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A CASE STUDY COMPARING GOOD PRACTICE IN THE USE OF PEDAGOGICAL RESOURCES IN HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND REPUBLIKA SRPSKA*

ABSTRACT: The aim of this study is to analyze good practice in teaching about the Holocaust, comparing the use of pedagogical resources in Republika Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and England (United Kingdom). The paper compares the use of three types of pedagogical resources used in history classes: fictional films, documentaries, and photographs of Holocaust atrocities. Comparison is drawn between a developing and post-conflict society (Republika Srpska) and the well-established and reputable English educational system. By cross-referencing teachers' and students' answers, the paper attempts to identify good practice of notable value to be shared and exchanged. The research method firstly incorporated questionnaires, followed by interviews and then lesson observation. Data revealed that teachers in both education systems do not appear to consider all the educational benefits of film screening. The way teachers from England use pictures of Holocaust atrocities and organization of school trips seem to be applicable to the context of Republika Srpska, as well as being useful for classroom practitioners beyond these two education systems.

KEYWORDS: Holocaust Education, History, Pedagogical Resources, Films, Republika Srpska, Photographs, Atrocities, England

Introduction

The last few decades have witnessed an increased interest in the topic of the Holocaust.¹ It might be sensible to assume that one of the consequences of this incremental attention is reflected in the proliferation of literature on how to present the topic in the classroom setting.

* The author would like to thank to Prof. Dr. Arthur Chapman (University College London) for valuable pieces of advice and stimulating discussions related to this research.

¹ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A history of Europe since 1945* (London: Pimlico, 2007), 3.

This paper compares the resources of the two educational systems, namely, of Republika Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and England (the United Kingdom). The analysis of pedagogical resources and how they are used in history classes may provide useful information to address several following aims of this research.

The first aim of this research lies with drawing a comparison across the two education systems offering good practice of Holocaust education. The justification of comparison lies with the fact that the present territory of Republika Srpska had the direct experience of occupation, deportation, and killing of Jews, whereas English experience significantly differs. Apart from that, it might be sensible to assume that teachers from Republika Srpska could benefit from the more developed English Holocaust education.

The second aim lies with cross-referencing the answers of teachers and students across both education systems with the hope that a proper notification and analysis of the discrepancies would have the potential to contribute to the quality of teaching and learning practices.

The third aim of the research focuses on the exchange of good practices between the two systems. It goes without saying that some of these practices might be of use to classroom practitioners beyond these two education systems.

A detailed study conducted in 2015 reveals diverse educational approaches across one hundred thirty-five countries.² This large-scale project includes only a comparison of textbooks and curricula; as such it cannot provide a more detailed picture of educational practices. However, no aspects of the Republika Srpska's Holocaust education were involved in this study nor in any other international comparative study. Therefore, the fourth aim of this paper is to address this research gap and make an initial contribution to the literature of the Republika Srpska, exploring the use of three pedagogical resources. The pedagogical resources selected for this small-scale comparative study are the resources commonly used by educators in England when teaching about the Holocaust. These are: fiction films, documentaries, and photographs of Holocaust atrocities.³ The benefits of using each of the three pedagogical resources are touched upon in the rest of this section.

There are conflicting views on the benefits of screening fiction films in the classroom. Certain academics warn that many of the fictional films convey historically inaccurate information, which may be memorized by students as the truth, even when given warning of any inaccuracies.⁴ This might be problematic, as any inaccuracy in historical knowledge prevents students from under-

² Peter Carrier, Eckhardt Fuchs and Torben Messinger, *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust. A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula* (Paris: UNESCO, 2015).

³ Alice Pettigrew et al., *Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools: An Empirical Study of National Trends, Perspectives and Practice* (London: Holocaust Education Development Programme, Institute of Education, University of London, 2009), 47.

⁴ Andrew C. Butler et al., "Using Popular Films to Enhance Classroom Learning, The Good, the Bad, and the Interesting", *Psychological Science*, XX, no. 9, (2009), 1162–1165.

standing the Holocaust in all of its complexity.⁵ On the other hand, there are many arguments in favor of using fictional films, as they provide an opportunity for teaching both critical thinking and media literacy.⁶ The academics in this camp emphasized that a high order of thinking should be the aim of the film screening activity. Another teaching and learning activity may include a critical film analysis against historical facts that students already know.⁷

