about respect for other cultures' – Amsterdam) were subordinate to the learning of history, there was agreement among those taking part in the discussion in Linz that the non-historical pedagogical aims were of prime importance ('respect of human dignity and the value of life', 'prevention of hatred based on stereotypes and prejudices', 'appreciation of others' – Linz). This prioritization can probably be explained by the fact that none of the Austrian teachers taught history. In contrast, according to the discussion groups in Cracow and Copenhagen, different aims, yet of equal value can co-exist in

education and complement each other. While one Danish teacher emphasised the importance of providing solid historical knowledge as a reaction to the perceived gaps in students' knowledge ('The students often have gaps in their knowledge and it is therefore important to expand their understanding about the Holocaust by explaining about the historic background' – Copenhagen), another teacher raised the possibility of the Holocaust becoming a case study for other genocides, without provoking disagreement within the discussion group. The non-hierarchical co-existence of different aims, such as knowledge, responsibility, citizenship and tolerance, was also accepted by the Cracow group.

It was, however, clear in all cases that the subject of the Holocaust and its associated teaching aims is perceived as a non-standard subject with links to history and moral education, citizenship, philosophy and religion. The uncommon nature of the subject is demonstrated by the fact that even where it falls within the remit of history teaching, there was no consensus at all on whether the priority should be the transmission of *historical knowledge*, as is the case with other historical periods. Correspondingly, the success of the teaching is not measured against an understanding of the facts ('The criteria for whether the teaching is successful is purely whether the students have understood the human aspect of the Holocaust and not simply associated it with dry facts and figures' – Copenhagen). In various discussion groups, there was also the view that the Holocaust had so many facets that it should not only be taught in history lessons, but also examined in a range of other subjects ('It's important to have a couple of subjects going on at the same time so that it is not confined to the one dealing with the concentration camps. For example, there is religious studies, where they learn a lot' – Prague).

5.2.2. Social parameters

The aims of Holocaust education were not explicitly discussed in all groups. Instead, aspects which were seen to fundamentally hamper the teaching of the subject came to the fore. These included social aspects, which are demonstrated for example in the attitudes of parents, and cannot be changed immediately or in the short-term either through education or by teachers. Nonetheless, it is part of the teachers' role to address these social influences. The Prague focus group referred to a fundamentally sceptical, if not hostile attitude towards engaging with the Holocaust, which was seen to marginalise the teachers involved or interested in the subject ('I'm classified as a Judeophile, not just by the students, but also by staff members' or 'The school's attitude towards me is: Gypsies, Jews and concentration camps are your field' – Prague).

One of the social conditions seen as an obstacle to Holocaust education that has a direct impact on teaching was anti-Semitism, which was mentioned in particular by the Polish group. The participants mentioned 'anti-Semitic statements in the textbooks', 'sometimes unfavourable attitudes of some parents

towards Holocaust issues or education about anti-Semitism', 'possible anti-Semitic attitudes among the teaching staff' (Cracow). This topic also came up in discussions in the Lithuanian teachers' group, although less directly than in the Polish group. In this group, there was a lot of very intense discussion about what are known as *Tolerance Education Centres*, which all the participating teachers were involved in. These are contact points established in the 1990s in schools, museums and other institutions.⁴² ('One of the aims of the Tolerance Network is to break negative stereotypes, e.g. that Jews eat peculiar meals or that they have a strange code of conduct. From small details negative stereotypes arise, e.g. that often communists were Jews that the current world economic crisis was provoked by Jews' – Vilnius).

In the teachers' discussion in Linz, it was mentioned that parents who exhibit a right-wing mindset put pressure on teachers when discussing right-wing parties and making references to Nazi persecution of the Jews. In spite of, or as a direct result of this, the educational debate surrounding the Holocaust is viewed by Austrian teachers as a tool to combat right-wing and extreme right-wing attitudes ('Learning about the Holocaust can inform people of the dangerous potential of right-wing ideas' – Linz).

The Italian focus group discussed other difficulties, not always related closely to teaching the Holocaust, but rather to the basic teaching of history. Aspects not mentioned in other groups were discussed. These included the relationship between virtual and physical reality, societal changes with the passage of time and the fast-paced lives and associated consumer habits of young people, which make it difficult to have any appreciation of history and the gradual unfolding of events. This was also confirmed by the teachers of the Czech focus group ('Students are unable to reflect on history, they are disconnected from it' – Prague). For the Italian teachers, the role of the media was also a particular problem, both with regard to its ability to create new realities and in its power to create passive observers. As (history) teachers, they feel that their job is to act as a counterweight to these social and technical developments by encouraging critical and questioning attitudes in their students, and helping them to differentiate between reality and virtual substitute realities:

'At a time when the media is so powerful and when people are prone to be passive spectators, it is important to teach students to doubt, to turn everything into a problem to be investigated. It is not important to have an unambiguous reaction, but to have any reaction' (Milan).

⁴² Information on Tolerance Education Centres is available on the Internet at <http://www.komisija.lt> (04.12.2009).

5.2.3. Methods

In terms of teaching objectives, methodological aspects were mentioned over and over again. Since transmitting information on the Holocaust is not viewed exclusively as a historical task, but as an important part of political and moral education, it was clear from most of the discussions that the participants sought to find methodological approaches that corresponded to their objectives. There was a strong conviction that the aim to educate students who can think critically, who support values and reject totalitarian ideology and politics, who are democratic in thought and appreciate and defend diversity of opinion, who oppose the violation of basic human rights and recognise and actively resist political injustice, cannot be achieved with a ‘top-down’ approach to teaching. Teaching on the Holocaust should therefore enable students to form their own opinion as far as possible through exploratory, research-based and project-oriented learning and should be based on a multi-perspective view of history.

Motivational methods

All of the teacher discussions emphasised the importance of independent activity and thinking on the part of students (‘Introduce interactive methods through teaching by action’ – Cracow; ‘Stimulate their thirst for knowledge; promote research-based, independent learning’ – Berlin). This corresponds to the frequent references to student-based approaches and the consideration of student interests, as well as to the rejection of teaching methods that ‘dictate’ to students. One Czech teacher put it this way:

*‘The students get the most out of it themselves, which is much more powerful because they draw their own conclusions; all we do is show them the way’
(Prague).*

The Amsterdam group also made similar comments. The Italian teachers also highlighted the benefits of using motivational methods to turn students into ‘researchers’. For this reason, they also recommended involving students from middle schools, and not just those at the end of their school career, in relevant projects ‘so that there was the opportunity to build a longer learning process and to give students the responsibility to share their experience with others’ (Milan).

In contrast, a German teacher noted that orientation to student interests can also create problems, for example, students free to choose topics could come up with a ‘chamber of horrors’ of subjects. The teacher mentioned ‘Mengele and experiments on humans’ and ‘the technology of murder’ (Berlin). How such interests can be dealt with in a reasoned manner – also during visits to memorial sites– remains an open question. However, it is clear that student interests do not always have to correspond exactly with the pedagogical agenda of the teacher.

Dialogue-based approaches to teaching were considered to be particularly important in terms of motivating students. The importance of providing space for discussion, the exchange of opinions, debate and reflection was emphasised.

Personal connections to history – biography work

There was almost universal approval for methods which allow the formation of personal connections to individuals, generally victims of the Holocaust. The British teachers paraphrased this with the phrase ‘putting names to faces’. The individualisation of history is viewed above all as a counterpoint to the anonymity of the mass of victims and aims both to commemorate the victims and provide an appropriate way for the students of today to access the subject and the people involved (‘There’s no point talking just about numbers, but about individual destinies’, ‘Children are more responsive to the fates of individuals than to mass circumstances’ – Prague; ‘Holocaust education should focus on biographies of victims, making the students familiar with the personality of the victims and avoiding mentioning only their suffering’ – Linz; ‘Preparation should include students being familiar with a name’ – London; ‘Presenting the faiths of individuals’ – Cracow).

The testimonies of the survivors themselves are deemed as crucial when dealing with individual biographies. In the Copenhagen focus group all the teachers agreed that meeting with witnesses is a powerful and important experience for students (‘Such meetings always made a strong impression on the students’ – Copenhagen). The loss of the survivors with the passage of time was mentioned as a problem on several occasions. Narratives recorded using different types of media are therefore used as another way of accessing the personal histories of survivors. Videos of survivors and documentary films were mentioned much more frequently than written documents. If it is not possible to arrange this kind of meeting, the teachers in Copenhagen, for example, suggested screening documentary films with interviews or online testimonies. The use of photos of people in the context of their everyday life rather than anonymous pictures of corpses was also mentioned, as well as the debate surrounding literature (‘Inappropriate images should be replaced by images of Jewish, Roma, Sinti life before the Holocaust’ – London; ‘Overall, literature is an important means of arousing student interest in the Holocaust’ – Copenhagen).

There was universal consensus in the discussion groups that working with personal histories should create a link between the past and the present and between historical people and young people today, as well as evoking empathy. It is not always obvious or easy to decide whether the aim is to create empathy in the sense of the ability to view things from another person’s perspective for the purpose of understanding specific contexts, or rather identification in the sense of sympathetic understanding, emotional identification and an affirmative appreciation of the actions of specific people. In the focus group discussions a differentiation between the concepts of ‘empathy’ and ‘identification’ could be

noted that was close to the differentiation between victims and perpetrators. ‘Identification’ is used exclusively in connection with victims and never in relation to the debate on perpetrator biographies. The concept of ‘empathy’ does not, however, denote an acceptance of the decisions made by perpetrators, but rather an attempt to understand their perspectives in a way that explains individual actions without condoning them. Occasionally the investigation of perpetrator biographies was mentioned as an important medium for understanding the Holocaust:

‘Students should also look at and discuss the individual perpetrators, their fates and their personal responsibilities. Students should understand that these people were not just cold-blooded killing-machines, they were also people with their own stories of why they became participants in mass murder’ (Copenhagen)

Different methods, media and materials

Along with the focus on research-based, independent learning and work with biographical materials and methods, some additional materials and methods were mentioned. Within the framework of Holocaust education, it is important to avoid using conventional or familiar media as much as possible. This means not just using photos that have already become ‘icons of the Holocaust’ or graphic novels, but also identifying lesser-known material associated with Nazi crimes.

In line with the aforementioned factors deemed to be effective, ‘one-way’ lecturing and moralising teaching methods were almost unanimously rejected. However, some methods favoured by one group were completely rejected by another. While role plays were endorsed by the Czech, Lithuanian and Polish groups, the British teachers considered them unhelpful. Role plays provoked controversy among the Danish teachers, as on the one hand they appear to correspond to the interests of the students, but on the other there is a danger of them overwhelming the students emotionally.

5.2.4. Further conditions for success

A whole range of other factors were also mentioned as criteria for ‘successful’ Holocaust education, covering a very broad spectrum. Alongside the aforementioned social parameters, e.g. the attitudes of parents to the subject, these factors include the surfeit of images of violence in the media (‘Many children have seen many terrible movies, and are not easily impressed by visual material from the Holocaust’ – Amsterdam) and media-generated realities (Milan).

The time factor also cannot really be influenced by teachers. The teachers taking part in the focus groups in particular seemed to belong to the group of people who try to compensate for the lack of time associated with Holocaust education through strong personal commitment. The shortage of time for Holocaust education in the curriculum was, however, deemed to be unsatisfactory.

5.2.5. The role of teachers in Holocaust education

The teachers in the focus groups were asked in their professional capacity about the aims, opportunities and difficulties associated with teaching the Holocaust. They hardly spoke about themselves, their own connections to the subject or their personal views of memorial site and museum visits. They concentrated much more on teaching and excursions and how these affect the students. In spite of this, there were some personal observations, although it was often unclear whether these were personal statements or views on ‘teachers’ as a whole. Mention was made of occasional uncertainties relating to their personal knowledge, experience and competence. In the British focus group, for example, the issue of ‘teacher expertise’ was raised. However, these issues were often generalised and gave the impression that the teachers were analysing the status of teacher training and further training from an observer’s point of view. This was reflected by statements on the inadequate preparation of teachers in terms of content and emotion (Cracow) or on teachers’ fear of the subject and their desire to avoid it (Prague, Cracow). It was considered appropriate for teachers not to hide their own feelings when teaching the Holocaust but rather to approach the subject in a ‘genuine’ manner (Cracow). In a similar way, the teachers in Italy also stressed the function of the teacher as a role model: ‘This is the main challenge of teaching at school today. If teachers themselves don’t believe in what they are doing, there is no hope that students can learn in an appropriate way’ (Milan).

These assessments indicate that the teachers in the focus groups show particular personal commitment when dealing with the specific character of the topic. In this context, exchange between teachers and specialist support are also important, these being, according to the Austrian teachers, an important factor in providing effective Holocaust education. With the unambiguously named organisation ‘erinnern.at’⁴³, it appears that Austria has the platform to make this happen.

⁴³ “Erinnern” is the German word for remembrance.

5.2.6. The role of memorial sites and museums in Holocaust education

The role of memorial sites particularly at historic locations was considered to be vitally important in every respect in terms of providing information about the Holocaust. Visits to memorial sites were seen as an opportunity for holistic learning and a chance to gain experiences that cannot be replicated in the classroom. In one case, excursions to memorial sites were described as the high point of the learning process, bringing together all the expectations and hopes relating to Holocaust education ('The visit should be seen as the culmination of a course' – Copenhagen).

The variety of educational opportunities that, in the teachers' view, arises from visits to memorial sites was clearly illustrated by a member of the Austrian focus group:

'Sites offer different forms of learning, a more intensive experience and learning with an emotional component. Visiting an authentic site requires time for perceiving its aura. It facilitates attention for seemingly 'small things' and the development of imagination' (Linz).

The Polish teachers' group stressed the considerable gains in understanding brought about by the emotional impact of the site:

'Student contact with the place where the Holocaust happened should bear fruit with a deeper understanding of the Jewish tragedy and prevent them from treating the Holocaust only as a historical event' (Cracow).

The concept of authenticity played a significant role in this context, although few considered the sites to be self-explanatory. Memorial sites, and to a lesser extent museums, are rather viewed by teachers as relatively complex media that need to fulfil a range of criteria if they are to function successfully. As well as pre-visit preparations and post-visit evaluations, which focus on different aspects, these criteria above all include the educational programme of the institution and its professional implementation at the site.

Authenticity and impact

The concept of authenticity is obviously weighted with very different associations and expectations. Almost all discussions made it clear that the experiences connected with visits to memorial sites and museums were closely associated with the quality of the site, as well as its particular aura or atmosphere. The teachers in Germany agreed that there was a 'location effect' (Berlin); the Polish teachers highlighted the capacity of these sites to focus attention ('Authenticity of the place – extermination of the Jews stopped being

treated as an abstraction’ – Cracow), and the teachers in the Netherlands emphasised their appropriateness for educational purposes (‘Teaching on site works. On a commemoration site you will have a different atmosphere than in a museum’ – Amsterdam).

However, the teachers did not always attribute the impact that was expected or experienced to the ‘authenticity’ of the site. On closer consideration, it was much more to do with sustained, emotionally formative experiences. These are not necessarily linked to the site at which the event remembered or to be commemorated took place. One Danish teacher puts it this way:

‘A visit to a museum can also be a very emotional experience, particularly if you hear personal stories, e.g. video interviews. You can be emotionally moved by many different factors and it can be difficult to say in advance what is going to affect the students’ (Copenhagen).

The remarks indicate that the dividing line between a more powerful or less powerful experience is not clearly drawn between ‘authentic’ and ‘non-authentic’ locations. Nor is it drawn between sites where remains can be seen and others that consist primarily of empty spaces. One of the teachers referred to the emotional significance of Yad Vashem in Israel and emphasised the problem with historic sites:

‘Yad Vashem was the most impressive museum I have ever visited, more impressive than many of the authentic sites. I think it is the same for many of my students. At many sites it is difficult to remember because so many things are lost’ (Amsterdam).

In contrast, the teachers in Italy underlined the potential for remembrance even where no material traces are left:

‘Authentic sites are crucial in teaching the Holocaust, even more when they show empty spaces, when they physically evoke in the students what happened, e.g. cold weather and snow during winter, when they prove what non-life is’ (Milan).

Emotions

Emotions were a recurring subject in the discussions, not just in relation to visiting the sites of Nazi crimes. Emotions are seen by the teachers as fundamentally valuable, both as the means for, and aim of, Holocaust education. Historic locations such as memorial sites and museums on the Holocaust are seen as particularly important in terms of the emotional impact they can have on students. Visits to such sites, however, also entail the risk of emotional overload. The importance of preparing students for their own possible emotional reactions was mentioned, particularly when the issue of preparing for

memorial site visits was raised (Cracow, Copenhagen). There was also some doubt as to whether students could actually be prepared in this respect ('Importance of preparation but limited in how much emotional preparation can happen' – London).

In the focus groups, the subject of emotions came up in very different contexts. On the one hand, the difficulty of dealing with one's own emotions on the topic was mentioned: 'Teachers have their own reactions, or are unsure how to deal with pupils' emotions; departments are frightened of teaching in this area as a result' (London). Similar opinions were also expressed in the Polish group discussion: 'Teachers are not prepared for dealing with that topic, they are afraid of this topic, trying to avoid Holocaust topics' (Cracow).

When discussing Holocaust education, emotions take many different forms. On the one hand, there is, as we have seen, an emotional resistance that has to be overcome. On the other hand, feelings act as a kind of stimulus to the learning process ('The site allows you to really feel the atmosphere, which is essential for the learning process. If you feel something, it sticks' – Amsterdam). However, dealing with the Holocaust should also initiate an emotional confrontation on the part of the students, the core of which is the link between history and personal life, i.e. the reflection on one's own actions against the background of historical knowledge and insight. ('This does not mean, however, that teaching should wallow in emotions, but rather that teaching should stimulate to identify with what happened' – Copenhagen; 'It is not the target to make them weep...but I'm happy if they get connected to the subject' – Amsterdam).

Approaches that are too academic, 'top-heavy' and knowledge-oriented were considered to be unproductive. However, an overemphasis on feeling also clearly runs the risk of descending into moralising and manipulation ('emotional overpowering, lack of sensitivity for the students when visiting sites' – Linz). The fear was also expressed that a too openly emotional approach could have the opposite effect of that intended. In this respect, the teachers in Poland were critical of the approach of some of the guides during visits to memorial sites ('attitude towards presenting the most shocking information, affecting only the emotions – there is a risk of a defensive reaction, inverse to that originally planned' – Cracow).

The teachers emphasised that the emotional experiences involved in visits to memorial sites should not overburden students.

'It is not productive to provoke an emotive response while visiting authentic sites; this can produce a negative side-effect. On the contrary, it should be the premise to activate an emotional intelligence, which is much more complex and deep' (Milan).

This quotation is just one of many indicating that teachers feel a certain amount of responsibility for the guidance and supervision of student emotions and clearly also think this is something they can manage. In the focus group in Cracow it was underlined frequently that it is ‘forbidden’ to leave students alone with their emotions. The fact that this is ‘forbidden’ emphasises how dramatic student reactions can be, although there is no guarantee that student emotions will always be immediately identifiable:

‘The visits left deep emotions in the students, even some that were not particularly obvious’ (Prague).

Deviation from the norm

The particular nature of the subject of the Holocaust also seems to be reflected in the fact that ‘excursions’ used for educational purposes are not part of everyday teaching. This was mentioned explicitly in the teachers’ discussion in Linz (‘Visiting sites highlights the special importance of the topic’ – Linz). It was also stressed in other discussions that journeys and visits to memorial sites were something special (‘not a normal school trip’ – Milan).

