

Faculté de philosophie, arts et lettres

Remembering the Second World War in Belgium and Britain: comparing the educational role of museums

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Master [120] en communication multilingue
Finalité spécialisée en langues des affaires

Université Catholique de Louvain

Faculté de philosophie, arts et lettres

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Mémoire réalisé par
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List of abbreviations

ABP	Armée Belge des Partisans
AJB	Association of Jews in Belgium
AL	Armée de la Libération
A-levels	Advanced-level certificate
AQA	Assessment and Qualifications Alliance
ARB	Association des Rescapés de Breendonk
ARP	Air Raid Precautions
AS	Armée Secrète
ASSVL	Algemene SS-Vlaanderen
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
BERG	Bureau des Enquêtes Raciques et Généalogiques
CAJFW	Centrale anti-Juifs pour la Flandre et la Wallonie
CCF	Corps de Cavalerie Français
CDJ	Committee for the Defence of Jews
CWR	Churchill War Rooms
DeVlag	Duits-Vlaamse Arbeidsgemeenschap
DfE	Department for Education
EDM	Etude du milieu
FédEFoC	Fédération de l'Enseignement Fondamental Catholique
FESeC	Fédération de l'Enseignement Secondaire Catholique
FI	Front de l'Indépendance
FWB	Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles
GCSEs	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HELC	Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre
IHRA	International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance
IWM	Imperial War Museum
JMB	Jewish Museum of Belgium
JML	Jewish Museum London
KD	Kazerne Dossin

KS(s)	Key Stage(s)
LC	Legal Council
LLDP	Ligue La Défense du Peuple
LW	Légion Wallonie
MJM	Manchester Jewish Museum
MNB	Mouvement National Belge
MNR	Mouvement National Royaliste
MP	Milices Patriotiques
MRA	Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire Militaire
NC	National Curriculum
NHCM	National Holocaust Centre and Museum
NWO	National Work Office
OCR	Oxford Cambridge and RSA
PoW('s)	Prisoner(s) of war
PSHEE	Personal, social, health and economic education
RAF	Royal Air Force
RAM	Royal Armouries Museum
SGEFWB	Service Général de l'Enseignement de la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles
SMSCE	Spiritual, moral, social and cultural education
SOE	Special Operations Executive
SSSVL	SS-Standaard Vlaanderen
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
VE Day	Victory in Europe Day
Verdinaso	Verbond van Dietsche Nationaal Solidaristen
VNV	Vlaams Nationaal Verbond
WB	Witte Brigade
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War
WWIIEC	Second World War Experience Centre

1. Introduction

Before the First World War (WWI), nation states formed the basic units of the international system and the principle of state sovereignty governed international relations with secret alliances between countries that allowed for a balance of power. At the end of WWI, collective awareness emerged that rules for the management of war and conflict between states were necessary. A formal mechanism for collective security, the League of Nations, was therefore created, but it was not successful. After the Second World War (WWII), considering the atrocities it led to and the creation of the nuclear weapon, war was no longer an option. It was in this 'never again' perspective that the United Nations were created in 1945 so that states could better manage their interdependence and cooperate. This was the beginning of a rules-based international order initially based on the East/West dichotomy that characterised the Cold War, and then also on the North/South dichotomy from the 1960s onwards. It enabled states to conclude multilateral agreements and ensured compliance with international law.

Nowadays, this rules-based international order is being challenged: the landscape of international organisations is more fragmented and there are no longer clear dividing lines such as the East/West and North/South dichotomies. Many other groupings are emerging, blurring the dividing lines. As a result, regional, sub-regional and supra-regional projects multiply. In this context, affirming one's power becomes a major issue for the great powers, such as China or the United States (US). Countries therefore conclude, as in Bismarck's time, more bilateral alliances and employ a diplomacy that tends to become more secret.

This undermining of the rules-based international order inherited from WWII has led to growing tensions in recent years. One example is the dispute between China and the Philippines in the South China Sea. The presence of Chinese military infrastructure in the Spratly Islands was brought to the Permanent Court of Arbitration of The Hague at the request of the Philippines and was found to be illegal, but China refuses to implement the Court's decision. Another example is the Trump administration, which chose to move away from multilateral agreements and decided to negotiate US trade agreements bilaterally with each country on a case-by-case basis, thereby degrading US relations with China. More recently, the war led by Russia in Ukraine is another example.

These growing tensions between countries show that it is now more important than ever to keep the memory of WWII alive, to learn the lessons of this event, and to prevent a global conflict from happening again. This need tallies with the notion of 'devoir de mémoire', often translated as 'duty to remember', as defined by Zielinski (2015). The author indeed explains that the term refers to "the exhortation not to forget the crimes of the past so that they cannot be replayed in our contemporary societies." [our translation] (Zielinski, 2015: 27)

Beyond the importance of the 'duty to remember' linked to the growing international tensions in our contemporary society, another element demonstrates why it is currently important to continue to transmit the memory of WWII. According to Assmann (as cited in Weill, 2002), eighty to one hundred years after an event, the last survivors of this event disappear, consequently eliminating the possibility of transmitting the memory of the event in a purely oral manner. Cultural memory then takes over the transmission role of oral memory. Regarding WWII, the 80th anniversary of the war's end is close, and the last survivors are disappearing little by little. Therefore, it is more important than ever to continue to pass on the memory of WWII to future generations in the public sphere.

The reasons why it is important to pass on the memory of WWII to future generations have now been established. The question of how, and more precisely via which means, this memory can be transmitted remains. Commemoration is, according to Malausséna (2002), "a place for writing a chapter of collective memory". [our translation] (Malausséna, 2002: 81) Considering this definition, it is therefore interesting to look at the means that are used to pass on collective memory; among them are the 'lieux de mémoire', translated as 'sites of memory'.

Pierre Nora, a French author who popularised the term in his book of the same name in 1984, defines 'sites of memory' as places in which "a commemorative consciousness subsists". [our translation] (Nora, 1984: XXIV) 'Sites of memory' are therefore not exclusively places in the geographical meaning of the term. According to Nora (1993), a 'site of memory' is indeed "an abstract, purely symbolic notion, intended to bring out the memorial dimension of objects that may be material, but also and above all immaterial, such as formulas, mottos, key words". [our translation] (Nora, 1993: 8) The author also cites as 'sites of memory' "museums, archives, cemeteries and collections, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, minutes, monuments, shrines, associations". [our translation] (Nora, 1984: XXIV).

Among these 'sites of memory', the decision was made to analyse, in the framework of this research, how WWII is commemorated in museums. Museums were not chosen at random. Besides being 'sites of memory' as defined by Nora, museums are indeed also places of knowledge transmission and places of education. Denauw (2012) defines the museum as "an educational instrument that uses the same reference points and pedagogical tools as teaching and that makes it possible to illustrate knowledge that relates to the objectives of academic curricula". [our translation] (Denauw, 2012: 89) Moreover, according to Lucas (as cited in Jacobi & Coppey, 1995), schools and museums interact, as museums can reinforce the learning done in school, and vice versa. As 'sites of memory' and places of education, museums thus not only allow the memory of WWII to be passed on to future generations, but also allow to understand this past event. This last point is highly important because it would not be relevant to remember an event that we do not know about or understand. This necessity to know about and understand an event for its memory to be lasting is underlined by Foster (2020). Besides analysing WWII commemorative practices in museums, this dissertation will therefore also seek to identify the pedagogical practices that are used in museums to tackle WWII.

2. Methodology

As previously stated, this paper will study the commemorative and educational practices that are linked to WWII in museums. The framework of this research is limited to Belgian and English museums. This research will more precisely analyse the commemoration of WWII in the permanent exhibitions of Belgian and English museums.

Moreover, considering the educational character of museums as described above, this master thesis will also analyse the educational resources about WWII provided by museums. In addition, this research will seek to determine whether a link exists between educational resources provided by museums and the Belgian and English school curricula.

Finally, there will be a particular focus on the theme of the Holocaust. The Holocaust is indeed an aspect of WWII which is a key event in world history, and which affected all societies due to its dramatic and traumatic character. (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance [IHRA], 2019) Moreover, the Holocaust is, on the one hand, the only compulsory

subject in the English National Curriculum (NC) for the 20th century period (Foster, 2020). On the other hand, according to Foster (2020), although the subject is compulsory, English teachers find it difficult to deal with such a complex and emotional subject in the classroom. Moreover, these teachers are not given formal guidelines on what to teach about the Holocaust, or on how and why they should teach it. A survey conducted by the Institute of Education in 2009 revealed that two thirds of the surveyed teachers were not able to define the Holocaust correctly. Most of them were confused about the purpose of teaching the subject, and the approach chosen was often centred around Hitler and the persecutors, presenting the victims as a mass of people who were killed rather than as individuals. (Foster, 2020) Concerning Belgium, the Holocaust is also part of Belgian school curricula. In addition, the IHRA (2019) highlights the challenging nature of teaching the Holocaust for teachers from all countries, and the general lack of knowledge and understanding of the theme. Due to this deficiency, the international association wrote an advisory document for the teaching of the Holocaust. Taking these shortcomings of the education system into consideration, the pedagogical role of museums in relation to teaching the Holocaust is even more important. Museums could indeed help teachers to learn more about the subject on the one hand and complement and/or contrast what is learned in the classroom on the other hand.