Opinions differ equally when it comes to using Holocaust related documentaries. There are academic voices claiming that most of documentaries have the purpose of persuading the audience to accept a particular point of view.⁸ Nonetheless, this downfall seems to be a good opportunity for sharpening students' critical thinking. As per academics Alan Marcus and Jeremy Stoddard, one of the main tasks of students should be to evaluate why a particular perspective was selected in a film.⁹ Explaining teaching methodology further, they explained that the question of how the music has been used to evoke emotions might be discussed. Similarly, the discussion about interviews for the purpose of provoking emotions might be particularly relevant to teaching the Holocaust.¹⁰

Academics differ on whether and how to use a potentially disturbing photograph of Holocaust atrocities in the classroom. Many education researchers argue against showing students disturbing photographs, as they are more likely to cause harm than educational benefit.¹¹ On the other hand, certain teachers and academics argue that it is better to learn about the Holocaust in the classroom settings and from a wise and prepared teacher rather than in some other life situations.¹² Dr. Ruth Anne Lenga and Dr. Paul Salmons are among the academics that give precise suggestions and examples of how atrocity pictures can be used meaningfully to develop a complex Holocaust analysis.¹³ Dr.

⁵ Stuart Foster, "To what extent does the acquisition of historical knowledge really matter when studying the Holocaust?", in: *Holocaust Education in the Twenty-first Century: Challenges and controversies*, editors: Stuart Foster, Andy Pearce, Alice Pettigrew (London: UCL Press, 2020), 40–43.

⁶ Jeremy Stoddard and Alan Marcus, "More Than Showing What Happened": Exploring the Potential of Teaching History with Film", *The High School Journal*, XCIII, no. 2, (2010), 83–90.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 83–90.

⁸ Jill Godmilow and Ann-Louise Shapiro, "How real is the reality in documentary film?", *History and Theory*, XXXVI, no. 4, (1997), 82.

⁹ Alan Marcus and Jeremy Stoddard, "The Inconvenient Truth about Teaching History with Documentary Film: Strategies for Presenting Multiple Perspectives and Teaching Controversial Issues", *The Social Studies*, C, no. 6, (2009), 281–282.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 282–283.

¹¹ Elaine Culbertson, "A reflection on the use of iconic Holocaust resources", in: *Essentials of Holocaust education: Fundamental issues and approaches*, editors: Samuel Totten and Stephen Feinberg (New York: Routledge, 2016), 143; Ruth Anne Lenga, "Seeing things differently: The use of atrocity images in teaching about the Holocaust", in: *Holocaust Education in the Twenty-first Century: Challenges and controversies*, 199–200.

¹² Simone Schweber, "Here There is No Why: Holocaust Education at a Lubavitch Girls' Yeshiva", *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, XIV, no. 2, (2008), 156–185.

¹³ R. A. Lenga, *op. cit.*, 205–208; Paul Salmons, "Universal meaning or historical understanding? The Holocaust in history and history in the curriculum", *Teaching History*, CXLI, no. December, (2010), 62–63.

Paul Salmons argues in favor of showing a photograph taken by the Jewish Sonderkommando, showing the burning of bodies. Instead of discussing the monstrosity of the picture, students are supposed to consider the risk that the photographer was taking to record the events. The photograph in question is an act of resistance.¹⁴ This is one of the methods of how Dr. Paul Salmons suggests avoiding the perpetrator-centered perspective. This perspective entails the inadequate use of sources made by the Nazis, which might reinforce their ideology as being educationally detrimental. Avoiding this perspective means giving voice to the victims and appreciating their experience.¹⁵

Methodology

Research Design

This research consists of three parts. First, a questionnaire was used to gain insight into teacher and student opinions and practices. In the second phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers from England and the Republika Srpska. Lastly, observation of two history classes in both the education systems has provided some useful data.

The mixed-method approach has been selected, having in mind the benefits of cross-referencing qualitative and quantitative data.¹⁶ Questions for the interviews are formulated in such a manner as to allow for qualitative data to complement the findings from the questionnaires. Students are included in the research in order to gain a fuller understanding of Holocaust education of the educational systems in question.

With the goal of gaining fuller insights into the relevant pedagogic strategies, students and teachers from two programs – national and international – have been included in the research. The International Baccalaureate Diploma Program has been selected, given that it is the only international program offered in Republika Srpska.

It is reasonable to assume that the term “good practice”, in other words, the good practice of teaching about the Holocaust, has a different meaning for different teachers and academics. Nonetheless, there is no universally accepted criterion for determining the exact characteristics of a good Holocaust teaching practice.¹⁷ With-

¹⁴ P. Salmons, *op. cit.*, 62.