The location of the memorial sites visited and the distance travelled is central to the perception of the visit as an ‘extraordinary’ activity. Disruption to the school day varies, depending on the duration of the memorial site visit. For teachers in Denmark, Italy or the United Kingdom, talk of excursions to ‘authentic sites’ usually means a trip through Europe. There are no local or regional memorial sites to visit, just the large, highly symbolic sites, generally located in Poland or Germany. The teachers involved in the Italian focus group were all involved in a project entitled ‘Un treno per Auschwitz’ [A train to Auschwitz], which will be mentioned again later on in this report. Around 3,000 Italian students take part every year and travel from Italy to Auschwitz and back by train, a journey of two days. They spend a further day at Auschwitz. It is only to be expected that travel of this type is logistically more challenging than taking a Berlin school class to the nearby memorial sites at the former Sachsenhausen concentration camp or the House of the Wannsee Conference. However, even those teachers who undertake excursions in their own countries and regions emphasised the ‘extraordinary’ nature of these trips and the hope that they will have a particular impact.

Preparation and follow-up

The importance of the preparation and follow-up of students visits, already highlighted in the literature, is fully supported by the teachers. Understandably, it is not just memorial sites and museums that want students to be prepared. The integration of the site visits into lessons and the preparation of the students are also important to teachers. Preparations should not just deal with historical

contextualisation ('The site should be put in context: how did it come about?' – London) but also involve debate on possible emotional reactions.

With the exception of the Polish focus group, the discussions did not cover the specific structuring of the preparation and follow-up, just as in most cases there were no reasons given for the necessity of preparation and follow-up. The Polish teachers outlined a relatively clear chronological structure for preparation, implementation and follow-up, organising the thematic and practical elements of the visit to the memorial site. They suggested including (fictional) films and visits to Jewish cemeteries in the preparation phase. According to the teachers, the trip to the memorial site itself should have clearly defined goals and follow a specific concept; students should have input into defining the goals and the opportunity to help shape part of the memorial site visit. Four points were raised about the visit itself: 'Assurance of time for personal experience of the visit, work with task sheets, a preliminary lecture about the different subjects and movie presentation, avoiding didacticism' (Cracow).

With regard to follow-up, some suggestions came up in the discussions. One suggestion was to reflect on 'forms of representation at the institution'. That implies not just focussing on individual confrontation with history at the site, but also introducing a second level of reflection into lessons. In general, teachers considered the most important element of follow-up sessions to be students reflecting on what they had experienced and learned during the memorial site visit. For this purpose, the Polish teachers prefer written feedback to interactive discussions: Teachers in Cracow underlined the necessity of summary lessons and the possibility of students expressing their own emotions – in writing rather than orally – for example in reflections on the visit, while the Lithuanian and Czech teachers preferred interactive discussions ('Shortly after the visit a discussion should be arranged about the excursion, where the students could share their impressions and thoughts' – Vilnius). The teachers in Italy emphasised the importance of self-reflection ('personal re-interpretation'). The intention here was also to communicate the experiences to those students unable to take part in the memorial site visit. The Italian teachers also alluded to the particular importance of the social aspect of a memorial site visit, in their case in the experience of travelling as a group:

'The collective experience can create a positive environment for better learning. Sharing feelings, impressions and personal ideas contributes to creating a collective intelligence, which is greater than the sum of the single individual intelligences' (Milan).

Voluntary participation, feedback, freedom of choice

In some discussions, it was stressed that due to the particular nature of the subject of the Holocaust, it was important to make student participation in visits

to memorial sites and museums voluntary. However, it was unfortunately not mentioned how this can be accomplished in the framework of school lessons. Differentiation of educational approaches could also be seen as a solution to this problem. Different approaches can at least facilitate a degree of free choice during the memorial site visit:

'I suggest making preparations to develop a programme which has several levels: one level for those who have great interest in the data and technique, and a level for those who are more interested in the emotional site of the events. A differentiation in programmes will lead to maximum attention while visiting the authentic site' (Amsterdam).

The teachers in Berlin recommended the creation of learning stages not encumbered or characterised by assessment or marks. It was also pointed out that students must be given the freedom to reflect on their experiences as part of the excursion itself. The importance of quiet contemplation during the actual visit was also emphasised in the group discussion in Copenhagen:

'After a guided tour students should be given the opportunity to go round themselves so they can return to places that had made an impression on them and also have the opportunity for personal reflection and contemplation in peace' (Copenhagen).

Educational programmes and professionalism of institutions

In contrast to public statements, for example political speeches at the sites of former concentration camps, which usually identify the site itself as being educationally relevant, the teacher discussions repeatedly emphasised the importance of the educational structure of memorial site visits. It was evident that the teachers perceive memorial sites and museums as educational institutions and believe staff at these institutions should be able to communicate specific areas of knowledge.

The Austrian teachers stressed that education should not be the responsibility of memorial site and museum staff alone. However, for many of the teachers taking part in the focus groups, the success of memorial site and museum visits was linked primarily to the quality of the institution's educational approach and the competence of their staff. This was most evident in the discussion in Berlin, which referred to various memorial sites and museums in and around Berlin. The institutions were judged very differently in terms of the quality of their respective educational programmes and the use of these programmes in teaching the Holocaust.

'The differences between the various sites and the opportunities for using these sites in a meaningful way in teaching depend very much on the educational approach of the respective institution' (Berlin).

Where expectations were specified, these almost exclusively involved the interactive skills of the guides and educational staff at the institution ('Good staff on site is essential. They should get the message across.' – Amsterdam;

'The quality of excursions is very dependent on the professionalism of guides, how they are able to involve the students and to provoke interest in the topic.' (Vilnius).

Organisational, institutional and structural obstacles

Many discussions also highlighted the limitations of memorial site and museum visits for school education. These limitations are often linked to the organisational capacity of schools, where time-consuming excursions are a problem. Other organisational problems in schools include regulations for school-leaving examinations (Prague), a fragmented curriculum in which it is unclear who has responsibility for content (the British teachers' complaint), or a fundamental irritation with education through out-of-school activities ('Visits are treated as a destabilisation of the teaching schedule; teachers from different subjects are losing working hours – that's why they oppose on-site visits' – Cracow).

The Berlin teachers also criticised the fact that there is no 'institutionalised, systematic collaboration with colleagues'. In addition, the teachers pointed out that teaching plans make it impossible to present 'a cross-disciplinary teaching approach and a coherent chronology of historical development' (Berlin).

Alongside organisational constraints and decisions on educational planning, many focus groups mentioned difficulties with the financing of excursions. Teachers of the focus group in Copenhagen point out that it is expensive and time-consuming to organise student trips. The teachers in Cracow complain that students have to cover the travel costs by themselves; and teachers have to devote private time and do not receive any money for overtime work.

5.2.7. The role of memorial sites and museums in human rights education

On the whole, the focus groups confirmed the preliminary findings of the literature review: that human rights education (HRE) is not really considered to be linked to Holocaust education, particularly in relation to memorial sites and museums. In three cases, Copenhagen, Linz and Prague, the question of the role played by memorial sites and museum visits in HRE was barely touched upon or not dealt with directly. However, the teachers in Denmark, without addressing the question specifically, seemed to view the linking of Holocaust education and HRE in an essentially positive light. One teacher argued that

Holocaust studies should be put into a wider perspective in which the overall theme was human rights.

In contrast, this was firmly rejected by the Dutch focus group: ‘Human rights are just something else. The connection is forced’ (Amsterdam). This attitude also came up again at other points in the same discussion: ‘If you tell a story about the war, don’t force the link with human rights. Children may or may not work that out themselves’. In the German focus group, the link between Holocaust education and HRE was only raised in relation to teaching and schools. The role of memorial site visits was not mentioned in this context. With regard to school teaching, relatively close links were noted between the two fields, for example the connection between the Holocaust and the Nuremberg Trials or the emergence of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The subjects of ‘resistance’ and ‘forced labour’ also provided ‘positive examples and indirect alternatives for action relevant to the here and now’ (Berlin).

In the German focus group, it became evident that the teachers’ perceptions of HRE were less historical and more oriented toward students’ current experiences of racism and discrimination. In the opinion of the German teachers, HRE should not be directly linked to a specific subject area. Basic rights and human rights were a benchmark for other subjects, such as ethics or religion, but they were also a general issue in everyday school life with regard to students’ questions on racism and anti-Semitism. Human rights and discrimination should therefore be part of every subject, and not restricted to the debate on Nazism and the Holocaust (Berlin).

Whenever the link between Holocaust education and HRE was discussed in relation to memorial sites, it emerged that memorial sites at historic locations in particular are not seen as especially relevant institutions to HRE. The teachers of the British group were the only exception to this view. For them, visits to memorial sites were a good opportunity to enhance understanding of HRE and to promote human rights by emphasising their absolute absence:

*‘They demonstrate the denial of citizenship to a number of groups; they demonstrate the lack of human rights in the Holocaust and this links to the continued lack of human rights elsewhere. This makes the issue of human rights a continuum; a recognition of the consequences of dehumanisation’
(London)*

By contrast, the Polish group showed a clear tendency for the view that sites of former concentration camps and death camps should focus primarily on the respective histories of the sites. They commented that other themes could be examined in the course of longer educational programmes such as seminars and workshops, but not during guided tours.

‘Authentic sites should concentrate on transmitting the knowledge of what happened there. However, lessons in historical museums can be enhanced with more general topics, like problems of stigmatisation, racism, xenophobia, infringement of human rights. Polish museums dedicated to the Holocaust, however, do not offer this option’ (Cracow)

In spite of this almost universal consensus on the marginal importance of HRE in Holocaust education, the discussions did suggest possible, if only implicit, points of contact between the two disciplines. There was broad agreement in all discussion groups that the Holocaust should be viewed in a broader historical context and in relation to its significance to the present day. However, the issue of bringing the topic up to date involves various educational sectors, such as moral development, civic education, education in tolerance and the debate on anti-Semitism and racism. Some focus groups commented that students were more interested in other political crimes and genocides than in the Holocaust. Examples mentioned included Rwanda, Yugoslavia and Darfur.

It was, however, unclear whether the focus on other genocides might serve to ‘publicise’ the Holocaust or lead to a comparison between genocides, or whether the Holocaust should be treated as one of a range of subjects within the framework of HRE. A longer discussion held in the Danish focus group illustrates this point. One teacher said that it was important for students to acquire a greater historical overview and social perspective. He felt that teaching about the Holocaust could not be done in isolation and that it was important to make students aware that things like this were still happening in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

The teachers in Italy emphasised that confrontation with the Holocaust should not be limited to historical reflection or engagement with the biographies of Holocaust survivors.

‘It is not enough to listen to a witness who is over 80 years old if you do not connect his/her experience to the present time, if you don’t recognise there is still a deficit in human rights today.’ (Milan).

5.3. Students’ discussions

5.3.1. Holocaust education – general opinions

The students who participated in the focus groups had – like the teachers – already visited memorial sites, in many cases travelling abroad to do so. The fact that they were not just interested participants, but also well-informed and with experience on the topic, means they are not representative of students generally. However, this did allow the discussions to investigate the factors that

may contribute to creating a lasting interest in the subject. These students form part of a generation which is often accused of lacking interest in Nazism and the Holocaust because of their distance from the period, both in terms of time and life experience. However, the students participating in the group discussions appeared to feel close to the subject, arguing in highly moral terms and emphasising the temporal and spatial proximity of the historical events ('It is so recent – it is not that long ago,' 'And that it is close as well – it's not a million miles away' – London). Many of the students pointed to the impact that confrontation with the Holocaust had had on their personal lives, particularly with regard to visits to memorial sites.

Such strong motivation and interest about the Holocaust do not correspond directly to the general educational attention given to the subject in lessons in the view of students in each country. The students from the Czech focus group, for instance, complained that the Holocaust was treated as a marginal subject at school ('The issues are presented as a distasteful subject, which is taboo (...), too narrowly, superficially and one-sidedly' treated – Prague) and seen as a closed episode of history. The focus groups in Lithuania agreed in this criticism

'that there is not enough teaching about the Holocaust – at school the topic is just touched on briefly, but not talked about in a more in-depth way.'
(Vilnius).

5.3.2. Factors that make Holocaust education (un)interesting

The student focus groups only made a few comments about what made lessons/learning about the Holocaust uninteresting or boring for them personally, even though the question was explicitly put to them. The most obvious explanation for this lies in the selection of the students themselves, as their interest in the subject was a key criterion. However, when they did speak about a lack of interest, it was the lack of interest of 'others', i.e. students who were not in the focus groups. For example, in response to the question about whether Nazism/the Holocaust occurs too often in lessons as a whole, the students from the German focus group stressed that this opinion is commonly held, but in their view not at all valid. The Czech and Polish students interviewed also referred on several occasions during the group discussions to classmates who were not interested in the subject.

'The other students and classmates were generally not very interested in the subject, because their values lie elsewhere and the subject seems remote to them' (Prague).

Lack of interest or boredom is therefore a subject that the majority of those present did not relate to themselves, but primarily perceived in 'others'. Indeed,

the English schoolgirls rejected the question as if it were immoral or implied an immoral attitude.

However, there was one exception: in the Amsterdam group, one student expressed his fundamental lack of interest not only in the Holocaust, but in history in general: ‘It is really too long ago. I do not care about history that much. It does not interest me at all’ (Netherlands). In the discussion in Copenhagen there were vague reservations expressed, though only after the students stated their overall interest in the subject. They criticised the superfluous nature of some of the teaching on the subject. Several students also said they felt a degree of fatigue and that the subject was seemingly very repetitive as it is taught at both lower and upper secondary level. In contrast, the English schoolgirls emphasised that if anything their interest grew with recurring study of the Holocaust, which constantly added to their knowledge (‘There was always something new to learn, or new people’s perspective or experiences to hear about’ – London).

Potential reasons for a lack of interest in the subject included a lack of time, inadequate teaching materials and media, too little interaction and independent activity, as well as lessons being heavily based on teaching facts. Holocaust education was also criticised for not drawing enough parallels with the present and for insufficient contextualisation. The participants of the Milan focus group stressed that it is important to focus on the past, to understand and remember, but felt they would appreciate a stronger connection to the present. The students from the Copenhagen group also felt it would be interesting to put teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides in a larger historical and political context, ‘rather than focusing solely on specific historic, chronological taught facts and timelines’ (Copenhagen).

Key figures and people in positions of responsibility – the role of teachers

The particular nature of the subject area of the Holocaust means that it has to be conveyed in a special way. Students felt bored when the topic was dealt with in the same way as other topics (Linz). Moreover, because the topic of the Holocaust – according to the students’ statements – is far from uninteresting, teachers practically bear the entire responsibility for structuring their lessons on the Holocaust in an appropriate and therefore interesting way:

‘If a teacher teaches the Holocaust without enthusiasm, that’s – that’s almost a crime actually’ (London).

In almost all the focus groups, the teachers were regarded as key figures in terms of the students’ interest in the subject and their approach to it. From the students’ point of view, it is basically up to the teachers to decide which materials and media to use, to structure the lessons and organise visits to

memorial sites or meetings with survivors. Consequently, the teachers are also considered responsible for any shortcomings in Holocaust education.

The students object to a purely fact-based approach, for example the use of static or conventional media such as textbooks or overhead transparencies containing a lot of data (Linz). The group of Polish students also criticised a surfeit of information, particularly in connection with guided visits at memorial sites. They pointed out that an ‘excess’ of information can lead to fatigue concerning the subject and that students are therefore closed to new information (Cracow).

In several focus groups students described teachers who lacked commitment to the subject as a major obstacle to an interesting lesson (‘Indifferent attitude towards the topic, lack of involvement’ – Cracow; ‘teachers who are only doing the subject because they have to’ – Berlin; ‘History teachers who do not show commitment, but seem to be eager to leave the topic behind as quickly as possible’ – Linz).

Students’ expectations of teachers therefore clearly exceed the normal role boundaries between teachers and students, as they are endeavouring to achieve ‘non-school’ role boundaries. Above all, the students consider good teachers to be those who display commitment far beyond what their profession requires of them. This corresponds to the teachers participating in the focus groups, who describe themselves as having above-average levels of commitment and willing to include privacy into their professional roles. Hence, the students criticised a less creative style of teaching, and above all a lack of ‘commitment’.

The only exceptions to this view came from the discussion groups in Prague and Vilnius. For example, the young Czechs stressed that the teachers were obliged to follow certain conventions and considered the real problem to be that the curriculum allows too little time as a whole for lessons on the Holocaust (‘The teacher is a victim of the curriculum, which he or she must adhere to.’ – Prague). The Lithuanian students attribute responsibility for interest in the subject largely to their classmates and other students. (‘The success of the education depends a lot on the students themselves, whether they are interested personally’ – Vilnius). However, they do add that ‘appropriate ways must be found to make them interested’ (Vilnius).

5.3.3. Views on human rights education

The focus groups showed that students apparently find it very difficult to reflect on ‘the Holocaust’ and ‘human rights’ within the same discussion. The Holocaust and related teaching issues were far more dominant than human rights / HRE in all group discussions. This was, for example, apparent in the Prague focus group. The moderators of the focus group recorded that during the discussion it was clear that the students were more focused on Holocaust issues

than on human rights generally, and therefore the general theme of human rights often slipped into the narrower subject of the Holocaust (Prague). In other discussions it became clear that the students had barely any concept of HRE and were only able to identify related topics in response to questions and in the course of the discussions ('That is such a broad and global thing. How do you get focused?' – Amsterdam; 'It was never said like 'We're going to talk about human rights', it was more that you'd have to stumble across it and it would happen to be that we were talking about abortion – that sort of thing' – London; 'Human rights were virtually not talked about at school' – Vilnius; 'We never received education about that, and I don't know if that is an omission' – Amsterdam; 'We did not pay a great deal of attention to it in school, even in citizenship lessons' – Prague). The German students also all emphasised that they 'have never had a lesson in human rights. Human rights aren't a subject in lessons; at most in theory, but not in practice' (Berlin). The Italian students even complained that not enough facts were explained in this respect:

'It can happen that in the whole school experience a student does not learn about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or even about the Italian Constitution. It all depends on the will of single teachers or professors' (Milan).

While the young Danes also felt that the historic presentation of human rights was important ('so you could see how they developed, which had resulted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948' – Copenhagen), the Austrian students on the other hand did not think that lessons on this topic would be interesting: they felt that information about the Declaration of Human Rights combined with some examples from far-distant countries was not very interesting. However, the Danish students also emphasised that it was not enough just to review the history of the origin of the Declaration of Human Rights ('Reading human rights aloud and teaching about them via a presentation of the actual text would be too boring' – Copenhagen).

If the responses of the students are to be accepted, it must be assumed that the term 'human rights' is barely dealt with in everyday school life in a variety of countries. At the same time, there is scarcely any systematic development of human rights as a subject, nor any attempts to develop a commitment to human rights in lessons. This finding is in clear contrast to the declarations of all EU states surveyed, in which HRE enjoys a clear priority within the framework of school education. The extent to which the focus group students reflect the actual situation within the EU with regard to teaching human rights is a question that cannot be answered with the available data and would form the basis of another study. However, the focus group coordinators endeavoured to describe what is meant by HRE and what school subjects it might relate to. When these points were raised, some of the focus groups gave a description of their experiences of lessons that they had obviously had on the general subject of human rights.