2.1. Limitations

It is important to mention that the framework of this research does not cover the entire United Kingdom (UK) but is limited to the case-study of England, in comparison with the Belgian case. This does not in any sense reveal a lack of interest in the other countries that are part of the UK, that is Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, but this choice was made because it was necessary to limit the amount of data that would be analysed in the context of this research. Moreover, two academic reasons can explain that choice. On the one hand, Zielinski (2015) points out that museum practices related to WWII in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland are similar to English museum practices. On the other hand, school curricula are different in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. However, it would be interesting to further analyse commemorative and pedagogical practices in museums of the other UK countries and to compare them with the English ones in another study.

2.2. Research questions

This paper will concentrate on three research questions. First, which aspects of WWII are commemorated in the permanent exhibitions of English and Belgian museums? For England, the starting hypothesis assumes that the events that would mainly be commemorated in museums are the events that, according to Finney (2018), are considered as iconic in Britain, that is the Evacuation of Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain and the Blitz, including daily life of civilians during those events, and the D-Day landings. Furthermore, the moral values that arose from these events during the war are still considered to form an integral part of British identity today (Noakes & Pattinson, 2014). Besides these events, the starting hypothesis also assumes that the Holocaust, which had a profound impact on world history, would also be represented in permanent exhibitions in English museums, including the Kindertransport, that is the evacuation of Jewish children from Europe to Britain. The situation for Belgium is different: on the one hand, the country was occupied by the German invaders during the war; on the other hand, there are no moral values that are linked to certain aspects of WWII that are still considered as defining what it means to be Belgian today. The starting hypothesis is therefore different and assumes that the events that would mainly be commemorated in permanent exhibitions in Belgian museums are the events that took place on Belgian soil and the events that directly impacted the Belgian population. These events include the 18 Days' Campaign, daily life under the German occupation, including the Resistance and collaboration, the Holocaust in Belgium, that is the deportation of Jews from Belgium, the Battle of the Bulge, and the liberation. The objective is to determine whether these major events are commemorated in the respective museums of the two countries or not, and to establish whether other aspects of the war are also commemorated.

Second, this research will focus on pedagogical resources and activities about WWII that are provided by English and Belgian museums. What are the general pedagogical practices in the museum landscape of both countries? What type of pedagogical activities and resources are offered? Which aspects of WWII are tackled in these pedagogical resources and activities? Is there a link between the aspects of WWII that are dealt with and the respective national school curricula?

Finally, in connection with the Holocaust, the approach that is used to tackle the subject in English and Belgian museums which have a permanent exhibition about that theme will be analysed in greater depth. Is the perspective neutral? Or is there a focus on victims, heroes, or perpetrators? Is the role of the English and Belgian national authorities dealt with in permanent exhibitions or is it hidden? What about the educational resources and activities offered in these museums about the Holocaust?

2.3. Data collection

2.3.1. Theoretical framework

2.3.1.1. Historical context

All readers might not be familiar with the historical events that are cited in the starting hypothesis to the first research question that this dissertation seeks to answer. A historical context will therefore briefly describe them, with the aim of enabling any reader to understand the importance of these aspects of WWII in Belgian and English history, consequently enabling the reader to understand the reason why it was determined in the hypothesis that these aspects should supposedly be commemorated in Belgian and English museums. This historical context will also help to better understand and/or recall the magnitude of the Holocaust, and therefore to reinforce the decision that was made to put a particular focus on this major event of world history in the third research question. To write this historical context, various historical studies and specialised websites have been consulted.

2.3.1.2. School curricula

With the aim of determining whether a link exists between pedagogical practices in museums and the Belgian and English national school curricula, the Belgian history school curricula and the English NC for history were also analysed. These school curricula were consulted on the websites of the competent national institutions, that is the websites of Wallonie-Bruxelles Enseignement (www.wbe.be/) and of the Secrétariat Général de l'Enseignement Catholique (SeGEC) (www.enseignement.catholique.be/) for Belgium, and for England, the Department for Education (DfE) publications made available on the UK government website (www.gov.uk).

2.3.2. Museums

Before being able to analyse the content related to WWII in museums, whether in terms of permanent exhibitions or educational resources and activities, it was first necessary to determine which museums would be analysed.

Regarding Belgium, museums tackling WWII were selected on the basis of Google searches, particularly using the keywords 'Belgique', 'musée' and 'Seconde Guerre Mondiale'. Sites listing Belgian tourist activities such as www.walloniebelgiquetourisme.be or www.dekust.be were useful to confirm the relevance of the Google search results and to exclude major omissions. In the absence of a single reliable source that states the exact number of museums tackling WWII in Belgium, it cannot be claimed that the list of Belgian museums that was established is completely exhaustive.

Concerning England, the number of museums addressing WWII was much larger, making it difficult to establish the most complete list possible based on Google searches alone. Therefore, with the aim of establishing a relevant list, the online database of the website www.historic-uk.com was consulted. This database lists a very large number of museums in the UK. The websites of each museum listed on www.historic-uk.com were then consulted, allowing us to list the English museums that address WWII in their permanent exhibitions, in their educational practices, or both. However, like the list of Belgian museums, and in the absence of a single reliable source listing all the museums that deal with WWII in England, it cannot be claimed that the list of English museums that was established is exhaustive. Nevertheless, the sample of museums selected for Belgium and for England gives a good idea of the museum landscape in both countries.

The lists of Belgian and English museums tackling WWII that were established can be consulted in the appendices. (cf. appendices 1 & 2) Besides listing museums, they also outline the aspects of WWII that are addressed in the permanent exhibitions, the pedagogical resources and activities about WWII that are offered in museums, and the possible links to the school curricula.

2.4. Data analysis

With the aim of answering the first research question, the established lists of museums will be used to determine which aspects of WWII are predominantly commemorated in Belgian and English museums. A comparison will then be drawn with the aim of determining whether the aspects that are mainly tackled are the same as those that are described in the historical context and that were chosen in the starting hypothesis to the first research question. If themes that were not included in the starting hypothesis are also commemorated in the permanent exhibitions of Belgian and English museums, they will be mentioned.

In an attempt to answer the second research question, the lists of museums will also be used to identify the main educational practices about WWII in Belgian and English museums. Based on these lists, figures will be established following those criteria:

- Museums displaying a permanent exhibition about WWII and offering pedagogical activities and/or resources about that theme
- Museums displaying a permanent exhibition about WWII but not offering pedagogical activities and/or resources about that theme
- Museums not displaying a permanent exhibition about WWII but offering pedagogical activities and/or resources about that theme
- Museums offering pedagogical activities and/or resources about WWII that explicitly mention the links to the national school curricula on their websites

It is worth mentioning that the figures that will be established do not in any sense constitute a precise and complete statistical analysis. As the lists of Belgian and English museums are not, as stated above, exhaustive, it would not be relevant to conduct purely quantitative research. Rather than being an end in themselves, the figures that will be established are therefore simply a means of identifying the major educational trends in museums.

In addition, also based on the lists of Belgian and English museums, the type of pedagogical activities and resources that are offered and the themes that they tackle will also be identified. In connection with the themes, a comparison will be drawn in order to determine whether they match the aspects of WWII that are mentioned in Belgian and English school curricula.

Finally, for the purpose of answering the third research question, Belgian and English museums from the lists that tackle the subject of the Holocaust in their permanent exhibitions will be selected and further analysed. This in-depth analysis aims at determining whether the approach that is used to tackle that subject is the same in Belgian museums as in English ones. This detailed analysis will also make it possible to establish whether the intervention or non-intervention of the Belgian and British authorities in the unfolding of the 'Final Solution' is mentioned in the museums' exhibitions. Particular attention will also be paid to the educational activities and resources offered by these museums about the Holocaust, in order to determine which educational practices are used to talk about this theme in museums.

3. Historical context: the Second World War in Belgium

Before discussing the aspects of the war that impacted Belgium and Britain, it is important to understand the broader context in which WWII developed.

Hitler's aim was to establish a 'Greater Germany', going even beyond Germany's borders as they existed before 1918. Therefore, Hitler annexed Austria in March 1938. In September of the same year, he invaded the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, before invading the rest of the country in March 1939. Britain and France failed to respond adequately, which encouraged Hitler to also invade Poland. The reaction of Britain and France to the invasion of Poland on 1st September 1939 was different. Britain, under Prime Minister Chamberlain, issued an ultimatum to Germany to withdraw, and declared war on 3rd September. This declaration was more political than military: Britain did indeed not directly intervene to stop the invasion in Poland. (Lake, 2000) However, the decision of Britain forced Hitler "to plan a knock-out blow in the West before he could turn his attention towards what had always been his primary target – Russia". (Lake, 2000: 16)

After the invasion of Poland, Hitler consequently invaded Norway and Denmark in April 1940. These invasions aimed at securing Hitler's left flank for his planned assault on Russia. Britain militarily intervened this time and sent land forces to Narvik, Norway, on 15th April 1940. The British intervention can be explained by the strategic position of Narvik, a vital port giving access to the North Sea, and a potential base for German naval raiders. The British land forces were evacuated between 30th April and 2nd May, following the destruction of the British

Gladiator aircraft that had supported the troops. More British aircraft were however sent, and the air assaults ended on 7th June 1940. (Lake, 2000) According to Moore (2010), the defeat in Scandinavia taught the Allies the lesson that “control of the skies could determine either victory or defeat in any major military operation.” (Moore, 2010: 15)

In the meantime, the Wehrmacht, that is the German Army, had launched another blitzkrieg against France and the Low Countries on 10th May, the same day the British Prime Minister, Chamberlain, resigned. The geographical territory designated by the term ‘Low Countries’ corresponds to the current ‘Benelux’, that is Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. France’s borders were heavily fortified, and Hitler consequently decided to attack through the Netherlands and Belgium, ignoring the neutral status of the two countries. (Lake, 2000)