¹⁵ Friederike Lorenz et al., *German Teachers Learning about the Shoah in Israel An Ethnography of Emotional Heritage and Contemporary Encounters* (Jerusalem: Wuppertal, 2021), 58–60; Jeffrey C. Blutinger, “Bearing Witness: Teaching the Holocaust from a Victim-Centered Perspective”, *The History Teacher*, XLII, no. 3, (2009), 270.

¹⁶ David Scott and Marlene Morrison, *Key ideas in educational research* (London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006), 155; Philip H. J. Davies, “Spies as Informants: Triangulation and the Interpretation of Elite Interview Data in the Study of the Intelligence and Security Services”, *Politics*, XXI, no. 1, (2001), 74–78.

¹⁷ Jane Lesley Clements, “Difficult Knowledge: Possibilities of Learning in Holocaust Education” (doctoral thesis, University of London, Institute of Education, 2010), 186–197.

out universally accepted criteria, the two main characteristics of good practices in Holocaust education are determined for the sake of this paper: first, these are practices/schools that pay particular attention to teaching about the Holocaust; second, the schools that enjoy a reputation or official recognition for doing it successfully.

We have selected the National and International Baccalaureate Diploma Program, the only school in Republika Srpska that offers both. Furthermore, it enjoys a good reputation as the largest and oldest school in Republika Srpska. Even more importantly, all of the teachers have attended Holocaust-related seminars in Yad Vashem and similar academic institutions. The selection of the Republika Srpska school has predetermined the selection of the corresponding English school with a similar status. Eventually, the school that pays particular attention to Holocaust education, closely collaborating with the University College London's Centre for Holocaust Education, was selected as a counterpart. The school shares staff with the Center, enabling the teachers/professors to create and then implement new pedagogical resources. The third school is a very reputable International Baccalaureate school in London. Given that the school is attended by many students with physical disabilities, Holocaust education has been identified as one of the teaching priorities. It has also come to my attention that students' average history mark is among the best in London.

Sampling

Thirty-two history students from Republika Srpska and twenty-one students from England filled out the questionnaires. Both questionnaire and interview data were derived from the responses of four history teachers from Republika Srpska and four teachers from England, teaching the same subject. Given that the focus of this paper is on good practices of Holocaust education, we have used purposive sampling.

Limitations and Ethics

The validity of the quantitative research with small samples is limited.¹⁸ Even though the sample size of the data presented in this paper is relatively limited, the study aims to provide descriptive findings of the good practices in Holocaust education and is not intended for generalizations. On the other hand, it should be noted that the research is focused on "good practice," the examples of which are rare within the developing society of Republika Srpska. This is why small samples seem a reasonable choice.

The fact that teachers have different Holocaust-related classes at their disposal represents another limitation to the research. While history teachers in Republika Srpska have only one tightly defined history lesson (45 minutes) at their disposal, their colleagues from England have much more time and flexibility in their approach to the Holocaust.

¹⁸ Colin Robson and Kieran McCartan, *Real World Research: A Resource for Users in Social Research Methods in Applied Settings* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 55.

The research complied with rigorous ethical standards, obtaining the University College London Ethics Approval. The names of the participants and their institutions have been anonymized. Participants' voluntary informed consent to be involved in the study was obtained at the start of the study. Participants were informed that they could withdraw their consent for any reason and at any time.

Results and Discussion

What fictional films do teachers use and how?

In their questionnaires teachers were asked to specify the names of fictional films that they used as a pedagogical resource (Table 1).

The names of the films	Republika Srpska	England
None	2	1
Schindler's List	1	1
The Pianist	1	0
La vita e bella	1	1
Jasenovac	1	0
God and the Croats	1	0
The Boy in the Striped Pajamas	0	1

Table 1 – The number of teachers screening fictional films when teaching the Holocaust

The questionnaires revealed that three out of four teachers from England use films as a pedagogical resource. These findings correspond to the research by Pettigrew et al. (2009) confirming the high level of teachers' reliance on films.¹⁹

On the other hand, the interview findings revealed that the teachers in Republika Srpska rarely used the films they named in their questionnaires. Two of the International Baccalaureate teachers in Republika Srpska did not use fictional films at all. On the other hand, a national program teacher stated that she rarely used films due to time constraints. In the rare event that she did, she screened "La vita e bella", "The Pianist", and "Schindler's List". Another national program teacher sometimes screened the films "Jasenovac" and "God and the Croats" because they focus primarily on the genocide and persecution of the Serbs. They explained that they made certain links between the Holocaust and the persecution of the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia.²⁰ It seems that the national and historical context has an impact on teachers' selections of films.