The English students referred to topics dealt with in religious education, such as abortion and the death penalty. The students from the Berlin focus group contributed topic proposals for HRE that tended to create more associations and be forward-looking, taking the form of recommendations. They suggested that current events should be included and relevant references made on the subject of human rights, e.g. refugees from Africa on Europe's borders, convey the historical background of the origin of human rights, look at one's own rights and the question of justice (Berlin).

On the whole, there was a desire to discuss human rights in lessons in real-life terms – as current and relevant issues that impact upon the students and their lives (London). Over the course of most of the student focus groups, the place of HRE in schools developed from an abstract term, which obviously meant nothing to them, into an accessible, albeit quite unsystematic and general subject area, which was only directly connected with the Holocaust in a few discussions (or almost exclusively dwelt upon). The Austrian students would like clear lessons that relate to the present day, above all looking at human rights abuses in their own country, rather than primarily using examples that are historically or geographically remote. The Danish students also agreed that a purely fact-based and historical approach to human rights was boring. Instead, they believed that what mattered was to prevent current and future human rights abuses by knowing about the political context.

'Teaching about breaches of human rights must be included in the curriculum in order to prevent anything similar happening in the future, to enable students to learn about the mistakes made in the past' (Copenhagen).

5.3.4. The importance of visits to memorial sites and museums for Holocaust education and human rights education

The importance of visits to memorial sites in particular was brought up by the students in the focus groups with very few exceptions. First of all, these are historical or 'authentic places', and, as expected, their significance is considered in terms of the narrow framework of dealing with Nazi crimes and the Holocaust. In addition to history, personal experience and emotions at the site are involved. The overarching view of the student focus groups can be summarised as 'personal relevance' or in the extremely fitting phrase 'you feel connected'. None of the students made unprompted associations between these sites and human rights issues.

Authenticity

The major importance of ‘authenticity’ recurred in the student discussions and showed some similarities with the teacher focus groups. The students understood authenticity more in physical terms; more or less all of them prefer historical sites to museums, even if these also display authentic documents: ‘Visiting exhibitions would not make a deeper impression than reading a book whereas visiting authentic sites could be an emotional experience producing interest and commitment’ (Linz). This was particularly clear in the discussions of the Italian students. They expressed the feeling that the ‘authentic’ site was to a certain extent less manipulative, and the experience there directly linked to history or the Nazi crimes themselves. The students perceived that authentic sites are more useful and powerful than museums: students are used to museums and can have the impression that feelings and reactions are artificially induced by an external actor. Authentic sites, on the contrary, are in their perception not – or less – manipulated by the presence of other subjects. Students feel a direct line between the people who lived the experience of the Shoah or war and themselves (Milan).

However, the genuine experience of a site is bound up with a range of fantasies and projections. The desired experience is thus dependent on certain external conditions, which in a way make the experience appear ‘even more real’. For instance, one of the student groups stated that the impact of memorial sites was greatest in bad weather; they had all visited Auschwitz when it was very cold and said they could imagine the physical feeling of those who were held there (London). This physical experience of identification with former prisoners, perceived as ‘authentic’, is regarded by many young people as an invaluable experience.

Emotions

Emotions are closely linked with the experience and were also an important discussion point in the student focus groups. These emotions were almost always feelings of sorrow, sympathy, concern and sadness. Feelings such as anger and revenge, or even superiority and power, were not mentioned. Emotional involvement with the victims was, therefore, clearly aimed for and experienced. This was perhaps most apparent in the German group where most participants found an emotional approach very important and immersed themselves in it. They said that many students had to cry, but at the same time, the teachers kept going on about facts (Berlin). Absence of emotions was expressed in one case, but not without an observation stressing that the expectations of the location’s impact were actually different: ‘I know it sounds very bad, but when I was there, I didn’t feel emotional’ (London). Just whose expectations are behind this statement cannot be determined. What became clear in the group discussions overall is that, when confronting ‘authentic’ sites, expectation of strong feelings is an integral part of the discussion about them. It

does not, therefore, have to be the teacher or guide, for instance, who articulates these expectations to the students.

Survivors and biographical work

The aspects associated with authenticity and emotions also include personal relics and documents, the life stories of former prisoners and encounters with survivors, which were often raised in the group discussions. Among the positive activities in teaching about the Holocaust, the students from the Lithuanian focus group mentioned ‘listening to the survivors’ stories’ (Vilnius). As well as dealing with individual life stories, this primarily involves comprehending the extent of Nazi crimes, which left an anonymous mass of victims, by considering a small number of the millions of individual stories:

‘The pile of personal effects, that are often on display, helps you to understand the scale of the crime and that it is not just about numbers, it is about individual people’ (Copenhagen).

The pedagogical aim of using life stories is to encourage identification or empathy with the victims, which some of the focus group participants deemed to be entirely successful. The students in Berlin stressed that dealing with the fates of individuals made a strong impression and ‘had an effect.’ For identification with the victims, they rated personal relevance as very important: if the person they learned about is e.g. their age or from their area (Berlin).

Direct meetings with survivors of the camps were also emphasised as having a particular impact. Several of the Copenhagen students met survivors and heard their stories first hand. They stressed that this made a huge impression and enabled them to identify with the victims, rather than sticking strictly to the facts, which can seem abstract and difficult to grasp (Copenhagen). The survivors are not, however, just figures to identify with, to evoke empathy with individual experiences and actions. Rather like the historical places, they are evidence of what happened and represent a kind of direct connection with an otherwise often abstract history. The students from the Czech focus group responded positively to the visits to authentic sites and talks with survivors, which they saw as ‘the most direct authentic testimony’ (Prague). The German students, who likewise mentioned the conversations with witnesses as important and interesting experiences, also reported negative experiences in conversations with contemporary witnesses, but without elaborating on this.

In contrast to the teacher focus groups, student discussions barely mentioned the perpetrators.

Independent initiatives

Another factor emphasised by the students is the value of students' independence in gaining knowledge about the Holocaust. Participation in projects relating to the Holocaust was mentioned as a very positive element in the Vilnius group. Such activities involved students and encouraged them to further their knowledge on the subject by themselves, to do individual research. What is most important to the students is an approach based on their interests, which addresses their own questions and allows them to follow these up by themselves: 'A programme which allows for flexibility and differentiation would be great: several routes' (Amsterdam). The students in Linz agreed that opportunities for active participation on their part are crucial: choosing certain topics, doing research themselves, developing their own opinions.

Importance of the guides

While students consider teachers to be very important for teaching this subject, they also consider the guides and educational staff at the memorial sites and museums as extremely important. The Polish focus group summed up the skills expected from guides as follows:

'Involvement of the site guides in the presented topic, intention of transmitting the knowledge in an interesting and approachable way, attempt to transmit things that are unimaginable' (Cracow).

In other group discussions, too, there was reference to expectations of the memorial site staff. For instance, several of the students in Copenhagen said how important it was to have guides, who were enthusiastic, with whom you could identify at memorial sites: 'guides that did not simply show you the more obvious things but who engaged more emotionally with you' (Copenhagen). The Lithuanian students likewise stressed that guides must be selected very carefully prior to the visit, to ensure they were able to engage students and encourage them to find out more by themselves.

Voluntary participation

The disrespectful attitude of classmates, who show no interest in the subject and are therefore, even disruptive during visits to memorial sites, was also mentioned several times. The Polish students cited three possible explanations for bad behaviour at memorial sites. As well as lack of preparation for the visits or the fact that the students are too young, students also raised the question of whether visits to memorial sites should be voluntary or not. The Polish students argued clearly that participation in these visits should be voluntary and based on the interests of students, and they pointed out the risks of customary, almost traditional visits to memorial sites in Poland: 'Forceful compulsion can lead to

resistance and misbehaviour in the place of commemoration' (Cracow). The Lithuanian students on the other hand admitted that students as a whole showed more interest in a visit to a memorial site or museum if it took place during lesson time. They also mentioned disruptive students, but regarded this problem as the teacher's responsibility.

The difference between a compulsory and a voluntary trip to a memorial site became clear in the Berlin focus group. Here, two schoolgirls reported on a school project running over several years, in which 18-19 year-old students organised a study trip to Cracow, including a visit to Auschwitz. The experiences from this long-term, voluntary project were contrasted with a compulsory visit to a memorial site, which as a whole was rated 'boring and uninteresting', and the content of which they could not remember.

The discussions of the English and Italian students made clear that it was not just the voluntary aspect that was responsible for the long-term success of a visit to a memorial site, but also involvement in the preparations, the length of the activity, and particularly the place itself.

Preparation and follow-up

The students almost unanimously affirmed the importance of preparation and follow-up of visits to memorial sites and museums. In some cases they went as far as to evaluate the entire trip as superfluous if it was not properly prepared ('It only works if you have prepared thoroughly. If not such a visit is just a day off, and you might hinder other serious visitors' – Amsterdam). The extent of preparation varies and seems to depend on the scale of the trip.

For trips to Auschwitz lasting several days, which applied to the English and Italian students in the focus groups in particular, preparations can extend over several weeks and months. In part, the trip itself provides opportunities to prepare for each new destination, each one being dealt with in connection with the Holocaust. This was the case for the English group, whose trip included Berlin and Wrocław en route to Cracow and Auschwitz.

However, it appears that the follow-up to the trip is even more important for students in terms of learning about the Holocaust. Follow-up is regarded as a phase in which they reflect on, discuss and judge experiences, and place them in the context of current events. The Italian students said that the phase of reflection and consideration was the most important part of the learning process. They were convinced that the key part of the learning process was the personal reinterpretation done at the end of the experience. In the context of their project 'Un treno per Auschwitz', they also urge students to pass on their own experiences to the students who would be involved in the project the following year.

Another aspect should be mentioned in connection with follow-up and reflection, raised in particular by students who had taken part in trips to memorial sites that lasted several days. These students highlighted the importance of the shared experience of visits to memorial sites and pointed out in particular the many and continuing possibilities for discussion at various levels. The Italian students described the journey home from Auschwitz as such an experience:

'It can start from the return trip, in the train, where spontaneous groups of students belonging to different classes and cities formed and shared feelings, impressions, thoughts' (Milan).

Limits of effectiveness

In spite of the view expressed by most students that visits to memorial sites are extremely important and have a major impact, the participants also offered suggestions for a range of potential improvements, some of which relate to the organisation of educational trips. In line with their views on the criteria for successful visits to memorial sites, students were critical of visits which allow too little time and space for their own interests and experiences. They asserted that they would like to explore the locations as independently as possible. Unlike the students mentioned above, who emphasised the shared nature of the experience, one Dutch student summed up the problem that a group visit to memorial sites entails: 'If you visit with a class, you hardly ever learn something. Then it is boring. I like to visit sites on my own' (Amsterdam).

The character of some memorial sites as 'tourist destinations' was considered disturbing in that it results in masses of visitors and packed exhibition buildings and grounds. The students apparently associate a different atmosphere with a trip to a memorial site, which means that the masses of international visitors at sites such as Auschwitz and Dachau create an obstacle, not only to the educational process, but also to the experience of being in that location (Berlin, Cracow).

5.3.5. Links between memorial sites and HRE?

On the whole, the students appear to find the link between Holocaust education and HRE even harder to grasp than the teachers. They appeared to be so clearly involved in dealing with the Holocaust, both cognitively and emotionally, that it was very difficult for them to find a link to other historical events or the human rights situation today.

It is true that many students understand the Holocaust as a massive abuse of human rights. Moreover, they see a visit to a memorial site as an opportunity to study human rights and human rights abuses. Nevertheless, as with the Dutch

student group, they see no pressing reason to create direct connections or define HRE as the aim of a visit to a memorial site:

‘The connection between human rights and the Holocaust is not really there. The Holocaust covers part of the human rights problems, but certainly not all. The Holocaust is part of the human rights issues, but not the other way round’ (Amsterdam).

Instead of integrating HRE into the visits to memorial sites themselves, the Danish group suggested dealing with it during the pre-visit preparations or the follow-up. The Polish group discussion showed that this approach – dealing with the Holocaust in connection with HRE – is already occasionally used: students claimed that lessons connecting the Holocaust with human rights took place before on-site visits. ‘Reflections about human rights appeared as well during the lessons which concluded the visit’ (Cracow).

5.4. Summary

In many ways the assessments of the teachers and students who participated in the focus groups corresponded. The significance of both historical knowledge about the Holocaust, and the aim and responsibility to establish personal connections with the subject matter, were emphasized in all instances. The didactic strategies to achieve this that were pointed out and recommended by the teachers (including encounters with ‘authentic’ sites and testimonies, discussions with survivors, the use of videos of contemporary witnesses, commentaries, varied materials, sophisticated activities and confrontation with unknown details of historical connections) were perceived by the students as positive learning experiences.

In almost all cases, both teachers and students believe that ‘authenticity’ is an important and successful criterion for dealing with the Holocaust. In addition to the historical sites and historical structures, original sources were also mentioned, as well as ‘biographical’ authenticity, i.e. the portrayal of specific individuals whose life histories can be understood. All this not only serves as evidence of what happened in the past, but also helps to establish a tangible connection between the past and present.

Students cited another ‘authenticity’ criterion as a decisive factor in successful educational processes: the teacher’s expression of ‘real’ feelings. This means that teachers should not withhold their feelings when discussing the Holocaust. Because of the unusual way this subject is experienced and reflected upon – things that are generally considered to go beyond the scope of lessons – there is an expectation of an exceptional social learning situation that is reflected in ‘authentic’ relationships. When dealing with the Holocaust or visiting memorial sites, people should interact in a way that is not determined by the institution, school or its hierarchical structures.

Teachers address the fact that the extraordinary nature of these visits also adds an organisational aspect. They give more of their time and themselves in such cases, while at the same time often having to battle against obstacles and resistance relating to school organisation. The additional educational effort involved in visiting memorial sites and museums is justified, above all, because of its worthwhile contribution to classroom instruction, and the contribution gained when preparing for and reviewing such excursions. Students and teachers see these factors as significant. Students expect to experience something unusual when visiting memorial sites (and museums, albeit to a lesser extent) and are willing to work for such activities. In some cases, voluntary participation and sufficient time to devote to related interests are considered a prerequisite for such visits by students.

In addition, with regard to the implementation of educational programmes and tours on site, students frequently attach great importance to the guides and educational employees. Guides are expected not only to possess detailed and specialized knowledge about the site, but above all to have communication skills and an ability to encourage the students themselves to talk and contribute to discussions. This is considered significant for the success of the memorial site visits.

Both teacher and student groups showed a similar level of hesitation concerning Holocaust education and HRE. Although the teachers certainly think about lines of connection, which they often explicitly reject, it is obviously very difficult for students to recognize connections of any kind. It is clear that they lack any idea about what HRE might be. In instances where human rights are addressed, it is felt that they should be related to more topical and local issues rather than exclusively to the Holocaust.

How the memorial sites and museums regard and assess the connection between HRE and Holocaust education will be examined in the next chapter.

6. On-site research

The focus groups provided information on the experiences and attitudes of teachers and students towards memorial sites and museums, their needs and expectations regarding these site visits and the factors they consider important for the success of the educational activities offered. On the basis of the focus group results, the next stage was to develop questions and criteria for studying the work of memorial sites and museums. For this purpose, a total of 14 on-site visits were carried out in addition to the surveys conducted via questionnaire.

The main aim of these visits was to assess the pedagogical strategies and resources used by each site. An additional aim was to determine the extent to which the factors identified by the focus groups as key to the ‘success’ of museums and memorial sites are evident at these institutions. The on-site research therefore considered the expectations of visitor groups (teachers and students), both in terms of the pedagogical concepts adopted by the respective institutions and in relation to space, staffing and other structural criteria – time, the total number of visitors and so on. It should be emphasised that the objective was not, and is not, to establish similarities or shortcomings between the respective pedagogical concepts. It should also be pointed out that memorial sites and museums focusing on the Holocaust are not exclusively educational institutions. Memorial sites at historically significant locations in particular have to meet a range of other requirements, for example maintaining the grounds of the largest cemeteries in Europe, as well as providing an appropriate aesthetic layout, exhibitions corresponding to developments in academic research, and areas or rooms of remembrance.

Students, teachers and the institutions (and their staff) are in agreement over a range of aspects. In other aspects, however, the project team considers that the institutions should take the expectations of students and teachers more into account. Before discussing the similarities and differences in perspective that emerged from the on-site research, there follows below a brief description of how this research was carried out, followed by an overview of each institution.

6.1. Format of the on-site visits

Small teams from the project group visited 12 memorial sites and museums in 9 EU Member States and two additional institutions that organise study trips to Auschwitz (see Table 16). The selection of institutions for the on-site visits was based on whether the sites have a clear focus on the history of the Holocaust or on human rights education. In practice this meant, for example, that the Jewish Museum in Copenhagen was not selected as the Holocaust is not the main theme of its exhibition. In Austria, the ‘euthanasia’ site at Hartheim Castle was chosen rather than the former concentration camp at Mauthausen because

Hartheim had cited human rights education as a focus of its pedagogical activities in the questionnaire.

Table 16
Overview of the selected institutions

Institutions/Sites	Member States/Cities
Terezín Memorial	Czech Republic, Terezín
Buchenwald Memorial	Germany, Weimar-Buchenwald
House of the Wannsee Conference	Germany, Berlin
Shoah Memorial	France, Paris
The San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum	Italy, Trieste
Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site	Lithuania, Kaunas
Anne Frank House	the Netherlands, Amsterdam
Hartheim Castle – Place of Learning and Remembrance	Austria, Alkoven
State Museum at Majdanek	Poland, Lublin
Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum	Poland, Oświęcim
Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom	United Kingdom, Laxton Newark
Imperial War Museum London (The Holocaust Exhibition)	United Kingdom, London

Two further organisations were included in the group selected for detailed investigation in addition to written questionnaires. These are the Holocaust Educational Trust based in London and the Foundation for the Memory of the Deportation in Milan, both of which organise study trips to Auschwitz for school students from their respective countries. The Shoah Memorial in Paris also organises annual visits to Auschwitz.

The on-site research comprised participation in and observation of the activities of each institution and was organised as part of an itinerary so that each group could visit a number of sites. This enabled detailed discussions and analysis of the group's impressions at each institution. It also made it possible to conduct and evaluate interviews with a number of employees of the sites, generally the director and at least one employee involved in the educational programme.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Prior to the visits, guidelines were established for the questions to be asked at each site. These were based on an initial evaluation by the focus groups and aimed to draw the observers' attention to the main points raised during the group discussions. In this way, comparative data could be collected by several groups that were visiting different locations at the same time.

Reports were produced following on-site visits. These reports basically follow guidelines which contained questions about the contextual focus of the tours and educational programmes, the methods used (particularly questions about active educational methods and the use of biographical documents) and how the time issue was handled. Inquiries were also made about the particular demands put on the educational employees, considerations concerning visitor motivation and interests, as well as what kinds of opportunities there were for students and teachers to help them prepare and review their visits. The institutions were asked to assess the connection between Holocaust education and HRE, as well as to describe the level of knowledge and competence in HRE, the potential for development and any possible favourable conditions for human rights-orientated educational work in their institutions.

6.2. Memorial sites and museums visited

The institutions selected for on-site research vary in many respects. A comparative analysis of these institutions cannot adequately take account of their respective histories, nor can it reflect the different ways in which they have been received at regional or international level, or their symbolic significance. However, such an analysis does allow an overview of the current status of the educational activities at the various institutions, together with their resources and concepts. Although the reports follow a uniform structure, the specificities of the individual locations and institutions are made clear and it is therefore possible to identify similarities and differences.