It can be pointed out that there was a seven-month period between the invasion of Poland and the later invasion of Norway. That period is referred to as ‘Phoney War’, ‘Sitzkrieg’ or ‘Drôle de Guerre’, depending on the language. German bombers attacked British warships and vice versa, avoiding harm to civilians. That period allowed Britain and France to strengthen their defences and, according to Lake (2000), “The UK provided a massive Expeditionary Force in France, including an Air Component of fighter and bomber squadrons, and a separate Advanced Air Striking Force.” (Lake, 2000: 19)

When Hitler launched the blitzkrieg against France and the Low Countries on 10th May 1940, attacking through Belgium and the Netherlands (cf. chapter 3, section 3.1.), the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) that had been sent to France during the ‘Phoney War’ moved to Belgium and formed a defensive chain stretching between the Meuse, Namur and Antwerp. British Royal Air Force (RAF) squadrons were sent to France and formed a small proportion of the overall Fighter Command effort during the Battle of France. Spitfires, fighter aircraft of an innovative design that would become iconic, indeed also participated in the battle but were operating from airfields in southern England. French President Reynaud asked Britain to send more fighters, a request that the new British Prime Minister, Churchill, was ready to fulfil. However, Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding objected. He was indeed convinced that 52 squadrons were necessary to defend Britain against unescorted raids from the East, not even considering raids launched from France and the Low Countries. Britain having lost ten units to the French campaign; they were left with only 36 squadrons, and they could thus not afford

to lose more. (Lake, 2000) As stated by Moore (2010), Dowding's decision not to send more squadrons to France was decisive in the outcome of the Battle of Britain.

Regarding the BEF's Air Component, it had completely withdrawn to British airfields on 21st May thanks to the Evacuation of Dunkirk (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2.). The Battle of France continued after Dunkirk until 22nd June 1940, when France finally surrendered under Pétain, the new president. At the end of the Battle of France, the RAF had lost a total of 959 aircraft in the West and 435 pilots had been killed, captured, or were missing. (Lake, 2000)

3.1. The 18 Days' Campaign and the beginning of the occupation

As previously stated, Germany did not respect the neutrality of Belgium and the Netherlands. On 10th May 1940, Germany indeed launched a blitzkrieg against France, attacking from Belgium and the Netherlands.

On that day, the 'Dyle Manoeuvre', that is the reaction plan that was set up in November 1939 by the French and British authorities in case of violation of the neutrality of Belgium, was put into practice. That day marked the beginning of the 18 Days' Campaign. The plan mentioned that if the German Army invaded Belgium, French and British troops would be placed in the region of Gembloux, from Leuven to Wavre along the river Dyle; from Wavre to Namur along the Meuse; and in the region of Givet, from Namur to Charleville (France) along the Meuse. The Breda alternative, which was added in March 1940, allocated the task to the 7th French Army to liaise with the Dutch troops. (www.larousse.fr)

In practice, the Germans did not attack from the strategic points that had been foreseen by the 'Dyle-Breda Manoeuvre', leading to the inefficiency of the plan. The 18 Days' Campaign indeed began with a surprise and successful conquest of the Eben-Emael fort in the Ardennes. German troops also managed to cross the Vroenhoven and Veldwezelt bridges. That led to the retreat of the Belgian Army from the square of Liège. Some argue that the enemy could have been stopped in Liège, but it would have provoked a partial destruction of the city, along with many civilian losses, which the King of Belgium, Leopold III, wanted to avoid. The retreat of the Belgian Army continued after the crossing of the Albert Canal. (de Launay, 1977)

On 15th May 1940, the occupation of Brussels was impending. Belgian Ministers consequently decided to leave the city of Brussels and went to Ostend. However, they could not leave the Belgian population without any guidance in a German occupied country. The Ministers Spaak and Gutt therefore appointed three economic leaders as heads of the financial administration of the country. These leaders were Alexandre Galopin from *La Générale* (Belgium's biggest financial institution), and the bankers Max-Léo Gérard from the *Banque de Bruxelles*, and Fernand Collin from the *Kredietbank*. (ibid.)

On 17th May, German officers threatened twice to bomb the city of Brussels. For this reason, the city surrendered on the next day and the German troops entered Brussels. However, some other Belgian cities resisted a bit longer in the southern part of the country. Unfortunately, this resistance provoked more victims than the attack of the enemy. A week after the capitulation of Brussels, on 25th May, Belgian Ministers instructed Leopold III to leave his country, but the king refused to abandon the population and decided to stay in Belgium. This decision had two consequences. First, the Belgian King, as a member of the Belgian Army, became a prisoner of war (PoW) on 28th May and could not reign anymore. Consequently, all his powers were devolved upon Belgian Ministers. It is indeed on that day that the capitulation of the Belgian Army was signed, as there was no other option left. However, as the Ministers left for Paris, the powers were delegated to the General Secretaries. The government in exile left France on 27th August and arrived in London on 22nd October 1940, after having gone through Spain and Portugal. (www.belgiumwwii.be) Second, the Allies had the time to withdraw 338,226 men from Dunkirk (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2.), out of the 600,000 men that had been engaged in Flanders, before the German Army entered Nieuwpoort. (ibid.)

General Baron Alexander von Falkenhausen was designated to oversee the military government of Belgium and Northern France. He was assisted by General Reeder, who took on the role of president of the military administration. The solving of military questions depended on the 'Kommandostab', which was directed by Colonel von Harbou. Political and diplomatic questions were first addressed by the embassy counsellor Dr Werkmeister, then by the ambassador von Bargaen. The occupation administration of Belgium consisted of the best German civil servants, and it was divided in five 'Oberfeldkommandantur'. (ibid.)

The German occupation was at first generally well accepted by the Belgian population. Hostility did not dominate the landscape and a rapprochement was to be noticed between

members of the two nations. This cordial climate was also present in relationships between Belgian and German officials. (de Launay, 1977) However, the situation gradually changed. (cf. chapter 3, section 3.4.)

During the summer of 1940, different political actors suggested the Belgian King to re-establish an executive power, but the King rejected this suggestion. The point can thus be made that it was the King's decision not to have any government under the occupation. Hitler's instruction on 20th July 1940 reinforced the King's position. According to de Launay (1977), Hitler indeed ordered that:

Belgium be until further notice administered by the (German) military commander;
all political activity of the King of the Belgians be hindered;
the military commander, in conjunction with Lieutenant-Colonel Kiewitz, must ensure that the King receives only strictly private visits... [our translation] (de Launay, 1977: 87)

3.1.1. The consequences of the 18 Days' Campaign

The human losses of the 18 Days' Campaign are to be pointed out. According to de Launay (1977), 5,367 soldiers lost their lives during the campaign, compared to around 12,000 civilians. There was a total of 12,433 injured people, soldiers and civilians combined. In addition, two million Belgians left the country, seeking refuge in France. By September and October 1940, after the fall of France, the vast majority had returned to Belgium. (de Launay, 1977)

According to de Launay (1977), a total of 700,000 men were mobilised in May 1940. During the 18 Days' Campaign, 50,000 of them were made captive, whereas the remaining soldiers were made PoW's after the armistice on 28th May 1940. Among the 650,000 men that were made PoW's, around 100,000 went back home on their own initiative, while 400,000 men, among whom Flemish and Walloon men exercising a privileged profession, were liberated in June 1940. The instructions coming from General Keitel to favour the Flemish were put into practice by General von Falkenhausen, who further broadened the list of privileged professions. Those professions included: doctors, veterinary surgeons, engineers, technicians, directors and managers of commercial organisations, civil servants, employees from electricity, gas or water companies, employees and workers from the transport sector, agricultural employees and workers, car drivers, specialised workers, and miners. By

September 1940, 225,000 Belgians were still PoW's. Among them, 145,000 were Flemish and 80,000 were Walloon. The extension of the list of professions that were considered as of public interest made by von Falkenhausen has thus, in the end, favoured the Walloons. (ibid.)

The Belgian King, who was highly concerned by the fate of PoW's, met Hitler on 19th November 1940 in Berchtesgaden. The Führer accepted the liberation of those who were in favour of Germany, especially the Flemish. However, he mentioned that officers would remain captive until the achievement of peace. (ibid.)

From November 1940 to March 1941, a total of 79,114 Flemish PoW's were liberated. From March 1941 onwards, only sick men were repatriated to Belgium. A total of 1,698 Belgian PoW's died in Germany whereas 770 men managed to escape from Germany to return to their homeland. The PoW's who had stayed in Germany were liberated in May 1945 (51,371) or in June of the same year (60,526). (ibid.)

It can thus be concluded that one French speaking active man out of fifteen was out of Belgium during the war period. According to de Launay (1977), this had several repercussions on society:

(...) reduction of the national production, reduction of family resources and burdens of prisoners' packages on wives, reduction, due to absence, of paternal power over young children and faster emancipation of teenagers whose fathers were prisoners, psychological disorders of wives deprived of husbands and greater attraction to male individuals who remained in the country, growing resentment towards the occupying power which held husbands in captivity. [our translation] (de Launay, 1977: 97)

3.2. Civilians under the German occupation

Some consequences of the war on Belgian society have been discussed above. Other consequences of the German occupation on the daily life of citizens are discussed below.

As previously explained, many men were absent from the country. The place of women in society therefore changed; they took on more powerful roles and ran the home, and often the family business. More importance was also attached to beauty and fashion. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982) Luyten (2019) adds that the number of working women increased to 15% between 1942 and 1943, compared to 2% between 1928 and 1929.