¹⁹ A. Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, 47.

²⁰ The monstrosities of the Ustashas against the Serbs were extremely cruel, influencing numerous reactions of Italian authorities. For more detail see: Данило Ковач, „Хрватско-италијанске несугласице лета 1941“, Војно-историјски гласник, 2, (2019), 127–128.

It seems that the teachers in Republika Srpska do not appreciate the educational benefits of fictional films. Nonetheless, given that national program teachers have just one class at their disposal, incorporating films in the classroom activity without all the necessary explanations seems impractical. Surprisingly, International Baccalaureate teachers, having more freedom in organizing classroom activities, do not use this pedagogical approach, even as a homework activity. This might be a missed opportunity to develop students' general knowledge, as some of the films related to the Holocaust are successful films. Furthermore, broadening students' horizons is in line with the International Baccalaureate educational goals.²¹

When it comes to interviews with the teachers from England, all of them simply repeated what they had stated in questionnaires. Two of them reported using fictional films to “discuss historical processes” or “to broaden students' knowledge”. The third teacher uses films as an introduction activity.

The fourth teacher from England was more elaborate. He explained that students watched “The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas” in English language classes at his school and that is why he did not screen any film in history classes. However, if a history teacher does not first challenge historical inaccuracies which emerge as a result of students' exposure to this media, he might experience difficulties in developing students' historical knowledge.²² This seems to be particularly applicable to “The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas,” given that the film contains many historical inaccuracies.²³ Apart from this, the response of the teacher reveals the existence of the inter-curricular teaching of the Holocaust in his school, as the topic is addressed through both, history and English language classes.

None of the teachers reported using fictional films to develop students' critical thinking, which is a significant advantage of this pedagogical resource.²⁴ Nonetheless, it is not clear what teachers mean by “discussing historical facts” or “broadening students' knowledge”, which represents a limitation to these findings. Apart from that, none of the teachers screened fictional films during my observation of Holocaust related classes.

How do teachers use documentaries?

All of the teachers reported in their questionnaire that they used documentaries when teaching the Holocaust. In the interview, teachers from Republika Srpska explained their methodology. A national program teacher said she recommended a documentary to her students, or screened it in the classroom from a laptop. Another national program teacher said she screened extracts of

²¹ International Baccalaureate educational goals are presented on their official website. <https://www.ibo.org/benefits/>

²² A. C. Butler et al., *op. cit.*, 1162.

²³ Darius Jackson, “I know it's not really true, but it might just tell us...”: The troubled relationship between *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* and understanding about the Holocaust”, in: *Holocaust Education in the Twenty-first Century: Challenges and controversies*, 139–141.

²⁴ J. Stoddard and A. Marcus, *op. cit.*, 83–90.

the documentary, usually a testimony, and then prepared related questions for students to answer. Both teachers remarked that they did not screen documentaries often because of the time constraints. An International Baccalaureate teacher stated that she prepared questions for students to answer. Another International Baccalaureate teacher used film extracts to enable students to visualize the content of his teaching. Explaining his methodology, he said:

“I show extracts from German films financed by the Nazi state. I also use films recorded by the Allies when they liberated the camps, but I try to make a careful selection. I feel that the film *The Triumph of the Will*, can be used. On the one hand it strengthens Germanhood and on the other hand it promotes anti-Semitism. These two processes were simultaneous. The films are examples of what I am talking about.”

(Interview with a teacher from Republika Srpska, Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 6/6/19)

As one of the national program teachers reported, recommending such media to students without providing the necessary explanations might be problematic as there are academic voices warning that documentaries could reinforce particular points of view.²⁵ On the other hand, using Nazi propaganda films, such as *The Eternal Jew*, might be problematic, as it may reinforce perpetrator-centered perspectives and possibly anti-Semitic views.

My experience as head of the History Department in the Republika Srpska's school, says that teachers do not rely on documentaries because of time constraints.

Teachers in England reported using the same methodology. All of them stopped documentaries to start discussions.

The interviewed teachers from both English and Republika Srpska education systems have shown little awareness of the educational downfalls that screening documentaries might entail, as these films might have the purpose of persuading the audience to a particular point of view.²⁶ It was just the quoted International Baccalaureate teacher from Republika Srpska who showed a clear awareness of developing critical thinking while watching documentaries. It might be sensible to assume that his analysis of “different perspectives” entail educational benefits in that respect. Furthermore, none of the interviewed teachers have shown the awareness of the potential of documentaries for developing students' media literacy and critical thinking, which is a significant educational benefit of the pedagogical resource.²⁷

The observation of the classes devoted to documentary screening would increase the reliability of these findings, as none of the teachers screened a film during my observation of the Holocaust classes.