The sequence of the individual reports is arranged according to the date that the institutions were opened as a memorial site or museum or, in the case of the Imperial War Museum, the inauguration date of the Holocaust exhibition there. It should of course be noted that memorial sites in particular have changed repeatedly over the years as a result of their role in reflecting the outcomes of debates on memory. Moreover, their status as places of learning has only become a focus of debate over the past 20 years. The early memorial sites in particular had no real pedagogical remit when they were founded, apart from serving as an admonition. Thus, the inauguration date of the site itself gives no indication of its breadth of educational experience or the extent of its pedagogical concepts.

6.2.1. State Museum at Majdanek, Poland

Historic site

The State Museum at Majdanek was founded on the grounds of the former German concentration camp in the south-east of Lublin, established in 1941 on

an order from Heinrich Himmler. It was initially known as the 'Waffen-SS Prisoner of War Camp in Lublin'. However, from the start it served as a concentration camp and labour camp. The aim was to make it the largest camp of its kind in occupied Europe. Majdanek also operated as an immediate extermination centre in the period from autumn 1942 till autumn 1943. The prisoners, who came from nearly 30 countries, were mainly Jews, Poles, Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. Around 150,000 prisoners were incarcerated either in this camp or in one of its sub-camps. 80,000 people, including 60,000 Jews, did not survive. A large number of the prisoners were murdered in the gas chambers or shot to death. Others died of hunger, exhaustion, illness or torture. Lublin concentration camp was liberated by the Red Army on 23rd July 1944. Soon afterwards, the Soviet secret service (NKWD) established a camp for members of the Polish Secret State in the grounds of Majdanek.

History of the memorial site/museum

A memorial site was established at Majdanek as early as November 1944. The first exhibition was organised in 1945. Replacements followed in 1954 and 1962. In 1947, 1,300 m³ of compost containing human ashes was collected and used to build the Mound, a symbolic grave for Majdanek victims. A monumental style memorial and the Mausoleum were inaugurated on the site in 1969. In 1996 the current permanent exhibition was opened: 'Majdanek in the concentration camps system'. There are also temporary exhibitions connected with the historic site. In addition, there is a special multimedia art installation about children at the camp that was opened in 2003 and another art installation 'Shrine' – dedicated to an Unknown Victim. The staff's activities also cover lesser-known sites that played a significant role in the Holocaust (Izbica, Trawniki and Piaski) and the museum additionally documents the Germanisation policy of the Nazis in the Lublin district. Since 2004, the State Museum has also been responsible for a memorial site and exhibition at Bełżec, where approximately 500,000 Jews were murdered between March and December 1942 as part of 'Operation Reinhardt'.

Educational programmes and resources

The education department organises and coordinates the museum's educational activity. Standard tours of the grounds and exhibitions, lasting around 2 hours, are the most popular educational service offered by the museum. These are now mainly led by freelance staff who are trained by permanent employees of the museum, both historians and educational staff. The education department offers study days for school students over 14, seminars lasting several days, international youth events and teacher training. The exhibition rooms, a seminar room, the archive and library are all used to stage these events. At present, Majdanek is keen to raise its profile as an institution offering a broad range of

educational resources, in addition to its significance as a graveyard and site of memory. To this end, it offers one-day seminars for teachers from the Lublin region as well as archive open days. In order to support teachers preparing to visit the memorial site, practical resources are available, such as a bibliography for teachers and an online catalogue of the on-site library.

Specific focus

Majdanek's educational programme is based on the concept of the 'pedagogy of memory'. This concept centres on learning about history by dealing with original documents and specific historic sites and memorials, and it also comprises analysis of historical events from the perspective of subjective and collective (national) assumptions and characteristics. The idea is that gaining awareness of one's own perspective on memory, itself shaped by biographical background, makes it possible to appreciate other perspectives.

The following example serves to illustrate the institutional cooperation between the various departments at Majdanek in the implementation of a pedagogical concept that follows a multi-perspective approach. This concept involves a one-day seminar for school students learning German. It thereby links language learning and teaching with the analysis of archive materials from the memorial site. The seminar uses personal documents from former prisoners, materials on a member of the SS, court proceedings from a post-war trial and interviews with former prisoners. The seminar's objective is not to gather different historical perspectives but rather, for example, to consider why the memories of perpetrators are so scarce whilst survivors often remember many details. After working with the documents, the students each present one of the historical protagonists they have been investigating to the rest of the group. They can choose the form which their presentation will take (text, photos, DVD etc.).

The rationale behind the 'pedagogy of memory' stems from two linked didactic considerations. Firstly, considering the subjective perspectives of the learners, they are given the chance to engage in learning through discovery and according to their interests. Secondly, cognitive processes should allow the critical acquisition of historical knowledge as well as an independent evaluation of history, and of one's own interpretation of this history. The international seminars are also more oriented to the present; they involve intercultural learning and also address mutual prejudices and anti-Semitism today.

A key element of the programmes lasting several hours is that participants produce something to show the results of their work, whether it be a poster, a DVD or something similar. The aim is to give students the opportunity to leave something behind that expresses the way in which they have dealt with the site, as well as their empathy with the victims. The concept allows working with students who are not well prepared, and preparation was not therefore mentioned as a compulsory condition during the on-site interviews. However,

the museum recommended that teachers or youth workers should prepare their groups in respect of the subject matter to make the visit of the historical site more approachable.

6.2.2. Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Poland

Historic site

The Museum is located on the site of the largest Nazi concentration and death camp, around 60 kilometres to the west of Cracow, in the suburbs of the town of Oświęcim. The town was renamed 'Auschwitz' by the Nazis after the annexation of Upper Silesia by the Third Reich at the beginning of WWII. Heinrich Himmler ordered the construction of the camp in April 1940 (Auschwitz I), which in the following years was expanded with the establishment of Auschwitz II – Birkenau, Auschwitz III – Monowitz and more than 40 sub-camps. During the first two years, Auschwitz was mainly a concentration camp for Polish prisoners (140,000 deportees), Soviet Prisoners of War (15,000 deportees) and other non-Jewish prisoners. From 1942, Auschwitz became the destination for mass deportations of Jews from all over Nazi-occupied Europe. In that year some 200,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau, in 1943 around 270,000, and in 1944 more than 600,000. The majority were never registered in the camp files as they were selected as 'unfit for work' by the SS and murdered in gas chambers on arrival. As a result of Himmler's order, about 23,000 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were deported to Auschwitz in 1943 and almost all of them were murdered there. The majority of all deportees considered 'fit for work' died as a result of starvation, hard work and terror. At the end of 1944 the SS stopped murdering prisoners with gas. With the advance of the Red Army in early January 1945, the Germans began a hasty retreat during which thousands of prisoners were sent on Death Marches to the West. The Germans blew up the gas chambers and crematoria and destroyed many of the camp files. The Red Army liberated the camp on 27 January 1945.

History of the memorial site and museum

The Memorial Site was established in 1947, just two years after the end of the war. The permanent exhibition, which is still the most-visited exhibition in the former main camp, was opened in 1955. The new exhibition, now under preparation, will put emphasis on the individual character of the crime and the presentation will be more personalised in form. It will display more personal objects that belonged to individual prisoners, along with additional exhibits that reflect the prisoners' perspective, including drawings produced in the camp or shortly after liberation. Although the new permanent exhibition in the former

main camp is not yet complete, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum has seen a range of other changes since 1990. The Museum installed a system of information and commemoration plates in the grounds of the former camp. Information is given in Polish, English and Hebrew. The so-called 'sauna building', where prisoners considered 'fit for work' had to endure a humiliating registration and disinfection procedure has been restored. In 2001 the historical and commemorative exhibition of family photographs of Jews deported to KL Auschwitz was opened there. Private photographs brought by deportees show different scenes of everyday life and were found after liberation in the area of the former camp.

Educational programmes and resources

The educational resources at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum include guided visits, which are coordinated by the visitor service. People from all over the world have come to take these tours. Since 2005, the International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust (ICEAH) has been operating as the Museum's own education department and is responsible for developing new methods of teaching about the Holocaust and preparing materials. ICEAH's educational activities include seminars, international workshops, short or long-term youth projects and conferences for teachers or guides who work at memorial sites in Poland and abroad. The ICEAH also provides educational packages which include historical materials, as well as lesson plans or follow-up materials geared towards young people visiting the former KL Auschwitz. Some of the principal themes covered by the education centre include lectures on 'The Genesis of Auschwitz as a center of extermination of European Jews', 'Poles and Jews in Auschwitz', 'The number of victims of KL Auschwitz' as well as workshops in the national exhibitions, the Archives or in the Collections Department.

Out of an annual total of visitors far in excess of one million, around 8,000 participate in the ICEAH seminars. Around 50% of them are Polish school groups, but there are also German, British, American and Israeli groups.

Specific focus

The pedagogical focus of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum is on transmitting factual knowledge, clarifying the historical context and explaining specific locations. The symbolic significance of the site means that actually seeing and walking around it is the most prominent aspect of the visit, which somewhat overshadows the supplementary pedagogical goals. The site, the documents and exhibits displayed represent the reality of the crimes, which are also regarded in a broader sense as the consequence and expression of an extreme violation of human rights. Problems such as racism, anti-Semitism or human rights education are discussed during seminars. Overall the transmission

of historical facts and the explanation of the historical context form the predominant focus of the pedagogical concept.

Guided visits of the former main camp, Auschwitz I, are largely dictated by the layout of the exhibition in the buildings. Moreover, problems of space often arise when a large group of visitors occupies relatively small rooms. Nevertheless, the director of the Memorial Site stresses the importance of personal interaction between the group and guide during visits. This is why the Memorial Site has made a conscious decision not to introduce audio guides. The problem is solved by using headphones which allow the group to follow their own guide and still ask questions. According to the staff, and also observations made during the on-site visit, that dialogue does occur.

Visits to Auschwitz-Birkenau, an enormous and much-visited site, could involve a greater degree of dialogue. However, since visits include both historic camps, less time is generally spent in Birkenau if time is short.

6.2.3. Terezín (Theresienstadt) Memorial, Czech Republic

Historic site

Theresienstadt, in the Czech language known as Terezín, is a fortress dating back to the 18th century located at the convergence of the River Elbe and River Eger in the Czech Republic. The fortress was divided into 2 principal parts: The Small and The Main fortress (i.e. the town of Theresienstadt). In 1940 the Gestapo established its prison in the Small Fortress which had already been used as a prison since the times of the Austrian Monarchy. From 1941 onwards, the Main Fortress was gradually cleared to establish a ghetto and transit camp for Jews. At first, Jews mainly came to Theresienstadt from the 'Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia' as well as from the Third Reich. A total of around 140,000 Jews were brought to Theresienstadt. Over 35,000 of them died there, mainly as a result of malnutrition or the totally inadequate sanitary conditions, which led to sickness and epidemics. Approximately 87,000 Jews were transferred east from Theresienstadt to ghettos and death camps. Only 3,600 of them were liberated. Shortly before the end of the war, the International Red Cross managed to transfer around 1,600 of these Jews to Sweden or Switzerland. Around 17,000 of the remaining Jews deported to Theresienstadt were liberated there a few days after the SS handed the ghetto over to a Red Cross representative.

History of the memorial site

In May 1947, the Czechoslovakian government decided to preserve Theresienstadt as a memorial site focusing on the political prisoners in the small fortress. The memorial site now comprises various buildings and facilities along with relics from the camp. In addition to the small fortress, which contains the Museum of the Small Fortress and other exhibitions, cells and a place of execution, the site also includes the ghetto museum, former prayer room from the time of the ghetto, the Jewish cemetery, the crematorium and the former Magdeburg barracks, which house exhibitions and rooms for educational activities.

Educational programmes and resources

An education department was opened at the memorial site in 1993, with the support of the Czech Ministry of Education. It now has 9 full-time staff. Its tasks include dealing in detail with the Holocaust, a subject that was largely taboo in Czech schools until 1990, and developing educational programmes for memorial site visits by school classes. Considerable efforts are made to encourage Czech school groups to visit the memorial site, as well as the institutions remembering the ghetto. Around a third of all visitors to the site are now from the Czech Republic, whereas in the 1990s the figure was only around 2.5 percent. According to the memorial site, the increase in visits by Czech school groups can above all be attributed to the teacher training programme for Czech and Slovak teachers introduced several years ago. Experience has shown that teachers who have taken part in these seminars regularly visit the memorial site with their classes. Some of these teachers take their students around the site without the assistance of the education department. In addition to the teacher training seminars, the education department develops pedagogical programmes on the Holocaust, advises and supports students working on research projects and provides source materials and literature.

An international meeting centre with seminar rooms and accommodation was opened in 1997 in the former Magdeburg barracks. This is also run by the memorial site's education department. Seminars run over several days and employ various methodologies, including memorial site visits, individual reflection, research into specific themes, films and creative activity. These seminars are mainly attended by German and Austrian school groups.

The resources developed by the education department for memorial site visits by schools vary according to the age of the group and the length of the visit. However, all programmes – as well as the shorter guided visits (1-2 hours), which are not conducted by the education department – include a visit to the former ghetto and the small fortress. Guided visits can last up to 4 hours. School classes and groups with more time generally participate in one of the thematic workshops before viewing the different elements of the memorial site. The

thematic focus of visits and workshops (visitors can choose from ‘Holocaust denial’, ‘from number to name’ and ‘finding the footprints’) is established prior to the visit and discussed with the teacher. A range of different preparatory materials is available for memorial site visits designed for various age groups.

Specific focus

The educational programme focuses primarily on the history of Terezín. The wide-spread nature of the site, with a walk between the small and large fortresses, the distance between the individual memorial sites and the large number of different exhibitions all necessitate a visit of several hours if the visitor wishes to gain more than a superficial impression. Discussions with staff therefore revealed that time – and the lack of it – are often a problem. This was also cited as the major reason why present-day issues, which may relate to the historical facts, are barely addressed. Although human rights education is seen as an area that could definitely be added to the current pedagogical programme, memorial site staff do not consider the development and implementation of seminars dealing with more than the historical location to be a workable goal at present because of the time restrictions of the groups, the financial situation and the rooms available.

6.2.4. Anne Frank House, Netherlands

Historic site

The Anne Frank House is located at 263-265 Prinsengracht in Amsterdam. Prinsengracht 263 served as the Franks’ office and storage facility. The rear building was the family’s hiding place between July 1942 and August 1944. Anne Frank lived here with her parents and sister and four family friends until they were betrayed in 1944 and deported to Auschwitz via the Westerbork transit camp. It was in the rear building that Anne wrote the diary that described Jewish persecution and the Second World War from the perspective of a teenager, which became famous worldwide after the war. Anne Frank’s diary ends with an entry dated 1 August 1944. She died of malnutrition and typhus in the Bergen-Belsen camp in April 1945. She had been deported there from Auschwitz in November 1944, together with her sister Margot.

History of the memorial site / museum

After public protests successfully prevented the house from being knocked down, the Anne Frank House was founded in 1957 as a memorial site and museum by Otto Frank, Anne’s father, and the only survivor of the eight people

in hiding. It was inaugurated as a museum by the Dutch Queen in May 1960. The front building contains an exhibition on Anne Frank. The diary provides the themes for the different sections of the exhibition. The rear building, which is open to visitors, has been largely left as it was when the family were in hiding, or reconstructed to show what it would have looked like. The Anne Frank House is a foundation under Dutch law and mainly operates as a private enterprise with more than 100 employees, some 24 of whom are involved in educational work. The organisation's remit and goal is to preserve the historic site and disseminate the ideals described by Anne Frank in her diary. However, the Foundation's work goes way beyond the historic site, and it has been active in more than 50 countries since the 1930s and early 1940s.

Educational programmes and resources

Demand for visits to the Anne Frank House and its educational services exceed the spatial and staffing resources available. In view of the fact that the site cannot be extended, the Anne Frank House's (educational) activities are not restricted to the location itself. For example, regularly updated travelling exhibitions using new presentation methods are shown throughout the world and the organisation's website contains extensive information about the Frank family, the Second World War and the Holocaust. A virtual museum is also being planned for 2010.

More so than the other memorial sites visited, the Anne Frank House uses its website not simply to provide information but also as an interactive tool providing a kind of 'experience'. In addition to its travelling exhibitions, international activities include internet-based projects and debates on human rights. Both the *Diary of Anne Frank* and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights form the focal point of these projects. A few years ago, the International Department of the Anne Frank House introduced peer-to-peer education as its main method of transmitting historical knowledge. For this purpose, young people are trained at the places showing the travelling exhibition. They then transmit their acquired knowledge to visitors.

Specific focus

The educational activities of the Anne Frank House are not just concerned with explaining the history of National Socialism and the Holocaust from the perspective of a teenager at the time. In addition, they all centre on the contemporary significance of the values represented by Anne Frank. As a result, the work of the organisation also involves research and public education programmes on neo-Nazism, anti-Semitism, human rights, racism and xenophobia and it is targeted towards pluralist and democratic societies. As well as using new media, the programme also embraces methodological developments, such as using fictional historical material in the form of an

illustrated novel. One way of linking historically relevant themes with issues of importance to young people is through the interactive tool 'Free 2 choose', which deals with taking decisions about a dilemma and forming opinions on contested decisions involving human rights.

6.2.5. Buchenwald Memorial, Germany

Historic site

The memorial site is located on the site of the former Buchenwald concentration camp, constructed by the Nazis in 1937, just a few kilometres outside Weimar. By the end of the war it was the largest concentration camp in the German Reich. Until 1939 it primarily detained political opponents of the Nazi regime and men who were excluded from the National Socialist ethnic community. Following the November Pogroms in 1938, several thousand Jews were temporarily imprisoned here. After the beginning of the war, the Nazis deported people from almost all European countries to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Out of a total of ca. 250,000 prisoners registered in the Buchenwald concentration camp, including its 130 sub-camps, fewer than 56,000 survived.

From 1945 to 1950 the camp was used as a Soviet special detention camp for local Nazi and government officials. 'Spies' were also detained here, based purely on suspicion. Because of the camp's abysmal conditions, more than 7,000 of the 28,000 inmates died from starvation or illness.

History of the memorial site

Buchenwald was opened in 1958 as the GDR's first national memorial site. An enormous monument was constructed beyond the former camp grounds. The camp itself was largely inaccessible and only a few stone structures remained. From the beginning, the memorial site included exhibitions; an archive and library were added later. After 1990 a radical new conception was developed for the memorial site. Parts of the historic site, which had been neglected until then, were gradually made accessible. Permanent exhibitions on the history of the Buchenwald concentration camp are on view today, as well as an art exhibition with works that address the Nazi rupture of civilization. There is also a permanent exhibition on the Soviet special camp. Near the memorial there is documentation describing the history of the site during the East German period. The memorial site's focus is on the camp from 1937 to 1945.

Educational programmes and resources

Educational activities include short tours and events that range anywhere between one and several days. During the summer there are also two-week work camps that are carried out in cooperation with volunteer organisations. The majority of groups following the educational programmes are school groups; there are, however, also educational programmes for adults and educators. Seminars lasting several days take place in the youth centre that is housed in two former SS barracks.⁴⁵ The one-day and several-day events are primarily dedicated to the history of the concentration camp, but also often include the history of the Soviet special camp and the memorial site during the GDR period.

The 90-minute tour of the site is usually preceded by a 30-minute introductory film about the history of the camp. The tours are coordinated by the visitors' service and usually given by one of 40 employees, who are paid on a fee-based system. Longer seminars are conducted by one or more of the memorial site's eight full-time educational employees. In the case of the tours, guides have rarely had previous contact with the educators accompanying the groups. More intense educational instruction is prepared, whenever possible, in coordination with the educators or accompanying staff and adjusted to the respective groups. Resources for the preparation and review of memorial site visits are provided on the memorial's website. However, employees state in conversations that visiting groups are very often ill-prepared.