3.2.1. Rationing and its consequences

Food rationing was introduced on 25th May 1940. Belgians received food coupons that were used to buy certain foods or to pay at the restaurant. People were entitled to 1,350 calories per day instead of the necessary 2,000. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982) However, according to Luyten (2019), pregnant women and workers doing hard labour were entitled to a higher caloric intake. From 1941 onwards, food was scarce, and the occupier's requisitions reduced what was left for the Belgian population. As a result of malnutrition, diseases such as tuberculosis were more frequent, whereas diseases related to overeating decreased. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982)

In addition, there was a coal shortage, and the amount of coal per household was rationed too. In 1944, civilians completely stopped having access to coal. (ibid.)

As a result of rationing, a black market developed among Belgian citizens, which led to a rise in prices. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982) This 'small' black market is to be distinguished from the large-scale black market that was organised by the occupier, who requisitioned goods at the expense of the Belgian state to resell them in Germany. (Verhoeyen, 1994)

3.2.2. Economy

The rise in prices provoked a decline in purchasing power. Moreover, production rates were lower, hence the decrease in profits for companies. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982) According to de Launay (1977) profits indeed plummeted from 5,169 million Belgian francs in 1939 to 2,860 million in 1943.

3.2.3. Cultural life

Cultural life was rich. Between 1940 and 1942, people went to the theatre or to the cinema although American or English films were forbidden. Dancing was forbidden, but there were many underground clubs where people could dance. Sports were also widely practised, and sport championships were generally maintained. At home, people read books, although the publication of new books was subject to the occupier's permission. In 1943, the schedules of events such as fairs, races and the theatre were adapted to the curfew. The situation

changed in 1944, when people were impatiently waiting for the Allies and went out less. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982)

It is worth mentioning that the German occupier authorised the Belgian population to listen to the radio. From September 1940 onwards, BBC radio broadcasts could be received in occupied Belgium, although listening to them was prohibited. (de Launay, 1977)

3.2.4. Moving

As briefly stated before, a curfew restricting movement was introduced. In 1940, it was set at 11pm. Between 1941 and 1942, it was lowered to 9pm, sometimes even to 8pm. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982)

Concerning means of transport, the results of the 18 Days' Campaign affected traffic, with damaged bridges and railway tracks. However, by the end of 1941, traffic was re-established. Spare parts were scarce, and fuel was rationed to 10L per car, hence the decrease in cars and buses, which were replaced by tramways. Only people having priority, such as doctors, still drove a car, but taxis were available. Most people walked or rode a bike. Bikes were often stolen because they were expensive and easy to resell. From March 1943 onwards, it was forbidden to move by car or by bike on Feast days. (ibid.)

Regarding trips, there was a rise in trips in 1941, especially to the countryside where families reunited. In 1942, trips were almost impossible, before becoming totally impossible in 1944. (ibid.)

3.2.5. Work

Belgians kept working during the occupation. Verhoeven (1994) argues that the objective of the occupier was to minimise the unemployment rate. People who refused a job without good reason were denied the right to unemployment benefits.

Salaries were frozen and the Belgian franc devalued, making work in Germany attractive to the Belgian population. In September 1940, 48,825 workers voluntarily left the occupied country to work in Germany. In December, this figure had risen to 90,423. (Verhoeven, 1994)

On 10th April 1941, the Office National du Travail, that is the National Work Office (NWO), was founded by the German administration. Belgian companies of five employees or more had to fire single workers, widows, and widowers without children with the aim of increasing the number of Belgian workers in Germany. A total of 200,000 people went to Germany for work reasons. (ibid.)

On 6th March 1942, compulsory labour in occupied territory was introduced. The aim was to gather as many workers as possible in the companies that contributed to the war effort. In addition, work in mines was compulsory on Sundays. People who were able to work could no longer receive other benefits, and people could not change jobs without the permission of the NWO. Companies had to give a list of their employees to the NWO. The aim was to identify and replace single men, married men without children and unskilled workers, and to force them to voluntarily go to work in Germany. Compulsory labour in occupied territory also concerned Jews, but they had to be separated from Belgian workers. (ibid.)

On 6th October 1942, compulsory labour in Germany was introduced. It was difficult to recruit people because the registers of employees were difficult to consult; they had been destroyed by the Resistance, or the communes refused the occupier access to them. From June 1943 onwards, certain age groups were consequently systematically summoned. Many people became refractory and did not show up. In connection with women, their compulsory work in Germany was cancelled in March 1943. According to Selleslagh (as cited in Verhoeven, 1994), a total of 189,542 Belgians went to Germany for compulsory labour between 1st November 1942 and 31st July 1944. Adding this figure to those who had voluntarily left before October 1942 and the PoW's, 463,000 Belgians worked in Germany. (Verhoeven, 1994)

According to de Launay & Offergeld (1982), students were not exempted from compulsory work in Belgium. However, the authors declare that in 1943, third-year university students were authorised to fully devote themselves to their studies, whereas first-year and second-year students were obliged to complete six-month compulsory work.

3.2.6. Dangers

Besides food restrictions and compulsory work, Belgians had to face diverse dangers. In 1942, Resistance actions became more frequent and widespread, hence a rise in attacks

and sabotages, which became a daily occurrence in 1944 (cf. chapter 3, section 3.4.). (de Launay & Offergeld 1982)

Moreover, from the spring of 1942 onwards, Allied planes flew over the country to bomb Germany. People therefore took refuge in cellars, which served as anti-aircraft shelters, some spending the night there. People were nervous and feared that the Allied forces could strike the German-occupied countries. (ibid.)

3.2.7. State of mind of the Belgian population

Although the Allied bombs were feared, the population was overall courageous. The composure, good morals, civic mindedness, and solidarity of the population are indeed pointed out by de Launay (1977). Those qualities could be compared to those of the 'Blitz Spirit' in Britain. However, contrary to the situation in Britain, there was no myth that developed around the qualities that Belgian people demonstrated during the war. Moreover, those qualities do not form a component of what it means to be Belgian today, whereas British people still use qualities of the 'Blitz Spirit' to identify themselves as British. (cf. chapter 4, section 4.3.6.2.)

3.2.8. Life after the liberation

The first Belgian towns were liberated in early September 1944. The list with the dates of liberation of each town can be consulted in the appendices (cf. appendix 3). According to de Launay (1977), the British and the Canadians liberated the part of the country west of the Ath-Leuven-Hasselt line, while the Americans liberated the rest of the country.

On 9th September, the government returned from London. They put an end to the ticketed food supply system. However, there was still no butter and meat during the winter of 1944-1945. In December 1945, some products were still rationed (cf. appendix 4), but Belgians had regained their 2,000 daily calories. The cost of living decreased, and prices fell, whereas the unemployment rate rose again. The textile industry did not function anymore, means of transport were limited, and one building out of four was heavily damaged. (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982)

3.3. The Holocaust and the deportation of Jews from Belgium

Belgian citizens were not the only ones who were affected by the German occupation of the country. The Nazi ideology indeed gained ground in Belgium. The situation of Jews in Belgium, from their emigration to their deportation, is retraced below.

3.3.1. Anti-Jewish laws in Germany and Jewish emigration to Belgium

When Hitler came to power in Germany, antisemitism was already present in the country. Religious antisemitism against Jews seems to have always existed. From the Middle Ages onwards, political antisemitism also developed. During the Age of the Enlightenment, this political antisemitism was replaced by political and economic stereotypes towards Jews. Regarding racial antisemitism, it spread at the end of the 19th century, particularly in Germany, Austria, and France. (Roekens, 2010)

In 1933, half a million Jews were living in Germany, 80% of them holding German citizenship. In April of that year, anti-Jewish legislation was introduced to exclude Jews from the civil service, the legal profession, and international sport competitions. As a result of this policy, about 5,000 Jews emigrated to Belgium. The Belgian authorities were reluctant to issue visas and residence permits. From August 1933 onwards, foreigners wishing to stay in Belgium for more than eight months had to register in the 'Register of Foreigners'. (ibid.)

In September 1935, the Nuremberg Laws entered into force in Germany, depriving Jews of German citizenship. Consequently, about 10,000 additional Jews emigrated to Belgium. (ibid.)

The German anti-Jewish policy then calmed down, before starting up again with renewed vigour in 1938, when Germany annexed Austria. The anti-Jewish laws that had been introduced in the previous years came into force in Austria as well. In both countries, Jews were obliged to have a Jewish first name, and the letter 'J' had to be stamped on their passports. After the destruction of synagogues and Jewish businesses during the event that was called 'Reichskristallnacht' (Night of the Broken Glass) in November 1938, 30,000 Jews were sent to concentration camps, the first of which had been opened in 1933 to hold political opponents. Jews were also confined to ghettos, isolated from the rest of German society. They also had to join the National Association of Jews in Germany; an association that had been set

up to encourage Jewish emigration. Each territory annexed by Germany increased the number of Jews in German territory, which led to the failure of this forced emigration. (ibid.)

Following the intensification of anti-Jewish measures in Germany, the arrival of Jewish refugees increased in Belgium, with 1,000 refugees arriving each month from July 1938 onwards. At the dawn of WWII, around 70,000 Jews were living in Belgium. (Roekens, 2010) Meinen (2012) claims that the number amounted to 65,000. Only 5 to 10% of them held Belgian citizenship. These figures are clarified by de Launay (1990), who estimates that 62,536 non-Belgian and 4,115 Belgian Jews were living in Belgium. Socio-economic antisemitism was present in some circles of Belgian society, but racial antisemitism was very rare.