²⁵ J. Godmilow and A-L Shapiro, *op. cit.*, 82–83.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁷ A. Marcus and J. Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 281–282.

What are teachers' opinions of photos showing Holocaust atrocities?

In the questionnaires, teachers were asked if they used either photos or video footage of Holocaust atrocities. The questionnaire responses, presented in Table 2, revealed a stronger reliance of the teachers in England on this pedagogical resource.

Teachers' stance	Republika Srpska	England
Teachers use photos	2	4
Teachers do not use photography	2	0

Table 2 – Teacher's stance on using photos of atrocities for teaching about the Holocaust

In the interview, the teachers of Republika Srpska elaborated on their opinions. The first teacher said that disturbing images should not be shown to students, explaining that the final result was death, and information with regards to how people were killed is irrelevant.²⁸ The teacher further explained that these atrocities were even more stressful, given that the Serbs were killed in a similar way, which is another reference of the teachers from Republika Srpska to national and historical context. Instead of photos, she proposed using paintings, made by Holocaust survivors. In the same context, the teacher touched upon her methodology when preparing an exhibition with her students (Figure 1).



Figure 1 – The rewarded poster from the exhibition of the students from Republika Srpska

²⁸ It might be sensible to assume that the way someone is killed is not irrelevant, as the first of the interviewed teachers said. To the contrary, it might be very important for both dealing with many historical questions, such as the nature of the Nazi regime.

“I devoted six classes to the Holocaust, after which the students prepared an exhibition. They were supposed to exhibit, in any way they liked, everything they learned about the Holocaust from Jewish life before the Holocaust to the return to normal life after it. We had an exhibition of their artwork, photography, and literary work.”

(Interview with a teacher from Republika Srpska, Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 7/6/19)

Another teacher from Republika Srpska argues in favor of showing pictures to students, even though she admitted it might be distressing:

“In that way I spare myself, since as I said, photography speaks for itself. The content has to be shown as it simply shows what was happening”.

(Interview with a teacher from Republika Srpska, Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 7/6/19)

The assumption of this teacher seems to be problematic, as arousing emotions without a contextual explanation causes more harm than benefit. Apart from that, pictures of atrocities without any further explanation might place focus on the perpetrator-centered perspective.²⁹

The third teacher from Republika Srpska said he used photographs made by the Nazis, always chronologically, to complement his teaching about the atrocities. He said he chose them carefully. It should be noted, again, that the photos made by the Nazis might reinforce a perpetrator-centered perspective.

The fourth teacher from Republika Srpska elaborated on her opinion and methodology in more detail:

“No, I use only photos of the transport. It is also upsetting as prisoners were traveling for several days, very hungry. I use photos of when they arrived at Auschwitz. I also use some photos of people waiting to go to the crematoria. Their faces can be seen. I do not show pictures of the wounds, parts of the body and dead bodies, as it could put students off from studying the topic.”

(Interview with a teacher from Republika Srpska, Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 6/6/19)

It might be reasonable to assume that the way the following teacher (a teacher from England) uses photos shows how this pedagogical resource can be used meaningfully. It seems that the experiences of the teacher can be useful for the educators of Republika Srpska. The teacher showed the awareness of the importance of avoiding the perpetrator-centered perspective and the potential of photos to stimulate educationally beneficial conversations.

“There are some examples where I do use photographs to open up different conversations. A Sondercommando secretly took a picture of the place where the bodies were burned. On the one hand, it is a horrific image of burning bodies with a warning not to use it with students. On the other hand, it can open up a conversation about why was it taken and by whom. It was taken as an act of resistance. It was buried in the ground in Auschwitz with an accompany-

²⁹ P. Salmons, *op. cit.*, 60.

ing letter describing what had happened there. Showing that from the perpetrators point of view is quite different from showing it as an act of resistance. They were taking risks to produce this evidence and it undoubtedly meant something to them. It can open up conversations about the ways in which today we depict the Holocaust and how we choose to commemorate certain events.”

(Interview with a teacher from England, London, United Kingdom, 11/6/19)

In the course of the interview, the same teacher was asked about the Holocaust related exhibition in her school. The teacher was not informed in detail about how the exhibition materials were created, as students had prepared it with her colleague. The exhibition is presented in Figure 2.