Specific focus

The starting point for learning about history is the 'authentic' site and the structural remnants of the camp. These are supplemented by contemporary witness reports, original documents and objects collected, which serve as proof that the past can be related to the present. The site's educational objective is based on the foundation's goal, which is to preserve the site, recall the crimes committed there and remember the victims. The focus is on the victims of Nazi crimes; those responsible for these crimes are also the subject of discussion, especially within the scope of the seminar events. Great importance is attached to the scholarly foundation of the educational work, based on a specific set of values, including the rejection of racism and anti-Semitism, as well as a focus on democracy and human rights. Both the overall design of the site and its educational approach emphasize a thorough and independent examination of history on the part of visitors. Ideally, the learning process should reflect not just the historical level, but also constructions of history. Various media and materials should take into account different visitor needs. The permanent

⁴⁵ The youth centre has several seminar and activity rooms, a cafeteria, cooking facilities and more than 73 beds in single and multi-bed rooms.

exhibition on the history of the Buchenwald concentration camp is reminiscent of an archive storeroom in its design and is used as a source of material and information for educational work. Thematic worksheets specially developed for students help them to locate relevant information and interpret the exhibition. The library and archive can also be used as part of more serious educational activities and pursuits.

Employees feel that reference to human rights, and, above all, to the violation of human rights, is plausible here, particularly against the backdrop of the ‘dual history’ of Buchenwald – as the site of a concentration camp between 1937 and 1945 and then of a Soviet special camp from 1945 to 1950. (‘How is it possible to teach about what happened here, both with regard to the Holocaust and the following events under Communist suppression, without reflecting on HR?’ asked one full-time guide). Since 2009 the memorial site has hosted a project day dedicated to human rights, mainly intended for students.

6.2.6. Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site, Lithuania

Historical site

Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site is one of the remaining fortresses built around the town of Kaunas at the end of the 19th century. Today it is located about 6 kilometres to the north of Kaunas. It was used as a prison during the period of Lithuanian independence from 1924 to 1940. It then served as a prison of the Soviet secret service from 1940 to 1941. Following the invasion of the Soviet Union, the German occupying forces established an internment camp for Soviet prisoners of war, Lithuanians, Poles, Roma and Jews in the fort. In the course of several ‘operations’, mass shootings of Lithuanian Jews – primarily from the Kaunas ghetto – as well as Jews deported from Germany and France were carried out at the fort. Over 50,000 people were executed, more than 30,000 of whom were Jews. The executions were mainly carried out by SS officers from Einsatzkommando 3 (a sub-group of the mobile killing units) with the assistance of the Lithuanian auxiliary police.

History of the memorial site/museum

At the beginning of the 1960s, research and excavations were carried out to investigate the mass shootings. A museum opened in the Ninth Fort in 1958. In 1984, a new building was added to the historical casemates used to house the museum, and the permanent exhibition was revised in 1988.

The so-called Old Museum charts the history of the site (the Fort's function as a protective wall, the First World War, the labour camp and the murder of French Jews) as well as the persecution and murder of the Lithuanian Jews and the history of the Kaunas ghetto. There is also information on the Lithuanians who helped and rescued Jews.

The New Museum deals with Lithuanian history from the perspective of annexation and national liberation (the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet occupation and deportation of Lithuanians to Siberia, the Lithuanian resistance fighters and the national hero Romas Kalanta).

The area outside the museum contains a number of sites of memory. Information boards have been put up next to a wall where mass shootings were carried out. There is also a three-part monumental style memorial, inaugurated in 1984, and a memorial for the Jewish victims, inaugurated in 1991.

Educational programmes and resources

The museum has eight permanent educational staff. The education programme primarily consists of one-hour guided visits. In addition, the museum offers seminars lasting several hours. It is possible to book lectures on a range of themes, which take place after the guided visits. The guided visits describe the various historical periods of the site, whilst the seminars and workshops cover themes including the history of the Jews in Lithuania and also current issues such as anti-Semitism. The workshops last from 45 minutes to 2 hours.

Specific focus

Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site covers the history of the site with reference to four historical periods and narratives. During the on-site visit, it became apparent that the site's thematic focus is not the transmission of information on the Holocaust, even though emphasis is placed on the Ninth Fort's involvement in the Holocaust and part of the exhibition is dedicated to a group of French Jews deported to Kaunas. The latter exhibition was initiated in 1992 by French relatives of the victims and developed in conjunction with them. The museum now also has links with Israel. These developments show that the Museum, which was inaccessible to international visitors before 1990, is now open to a range of perspectives. Nonetheless, in comparison to most of the other institutions visited, the Ninth Fort essentially resembles a national museum. There is only scant reference to the involvement of Lithuanian soldiers and auxiliary police in the mass shootings of Jews. Nor does the history of the Jews in Lithuania prior to the Holocaust feature in the exhibition.

The multi-layered and relatively unconnected nature of the historical themes documented is not considered a problem by the museum staff. They see it rather

as a challenge and an opportunity to put across the fundamentally complex nature of history at a specific site. However, they did mention difficulties concerning the limited budget and above all the exhibition, which lacks modern technological resources. The historic buildings seem to be of particular interest to (young) visitors.

6.2.7. San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum, Italy

Historic site

The historic site of Risiera was originally a rice mill on the outskirts of Trieste, built at the end of the 19th century. Following the capitulation of Italy on 8 September 1943, the German occupying forces took over Risiera and initially used it as an internment camp for Italian soldiers (Stalag 339). The complex of buildings was converted into a police detention camp in October 1943. The German occupiers used the camp to store looted and confiscated property and also to imprison and execute political prisoners and hostages, partisans and Jews. Risiera also served as a transit camp. About 1,300 Jews were deported from here to Germany and Poland.⁴⁶

Additional prisoners were transported from Risiera to various forced labour camps. The exact number of those murdered in Risiera has not been ascertained but lies between 3,000 and 5,000.

History of the memorial site/museum

After the President of the Italian Republic granted the site as a national monument in 1965, the Trieste town council voted to establish a museum in the remaining buildings. This was opened as a state institution in 1975. It comprises several buildings and a courtyard surrounded by a huge concrete wall in monumental style that gives an indication of the former structure of the camp, but at the same time makes it clear that Risiera is now a museum and memorial site.

A permanent exhibition uses original documents, objects and a photo display to reconstruct the history of the site from 1943 to 1945, as well as the history of the political and military events in the entire region during the first half of the 20th century. The museum also shows temporary exhibitions on themes related to the site, the history of the region, the Second World War and Holocaust.

⁴⁶ The statistics are not quite clear. According to Picciotto Fargion, 1,177 Italian Jews were deported from Trieste, but not all of them passed through Risiera. Some Jews from Croatia were also deported from the camp.

Since 2002 the museum has no longer been restricted to its original didactic remit. It previously received a series of important items as donations from survivors on the occasion of commemoration-day for victims of the Holocaust, 27th January. Since then, it has increasingly profiled itself as a site for the preservation of personal memories.

Educational programmes and resources

The San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum is a relatively small institution with six permanent staff. The director is also responsible for a number of regional museums in Trieste. In addition to one full-time guide, there are 10 freelance staff who conduct the majority of guided tours for groups. The museum has around 100,000 visitors per year; most school groups come in April and May. The educational programme consists of guided tours lasting 45 to 90 minutes. According to the guides, there are no standard tours. They generally include an overview of the site's history that differs from guide to guide. The tours cover the grounds, buildings and permanent exhibition. Groups and individual visitors can also watch a documentary film.

Specific focus

The focus of the visits and exhibition is on local history in its broader historical context. The museum does not offer a choice of thematic tours. Its work centres on transmitting historical knowledge and it sometimes uses prisoner biographies and other individual histories for this purpose. According to the museum, it is not possible to provide assistance to teachers or school classes prior to their visits because of the large number of visitors in comparison to the number of staff. There is generally no consultation between the guide and teacher prior to the visit. The guide asks the group about their knowledge of the site at the start of the tour.

6.2.8. Memorial and Educational Site House of the Wannsee Conference, Germany

Historic site

This memorial site is located on the outskirts of Berlin in a villa on the Wannsee Lake, which was used as an SS guesthouse in the 1940s. On 20 January 1942, a meeting of fifteen senior NSDAP officials and various ministerial and SS representatives took place here, chaired by Reinhard Heydrich, Head of the Reich Security Main Office. The meeting was convened to discuss cooperation in the planned murder of all European Jews. The site is directly linked to

National Socialist crimes even though these crimes were not directly perpetrated there. It symbolises the close cooperation between traditional state institutions and the newly created Nazi institutions in organising and implementing the genocide.

History of the memorial site

The memorial site was inaugurated in January 1992 with a permanent exhibition on the Wannsee Conference and the genocide of the European Jews, as well as a specialist library. It is financed by the federal state of Berlin and the German government. A new permanent exhibition was opened in 2006, focusing on a series of themes that shed light on the role of the perpetrators in the ‘final solution’.

Educational programmes and resources

Educational activities were integral to the concept for this memorial site from the outset and have since been established as a key feature of its work. The memorial site has 16 full-time staff. Four of them work in the education department and the head of this department is also the deputy director of the memorial site. In addition, there are approximately 35 freelance staff members, who are responsible for a large part of the educational programme. Along with the exhibition rooms and library, there are four seminar rooms available for educational activities.

The site offers a range of different educational programmes for school classes and groups of young people and trainees. In addition to tours of the exhibition lasting around two hours, the site offers three-hour small group visits that involve students presenting the exhibition to their classmates, and study days on a wide variety of themes for students of different ages and from different types of school. The study days for young pupils (aged 12 to 13) seek to provide historical orientation and focus on the biographies of a number of Jews. Study days for older school classes aim to help students understand the complex interplay between certain historical aspects, for example ‘Judaism and Jewish life in Europe before 1933’, ‘The Regime and Everyday Life under National Socialism’ and ‘Planning and Organising the Genocide’, but also ‘Confronting the Nazi Regime and its Crimes Today’. A further study day is available to those at vocational college or doing apprenticeships. Participants in these study days examine the role of their future profession during the National Socialist period. The memorial site additionally offers adult seminars for specific professions and training seminars for those involved in Holocaust education.

Specific focus

The memorial site's pedagogical concept is adapted to the participants as far as possible and at the same time aims to transmit factual knowledge. During the on-site visit, staff emphasised that there is no standard activity but rather that programmes are discussed in advance with the teachers (and sometimes the students) and targeted to their needs. There is a choice of sub-themes within the different topics available and participants are expected to engage in individual research into the historical context, using a variety of media.

The educational programme is also adapted to multi-ethnic groups. During the on-site visit, one of the staff members stressed that with these groups in particular, it was important to identify the interests and expectations of students in advance. Along with the obligatory consultation with the teacher accompanying the group, it is also possible for a member of the education department to go into the class for a prior discussion of the memorial site visit with students. Brochures of the site are available in a variety of languages, including Turkish and Arabic. An educational kit with information on Turkish, Arab, African and Greek persons involved in different ways in the Holocaust was recently published.⁴⁷

6.2.9. The Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom, UK

History of the museum

The Holocaust Centre in Laxton was opened in 1995 as a museum and learning centre with a focus on confrontation with the Holocaust. It is dedicated to the memory of the Jewish victims of the mass murder perpetrated by the Nazis, but also remembers the victims of other genocides. The centre was set up as the result of a private initiative by two brothers, Stephen and James Smith, who, following a visit to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, saw the necessity to also transmit information about the Holocaust in Great Britain. The Holocaust Centre consists of an exhibition and seminar building set in spacious grounds that also house memorial gardens. Areas for learning and remembrance are integrated into the architecture; the garden is consciously presented as a counterpoint to the two exhibitions.

⁴⁷ Details of the educational kit can be found – in German – under <http://www.ghwk.de/deut/bildung/bangebot1.htm> (04.12.2009).

The exhibitions

There are two exhibitions. The first is a permanent historical exhibition covering Jewish life in Europe before the Holocaust, the rise of National Socialism, the persecution of the Jews and their concentration in ghettos and camps, and the mass murder. The exhibition also deals with survival and post-war justice.

The second exhibition is entitled 'The Journey' and designed specifically for children. It presents the fictional story of a Jewish boy, Leo, who is brought to England on a Kindertransport (children's transport). It deals in particular with the period directly before the Holocaust. This exhibition has rooms that visitors can enter, for example the father's shop, his hiding place under the stairs and the train carriage that brought Leo to England.

Educational programmes and resources

The exhibitions are a key feature of the educational seminars, which generally last for several hours. Following a short introduction, older students are given various thematic worksheets and encouraged to go round the historical exhibition by themselves. They then prepare questions for a meeting with a Holocaust survivor, which usually takes place during the second half of the seminar day. The seminars are adapted as far as possible to the age, prior knowledge, interests and subject of the school group. Attempts are generally made to arrange a prior consultation with the teacher accompanying the group. In terms of methodology, the Centre considers it important for students to work as independently as possible and also for the seminars to be varied. There are very few lectures or standard tours. Discussions are encouraged between students and their guide.

Along with study days for school groups, the Holocaust Centre also offers seminars on a wide variety of themes for specific professions, for example for police officers, prison staff or care workers, as well as teacher training days. These seminars essentially involve participants reflecting on attitudes within their profession against the background of the history of the Holocaust. Themes and concepts such as equality and human rights are explicitly addressed.

The most important sources used by the Centre are Holocaust testimonies, either through a direct meeting with a Holocaust survivor or through written accounts and video recordings. The Centre uses modern technology to organise talks with Holocaust survivors via a kind of video conference, thereby making these events more accessible to more people. The internet-based programme 'History speaks' aims to extend the longevity of these events: discussions with young people today are recorded so that young people in the future will also have access to a kind of interactive link with Holocaust survivors.

Other activities of the Holocaust Centre include its involvement with the Aegis Trust⁴⁸, a genocide prevention organisation. The campaigns run by the Aegis Trust are closely linked to confrontation with the Holocaust.

Depending on the interests of the group – for example whether the class has come to the Centre as part of their history or citizenship course – the visit will either focus more on confrontation with the history of the Holocaust or on engagement with factors identified through this historical confrontation, for example prejudice, racism, anti-Semitism and intolerance. Links are made between the two in all cases. Genocides before or after the Holocaust are also addressed, Rwanda being the main example. The Holocaust Centre works with institutions and individuals in Rwanda and helped to establish the Kigali Memorial Centre for the victims of genocide.

Specific focus

Discussions with staff from the Holocaust Centre revealed that they have no qualms about drawing links between past and present or making comparisons between different genocides. However, the fact that a historical exhibition on the persecution and murder of the European Jews is the focal point of the Centre shows that the Holocaust does not just have an illustrative function in pointing to other instances of mass murder. Nonetheless, school classes and visitors are not left to draw their own conclusions regarding confrontation with the Holocaust. The extremely strong emphasis on contemporary issues and more recent genocides also suggests themes related to human rights and the violation of human rights.

6.2.10. Imperial War Museum – The Holocaust Exhibition, IWM London, UK

History of the museum

Before the end of the First World War, the British government decided to establish a national museum which was to collect and display documents associated with the ‘Great War’. The museum was established by Act of Parliament and officially inaugurated in London in June 1920. It was initially housed in Crystal Palace but moved fourteen years later to its current location in the former Bethlehem Royal Hospital. Today the museum has five branches: Imperial War Museum London; Imperial War Museum North in Manchester; Imperial War Museum Duxford in Cambridgeshire; HMS Belfast situated in

⁴⁸ <http://www.aegitrust.org/> (08.12.2009)

London on the River Thames; and the Cabinet War Rooms and Churchill Museum in London. The prime focus of this national museum is the social history of war and military conflict since the First World War, and how this has affected men, women and children from Great Britain and the former Empire, now the Commonwealth. The Imperial War Museum is a national museum with around 660 employees, 50 of whom work across the various education departments. The two full-time employees working in the field of Holocaust education are assisted by 12 additional part-time freelance workers. Their work is linked to the extensive permanent exhibition on the Holocaust opened in 2000 at Imperial War Museum London. In addition, a permanent exhibition 'Crimes Against Humanity' was opened in December 2002. This exhibition deals with genocide and ethnic violence in the twentieth century.

The exhibition

The Holocaust Exhibition at Imperial War Museum London follows a chronological structure, beginning with the political situation after the First World War and then documenting the Nazi persecution of Jews and other victim groups before and during the Second World War. The themes covered include the racist ideology of the Nazis, escape and emigration, 'euthanasia', deportations, ghettos and concentration and death camps. Historic exhibits such as objects from the concentration camps and various documents are presented alongside personal items such as diaries and toys. The victim perspective is highlighted by a range of survivor testimony that intersperses the narrative throughout the exhibition.

The museum clearly states that the exhibition is not suitable for children under 14 and it does not accept bookings for school groups of pupils under this age. In order to support the group's educational needs, teachers wishing to book a visit are asked to supply information about their students with regard to their prior knowledge, as well as any special educational needs, so that the most appropriate audio guide can be booked. In addition, the teacher accompanying the group is offered the loan of a 30-minute film, 'The Way We Lived', to help with preparations for the visit. The film describes Jewish life and culture before the war. Preparations thus focus on a specific aspect, which provides guidelines for the visit. Whilst the exhibition centres on those who were persecuted and murdered, the objective is that these individuals are not just seen as victims, but as people who were leading 'normal' lives. Their loss, and that of the rich diversity and culture of European Jewish communities, is to be understood as a loss for the whole of humanity.

Educational programmes and resources

The educational sessions focus on a range of themes corresponding to different school subjects and the focus of the group. The standard programme is

structured as follows: six school groups per day during term time, each visit spread over about two-and-a-half hours. During a half-hour orientation session, the school groups are prepared for the visit by a member of the museum's education department. The orientation session observed during the on-site visit, for example, established what the students already knew about the topic and drew parallels with their own lives. In this case, the pedagogical guide also referred to the impact of failing to see the victims as individuals by describing how their names were replaced with numbers. There followed a 90-minute tour of the exhibition which students visited with their teachers using audio guides. A range of audio tours is available, each specifically targeted to supporting the learning of students of different ages, abilities and needs. Visually impaired students and students with moderate learning difficulties also have access to a handling collection which consists of replica objects situated at points around the exhibition. The visit concluded with a half-hour feedback session during which the students could present their impressions. The staff interviewed said that it was in this session that students frequently drew comparisons between historical events and contemporary issues and questions such as racism and intolerance. The feedback session also provides an opportunity to respond to provocative or controversial comments, which can occur. In these cases, the educational staff's strategy is to present the pupil concerned with a question rather than to try and justify themselves or to argue against the comment.

Specific focus

In line with the museum's profile as a historical museum, the exhibition content is based on original documentation, historical facts and the connection between them. The staff emphasise that learning about history should have priority over learning from history. Education at Imperial War Museum London seeks to enable students to learn about the Holocaust, and then students can make their own connections and decide for themselves what lessons we should take from this history. This is also the basic principle adopted in the teacher training sessions offered by the Imperial War Museum.

Using audio guides provides structure to the tour of the exhibition and allows students to move at their own pace, while ensuring that they do not miss the most important information and exhibits. Questions and discussion are then taken up by museum staff in the feedback session after the students have returned from the exhibition. This approach, it is felt, provides the support students require whilst in the exhibition.