An international conference was held in Evian, France, from 6th to 15th July 1938, seeking to solve this wave of emigration. Unfortunately, it did not bring any solution. At the end of 1938, the Belgian government consequently set up accommodation camps, where Jews were placed while waiting to emigrate. This solution constituted an alternative to their expulsion. (Roekens, 2010)

In 1939, Belgium was threatened with invasion and the country feared for its national security. Roekens (2010) explains that the government therefore no longer tolerated the illegal entry of Jewish immigrants, only accepting political refugees. The borders of the Congo, which was a Belgian colony at the time, were also closed. As Meinen (2012) argues, it can however be pointed out that Belgium temporarily relaxed its policy to accept convoys of Jewish children, who were placed in families or children's homes.

On 3rd September 1939, whereas Britain and France declared war on Germany, Belgium remained neutral and developed a defensive strategy. From that day onwards, the country feared that spies and saboteurs were among foreigners, which led to tougher measures against them. Consequently, the five centres that had been created to house Jews at the end of 1938 were transformed into internment camps for illegal foreigners, most of whom were Jewish refugees. From 10th May 1940, marking the beginning of the invasion of Belgium, legal foreigners coming from a state with which Belgium might be at war were also interned, including Jewish refugees. Between 12th and 18th May, most people who had been interned were sent to France. The exact figures are not known, but according to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the number amounted to 13,500 people, among

whom 7,500 were put in French concentration camps. It is worth highlighting that among these people were also the Jewish refugees that Belgium had voluntarily welcomed in 1938. The Belgian government, which was in exile in France at the time, tried afterwards to obtain the liberation of Belgians and foreigners, but their request failed regarding foreigners. (Roekens, 2010) Van Doorslaer (2007) specifies that 1,500 of these people were eventually deported from France to Auschwitz in the summer of 1942.

3.3.2. Anti-Jewish policy in occupied Belgium

Between 28th October 1940 and 21st September 1942, a total of 18 ordinances were issued against Jews in Belgium. These ordinances aimed at registering Jews and their property, isolating them from society, putting them to work, robbing them, and finally publicly differentiating them from the rest of society. The complete chronological list of the measures that were taken in Belgium can be consulted in the appendices (cf. appendix 5). (Roekens, 2010)

According to Steinberg (2004), some measures were not the same as in Germany. For example, the definition of 'Jew' described in the first ordinance that was issued on 28th October did not include, unlike in Germany, the descendants of a mixed marriage or persons having an extramarital relationship with a Jew.

It is worth mentioning that, according to de Launay (1990), General von Falkenhausen, who oversaw the military command in Belgium, tried to delay the application of the directives that he received from Berlin.

3.3.3. The deportation of Jews from Belgium

On 11th June 1942, the decision to deport Jews from Belgium was made. The same decision was applied in France and the Netherlands. On 27th July, the first Jews who were summoned, supposedly for the 'Arbeitseinsatz', that is the mandatory work in Germany, by the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB) arrived at Kazerne Dossin (KD). (Wouters, 2007a)

In July 1942, KD was indeed the central assembly camp for Jews (Judensammellager) in Belgium. Like Camp Breendonk, which had been opened in September 1940, it was placed under the direction of Major SS Philipp Schmitt. (Steinberg, 2004) Flemish SS men supervised

prisoners, together with German SS men. After the opening of KD in Mechelen, Jewish prisoners from Breendonk were sent to Mechelen. (Roekens, 2010)

The first convoy left Mechelen on 4th August 1942, while the last one left on 31st July 1944. Only 40% of the 10,000 Jews who had been summoned by the AJB, more precisely 3,900 according to Schram (2019), presented themselves spontaneously for the first deportations. As a result, the Sipo-SD, the German security police, organised mass arrests, also called roundups, in the summer of 1942. Three of these mass arrests took place in Antwerp, and one in Brussels. (Roekens, 2010) According to Meinen (2012), a roundup also took place in Liege. The historian adds that the number of Jews who were captured during these roundups amounted to 2,533.

Roekens (2010) explains that following the roundups of the summer of 1942, many Jews went underground. Steinberg (1994) confirms this. From November 1942 until the liberation, these underground Jews were hunted down and individually arrested. Germans had difficulties to catch them as they no longer wore the yellow star and obtained false identity documents. (Meinen, 2012)

Moreover, in October 1942, 1,592 Jews were deported to Auschwitz via Mechelen, out of the 2,552 Jews who had been transferred to labour camps of the Organisation Todt in Northern France following the ordinance on compulsory labour in occupied territory on 6th March 1942. (Meinen, 2012)

Roekens (2010) asserts that Jews who held Belgian citizenship were exempted from the deportation in 1942, but they would finally also be deported in 1943. Meinen (2012) indeed claims that the 'Operation Iltis' took place the night of 3rd and 4th September 1943, organising the mass arrest of Jews who held Belgian citizenship in Brussels and in Antwerp.

In two years' time (1942-1944), a total of 24,908 Jews (cf. appendix 6), including women and children, were deported from KD to Auschwitz. According to Steinberg (2004), two thirds of them, that is 16,621, were deported between 4th August and 31st October 1942. Meinen (2012) testifies that a convoy also deported 351 Gypsies in January 1944. As Steinberg (2004) argues, it can thus be concluded that 42% of the Jewish population living in Belgium was deported. Among them, 1,217 survived the war. (Schram, 2019)

It is worth mentioning that depending on the author, the total number of Jews who were deported is slightly different, however very similar. These different points of view are to be consulted in the appendices (cf. appendices 6 & 6bis). Moreover, the distribution of deportations per locality is also to be consulted in the appendices (cf. appendix 7).

3.3.4. The Belgian authorities and the policy of the lesser of two evils

To understand the attitude of the Belgian authorities towards anti-Jewish measures, it is first necessary to determine who constituted the Belgian authorities under the occupation, and what was the general policy in Belgium.

First, the Belgian authorities under the occupation. A decree-law issued on 10th May 1940 indicated that “when all communication with the higher authority is broken off, or if this authority has ceased to function, the lower authority shall exercise its powers”. [our translation] (Roekens, 2010: 42) When Belgian Ministers went into exile to France, then to London, after the invasion of the country, the General Secretaries thus, as stated before, came to power in occupied Belgium. On 31st October 1940, a legal government of Belgium was set up in London. It was composed of Pierlot, Spaak, Gutt and De Vleeschauwer. According to Roekens (2010), this government had little influence on what was happening in occupied Belgium. Wouters (2019) specifies that the economic management of the country was entrusted to the Comité Galopin (cf. chapter 3, section 3.1.)

Second, the general policy under the occupation in Belgium. Under the German occupation, Belgium adopted a strategy that is called the ‘policy of the lesser of two evils’. The goal was to collaborate with the occupying forces in administrative terms, with the aim of limiting the impact of the occupation on the Belgian population. It was indeed necessary to ensure the economic recovery of the country, and to sustain food supply, which depended on Germany. It was also important to prevent Germany from completely controlling the country's affairs, with the aim of best defending the Belgian interests. (Roekens, 2010)

This policy of the lesser of two evils was governed by various documents. On the one hand, the 'civil mobilisation booklet' of September 1939 explained to employees and civil servants how they should behave under the occupation. They had to continue to perform their duties. This obligation was anchored, according to Wouters (2019), in the law on the duties of civil servants in wartime, which had been passed on 5th March 1936. On the other hand,

administrative cooperation was governed by the international law of war through the Hague Convention (cf. appendix 8). This meant, de jure, that the ordinances that were put in place by the occupying forces and recognised by the Belgian General Secretaries had to comply with the Hague Convention, and therefore respect the laws in force in Belgium, in accordance with Article 43 of this Convention. De facto, the Belgian authorities forgot to clearly set the limits of this collaboration, which meant that the ordinances that were issued by the Germans did not always comply with international law, Belgian law, and the Hague Convention. (Roekens, 2010)

3.3.5. The attitude of the Belgian authorities towards anti-Jewish ordinances

3.3.5.1. The recommendations of the 'Conseil de Législation' (Legal Council)

As a follow-up to the first anti-Jewish ordinances of October 1940, the Legal Council (LC) was, in November of the same year, endorsed with the task of determining the extent to which the Belgian authorities could collaborate with the demands of the occupier. According to Van Doorslaer (2007), the LC was composed of the country's leading magistrates and jurists. According to the LC, as the ordinances ignored fundamental principles of Belgian law, the Belgian administrative authorities could not take an active part in their implementation. However, as the ordinances implied a spontaneous declaration by Jews, the Belgian authorities could “merely offer their services in order to enable Jews to comply with the ordinances issued by the occupier”. [our translation] (Roekens, 2010: 60) According to Roekens (2010), the LC thus opted for a 'restrictive reading' of the Hague Convention, as the invocation of the latter could have allowed the refusal of the implementation of the first anti-Jewish ordinances.

De facto, the Belgian authorities did not always respect the advice of the LC, especially by actively participating in the exclusion of Jews from the civil service. Moreover, the communal and local administrations lacked clear directives from the central authorities, which led in some cases to a large cooperation with German measures. However, the situation differed from locality to locality. (Roekens, 2010)

3.3.5.2. The attitude of the Belgian government in exile in London and the Allies

In January 1941, the Belgian government in exile in London decreed that measures taken in occupied Belgium, including anti-Jewish ordinances, although they were not explicitly mentioned, were contrary to international law and the Belgian Constitution. Therefore, those collaborating with the occupier's measures that fell outside of the legal framework would be punished. According to Roekens (2010), the government in exile had little control over the occupied country, hence they, de facto, did not take any concrete measures.