Figure 2 – Exhibition of students in England

It might be sensible to assume that the exhibitions from England and Republika Srpska should be compared for the purpose of this paper. When it comes to the poster from Republika Srpska, there seem to be several aspects which are presented from the perpetrator-centered perspective. All the photographs in the second and third part of the poster are given from the perpetrator-centered perspective, which is not challenged in the text below the photographs. On the other hand, the perpetrator-centered perspective is not present in the exhibition made by the teachers and students from England. Further research and interviews with English teachers and students would disclose the symbolic meaning of the exhibition.

Another teacher from England showed an awareness that pictures of the Allies liberating the death camps might be traumatic to students. Nonetheless, he concluded that “talking about the Holocaust and not seeing the outcome of that is meaningless”. The teacher further explained that he tended to avoid the

perpetrator-centered perspective, using the pictures to open up both a historical and philosophical discussion.

The same argument about the necessity of avoiding the unwanted perspective was used by the third teacher from England, while the last one was more elaborate and explained the use of the disturbing images within the context of a school trip to Auschwitz.

“Yes. Both in textbooks and documentaries from the BBC History Channel there is a warning at the beginning of the video that some of the images may be disturbing. Similarly with a trip to Auschwitz, we cannot censor anything there. We walk through gas chambers, dormitories, incineration areas, and we go to museums where there are amputees, human hair, and things like that. We do not censor anything. We have a counselor present if we notice that a student is suffering during the trip and we take teachers who have been on the trip before. As a result we do not censor. We look at emaciated bodies, the gate entrance to Auschwitz, the gas chambers, the piles of bodies. The film we play in English language classes – ‘The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas,’ shows people going into gas chambers.”

(Interview with a teacher from England, London, United Kingdom, 11/6/19)

From my observation of the class meant to prepare students for the trip to Auschwitz, I could see that the teacher made an effort to prepare students, both academically and emotionally. Students were presented with what they will see on the trip, as well as with important technicalities. The fact that the teacher had the experience of leading groups of students on this kind of trip was evident. Furthermore, students were allocated professional guides in Auschwitz. It was evident that all of these precautionary measures were taken to decrease the possibility of students’ trauma while deepening their academic knowledge of this unprecedented event in human history. Furthermore, professional guides seem to take on the responsibility of encountering students with potentially traumatic contents.

The answer of the same teacher from England is the second reference to another important issue; that of inter-curricular teaching. This kind of approach that combines several teaching subjects or in this case history and English language classes with a school trip has the potential to explore many benefits of Holocaust education. This is in line with the argument made by Dr. Arthur Chapman, who pointed out that the Holocaust could be approached “in different and distinctive ways – for example, through ‘visual arts’ and ‘history’”.³⁰

It might be sensible to assume that the final stage of a thorough understanding of the Holocaust could be achieved not only through the abovementioned school subjects (history, languages, and arts) but also, through civic and religious education. The teachers of these subjects may draw on students’ historical knowledge to teach lessons beyond the Holocaust itself. Such an inter-curricular approach has the potential to touch upon the benefits of what Dr.

³⁰ Arthur Chapman, “Learning the Lessons of the Holocaust: A Critical Exploration”, in: *Holocaust Education in the Twenty-first Century: Challenges and controversies*, 54.

Arthur Chapman names “meta-learning.”³¹ Apart from that, the benefits of this approach are emphasized in the guidelines for teachers by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.³²

The school in Republika Srpska organizes trips to the former location of the Donja Gradina Concentration Camp. Nonetheless, my experience confirms that teachers do not undertake preparation activities in any school subject in relation to this. Apart from that, no inter-curricular approach to the topic exists in any Republika Srpska school.

What films have students seen?

In both questionnaires and interviews, students were asked to name any Holocaust- related films they had viewed outside the classroom (Table 3).

Film Title	Republika Srpska % (n)	England % (n)
None	43.75 (14)	14.28 (3)
Schindler’s List	28.12 (9)	38.09 (8)
The Pianist	9.37 (3)	14.28 (3)
The Boy in the Striped Pajamas	3.12 (1)	28.57 (6)
The Book Thief	3.12 (1)	4.76 (1)
Inglorious Bastards	3.12 (1)	0
La vita è bella	9.37 (3)	14.28 (3)
Defiance	3.12 (1)	0
The Diary of Anne Frank	12.5 (4)	9.52 (2)
Sara’s Key	3.12 (1)	9.52 (2)
A Documentary on Auschwitz	0.00	4.76 (1)
Not quite sure the names	0.00	9.52 (2)
Woman in Gold	0.00	9.52 (2)
Pigeon	0.00	14.28 (3)

Table 3 – Names of Holocaust related films viewed by students in Republika Srpska and England, the number and percentage of students who viewed the films

Even though the teachers in Republika Srpska tend not to screen films, the questionnaire data shows that 75% of the students did watch one of the fictional films related to the Holocaust. It seems to be important as misinformation from the media stands in the way of developing students’ contextual understanding.³³

³¹ *Ibid.*, 54–55.