6.2.11. Hartheim Castle – Place of Learning and Remembrance, Austria

Historic site

Built in the renaissance style, Hartheim Castle is located around 20 kilometres to the west of Linz. A care home for persons with intellectual or severe physical disabilities was established here in 1898. In 1939 it was seized by the Nazis and converted into one of the ‘euthanasia’ centres located in the Greater German Reich (*Großdeutsches Reich*). Between 1940 and 1944, around 30,000 people were murdered here – persons with disabilities, as well as prisoners from the Mauthausen, Gusen and Dachau concentration camps who were unable to work, and forced labourers.

History of the memorial site

In 1995, the Hartheim Castle Association was founded with the aim of preserving the castle as a memorial site. In 1997, the government of Upper Austria subsequently voted to implement the plan. The memorial site Hartheim Castle – Place of Learning and Remembrance was opened in 2003.

Educational programmes and resources

The memorial site has five permanent staff. The educational programmes are currently run by 10 hourly-paid staff, who are trained and instructed by the permanent staff. The exhibition and four seminar rooms are used for educational activities. The basement of the building has an exhibition on ‘euthanasia’ under the National Socialist regime, including details of the planning and implementation of the killings and information on the perpetrators and victims. The information on the perpetrators is fairly extensive but little is known about the victims, who were murdered on arrival. The historical rooms connected with ‘euthanasia’, such as the registration area and rooms where the killings took place, are separate from the exhibition. These rooms are dedicated to the memory of the victims and only contain essential information. The third element of this place of learning and remembrance is a permanent exhibition on the building’s upper floor entitled ‘The Value of Life’. This examines the lives of people with disabilities and societal attitudes towards them from the age of industrialisation to the present day.

The memorial site offers standard tours of the historical rooms and exhibitions, as well as specific educational seminars on certain themes. These are designed above all for school groups and the content differs depending on the age of the

students. The use of additional educational materials is intended to facilitate the understanding of specific exhibits and to provide further information.

Specific focus

The memorial's pedagogical concept attaches great significance to 'dissemination that motivates action' and an 'independent and interactive' discovery of the history of attitudes towards persons with disabilities up to today. The focus is on human dignity and the inviolable need to protect it, as well as the examination of the past and present rights of persons with disabilities. One example is the programme 'Being alike – Being different – Being together', which is intended for primary school students aged between 6 and 10 and deals with the issue of disability and the 'value of life'. A further example is the programme 'Human Breeding – Science Fiction or Future Reality?' which is aimed at students aged between 14 and 18 and focuses on the debate on genetic engineering and biotechnology.

6.2.12. Shoah Memorial, France

History of the memorial

The Shoah Memorial opened in 2005. It is located in rue Geoffroy l'Asnier in Paris and is the modern form of the Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation, founded clandestinely in 1943, and of the Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr, inaugurated in 1956. The memorial is a private institution, though it houses the French national documentation centre on the history of the Jews in France during World War Two. It contains an extensive archive and a large collection of historical documents from the period, as well as photographs, books and audiovisual stations with Holocaust testimony (Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation), a permanent historical exhibition and temporary exhibitions on the theme, a multimedia learning centre and a broad-ranging pedagogical programme for various target groups. At the same time, the Memorial is a national memorial site for the victims, which is apparent in its layout. It features, for example, a Crypt, a Wall of Names on which the names of 76,000 Jews deported from France are engraved, and a Wall of the Righteous to commemorate those who saved Jews.

Educational programmes and resources

The Shoah Memorial is one of the larger institutions visited. It has 100 permanent staff, of whom 30 work in the three existing education departments: pedagogy – for students; training – for adults; and memorial sites – for study

trips. Half of the approximately 190,000 visitors per year are under 18. Around a quarter of the annual budget is used for educational activities.

The educational programme for school groups consists of tours lasting one to two hours, seminars lasting several hours, the use of various films and survivor testimonies and visits to memorial sites both within and outside France. Moreover, the Memorial offers teacher training seminars and advice on preparing for visits to memorial sites. It also runs profession-specific seminars for Paris police officials, civil servants of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice and various associations and NGOs, as well as summer university schools and conferences. In conjunction with the Regional Council of Ile-de-France and the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah, the Memorial organises and coordinates study and commemorative visits to Auschwitz and other Holocaust sites. These are designed for schools and any other interested groups. For schools in all regions of France, these study trips are also offered as part of a one-year training programme targeted to each group and including preparation for the visit and post-visit evaluation.

The thematic focus of the Memorial is on transmitting historical knowledge about the Holocaust and its origins, paying particular attention to the French Jews and political developments in France during the Second World War. Whilst it is clearly acknowledged that confronting the Holocaust has an emotional impact, an emotionalised or moralistic stance is firmly rejected. Emphasis is placed on making the Holocaust understandable as a historical process rather than simply using it to illustrate moral education. Confrontation with the Holocaust is not only intended to create a link between past and present, but also to foster tolerance and civil awareness and to encourage young people to engage at a societal and political level. The programmes themselves draw no explicit link between historical events and contemporary issues and the staff interviewed were unanimous in the view that the Memorial did not provide a suitable forum for dealing with (contemporary) human rights issues.

According to the staff, preparatory consultations with the accompanying teacher are often arranged before school group visits. Information about the groups, their level of knowledge and interests can assist in adapting the respective educational programmes. The regional background of the group is also taken into account and relevant historical information and contexts are used to illustrate events in that region during the Holocaust.

Specific focus

As already mentioned, the Memorial's decision to base its educational activities on the transmission of historical knowledge and historical and political context means that the individual biographies of those persecuted and murdered do not play a central role. Interviews with staff revealed that this decision was also

attributable to a specific memorial tradition that considers structural aspects and the historical context more than the individual.

The educational programmes consider school groups more as an audience than as researchers working on their own initiative. Only the one-year programmes involving a study visit to Auschwitz require participants to produce something related to what they have learnt at the end of the project. At the same time, the staff expressed regret that most school groups only come to the Memorial for relatively short tours. Nonetheless, the observation of tours during the on-site visit to the Memorial showed that an interactive approach to the topics discussed is also possible during these tours, although whether or not this approach is adopted depends on the guide.

6.3. Organisations arranging study trips to Auschwitz

6.3.1. Holocaust Educational Trust, UK

History of the organisation

The Holocaust Educational Trust, based in London, was founded in 1988 with the aim of disseminating knowledge about the Holocaust and possible lessons to be learnt from it. Its programmes are designed both for teenagers and young adults in schools, universities and the community, as well as for teacher training purposes. The Trust's 'Lessons from Auschwitz Project', a four-part educational course comprising a one-day study visit to Auschwitz, is now firmly established in the UK for students over the age of 16. Every year, 2,500 British students travel to the site of the former death camp as part of this programme. The project receives substantial funding from the Government – it is this funding which has enabled the Trust to take a large number of students to Auschwitz at very minimal cost to them.

Educational programme

In the 'Lessons from Auschwitz Project' two students from every school in the UK are invited, so the groups taken comprise students from approximately 80 different schools. The course includes a half-day orientation seminar, a full-day visit to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and a half-day follow-up seminar. The orientation seminar covers organisational matters, but also establishes the expectations of the students and explains the difference between the study visit and a tourist visit. The themes covered in the preparatory seminar

include an introduction to Jewish life before the Holocaust and a reflection on the loss signified by the mass murder perpetrated by the Nazis. Survivor testimony also plays an important role in this seminar, as participants have the opportunity to hear a first-hand account from an Auschwitz survivor.

The day-long visit to Auschwitz actually begins in the town of Oświęcim, where participants visit the site of the Great Synagogue, the Jewish Centre and the Jewish cemetery. Guides from the museum then take the group around the former main camp and Auschwitz-Birkenau. The visit concludes with a commemorative ceremony for the victims. The follow-up seminar back in the UK consists of a reflection on what the participants have experienced and learnt, and practical ideas for how to pass on these lessons to peers. The relevance of the visit for the participants' actions in their own lives is also discussed. Important themes in this respect are the potential consequences of intolerance and prejudice, and individual responsibility for intervening in such cases. Following this, participants are expected to undertake a 'Next Steps' project of their own design, aimed at passing on the lessons they have learned.

Specific focus

The educators who accompany the groups during the programme attend a week's training course run by the Holocaust Educational Trust. These educators lead group sessions at the orientation and follow-up seminars, and work alongside the guides from the Auschwitz museum on the one-day visit to the memorial site. These educators are essential to the Holocaust Educational Trust's programme; they deliver testimony readings and points for discussion and reflection intended to expand upon the more strictly factual information conveyed by museum guides. They are a point of contact for students wishing to relate what they have heard and seen. The Holocaust Educational Trust's objectives are in no way restricted to transmitting historical knowledge. It seeks rather to encourage reflection on the relevance of this knowledge for the present and how it can influence our actions.

6.3.2. Foundation for the Memory of the Deportation, Italy

History of the organisation

This Foundation, based in Milan, is an association of former Italian prisoners from various concentration camps. It was founded in 2003 by the National Association of Italian Political Deportees from Nazi Concentration Camps (ANED), a non-profit organisation established by presidential decree in November 1968. As well as preserving the memory of the victims of

deportation by organising commemorations and archiving historical and biographical documents, the foundation also has a pedagogical role.

Educational programme

Working closely with schools, the organisation aims to encourage young people to acquire historical knowledge and to develop civic awareness through dealing with the Holocaust now and in the future. For this purpose, one of the foundation's activities is to organise study trips for school classes as part of the national project 'A train to Auschwitz' (*un treno per Auschwitz*).⁴⁹ Around 3,000 Italian students take part in this programme every year.

The study visit has been designed to last over three days, plus preparation time. One whole day and three to four afternoons are recommended for the preparation, which is conducted by the Institute for the History of the Liberation Movement in Italy (INSMLI). The trip itself begins with a commemoration at Milan station, attended by a Holocaust survivor who recounts his or her experiences. During the journey to Auschwitz, which takes a whole day, a range of themes can be addressed. The students spend one day at the memorial site, both in the former Stammlager (main camp) and at Auschwitz-Birkenau. They are taken round the site by guides from the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. The group then spends half a day in Cracow before travelling back to Milan with the accompanying teachers. The return journey is used for participants to reflect on and discuss their experiences. However, the implementation and evaluation of the study visit is not the responsibility of the Foundation, but of the accompanying teachers.

Specific focus

The thematic focus of the study visits is very much on the transmission of knowledge about the camp system and the history of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration and death camp. In addition, during the preparations for the visit, the conditions and motivations for Jewish persecution, National Socialist race laws and the stages of persecution are addressed. The question of remembrance is also discussed. A further objective is to explain how and why the site of the former camp complex has changed over the years. The foundation also aims to draw parallels between past and present. This objective is, however, not integrated into the pedagogical concept and to this extent has to be undertaken primarily by the teachers. The teachers are prepared by the Foundation prior to the trip.

⁴⁹ Both the teachers and students from the Italian focus group had participated in this programme.

Although the Foundation works extensively with Holocaust testimony, it stresses that this has to be contextualised using additional documentary sources in order to strike a balance between factual knowledge and biographical experience. Interestingly, the use of videotaped Holocaust testimony is preferred to talks with Holocaust survivors in person, as the Foundation considers the latter to be often less precise.

6.4. Comparison of pedagogical approaches

The on-site visits did not only serve to gather information about the various sites and institutions. They were also intended to establish whether, and to what extent, the institutions take into account or implement the key factors identified by the focus groups with regard to the long-term impact of a visit to a museum or memorial site; and, if not, why not. These main factors include:

- Pre-visit preparation and follow-up activities
- Participant-orientated approaches
- The use of biographies of victims
- Multi-perspective approaches
- The role of authenticity in the educational process
- The role and quality of guides and other educational employees
- The time available for educational activities

The following section will examine the seven main points which emerged from the group discussions and related opinions given by museum and memorial site staff. It will also refer to the observations of the respective project groups who conducted the on-site research. A range of conceptual and practical examples which the research teams considered particularly successful to implement the aforementioned key factors will also be presented. It should be pointed out that these key factors concern educational visits to memorial sites and museums as a whole and do not specifically relate to the link between Holocaust education and human rights education. The differences noted between the objectives of a programme and its practical implementation are also addressed. It should be reiterated here that information on the relationship between theory and practice cannot be provided in all cases because not all on-site visits included direct observation of the educational programmes. Even where observation was possible, it was limited to so few examples that the following analysis cannot provide a conclusive evaluation of the pedagogical practice of individual memorial sites and museums.

6.4.1. Pre-visit preparation and follow-up activities for school classes and teachers

Both teachers and students in the focus groups stressed the importance of preparation for memorial site and museum visits in particular. Staff at the institutions visited also frequently referred to preparation for memorial site and museum visits and also to subsequent reflection on these visits or follow-up activities. Several institutions were critical of the fact that school classes and other groups often come to memorial sites and museums insufficiently prepared (Buchenwald, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Shoah Memorial). In contrast, some institutions saw no major problems in this respect (San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum, Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site) and others asserted that preparation for the visit could also prove an obstacle if the teacher's methods conflicted with the pedagogical approach of the guide:

‘Sometimes I prefer to start from scratch with the class because the teacher’s preparation of the class is not always beneficial for my chances to do a good job. I mostly prefer to teach about the history of National Socialism prior to the seminar my own way’ (House of the Wannsee Conference).

In the case of organisations running study visits to Auschwitz, preparation for the visit is an essential element of their educational activities. Both the Holocaust Educational Trust and the Foundation for the Memory of the Deportation have developed seminar modules for this purpose, covering history, theories of memory and practical aspects.

In terms of preparatory materials, some of the memorial sites and museums refer to their own websites, which contain a wide range of information (Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, House of the Wannsee Conference, Buchenwald). The education department at the Anne Frank House sends detailed information to teachers in advance about the house and its history. The Terezín (Theresienstadt) Memorial also sends out preparatory materials whilst the Imperial War Museum sends out a film on Jewish life before the Shoah, and Hartheim Castle has developed a preparatory ‘suitcase’ of information that can be borrowed on request.

The Shoah Memorial prefers to carry out individual consultations between staff from the Memorial and class teachers prior to the visit. This approach is also followed by The Holocaust Centre Beth Shalom and the House of the Wannsee Conference. The latter also occasionally arranges prior discussions with students.

The memorial sites and museums referred far less frequently to follow-up activities. This could indicate that their remit does not include reflecting on the visit, consolidating newly acquired knowledge or placing the visit experience within a broader learning context. However, certain institutions such as the

Buchenwald Memorial provide teachers with appropriate materials. In the case of study visits organised by the Foundation for the Memory of the Deportation, the return trip from Auschwitz-Birkenau is used to evaluate and reflect on the visit in detail, with accompanying teachers being primarily responsible for this process. The Holocaust Educational Trust organises a follow-up meeting of participants after the study visit to Auschwitz. In the case of the Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre, students are encouraged to take part in political campaigns through the Aegis Trust.

All in all, it can be seen that there is no single answer to the question of which factors the institutions consider necessary to prepare for visits and who should be responsible for the preparation. The views expressed on the respective merits of having a prepared or unprepared group appeared as vague as already demonstrated in the literature review. In the discussions, it was often unclear what kind of materials were being used, whether they were intended to give an initial overview, to respond to specific questions, interests and requirements, or whether they were targeted to specific seminars.

The institutions' websites in particular provide preparatory information that is not targeted to one particular group. The websites generally contain a broad range of facts and background information, from which the teacher can and has to choose. In future, the Anne Frank House, for example, wants to provide teachers with a broad range of materials that are as varied as possible. All the texts produced by the Foundation will be posted online for this purpose and it will be possible to search for specific information using a web portal. By contrast, the film on Jewish life in Europe prior to the Second World War that is sent in advance to registered groups by the Imperial War Museum intends to provide specific background knowledge on the biographies of people who became victims.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these unspecific expectations regarding preparation for a visit to a museum or memorial site. First, most institutions would welcome it if their educational programmes could seamlessly feed into the prior experience and knowledge of the students. Second, many institutions perceive a deficit in terms of preparation, even though – in the framework of this study at least – teachers and students stressed how important this was. The shortcoming perceived by the memorial sites and museums could be rooted in the fact that preparatory materials may be used in a variety of ways, thereby emphasising different aspects – and not always those that eventually form the core of the education programmes at the sites.

Many aspects could be addressed during preparation for a visit to a museum or memorial site. Should the preparation focus more on facts about the National Socialist system or the Second World War? Should post-war history, war crimes trials, compensation debates and the culture of memory be included? Should preparation deal with the nature of the sites and appropriate behaviour there? Should the aim be to prepare students for the emotional reactions that

they may experience? Or should students examine human rights issues? The list is arbitrary and incomplete, but all aspects can be seen as relevant. There needs to be clearer communication between schools and memorial sites or museums with regard to those aspects that need to be covered prior to the visit that the sites aim to build on in their educational activities. Most of the institutions visited still need to develop workable strategies for this purpose.

6.4.2. Participant-oriented approach

The focus groups also considered it essential for the educational programmes to be targeted to their visitors. This means giving students the chance to articulate their own interests and to determine the focus of the visit, also enabling and encouraging them to take an active part in the visit. In terms of methodology, the closest links can be found here between a kind of Holocaust education which was considered effective by students and teachers, and concepts of HRE.

Interest and involvement of the participants

As this study primarily addresses *school* visits to memorial sites and museums, it is not surprising that these visits are usually organised by the relevant subject teacher. Prior to the visit, teachers are the main or sole point of contact for museum or memorial site staff. Of the institutions examined, only the House of the Wannsee Conference referred to the fact that it sometimes also arranges a meeting with students in order to discuss their interests and reservations.

Overall, it appears that the institutions tend to have little knowledge of the interests of students (and other visitors). When asked the main reasons why people go to these sites, the museum and memorial site staff frequently confused the visitors' possible motivation with their own (pedagogical) objectives.

If the museum or memorial site is involved in the preparations for the visit by providing materials in advance, the teacher is the link between the institution and students. In some cases, there are discussions between the teacher and guide at the respective site immediately before the visit starts. Other institutions ask the students about their expectations or interests at the start of the visit. However, it is debatable whether asking these questions will attract serious answers, or whether there is actually the opportunity to follow up interests that may be expressed during the visit or seminar. The introductory sessions at Terezín Memorial or the brief introduction at the Anne Frank House seem more appropriate in this respect. However, the education department at Majdanek expressed the view that discussions should be spontaneous and led by the students, rather than being initiated by the memorial site employees and guides. Nonetheless, there must be time allocated for discussions, even if these are

spontaneous, but this is something which – at least in the case of visits – is hardly ever catered for.

The exceptions here are the ‘peer-to-peer tours’ at the House of the Wannsee Conference, which involve the participants choosing a thematic focus according to their own interests, and the educational programme of the Imperial War Museum that, although limited to two hours, includes discussions as part of the activity. This museum is unique among the institutions examined in its use of audio guides to take students around the exhibition and also in its use of moderated group interaction at both the beginning and end of the visit. Although the students have no actual ‘say’ in the visit, unlike standard tours they can follow their own interests or spend longer in certain parts of the exhibition. The decision to begin and end the visit with a guided discussion also draws on a specific pedagogical model that not only focuses on transmitting history, but also takes account of what the students have experienced and learnt. The discussion at the end of the visit thus draws a conscious comparison with the discussion at the start. Many of the other memorial sites and museums naturally integrate such introductory and feedback sessions into their educational activities, but only in the case of longer seminars.