On 20th January 1942, the 'Final Solution' was planned at the Wannsee Conference. Extermination camps were created, in addition to the first one which had been opened in Chelmno in 1941. Furthermore, some concentration camps were transformed into extermination camps, such as Auschwitz. Henceforth, the Allies received more complete information about the Nazi extermination plan. According to Steinberg (1986), besides the Conference, the BBC broadcasted a radio programme that was heard in occupied Belgium in June 1942, in which the atrocities that were happening in Poland were revealed, disclosing that Jews were being exterminated by gas or machine gun. However, Roekens (2010) argues that this information was considered as being exaggerated and the link between the deportations in the West and the massacres in the East was not established. Laureys (1994) supports Roekens' argument, explaining that there was confusion about the link between anti-Jewish measures and deportations, adding that there was a total lack of consistency in the information.

Roekens (2010) claims that the Belgian government in exile in London was informed of the roundups and the Belgian deportations only at the end of September 1942. Belgian Ministers then reaffirmed that they condemned illegal anti-Jewish measures and that they would prosecute collaborators after the liberation. De facto, no major rescue action was undertaken, although the Allies sent parcels of food, clothing, and medicine to prisoners.

One month later, following the introduction of compulsory labour for Belgians in Germany, which was decreed by the ordinance of 6th October 1942, the government in exile modified the Penal Code and reinforced sanctions for acts of political collaboration and denunciation. (Roekens, 2010) The reaction of the government was related to the situation of

the Belgian population and not to measures of persecution that were taken against Jews. However, it is still necessary to mention this reaction because, as notified by Wouters (2007b), Jews indirectly benefited from it.

However, it was not until December that the Allies condemned the extermination of Jews by the Nazis. (Roekens, 2010) On 17th December 1942, the United Nations Declaration was indeed published, formally condemning “Hitler's policy of extermination” and affirming “the necessary repression of war crimes”. (Laureys, 1994: 147) A radio appeal was launched in Belgium, encouraging the population to shelter and hide Jews who were living in Belgium.

A year later, in January 1943, the Jewish tragedy was little reported in the Allied media and British propaganda banned official messages singling out Jews as particularly at risk. “The idea was now to assimilate the massacre of Jews to the atrocities committed by the Nazis against the civilisation in general”. [our translation] (Roekens, 2010: 93)

3.3.5.3. The reaction of the central authorities in occupied Belgium

In occupied Belgium, anti-Jewish legislation was not condemned by the General Secretaries in 1941. The Royal Palace and the Church did not react either (Roekens, 2010).

As previously stated, in June 1942, a BBC broadcast was aired in occupied Belgium, relaying information about the exterminations in Poland. Only one newspaper, *De Vrijshutter*, relayed that information in the occupied country. The Belgian authorities in occupied territory, like the government in exile, did not seem to establish a link between massacres in the East and deportations in the West. It was not until the spring of 1943 that the authorities became fully aware of the events, with the return to Belgium of two escapees from a camp near Auschwitz (Steinberg, 1986).

According to Roekens (2010), the authorities in occupied territory did not react until the arrest of Jews who held Belgian citizenship in September 1943. She argues that in October 1943, the authorities in occupied territory invoked for the first time Article 43 of the Hague Convention (cf. appendix 8), and the failure to comply with Belgian laws. Meinen (2012) contests this, stating that the Belgian General Secretaries refused to issue a decree concerning the registration of Jews and their property in October 1940, referring to its non-compliance with the Belgian Constitution and Article 43 of the Hague Convention. She adds that this

attitude forced the German military administration to issue the anti-Jewish ordinance itself, although the General Secretaries and the local authorities de facto participated in the implementation of this ordinance. This passive collaboration was in line with the recommendations of the LC. Meinen's statements are confirmed by Verhoeven (1994).

3.3.5.4. The reaction of the local authorities in occupied Belgium

The ordinance that implemented the wearing of the yellow star was issued on 27th May 1942, hence the first rebellion of the local authorities in Brussels. The mayors indeed refused to distribute the stars. According to Steinberg (2004), the mayors of Brussels appealed to the principle of human dignity to refuse this distribution. Roekens (2010) points out that in other localities, the local authorities distributed the stars. It is worth mentioning that this behaviour was de jure acceptable as it complied with the opinion of the LC of November 1940, which allowed the authorities to collaborate passively if Jews presented themselves spontaneously. Steinberg (2004) qualifies Roekens' statement, stating that the local authorities in Liège did not distribute the yellow star either.

3.3.5.5. The attitude of the Belgian police

The police made arrests that only served German interest and were therefore contrary to Belgian law. Those arrests were consequently also contrary to the opinion of the LC, which stated in February 1942 that "the Belgian order forces must not execute any order 'taken primarily in the German military interest'" [our translation] (Roekens, 2010: 68). As previously mentioned, the local authorities were de facto left to their own devices and were not given any clear directives by the central authorities. (Roekens, 2010)

However, local differences are to be pointed out: in Brussels, for example, the police did not participate in the roundups during the summer of 1942, whereas the police of Antwerp did. (cf. appendix 9). According to Steinberg (2004), since Reeder had ordered not to call on the Belgian police for these mass actions, the Antwerp police could have mentioned Reeder's order as a reason not to participate. It is worth mentioning that, as stated by Roekens (2010), some Antwerp policemen nevertheless tried to warn Jews about the mass arrests. According to Meinen (2012), they were punished for this, having to arrest 1,000 Jews by the next day, under the threat of being interned in Camp Breendonk if they failed.

Meinen (2012) generally argues that “the cooperation of the local authorities with the occupying power is not a decisive factor”. [our translation] (Meinen, 2012: 131)

3.3.6. The role of the AJB and the Committee for the Defence of Jews (CDJ)

Roekens (2010) states that the AJB was founded in December 1941 by the German military administration, while Meinen (2012) argues for November. Jews from Belgium were obliged to join this association. According to Meinen (2012), its mission was to execute German anti-Jewish measures, to set up social assistance and to establish Jewish schools. Although the association was run by Jews, it was de facto controlled by the German military administration and the Sipo-SD. It drew up the register of Jews, consequently providing the necessary information for forced labour in occupied territory in May 1942, participated in the distribution of the yellow stars in Brussels, and, as mentioned before, summoned Jews for mandatory work in Germany (Arbeitseinsatz) in July 1942. Steinberg (2004) adds that when people failed to show up, the AJB even confirmed to those summoned that it was a work assignment and not a deportation measure, although the association knew that it was a pretext. Meinen (2012) explains that Germans threatened to radicalise the persecution of Jews if the AJB did not cooperate, hence the cooperation of the organisation.

It can be pointed out that the AJB, however, tried to limit the impact of anti-Jewish ordinances and asked for exemptions. It also asked to send mail to the deportees, a request which unfortunately contributed to blurring the line between the pretext that had been invoked to summon Jews and the real goal of the deportation. The organisation also distributed food, medicine and blankets to Jews who were imprisoned in Breendonk and Mechelen. (Meinen, 2012)

Furthermore, some members of the AJB were also members of the CDJ. “Working in the AJB gave them the possibility to divert resources and to establish contact between Jews who were seeking help and the underground support organisation” [our translation] (Meinen, 2012: 80).

The example of Professor Chaim Perelman can be highlighted. He had a high function in the AJB, helped found the CDJ and used his access to the legal organisation to work with the underground CDJ. (Steinberg, 1986) Steinberg explains that the AJB “could very well become the place where social assistance to Jews who were hiding in their hiding places was

organised". [our translation] (Steinberg, 1986: 56) Employees indeed met on the premises of the AJB to allocate relief supplies; some went themselves to the hiding places to distribute those supplies to Jews.

The CDJ, which was affiliated to the Front de l'Indépendance (FI), was created in October 1942, with the aim of providing material and moral support to Jews who had gone underground. The CDJ received financial means from the Belgian government in exile and from the Joint, that is the American Jewish association. (Roekens, 2010) According to de Launay (1977), 48 million Belgian francs were also provided by Belgian bankers. The CDJ provided false identity papers and supply tickets. According to Meinen (2012), the organisation could, however, not help all the Jews who wanted to go underground. Therefore, some of them had to collect enough money to pay a rent and to live, before taking the step.

In collaboration with Yvonne Nevejean, director of the National Children's Institute, the CDJ also saved 2,000 children. (Verhoeven, 1994) According to Roekens (2010), the AJB also contributed to this rescue.

Moreover, Steinberg (2008) argues that it was Ghert Jospa, a leading member of the CDJ, who took the initiative for the action against the 20th convoy, the only convoy that was subject to a liberation attempt. In practice, it was Livschitz and his two friends, Maistriau and Franklemon, who stormed the convoy. Some people also escaped on their own. According to Meinen (2012), a total of 230 Jews could escape from the 20th convoy.

3.4. Resistance movements under the German occupation

It was previously stated that the German occupation was at first generally well accepted by the Belgian population. However, due to anti-Jewish measures and the impact of the occupation on the population, most people became hostile towards the occupation. A minority of them even joined Resistance movements. These movements are described below.