³² Recommendations about teaching and learning about the Holocaust (International Holocaust Remembrance, 2019), 31. <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/inline-files/IHRA-Recommendations-Teaching-and-Learning-about-Holocaust.pdf> (accessed 16. 8. 2021).

³³ P. Salmons, *op. cit.*, 58–59.

The film Schindler's List seems to be the most commonly watched film by students in both Republika Srpska and England. On the other hand, there are academic voices warning against the film's historical inaccuracies.³⁴ Given that some of the interviewed teachers did not report challenging historical inaccuracies of fictional films, there is a risk of students' adopting a simplistic understanding of the Holocaust. In this context, it should be emphasized that a thorough historical knowledge is an essential precondition for understanding the Holocaust.³⁵

What are students' opinions of using atrocity pictures in the classroom?

Students were supposed to mark one of the five answers to the question of whether atrocity photographs should be used in the classroom. Their answers are presented in Table 4.

Students' answers	Republika Srpska % (n)	England % (n)
Completely agree	65.62 (21)	28.57 (6)
Mainly agree	28.12 (9)	57.14 (12)
Neutral	3.12 (1)	14.28 (3)
Mainly disagree	0	0
Completely disagree	3.12 (1)	0

Table 4 – The position of students from Republika Srpska and England on using pictures of Holocaust atrocities in the classroom

Cross-referencing the data of students and teachers in Republika Srpska reveals that 93% of the students found this pedagogical strategy to be useful, while half of the teachers tended to avoid it. On the other hand, both, teachers and students from England seemed to be in favor of using this pedagogical resource. The limitation of these findings lies in the fact that the term "atrocity images/photographs" is not completely clear. It might have various meanings, as different people are upset by different contents.³⁶

Drawing on students' initial interests might be crucial for learning outcomes, as one of the most important questions – the question of motivation – may be resolved at the very beginning.³⁷ This is in line with the academic voices arguing in favor of as much freedom for students as possible.³⁸

³⁴ Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder, "The institutionalization of cosmopolitan morality: the Holocaust and human rights", *Journal of Human Rights*, III, no. 2, (2004), 143–157.

³⁵ S. Foster, *op. cit.*, 46; Tom Lawson, "Britain's promise to forget: Some historiographical reflections on What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust?", *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, XXIII, no. 3, (2017), 352; David Cesarini, *Final solution: The fate of the Jews 1933–1949* (London: Macmillan, 2016), xxxi–xxxvi; Michael R. Marrus, *Lessons of the Holocaust* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016), 160.

³⁶ Carroll E. Izard, *The Psychology of Emotions* (New York: Plenum Press, 1991), 187.

³⁷ Richard Harris, "Does differentiation have to mean different?", *Teaching History*, CXVIII, no. March, (2005), 5–12.

³⁸ Kate Hammond, "Pupil-led historical enquiry: what might this actually be?", *Teaching History*, CXLIV, no. Sep, (2011), 44–50.

Conclusion

What are the main similarities and differences between the two education systems?

Contrary to the teachers from England, the educators from Republika Srpska seem to neglect the benefits of fictional films. This assumption can be made with a high degree of certainty, given that all the interviewed teachers from Republika Srpska either do not screen fictional films at all, or do it rarely. Surprisingly, the International Baccalaureate teachers are less willing to use fictional films even though their curriculum allows for more flexibility compared to the national program in Republika Srpska.

Another conclusion, which could be made from the analyzed data, is disturbing. The teachers from both education systems showed little or no consideration for the risk of students' memorizing the content of fictional films as truth. None of the eight teachers seem to challenge students' preconceptions of the Holocaust that were conceived by watching films outside the classroom. The above-mentioned pedagogical recommendations pertaining to critical film analysis might be useful for educators from both the education systems. Observation of classes devoted to film screening would increase the reliability of the conclusion.

Compared to fictional films, the teachers from both educational systems seem to be more willing and methodologically prepared to use documentaries. Nonetheless, the teachers from both systems showed limited consideration for documentaries as a powerful teaching resource in terms of developing media literacy. None of the teachers analyzed the selection of music and interviewees.