Engaging students and encouraging independent work

Not all of the institutions examined consider it important for students to engage in independent research in order to deal with the historical facts. However, most of the institutions examined fundamentally supported the point made by students and teachers in the focus groups that independent work by participants is particularly important for a positive learning process. Some of the memorial sites and museums offer a whole range of educational activities that require students to address themes independently.

One example that particularly stood out during the on-site visits was a study day at the Buchenwald Memorial. During the study day, students can work with so-called ‘findings’, that is objects found on the site in the course of various archaeological digs or during restoration work carried out at work-camps. Having examined the object, the students use selected documents and parts of the exhibition to establish its historical context. In connection with this activity, the memorial site also offers independent workshops focusing on the conservation of these objects. These events involve practical conservation activity in a workshop but also deal with the objects in greater depth by initiating reflection on the objects, their significance for daily life in the concentration camp and their value for the prisoners. The unique feature of both concepts is that students are able to touch and examine original objects that are usually kept behind glass. The wealth of objects found at Buchenwald, including prisoner badges, mirror fragments or cutlery, are thus put to use in a highly unconventional way.

The State Museum at Majdanek offers similar activities but students do not work with original objects. Using archive materials prepared in advance by the education department, students can research a personal object such as a letter, diary or bracelet made in the camp and in this way they can find out about an aspect of the camp's history or a particular biography.

Various institutions use a number of highly diverse methods to engage students. These include peer-to-peer tours. In the House of the Wannsee Conference, small groups work on individual sections of the exhibition and subsequently present their findings to the rest of the group. In contrast, the Anne Frank House offers a seminar to train young people to guide school groups around the travelling exhibition. The peer-guides' experience as guides will therefore differ from the experience of the students they show round the exhibition, whilst in the 'peer-to-peer tours' both participants and guides receive information.⁵⁰ The Terezín Memorial has developed a programme to 'search for traces', in which students are firstly required to find particular locations in the former ghetto using a map, and then to research people connected with these locations. In the second part of the programme, the students present these people and places to the rest of the group.

Many of the other institutions (including Beth Shalom, Buchenwald and the House of the Wannsee Conference) run seminar sessions in which students prepare specific themes either individually or in groups, and then present these to the rest of the class. In the pedagogical concept of the House of the Wannsee Conference, the on-site library plays a key role in the independent research carried out by students as part of almost all seminars. Library staff, help the students to find resources on the themes they are researching.

Where the principle of active participation and student involvement forms part of the pedagogical concept, the success of the respective programmes seems to depend above all on the extent to which didactic decisions have actually been taken that enable and support independent work (also during very short activities). Yet it is often the case that material considerations such as a lack of space, the pressure of time, insufficient preparation or large-sized groups present an obstacle to the realisation of a well thought-out educational programme. For example, Hartheim Castle attaches particular importance to 'dissemination that motivates action' and an 'independent and interactive' approach to the history of the site. However, an obligatory tour of both exhibitions – even if it is called an 'accompanied' rather than a guided tour –

⁵⁰ The difficulties of the "peer-to-peer" approach were not discussed at either of these two on-site visits, even though the suitability of the method in the context of "Holocaust education" is not at all generally recognized among experts. Peer-to-peer guided tours have also been criticized for their level of self determination, particularly because they rarely allow participants to critically examine the historical narrative of the exhibitions (Sternfeld 2003). Yet peer-to-peer guided tours are often used with younger students and it is worth considering just how much reflection of history is useful in such brief activities.

from the outset limits the opportunities for students to engage in independent research because even the two-hour seminars include a 90-minute tour of both exhibitions. Only the concept of the four-hour seminar ‘Remembrance – remembering the past, critically evaluating the present’ integrates independent work and group discussion.

In qualitative terms, there appears to be a clear overall focus on guided tours of the institutions and exhibitions. Research-based learning and independent discovery are difficult to achieve in the framework of guided visits. The exceptions are the aforementioned audio guide visits and ‘peer-to-peer tours’.

6.4.3. Using biographies of victims

It seems self-evident that the educational activities of memorial sites and museums dealing with the Holocaust will involve looking at individual biographies and lives. In fact, this is a fairly recent development. One exception in this respect is the Anne Frank House, which from the start placed the diary of a young girl and her history at the heart of its work. Biographies and associated documents and artefacts are now included in practically all exhibitions. Whilst a personal history is placed into the overall historical context in the case of Anne Frank, most of the other institutions have to choose the opposite approach. When biographies are used, the aim is often to individualise history, to demonstrate the impact of historical events on individuals and generate empathy for people to prevent them being seen as part of an anonymous mass of victims.

The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum has an exhibition on the individuality of the victims and life prior to deportation. This exhibition does not chart historical events; rather, it invites visitors to engage with the individuals whose personal photos were taken with them to Auschwitz and discovered decades after the liberation of the camp. These photos show people who got married and went on holiday, children who went to school, or couples in love. This exhibition is located in the so-called Central Sauna in Birkenau, where prisoners selected as ‘fit for work’ were forced to undress before being disinfected and having a number tattooed on their forearm. This restoration of the dignity of deportees at a place where they were stripped of their dignity to the greatest degree reflects a purpose that is not really educational, but relates more to the philosophy behind exhibitions and their overall layout. However, recognising this approach and assuming a degree of responsibility for history by focusing on the victims certainly fulfils an important pedagogical task.

Most of the institutions visited use personal biographies in the form of memoirs, personal objects and documents to illustrate historical events in a more general context, often in relation to the respective site. The study visit organised by the Foundation for the Memory of the Deportation involves each group working on two biographies, one of a person deported to Auschwitz and one of a survivor. Biographies are also sometimes used in the description of specific places during

guided visits, but the on-site visits showed this to depend above all on the guide concerned.

The extent to which education departments can draw on individual biographies depends of course on the state of research and the form in which these biographies are available. Yet even if memoirs are available, or certain objects can be linked to specific individuals, it remains a pedagogical decision as to whether, and to what extent, they are integrated into the programme. The Shoah Memorial does not use biographical sources as the starting point for its educational programmes, but rather focuses on the broader historical narrative. The Memorial argues that dealing with individual biographies can not only hinder the cognitive learning process, but also causes visitors to lose sight of the overall historical context. Nonetheless, the Memorial does organise talks with Holocaust survivors.

The fact that the number of survivors is constantly dwindling and that direct discussions with them will no longer be possible in the foreseeable future has long been recognised and debated as a problem for pedagogical strategies. However, this is a general problem that does not affect the day-to-day educational activities of most of the institutions visited. Many memorial sites only have a very limited opportunity to integrate Holocaust survivors into their educational activities. Of the institutions visited, the Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre integrates talks with Holocaust survivors to the greatest extent in its educational activities – with these forming part of the vast majority of events.

In the ‘euthanasia’ memorial sites such as Hartheim Castle, it has never been common practice to work with survivors. It does, however, feature a videoed interview with a Holocaust survivor in a prominent part of the exhibition. Some of the other institutions have been working almost exclusively with audio and video materials or written testimony for years, as for example the Buchenwald Memorial.

The fact that many memorial sites and museums now possess a large number of videotaped Holocaust testimonies and adapt them for educational use, by selecting excerpts for example, could also be of interest for Holocaust education in other contexts and promote cooperation between schools and memorial sites or museums.

6.4.4. A multi-perspective approach

The focus on the history of the victims is understandable in view of the memorial sites’ original remit to remember the victims and create a worthy place of remembrance for them. As memorial sites are increasingly being used as places of learning with the objective of explaining historical contexts, increasing attention is also being paid to the role of perpetrators and bystanders.

This also includes those institutions which refer directly to the perpetrators of Nazi crimes, for example the House of the Wannsee Conference.

There is still no consensus on how the perpetrators should, or can, be presented at memorial sites that continue to regard themselves as ‘victim sites’. In architectural terms, many former concentration camps still have visible evidence of the former prisoner areas. However, it is often not immediately apparent where the many SS guards were accommodated and where the commandants, adjutants, heads of political departments and so on lived, mainly with their families. In addition, the corresponding areas have either only been part of the memorial site grounds for a few years, or still remain separate.⁵¹

Some pedagogical concepts for Holocaust education do, however, make use of a multi-perspective approach, which sheds light on the behaviour of perpetrators, victims, bystanders and the few people who helped or rescued the victims. The multi-perspective approach to history, especially the shift between different perspectives, enables a more in-depth understanding of historical events, subjective decisions and their impact.

Some of the institutions visited follow such a multi-perspective approach, although in most cases this only involves comparing two perspectives. Hence, the International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust at Auschwitz-Birkenau has developed a workshop on male and female perpetrators that presents a second perspective simply by being held at a site dedicated to the victims. The new permanent exhibition at the House of the Wannsee Conference also focuses on the perpetrators, but in addition presents the contrasting perspective of four Jewish families, with the result that the motives and biographies of the perpetrators remain closely linked to the impact of their crimes. The Buchenwald Memorial has been using a worksheet on the SS for many years, which, when read in conjunction with other worksheets, enables a multi-perspective approach to the site’s history. Moreover, features of the grounds of Buchenwald also illustrate a variety of perspectives, for example a former SS bear-pit located in close vicinity to the camp fence and crematorium. Focus is also placed on the closeness of the camp to the town of Weimar and the links between the town and concentration camp. The Anne Frank House describes the families in hiding, but also the helpers who secretly provided them with supplies for two years. During the study visit to Auschwitz organised by the Holocaust Educational Trust, attention is paid to both perpetrators and bystanders, with discussion of who they were and where the line can be drawn between the two categories. The aim of such discussions is to enable participants to reflect on their individual responsibility for events in

⁵¹ Some concentration camp memorial sites in Germany have special exhibitions dealing with perpetrators (for example the Ravensbrück memorial and memorial site and the memorial site at the former Neuengamme concentration camp), whilst others integrate the history of the perpetrators into the overall exhibition (for example, the memorial sites at the former Mittelbau-Dora and Flossenbürg memorial site).

today's society. They also fulfil the conceptual aim of linking past and present. This approach stands out in that personal responsibility is not associated with empathy with the victims, but rather with reflection on one's own actions.

6.4.5. The role of authenticity

The on-site visits confirmed that 'authenticity' is particularly important for all of the institutions concerned. Authenticity can relate to the location itself, the grounds, the buildings or architectural remains, or to the documents available, the sources and artefacts. Without exception, the memorial sites at historic locations underlined the special significance of the 'authenticity' of the site. The remaining institutions (Imperial War Museum, Shoah Memorial, Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre) place value upon their collection of authentic documents and objects, which can be used for educational activities. In this respect, the Shoah Memorial made the interesting point that in terms of the potential experience at the site, it does not make a great deal of difference whether the visitor goes to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum or the Shoah Memorial. This may appear plausible from the perspective of an institution that has essentially based its pedagogical concept on the transmission of factual historical context, since the transmission of information is not restricted to a specific location. However, the memorial sites at historically significant locations prioritise a different type of experience, one that is difficult to reproduce in a museum. The point was best illustrated by an employee of the Buchenwald Memorial:

'If you know about the history of Buchenwald and you are without emotions, then we have a problem too. Our task is to create a special experience; people are here physically. We have a chance to create a special experience and spatial, body memory.'

Of course it is also clear that the site's impact does not automatically derive from its authenticity, but rather that this impact can and is actively generated.

The example of the Anne Frank House makes it clear that this institution does not attribute the 'authentic' quality of the experience to the historic location alone. The plans to use 3D animation as a virtual tour of Anne Frank's former hiding place, and to make the entire museum accessible to people who are not physically present, show that the objective is not so much to use the 'authenticity' of the site for pedagogical effect, but rather to present an 'experience', which should also be possible via the internet.

Even if it cannot be presumed that the sites themselves place specific demands on visitors, it is clear that thematically they must be classed as criminal sites. Visitors go to the former camps because of what used to be there. The desire 'to experience something' there requires information, explanation, context and the chance to learn. It is the sites themselves that need explaining – they are the focus. In the museums not linked to a specific site, which also use a range of

documents and exhibits, the prime focus is on events and history that took place elsewhere and are placed in a narrative context. Exhibitions provide a narrative, whereas memorial sites show fragments that need to be put together. In order to do this, the museum staff at Majdanek said that they would welcome a balanced perspective of the historic site, including its buildings, extensive grounds, its 'aura', and the possibility of transmitting its history in a modern, user-friendly fashion.

6.4.6. Role and qualities of the guides

The student focus groups in particular repeatedly stressed the importance of guides. Almost all of the observations carried out at the memorial sites and museums confirmed the importance of the guide having specific qualities. It is the guides who apply the concepts and objectives of the institution, establish contact with visitors, school classes and groups of young people and adults. Guides are, of course, bound to deliver the programmes of their institutions, but in many cases they also have some freedom in deciding on the focus of visits and the narrative structure of their presentations. The guides are ambassadors for their institutions and an important link between the institution and visitors. They concentrate either on numbers and facts or on biographies in their tours, and they decide where it is appropriate to engage in dialogue with the students.

In terms of the implementation of educational programmes and guided visits by memorial sites or museums, students consider the guides to have a similarly important role to the teachers in the learning process as a whole, which begins with an introduction to the theme and appears to be largely dependent on the personality and commitment of the teacher. In the students' opinion, it is important for the educational staff and guides of the memorial sites and museums to have detailed specialist knowledge. However, they consider the most important aspect to be the staff's communication skills and ability to encourage young people to engage with the topic and involve them in discussions.

These expectations underline the fact that the guides are assigned a task that cannot be fulfilled with pedagogical concepts alone. The permanent staff generally, has academic qualifications, whilst the hourly-paid staff are mainly university students from different disciplines, often history. The team of observers asked the respective institutions what qualities made a good guide. The responses made reference relatively often to their subject-based knowledge, whereas their pedagogical skills and ability to deal with conflicting opinions were largely absent in responses to this question.

It also became clear that implementation of some of the aforementioned points considered important by the institutions, for example a visitor-oriented approach or the link between the history of the site and the biographies of a number of former prisoners, is often left up to the guides during the visits. This

was observed in several on-site visits, as for instance at the Majdanek memorial site. Some guides seemed to use individual stories; others did not mention any. This is also evident when, for example, the group does not want a standard tour but rather a visit that reflects the group's interests, even though it was not possible to organise a prior discussion with the group or for the guide to talk to the teacher immediately before the visit. The point was made by staff of the San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum: 'The guides try to adapt to the group, but there are no prepared programmes.'

Only two of the institutions visited employ permanent educational staff (Terezín Memorial and Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site). Guided visits, which are the most-requested educational service, are carried out by hourly-paid staff at most memorial sites and museums. However, longer seminars are generally conducted by permanent educational staff.

It emerged from many of the discussions during the on-site visits that the guides and educational staff are required to have extensive skills in a number of areas, whether they are conducting guided tours or running longer events. This is particularly the case for the complex notion of 'learning from history'. The on-site visits made it clear that staff still do not generally have the necessary factual or methodological skills with regard to implementing human rights education at memorial sites. With the exception of the Buchenwald Memorial, and the Anne Frank House with its internationally-oriented educational department, none of the institutions surveyed during the on-site visits believed that they had subject-based competence in the area of human rights education.

6.4.7. Time

Many of the pedagogical staff mentioned time as a decisive factor in the success of an educational activity. Many of the ambitious programmes can only be realised in a format that includes more than a guided tour or lasts more than one to two hours

The State Museum at Majdanek seeks to persuade teachers in particular to take advantage of its educational programmes rather than book the standard tour, which is currently what 80% of school classes do. Staff at the Shoah Memorial would also like to extend their educational resources to include one-day seminars, but they pointed out structural criteria in the French school system, which do not allow this. By contrast, Beth Shalom generally offers seminars which are much more than standard visits and take several hours. The project team did not have the impression that time posed a major problem here and there was also no fixed view as to how long groups should ideally spend at this site.

Along with staff shortages, time was mentioned as a major obstacle in expanding current educational resources, especially when it comes to linking current programmes with the issue of human rights and human rights education.

6.5. Holocaust education and human rights education – conclusions following the on-site visits

6.5.1. Three areas of tasks: memory, history and learning for the future

All the institutions visited during this investigation aim to address three areas of tasks, even if their emphasis might differ: memory, history and future – in other words, they consider themselves a place for remembrance, for transmission of history and for learning from history for the future. Thus, from this overview of the institutions visited, it is clear that they cannot easily be categorised as either memorial sites or museums. Almost all of them are in fact both, regardless of their official title, their historic location or their pedagogical concepts.

All of the institutions examine the links between ‘history’ and ‘memory’, although to different extents. This observation is significant as it shows that there is always a fundamental tension between a site of memory and a site of learning, albeit to varying degrees at different sites. This tension is even evident to a certain extent at genuine ‘sites of learning’ not located at historical sites, such as the Imperial War Museum or the Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre.

As defined in the context of this study, Holocaust education comprises the two key aspects of history and memory, but also the concept of ‘learning *from* history’, which itself can conflict with the notion of learning *about* history. There was broad consensus on this point. All of the institutions agreed that confrontation with the genocide of the Jews still had an impact today and provided ‘lessons’ of relevance for the present. This viewpoint and the associated pedagogical motivations are evident in the profiles of all the institutions, even if in most cases the thematic focus of the educational programmes is clearly placed on historical learning and confrontation with history. To this extent, one can consider this a value-oriented transmission of history, one that reflects a fundamental sense of obligation to uphold human rights, the rule of law, democracy and opposition to anti-Semitism and racism. This approach is likely to influence the institutional and personal outlook of the staff and is therefore probably applied both indirectly and in certain situations. The project team that visited the House of the Wannsee Conference also gained this impression: ‘To us, the visiting team, it is obvious that the House of the

Wannsee Conference aims to integrate human rights into the narrative of the House and the teaching about the Holocaust itself. However, this perspective is not always spelt out; it is more like a background attitude of the educational department which most probably has an influence on the educational work of the institution.’

This objective represents a considerable challenge for the staff of memorial sites and museums. When teaching visitors about the site’s history and the content of the exhibitions, they are faced with a large number of requirements. First of all they have to deal with the specific history of the site, as well as contextualising it in the overall frame of Nazism, World War II and the Holocaust. They are also expected to adopt a multi-perspective approach, to describe individual biographies and apply a varied range of methods. And in addition they have to deal with present and future issues.

6.5.2. Linking learning about history and learning from history

Several of the institutions deal actively with contemporary issues. The memorial site Hartheim Castle – Place of Learning and Remembrance explicitly refers to contemporary issues in its pedagogical concept. Its two exhibitions, guided visits and some of its seminars address the continued exclusion of persons with disabilities up to the present day. Other museums and memorial sites also deal with the continuity between past and present, especially as part of educational programmes developed for specific professional groups (House of the Wannsee Conference, Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre). Beth Shalom gives a further example: during the on-site visit, the links to current issues seemed ‘extremely obvious’ to the observation team and the reason for teaching the Holocaust seemed to be ‘that it enables young people to reflect on and discuss issues such as intolerance, prejudice and anti-Semitism among other issues’.

On the other hand, several of the institutions (Terezín Memorial, Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial Site, San Sabba Risiera Civic Museum) noted that there was neither the necessary time nor the personnel to develop these concepts in addition to their ongoing activities. It was frequently emphasised that human rights education should in no way replace historical learning at these sites, but that it might be an additional aspect offered.