Resistance movements opposing the German occupation appeared in Belgium between 1940 and 1944. They were mainly based on anti-fascist and patriotic values, and Germanophobia. As early as 1940, Resistance nuclei developed. However, it was not until the beginning of 1942 that hundreds of small Resistance groups popped up in cities and Walloon industrial regions. During the summer of 1944, a total of 100,000 to 150,000 men and women

were spread throughout the country. Two factors indeed motivated Resistance movements to fight more, and more actively, against the occupation. First, the introduction of the yellow star and the deportation of Jews during the summer of 1942. Second, and more strongly, the introduction of compulsory labour for Belgians in Germany from October 1942 onwards. (Pauhaut & Maerten, 2006)

However, even at the peak of the Resistance, only 2 to 3% of the population aged between 16 and 65 participated in the Resistance. Most Resistance fighters came from the middle class, but workers, farmers, and even the Belgian aristocracy also participated in various Resistance movements. This low percentage of participants can be explained by the harshness of the task and the danger involved. Being part of the Resistance indeed meant living in constant fear of being arrested, tortured, or killed. About 30,000 Resistance fighters fell into the hands of the enemy, half of whom died. (ibid.)

Moreover, there was a disparity between Walloon and Flemish citizens in the Resistance, the latter having participated later and less intensively in the movement. This can be explained by the fact that anti-fascism was less widespread in Flanders at the time and patriotism was absent; the Flemish having kept a resentment towards the state that had sent them to the front in 1914-1918 and refused to satisfy their demands after WWI. In addition, Germans favoured Flemish citizens at the beginning of the occupation by strictly applying the language laws, by placing Flemish people in high positions in the administration, and by favouring the rapid release of Flemish PoW's, although the outcome of this last argument is debatable according to de Launay (1977). Despite a late participation from 1941 onwards, that is when they also became victims of deprivation, sanctions, and deportations, 30% of the Resistance fighters were Flemish. (ibid.)

The Belgian government showed its support to the British Allies by taking an active part in the Resistance, particularly by encouraging propaganda to promote the Resistance. (ibid.)

3.4.1. Orchestrating the Resistance

From an organisational point of view, the civil Resistance was orchestrated by movements (with or without political origin) and Resistance networks.

The following distinction between movements and networks can be drawn: movements were born and developed independently from London, carrying out various missions, whereas networks owed their existence and/or efficiency to the close links they had with Belgian and British services in London, carrying out the missions allocated by those services. (Pauhaut & Maerten, 2006)

3.4.2. Resistance movements and their actions

Among the most important Resistance movements were the Witte Brigade (WB), the Armée de la Libération (AL), the Mouvement National Belge (MNB), the G Group, the Mouvement National Royaliste (MNR) created by the French-speaking extreme right, the Armée Secrète (AS) created by the patriotic right and previously called the Légion Belge, and the FI created by the communist party, to which were added the Milices Patriotiques (MP), the Armée Belge des Partisans (ABP), trade union struggle committees, and the structure called Solidarité, which helped families of Resistance members. Although some movements were founded based on political ideologies, the personal political objectives they pursued were put aside in 1942 to concentrate on the priority: liberating the country from the occupier. People from all political backgrounds joined these movements. Some movements worked together, such as the MNR and the AS. (ibid.)

Regarding the actions undertaken, some movements took part in purely non-violent Resistance, such as the WB, the structure Solidarité (part of the FI) and the central core of the FI. These non-violent actions included: propaganda through the production and distribution of underground newspapers; helping illegals, such as Allied airmen, Jews, Resistance fighters, rebels, and their families, to hide or escape; collecting and transmitting information; collecting and distributing funds; fighting deportation and rescuing Jews. In addition, encouragement of sporadic work stoppages and street demonstrations for better supplies and the return of prisoners were also part of these non-violent actions. (ibid.)

Other movements, such as the AS, the ABP and the MP (part of the FI), mostly took part in armed actions, such as sabotage, attacks, requisitions, guerrilla warfare, cleaning up German resistance pockets, and attacking members of the occupation army. (ibid.)

Others took part in non-violent Resistance and carried out light sabotage, such as the AL, the MNR, and the MNB. (ibid.)

Finally, Group G was responsible for specific actions, that is attacking railway and river communication routes, and energy supplies. (ibid.)

3.4.3. Resistance networks and their actions

There was a total of 37 Resistance networks, that is 18,716 people, operating in close liaison with the Belgian and British governments in London. They collected and transmitted information, and they set up escape routes for several categories of people: people wishing to join the free world, British soldiers, Belgians wishing to serve in England, and Jews. They also carried out propaganda via the underground press and organised sabotage. (ibid.)

Consequently, as mentioned by Pahaut and Maerten (2006), Belgium would become “one of the most convenient routes to reach Germany”. Resistance networks also allowed the British to “know and locate the main industrial production sites working for the Reich so that they could eventually neutralise them by bombing.” [our translation] (Pahaut & Maerten, 2006: 48)

3.4.4. A Resistance myth?

Contrary to the ‘Blitz spirit’ that developed in Britain during the Battle of Britain (cf. chapter 4, section 4.3.6.2), there was no myth that developed around the courage of Belgians who resisted against the German occupation in Belgium. According to Pahaut & Maerten (2006), people in 1944 even failed to recognise the role of the Resistance in the liberation of Belgium, solely attributing it to the Allies.

Nowadays, the role of the Resistance in the liberation of the country is recognised and commemorated. However, this historic opposition to the German occupation regime does not form a component of Belgian identity.

3.5. Collaboration movements under the German occupation

Opposed to members of Resistance movements, and in favour of the German occupation, another minority of people joined collaboration movements.

De Wever (2019) highlights the importance of drawing a distinction between collaboration movements that actively and voluntarily collaborated with the occupier, which

are described below, and the Belgian authorities and civil servants that administratively collaborated with the occupier in the context of the 'lesser of the two evils' policy', which is described in chapter 3, section 3.3.4. The actions of the following collaboration movements were often based on antidemocratic and/or Flemish-nationalist ideology.

Collaborators formed a small minority within the Belgian population. Moreover, the number of collaborators was lower in Wallonia than in Flanders. (www.belgiumwwii.be) De Wever (2019) gives some figures, explaining that 100,000 Belgians collaborated. Among them, 53,000 people were convicted of collaboration after the war, of which 40,000 of military collaboration. The figure of 120,000 is mentioned by de Launay (1977), that is a maximum of 15% of the population.

(Para)military collaborators were those who wore a uniform and/or carried weapons. Other forms of collaboration existed, such as political, administrative, and economic collaboration. Some members of collaboration movements indeed held high positions and worked in the civil service. (Wouters 2007a) They were thus in a prime position to collaborate with the occupying forces and to provide them with information. According to van Doorslaer (2007), it was the case for members of the Vlaams Nationaal Verbond (VNV), and, to a lesser extent, for members of *Rex*. Institutions, such as the Ministry of the Interior and the NWO, were consequently dominated by political collaborators.

3.5.1. Collaboration movements in Wallonia

The main collaboration movement in Wallonia was *Rex*, the Rexist political party that was founded by Léon Degrelle. Degrelle went so far as to fight on the Eastern Front after the invasion of the Soviet Union. (Verhoeven, 1994) The Légion Wallonie (LW) was henceforward formed, with 850 volunteers who accompanied Degrelle on 8th August 1941. The LW was initially integrated into the Wehrmacht because non-Germans could not join the Waffen-SS. However, as Hitler considered Degrelle to be "the only usable Belgian" (Verhoyen, 1994: 313), the unit, which consisted then of 1,600 men, was integrated into the Waffen-SS on 1st June 1943, and became the Sturmbrigade SS Wallonien. According to De Wever (2019), 8,000 French-speaking Belgians joined this unit. With the aim of enlarging the unit, Degrelle planned to exchange Belgians who were working in Germany for 40,000 refractory people in May 1944. The lists were drawn up, but the plan was prevented from implementation by the liberation.

Besides this military collaboration, Steinberg (1986) argues that the Security and Information Department of Rex participated in arrests in occupied Belgium, as did the Flemish SS. De Wever (2019) adds that other members of the party joined the Sipo-SD. However, the number of Rex members in occupied Belgium decreased because of Degrelle's decisions. (www.belgiumwwii.be)

3.5.2. Collaboration movements in Flanders

In Flanders, several collaboration movements existed. The VNV, Volksverwerving, the Algemene SS-Vlaanderen (ASSVL), which later became the SS-Standaard Vlaanderen (SSSVL), the Duits-Vlaamse Arbeidsgemeenschap (DeVlag), and the Verbond van Dietsche Nationaal Solidaristen (Verdinaso) can notably be mentioned.

3.5.2.1. Volksverwerving

According to Wouters (2007b), Volksverwerving was the main Belgian antisemitic collaboration association during the occupation. It was founded by René Lambrichts. It played a role in the persecution of Jews by using propaganda through newspapers, public meetings, and film screenings. It encouraged its members and the population to search for and denounce Jews, and it passed on information to the Sipo-SD. Verhoeyen (1994) states that Volksverwerving organised the screening of the antisemitic film 'The Eternal Jew' on 14th April 1941. The screening was followed by the destruction of synagogues, and the burning of buildings where Jews lived or worked. Members of the ASSVL and the Zwarte Brigade, that is the militia of the VNV, took part in those actions. In addition to its activity in the persecution of Jews, Volksverwerving recruited people to work for the Waffen-SS.

The association gave birth to the Ligue La Défense du Peuple (LLDP) and the Centrale anti-Juifs pour la Flandre et la Wallonie (CAJFW), which later became the Bureau des Enquêtes Raciques et Généalogiques (BERG). (Wouters, 2007b)

The LLDP constituted the Walloon part of the organisation. It published anti-Jewish propaganda newspapers, incited denunciation, and published contact details of Jews. It merged with the Mouvement National Populaire Wallon, another collaboration organ. (ibid.)