Students' preconceptions based on fictional films might be even more worrying in the context of Republika Srpska. This assumption is made by drawing on the fact that 75% of the Republika Srpska students reported watching Holocaust-related films not discussed in the classroom. According to the data presented in the paper, the film *Schindler's List* is by far the most commonly viewed film among both the students in Republika Srpska and England.

The data presented in this paper leads to quite a certain conclusion, which is that the teachers of Republika Srpska included in the research are less willing to use atrocity images, than their colleagues from England. It might be concluded with a lesser degree of certainty that the Republika Srpska's teachers want to spare not only the students but themselves as well from being exposed to stressful teaching contents. It might be sensible to assume that a seminar on using atrocity images in Holocaust education might be useful for teachers of Republika Srpska.

The national historical context is more evident in the responses of teachers from Republika Srpska, as the persecution/genocide against the Serbs was referred to three times by the interviewed teachers.

Teachers' responses about screening documentaries and the poster from Republika Srpska's students lead to the conclusion that the Republika Srpska teachers are more likely to succumb to perpetrator-centered perspective than their colleagues from England when teaching about the Holocaust.

What are the main discrepancies between the teachers' and students' answers?

As has not been the case in England, there are certain discrepancies in Republika Srpska between teachers' and students' opinions when it comes to photographs of Holocaust atrocities as a teaching aid. Unlike their teachers, the students hold this pedagogical resource in high regard. On the other hand, both, teachers and students from England are convincingly in favor of using photographs of Holocaust atrocities on the classroom walls.

What the two systems can learn from each other?

The way a teacher from England uses a Sondercommando's photograph might be useful for teachers of Republika Srpska who seem to struggle more with the methodology of using pictures of atrocities. Her teaching ideas are in line with the above-mentioned suggestions of Dr. Paul Salmons suggesting an even more elaborate teaching activity.

School trips have a potential value in exposing students to upsetting contents. A good English practice shows students are academically and emotionally more prepared in the classroom setting led by experienced teachers and they are subsequently allocated professional guides in the setting of a former concentration camp. This approach is applicable to the context of Republika Srpska when dealing with the genocide against the Serbs in World War II and a visit Donja Gradina or related exhibitions.

An inter-curricular approach to the Holocaust seems more present in English schools. Given that Republika Srpska has witnessed an increased educational interest in Holocaust education, it might be sensible to assume that curriculum designers should try to synchronize the curricula with the goal of addressing the Holocaust through the prism of different school subjects. In this context, history, Serbian language, foreign languages, philosophy, sociology, and the arts, should address different aspects of the Holocaust. Apart from that, the curricula designers should consider including the links between these subjects, or their pedagogical resources, so that students do not perceive them as separate boxes. It might be sensible to assume that the transfer of knowledge has a huge potential in this context.

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A CASE STUDY COMPARING GOOD PRACTICE IN THE USE
OF PEDAGOGICAL RESOURCES IN HOLOCAUST EDUCATION
IN ENGLAND AND REPUBLIKA SRPSKA

Summary

The aim of this study is to analyze good practice in teaching and learning about the Holocaust, comparing the use of pedagogical resources in Republika Srpska (Bosnia-Herzegovina) and England (United Kingdom). As it is the case with Bosnia-Herzegovina, the United Kingdom has several education systems. Contrary to the teachers from England, educators from Republika Srpska seem to neglect the benefits of fictional films. The teachers from both education systems showed little or no consideration for the risk of students' memorizing the content of fictional films as truth. Compared to fictional films, the teachers from both education systems seem to be more willing and methodologically prepared to use documentaries. Nonetheless, all the teachers showed limited consideration for the benefits of documentaries in terms of developing students' media literacy. Unlike in England, there are certain discrepancies in Republika Srpska between teachers' and students' opinions when it comes to photographs of Holocaust atrocities. Unlike their teachers, students in Republika Srpska hold this pedagogical resource in high regard. On the other hand, both, teachers and students from England are convincingly in favor of using photographs of Holocaust atrocities in the classroom. The way in which teachers from England use images of atrocities, organize school trips, and adopt an inter-curricular approach, might be useful not only for Republika Srpska's education, but also for many other educators teaching about the Holocaust. The influence of national historical experience in World War II is more evident in the context of Republika Srpska. The small sample of both teachers and students limits the generalizability of the conclusions. Another limitation lies in the fact that the teachers included in this research have a different number of Holocaust-related classes at their disposal.

KEYWORDS: Holocaust Education, History, Pedagogical Resources, Films, Republika Srpska, Photographs, Atrocities, England