In part, the museum and memorial site staff said that in any case students drew comparisons between historical and contemporary issues. However, the pedagogical guidelines to enable such associations and the pedagogical strategies adopted in this situation differed from site to site. The Imperial War Museum places emphasis on a period of reflection incorporated into a three-stage process involving preparation, the visit to the exhibition and the subsequent discussion. The museum staff expects, and find, that students often

use this period of reflection to draw links and identify continuity between past and present. By contrast, contemporary issues tend to be raised randomly at the Terezín Memorial depending on the situation. One educator said during the interview that they themselves do not bring up this kind of question, but if the students do, they answer, but without entering into a deeper discussion.

The consensus on the close links between learning history and learning *from* history with regard to the Holocaust makes it very important to establish whether these links arise in the discursive context of the educational programme, or whether they are already integrated into the pedagogical concepts. There is a range of arguments for both approaches. Sometimes these arguments appear rather pragmatic, for example that these issues are not explicitly addressed because of a lack of time or suitably qualified staff. However, particularly at the historically significant Holocaust sites, it was clear that the prominence of these sites, their physical size and the numerous elements requiring explanation allow the guides to do little more than recount historical facts that are directly connected to the site.

6.5.3. Does learning from history mean Human Rights Education?

The institutions visited do not primarily associate reflection about the Holocaust with human rights education. More frequently, the connection is made between history and human rights in the sense of severe violation of human rights ('The history of Buchenwald stands for violation of human rights' – Buchenwald; 'At Auschwitz the visitors groups' attention is drawn to the fact that human rights were violated here, and the conclusion that it is important to maintain and protect human rights' – Auschwitz-Birkenau).

In a few cases, those surveyed were sceptical about the link between history and human rights education. In some cases, human rights education is not considered to fall within the remit of the institution concerned. This view was expressed most clearly by the Shoah Memorial, where all the staff surveyed firmly rejected the link between Holocaust education and HRE in connection with their work. However, most institutions are generally open to this linking approach, although hardly any of them have developed associated pedagogical concepts. The question of how to integrate learning history and learning from history in a pedagogical concept seems to have remained largely unanswered.

6.5.4. Emerging concepts for human rights education at memorial sites and museums

Nonetheless, the concepts for human rights education investigated during the on-site visits were developed at some historic sites – the Anne Frank House in

Amsterdam and the Buchenwald Memorial. The memorial site Hartheim Castle also offers an educational programme on human rights, focusing specifically on the rights of persons with disabilities. In this respect, the institution's outlook and pedagogical focus, i.e. its conceptual choices, could prove more important than the actual type of historic site.

At the Anne Frank House, the exhibition 'Free2choose' presents students with film clips which are used to encourage them to reflect upon problems and dilemmas in relation to civil liberties, and specifically free speech, religious freedom, protecting individual privacy, the right to demonstrate and freedom of the press. An international version of 'Free2choose' is now also available. The 'Free2choose' educational programme centres on a DVD with ten film clips, which are dubbed into the appropriate language. The programme refers to the history of the Universal Charter of Human Rights but does not mention the Holocaust, thereby remaining very much in the field of contemporary issues.

In contrast, the concept for the 'human rights' study day developed by the Buchenwald Memorial focuses largely on historical transmission by using a kind of 'human rights lens'. The bulk of the seminar is spent on a 90-minute guided visit and 2-3 hours of independent research on selected themes in the seminar room. These activities are framed by an introductory exercise on the issue of diversity or identity and a concluding session on 'Thinking about crimes, taking responsibility: Discussion on the culture of memory and human rights'. According to staff at the Buchenwald Memorial, the seminar's aim is 'to recognise societal mechanisms for exclusion and discrimination in the context of the camp's history and to thereby raise awareness of human rights violations in the present.'⁵² As yet the memorial site does not have much experience of this programme, and therefore it cannot be said whether the two themes are successfully linked. During the on-site visit, the project team observed an introductory session for 90 minutes, but was unable to draw clear conclusions in this respect. To investigate this question, it would therefore be of interest to examine this programme in greater detail than was possible in the framework of this study.

A broad range of recent conceptual revisions and pilot projects have begun to explore the link between history learning and learning from history. With this emergence of concepts for HRE on memorial sites, the situation described in this study is likely to evolve rapidly in the near future.

⁵² http://www.buchenwald.de/media_de/index.html, Menschenrechte – PDF brochure (04.12.2009).

7. Conclusions

7.1. General remarks

This study examined the role of Holocaust-related sites and exhibitions in teaching young people about the Holocaust and about human rights in the European Union. For this purpose, it used a variety of quantitative and qualitative research methods to survey the perspectives of the relevant ministries, the staff of memorial sites and museums and teachers and students who visit these sites.

The statements by the surveyed ministries indicate that Holocaust education and HRE are considered to be very important throughout the EU and that memorial sites and museums are attributed a significant role in this respect. This finding is notable in that memorial sites did not originally have a pedagogical remit, but are now regarded internationally as having such a function.

While the ministries surveyed often refer to historical sites connected with Nazi crimes as important institutions of both Holocaust education and HRE, no clear focus on human rights-related education has been determined by these institutions. Additionally, teachers and students scarcely make connections between visits to memorial sites and museums and HRE. However, most of them stress that the Holocaust is not just ‘history’ but relevant for the present and future, and they agree that there is a link between the Holocaust and human rights. The strong connection between memorial sites/museums and Holocaust education contrasts with the rather weak connection between Holocaust education and HRE.

Moreover, the results of the study suggest that the two subjects, Holocaust education and HRE, are also rarely linked at school level. From the data collected, one can even surmise that human rights education is not strongly integrated into the school curriculum in the EU. In addition, it is questionable whether teachers have knowledge and pedagogical skills in the area of HRE, or whether these are being developed. The analysis of focus group discussions furthermore showed that human rights and HRE appeared to be highly intangible and abstract concepts for the students involved.

7.2. Pedagogical value of transmitting history at the sites themselves

Most of the institutions surveyed and visited for the study consider their thematic focus to be the transmission of the history of Nazi crimes and their impact on the victims. This history serves as a starting point and central focus for memorial sites at historic locations. Memorial sites provide a concrete opportunity to recount a specific history of the Holocaust and are not merely symbolic locations. Indeed, they endeavour to counter this perception as mere symbolic locations by implementing pedagogical strategies connected with the history of the site.

This emphasis on the historic sites and their historical narratives corresponds to the major significance attached to the ‘authenticity’ of these sites by students and teachers. However, authenticity is not a feature of historical sites as such. It is experienced as a result of the site’s history and the visitor’s personal understanding of this history. It is based on the remains and traces that can be found there. It can be stimulated by presenting documents and artefacts. Authenticity, therefore, can also be experienced in museums and exhibitions that are not linked with a specific location.

Some of the student focus groups referred to the long-lasting experiences of their memorial site visit, these often being described in terms of emotions and physical sensations, for example the smell, the temperature, the visual observations. Considering the high expectations expressed by both teachers and students, and by ministries, it is clear that educational work in the context of Holocaust education must meet high professional standards. The expertise of educators at memorial sites and relevant museums clearly plays a key role here.

Students, teachers and the institutions surveyed had differing views of the extent to which additional pedagogical objectives can realistically be fulfilled. Staff at the museums and memorial sites appeared to be fully occupied with the task of placing these sites in their historical and contemporary context. Teachers take students to the memorial sites and museums in order to confront them with the Holocaust and other Nazi crimes. But they are also seeking the educational value of such visits and some consider a human rights approach to be an appropriate way of achieving educational goals. Finally, some students explicitly criticised Holocaust education for not drawing enough parallels with the present and for insufficient contextualisation and they stated that they would appreciate a stronger connection to the present day issues.

7.3. Pre-visit preparation and follow-up activities for school groups

Most of the institutions surveyed do not regard a visit to a memorial site as a stand-alone activity, but consider it important to integrate what are mostly very short activities into a broader pedagogical context. Overall, both student and teacher focus groups agreed on the importance of pre-visit preparation and post-visit evaluation. However, it became particularly clear in this respect that the focus group participants were not the kind of teachers and students who present the greatest challenge to most of the institutions. Participants in the focus groups were not only very interested in the Holocaust, but also had more than average experience of organising and participating in visits to memorial sites and museums.

Some memorial sites and museums stated that school groups are insufficiently prepared for their visits. Some of the surveyed institutions send out preparatory materials or provide advice on their webpage, but they cannot be certain whether or how the visitor groups will use these materials. A more successful strategy, apparently, would be to arrange discussions with school groups prior to the visit, but this is only possible where schools are located near the institution concerned. Institutions are more likely to arrange prior discussions with teachers rather than students. In most cases, especially when longer activities are being planned, the arrangements are made by phone. However, discussions of this kind only provide an indirect insight into the students' interests and the aims of the educational activities. In an ideal scenario, the educational staff of the respective institutions would carry out preparatory discussions with both students and teachers about the educational activity envisaged.

In terms of linking human rights education and Holocaust education, pre-visit preparation and post-visit evaluation could play an important role in embedding the visit in a pedagogical context that focuses on human rights. This possibility was occasionally raised by the teachers surveyed. The study reveals that further research is necessary to investigate to what extent ideas and concepts have been developed in this respect in the EU Member states.

7.4. Importance of educators: Basic and advanced training for educational employees

When dealing with the subject of the Holocaust, the considerable importance of the personality and qualifications of the educators was emphasized in the student focus groups. They stated that often the teachers were not subject specialists and they recommended that the teachers' preparation should be more strongly institutionalised in the areas of both Holocaust education and HRE, and less dependent on the individual's commitment. This seemed even more important in the field of human rights and civics, where the students felt that no specific training was given to teachers in order to introduce these issues in school programmes.

With regard to memorial sites and museum visits, guides and educational employees also have a similar significance even though their roles are different: particularly when conducting tours, they act mainly as mediators who reconstruct history and connections. This requires the individuals concerned to know historical facts and have rhetorical gifts; they are expected to be able to respond to the historical events and their effect on those concerned. At the same time, they should be able to respond to the students' various interests, previous knowledge and needs. Even when institutions try to make precise arrangements in advance in response to the visitors' interests and needs, guides must not only have a broad knowledge of the subjects they are presenting, but must also be able to deal appropriately with the situation, remain flexible and encourage communication.

A large proportion of educational activities at historical sites and exhibitions are performed by freelance workers. They often lack formal training for this purpose, not to mention training in museum or memorial site education, but are sometimes given varying levels of internal training on the historical subject and familiarized with their responsibilities. In an ideal scenario, they should receive additional training, be allowed to join tours given by colleagues and encouraged to exchange ideas and knowledge with other freelancers. Team meetings take place in the most varied of locations and with very variable frequency, discussing both content and methodological-didactic issues. The system in one of the memorial sites is based on the allocation of points awarded to guides, depending on their personal commitment judged according to various internal qualifications. At some institutions, guides have to pass a kind of test before they are allowed to give tours. Sites give reasons for not using full-time employees to perform the many short educational activities, such as guided tours. This allows the institution to retain flexibility in how it satisfies demand for guided tours, but also protects against the danger of routine since employees are not required to give several successive tours every day.

In addition, in this working with ‘free-lancers’, it is apparent that the connections between these part-time guides and the institutions’ educational departments are in some cases very weak. In these cases, it is not clear whether the guided tours are considered part of the educational activities or not. In several of the institutions studied, the guided tours are coordinated by Visitor Centres separate from the educational departments. The result can be a lack of professional guidance and support for the free-lance staff. However, some institutions are making efforts to motivate free-lancers to take part actively in discussions about new findings by historians, educational goals, pedagogical methodology etc., in order to bridge the gap between the employed educational staff and the free-lance staff.

Knowledge and training about human rights and HRE seem to be rare among staff at Holocaust-related institutions. This might be one of the reasons why HRE-approaches are seldom used at memorial sites and museums.

There is a need to develop concepts, methodologies and good practice for linking Holocaust education and HRE. Educators at memorial sites and museums, as well as teachers, need opportunities to gain a better understanding of what human rights education is. One way to achieve this is through including both learning about the Holocaust and learning about the history and present role of human rights in teacher education and training. In addition to this, international and national seminars, meetings and conferences where an exchange of ideas, methodology and concepts can take place, could foster understanding. National governments and ministries should actively organise such activities and promote participation in them. Also teacher training institutions could play a key role in connecting issues relating to both the Holocaust and human rights. Further research needs to be undertaken to ascertain to what extent existing pre-service training in subject areas such as history, literature, citizenship, civics and human rights already makes such connections.

7.5. Educational demands and institutional resources

There is a discrepancy between educational and public demands to pursue very different educational aims at memorial sites and museums and the financial means and time available to meet such demands. Yet all the ministries questioned attributed great importance to memorial sites and museums with regard to students’ education. Almost all the ministries indicated that visits to relevant memorial sites and museums were paid for with public – state or municipal – funds. These assessments by the ministries conflict with those made by the institutions, which, with few exceptions, regard the support given for school group visits to memorial sites as in no way sufficient. Teachers

involved in the focus groups also repeatedly pointed out the difficulty they had in financing visits to memorial sites and museums.

Many memorial sites and museums offer educational programmes which go beyond the scope of guided tours. These programmes are obviously much more appropriate than guided tours for discussing lessons from history and addressing human rights issues. However, there is a lack of seminar rooms and space for educational activities within the exhibitions at most memorial sites and museums. If these conditions are not improved, the educational programmes cannot be offered to a greater number of young visitors.

In addition, time is regarded as a major obstacle with regard to on-site educational possibilities – and is repeatedly given as the reason why human right issues are not dealt with and HRE-appropriate methods not used. Many of the institutions resolve the tension that exists between demands and current reality by the conscious limitation of activities to the transmission of historical knowledge and understanding, in the hope that schools will embed the history of Nazi crimes and their effects in an appropriate educational context (though excursion preparation and follow-up). However, one fundamental problem is that although this may be hoped for, it cannot be guaranteed. This often makes it impossible to satisfy the demand to connect the transmission of historical knowledge with a feeling of empathy for historical figures and understanding of its relevance to present-day issues.

The institutions themselves, the students and teachers all report that it is the more time-intensive activities that have a lasting effect. From this finding one might expect to find a general effort to concentrate on the longer educational activities. However, this is far from the general picture. Most young visitors to memorial sites and Holocaust-related museums only take guided tours, without making use of the other educational programmes offered by many sites.

Many discussions also highlighted the limitations of memorial site and museum visits for school education. These limitations are often linked to the organisational capacity of schools, where time-consuming visits are a problem. Other organisational problems in schools include the new regulations for school examinations, a fragmented curriculum in which responsibilities for content and approach are often not clearly defined between teacher and head of department, and education through out-of-school activities being considered a destabilisation of the teaching schedule.

7.6. Links between Holocaust education and human rights education?

7.6.1. At school level

According to the students, the term ‘human rights’, is scarcely dealt with in everyday school life in a variety of countries. At the same time, there seems to be hardly any systematic development of human rights as a subject or attempts to develop a commitment to human rights in lessons. This finding is in clear contrast to the statements of all the EU states surveyed, in which HRE enjoys a clear priority within the framework of school education.

Supplementary national studies would be needed to assess whether teachers have the necessary competence to discuss human rights issues with their students, or to make appropriate connections between the history of the Holocaust and human rights.

Schools should take on the responsibility to promote learning about the Holocaust and human rights, and how the links between these two fields can be achieved. Teaching about the Holocaust, whether presented in a subject-specific, integrated or cross-curricular approach, can most effectively be connected to human rights issues if this period of history is discussed in a broad historical context and in relation to its significance to contemporary society.

Schools should promote and facilitate teachers’ participation in in-service training, conferences and seminars on the Holocaust and on human rights. In this context, schools should give teachers practical support where possible. This includes – but is not limited to – opportunities to adapt lesson plans and teaching strategies; engage in extra-curricular field trips; develop project-based activities; secure financial support for trips to memorial sites and museums; share experiences with other teachers and significant stakeholders; develop new school materials; collaborate with other teachers in the school on joint projects and establish relationships with human rights NGOs.

It is recommended that schools should adopt an approach that promotes multi-perspectivity and critical thinking, in cooperation with national (and local) institutions of teacher education and networks of HRE experts. Schools should promote interdisciplinary approaches that involve collaboration among all stakeholders in the school environment. In particular, this requires teachers from different subject areas to work together.

7.6.2. At the level of Holocaust-related sites and museums

The aims of the institutions surveyed are mainly the dissemination of knowledge about the Holocaust and in particular the specific history of the respective memorial sites. The most remarkable outcome of this evaluation is that only one of the institutions surveyed [Schloss Hartheim] cited the alternative ‘Awareness about Human Rights’ as their most important aim. It became particularly apparent in the student focus group interviews, and also in all areas of this study, that there are currently no clear links between Holocaust education and HRE.⁵³

Concepts, methods, good practices and intercommunication between important stakeholders are still to be developed. The literature review also showed that there are essentially separate discourses on Holocaust education (or education at memorial sites) and HRE with hardly any links between them. Although HRE forms a point of reference for ‘learning from history’, and there are currently attempts in the field of Holocaust education to integrate the two concepts, this study demonstrates that at present only a small number of related pedagogical concepts and practical examples are in existence. There are only a few examples of knowledge exchange between educators at sites dealing with Holocaust education and those teaching HRE. Educators who are active in both fields seem to be extremely rare.

This observation should, however, not be seen solely as a shortcoming that needs to be put right in all cases. The institutions and individuals surveyed are certainly not of one opinion with regard to the need to combine Holocaust education and HRE at memorial sites and museums, and many had reservations regarding this approach. However, none of those interviewed considered Holocaust education to comprise confrontation with the past alone. There was broad consensus in all areas of the study that confrontation with the Holocaust also always touches on contemporary issues directly (e.g. talking about continuity of discrimination) or more indirectly (e.g. reflecting about the relevance of the Holocaust for students). Some of the institutions surveyed and visited in the course of this study do follow concepts that are very much designed to stimulate action, such as working to prevent contemporary genocides.

⁵³ It should be pointed out here that the teachers and students taking part in the focus groups were chosen because of their interest in the Holocaust and commitment to learning about it (and not because of their interest in human rights), and that the opening question was related to the Holocaust. Nonetheless, the fact that human rights were only rarely mentioned in either part of the focus group discussions indicates that the link between “Holocaust education” and HRE has barely been explored in theoretical or pedagogical terms.

At present, there are only few developed or tested pedagogical concepts that bring together the history of the Holocaust and contemporary issues, not to mention to implement and evaluate them on a regular basis. This study makes it clear that attempts to expand knowledge of human rights and make connections between Holocaust education and HRE need a broader focus than the memorial sites or museums can offer. Much of the work on linking Holocaust education and HRE needs to be done in schools. Visits to memorial sites and museums can stimulate, support and supplement such work.

The following experts contributed to the study: Ms Anna-Karin Johansson, Deputy Director and Head of department at the Living History Forum (LHF); Dr Wolf Kaiser, Director of educational division of the House of the Wannsee Conference and Deputy director of Memorial, Berlin; Dr Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, Director of the Center for Holocaust Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow; Professor Monique Eckmann, Professor at University of Applied Sciences of Western Switzerland, Genève; Mr Barry van Driel, International Director for Teacher Training and Curriculum Development at the Anne Frank House, Amsterdam; Ms Verena Haug, Diplom-Pädagogin at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main; Mr Paul Salmons, Head of Curriculum and Development of the Holocaust Education Development Programme at the Institute of Education, University of London; Dr Birgitta Löwander, project manager at LHF; Ms Eva Fried, project manager at LHF; Mr Christer Mattsson, project manager at LHF; Dr Oscar Österberg, project manager at LHF; Ms Christina Gamstorp, project manager at LHF; and Stefan Andersson, project manager at LHF.

Annex

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