The CAJFW was created on request of Asche, the leader of the Brussels Sipo-SD, in July 1941. The aim of this section was to help the Brussels Nazi police collect information about Jews who were living in Belgium. It was also a documentation centre for Volksverwerving, but the collaboration between the section and the main association came to an end due to a power struggle between Lambrichts and Beeckmans, who had been appointed leader of the CAJFW. On 1st March 1943, the CAJFW became, as stated before, the BERG. The BERG helped with the registration and identification of Jews (ibid.).

3.5.2.2. Vlaams Nationaal Verbond

Steinberg (2004) contests Wouters' statement, arguing that the main collaborator movement in Flanders was the VNV.

The Flemish-nationalist party aimed at unifying Flanders and the Netherlands. The party, which was already in contact with the German secret services before the outbreak of the war, collaborated with the occupying forces, and recognised Hitler as its leader. The collaboration of the party was therefore primarily political. It communicated its ideas with the help of writers, musicians, and artists. According to De Wever (2019), the party became the partner of the German military administration, and, as mentioned above, its members occupied high ranking positions, such as General Secretaries or mayors. The VNV also formed paramilitary sections, such as the Zwarte Brigade that helped the occupier, and recruited soldiers for the Eastern Front, notably within the Flemish Legion that numbered 10,000 men.

3.5.2.3. Verdinaso

Verdinaso mainly consisted of a militia. The moderate wing of the association supported King Leopold III during the occupation, but its radical wing became a collaboration movement that was forcibly integrated into the VNV by the occupier in May 1941. Some members refused this integration, and consequently joined the Flemish SS. (www.belgiumwwii.be)

3.5.2.4. DeVlag

DeVlag was a Belgo-German cultural organisation of the Universities of Leuven and Cologne, which promoted cultural collaboration between Belgium and Germany. At first, the

organisation ceased its activities at the outbreak of the war. It then resumed its cultural activities in August 1940, with the support of the VNV. However, DeVlag became part of the German SS in 1941. Due to a power struggle, VNV members were no longer allowed to join DeVlag in 1943. DeVlag gradually collaborated more with the Flemish SS and carried out actions against Resistance fighters. The association also participated in the hunt for Jews who had gone underground. Some members joined the Sipo-SD in the occupied country (De Wever, 2019).

3.5.2.5. Algemene SS-Vlaanderen

The ASSVL, which was founded by the German SS in November 1940, consisted of a couple hundred members. In October 1942, it was renamed the SSSVL. Henceforth the Flemish SS organisation formed an integral part of the German SS and started collaborating with DeVlag. Some members were sent to the Eastern Front, while others fulfilled surveillance and research missions for the Sipo-SD in Belgium. (ibid.)

3.5.2.6. Denunciations

Some Belgian people started denouncing their neighbours, colleagues, family members, etc. Although these denunciations were sometimes linked to the denouncer's membership of a collaboration movement, De Wever (2019) argues that they were most of the time personal settlements of scores.

3.6. The Battle of the Bulge

After the liberation of Belgium, a last battle took place in the country. It was the Battle of the Bulge.

After the Normandy landings, the situation in the West was not great for the German side. Therefore, Hitler decided that the German Army would counterattack in the Belgian Ardennes in the autumn of 1944. The presence of the British (in Holland and in the North of Belgium) and American (in the South of Belgium) Allies constituted the main problem for Germany. For that reason, the aim of the operation was to seize the harbour of Antwerp so that the Allies would not get any more supplies. It would then be possible to separate the

British and American Allies and to negotiate a separate peace in the West that would allow Hitler to focus on the campaign in the East. (www.bastognewarmuseum.be)

The battle started on 16th December 1944. Some localities such as Saint-Vith, Manhay, Houffalize, La Roche, Rendeux, Saint-Hubert, and Rochefort fell into German hands. However, the Allies managed to slow down the enemy, and the German attack was stopped near Dinant on Christmas day. Nevertheless, it was not enough to stop Hitler, who changed his plan of heading to Antwerp, and decided to concentrate on attacking the city of Bastogne, which was already surrounded, from 28th December onwards. The Allies attacked the German enemy by air. By land, British and American soldiers pushed back German soldiers beyond their start line during more than one month, winning the battle on 31st January 1945. (www.belgiumwwii.be)

The fighting conditions were difficult on both sides as the temperatures sometimes plummeted to -20°C, and the snow layer could be as high as 40 centimetres. The lives of civilians were threatened, so they gathered, hid in forests, stables, or cellars to be safer. (www.bastognewarmuseum.be)

The precise number of victims in the battle can hardly be determined. However, according to the Bastogne War Museum, Germany lost between 70,000 and 100,000 men, while the Allies lost between 75,000 and 80,000 fighters. Concerning civilian losses, between 2,000 and 2,500 people were killed in Belgium, and around 500 in Luxembourg. Some civilians were killed in the Allied bombings, others lost their lives because of landmines, grenades, or stray bullets, whereas 250 of them were murdered by the Nazis. (www.bastognewarmuseum.be) In addition, de Launay & Offergeld (1982) mention that 11,000 buildings were destroyed.

4. Historical context: the Second World War in Britain

4.1. The Holocaust and the deportation of Jews from Britain

The situation in Britain during the war was different from the Belgian situation. As explained by Vice (2020), Britain was indeed not occupied during the war, apart from the Crown Dependencies of the Channel Islands. On these islands, “over 1,000 local people were deported to Germany on account of resistance activities and as reprisals, while three Jewish

women were deported to Auschwitz where they were killed". (Vice, 2020: 287) Considering that tiny number of victims, we cannot, strictly speaking, state that the Holocaust happened on British soil. However, it is worth mentioning the attitude of the British government towards Jewish refugees from other countries.

4.1.1. Emigration policy in Britain before the war

Hammel (2020) explains that the immigration control system in Britain was determined by the Aliens Act of 1905. The author adds that two other acts, that is the Aliens Restriction Acts 1914 and 1919, limited the rights of immigrants to enter Britain. "Immigrants were admitted on a case-by-case basis, the main consideration being whether the person seeking admittance was considered to be of benefit to the British state". (Hammel, 2020: 95) In 1933 the policy was relaxed, admitting Jewish refugees for humanitarian reasons. However, after the annexation of Austria in March 1938, larger numbers of Jews sought refuge in Britain, hence the decision of Britain to introduce a visa requirement. This procedure was supported by the Anglo-Jewish community. (Hammel, 2020) However, following the persecution in Nazi Germany, Britain accepted larger numbers of refugees in the last eighteen months before the outbreak of the war, admitting around 50,000 people, including 10,000 unaccompanied children. (www.hmd.org.uk)

In November 1938, following the atrocities of 'Reichskristallnacht' (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.1.), Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain indeed understood the importance of helping the Jews and the decision was thus made, in agreement with Anglo-Jewish leaders, to temporarily admit a number of unaccompanied children. "All children whose maintenance could be guaranteed by private individuals or charitable organisations were allowed to be admitted to Britain without going through the arduous process of applying for a visa". (Hammel, 2020: 96) The British government was thus willing to help but did not want to carry the financial burden of the operation. The ground for the Kindertransport was set.

4.1.2. The Kindertransport

As a result of the government's decision, transports of children arrived from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland between December 1938 and September 1939. (Hammel, 2020) According to Fast (2011), most children arrived by train although some also arrived by

ship or by plane. The first Kindertransport arrived in Harwich, Britain, on 2nd December 1938. Ten days later, a second transport arrived from Vienna. Henceforth two Kindertransport arrived per week, the frequency intensifying in June and July 1939 with transports arriving daily. Hammel (2020) mentions that children were generally aged two to seventeen but there were younger children. Fast (2011) confirms that children aged six months were present on the trains.

4.1.2.1. The arrival in Britain

Once they arrived in Britain, children with individual guarantors directly took a train to Liverpool station or Victoria station in London. Guarantors were called and had to sign documents to claim these children. When guarantors did not come immediately, children were temporarily sent to camps that had been especially rented. Younger children were placed in children's homes. (Fast, 2011)

Children who did not have individual guarantors were placed in camps, hostels, or schools. Children were supposed to stay for one day or two before leaving for foster homes but as it was sometimes difficult to find homes, especially for older boys, more hostels were opened. Foster parents indeed tended to opt for young children or for older girls, who could help in the household. (ibid.)

Children, who were often traumatised by the separation from their parents, had to adapt to new codes of conduct, a new language, other lifestyles. Some cases of verbal, physical, or sexual abuse were reported, but they were the exceptions. (ibid.)

4.1.2.2. The end of the project

The Kindertransport stopped in September 1939 with the outbreak of the war. Among the children who had already arrived in Britain, 2,000 to 3,000 were evacuated to the countryside, together with British children. (ibid.)

4.1.2.3. The internment of enemy aliens

After Britain declared war on Germany on 3rd September 1939, a tribunal was set up in October 1939, with the aim of determining who among the alien population might be a threat to the security of the state. In May 1940, the government "began to intern 'enemy

aliens' aged 16 years of age and older, grouping them into three categories, namely 'A' – deemed suspect and interned immediately; 'B' – to remain at liberty under restrictions; and 'C' – not considered a security risk." (Fast, 2011: 68) Most children from the Kindertransport were categorised as 'B'. However, by the end of the month, all Germans and Austrians who were aged 16 to 70 and belonged to category 'B' were also interned, together with some people from category 'C'. They were placed in interment or transit camps on the Isle of Man or in England. Large numbers of internees were then deported to Canada and Australia on request of the government. According to Fast (2011), 1,000 children from the Kindertransport were interned, among whom 201 were deported to Australia or Canada. Internees in Australia were released in 1941. They could stay in Australia or return to Britain. In June 1941, some internees could also return from Canada to Britain, but it was not until November 1942 that those who had remained in Canada were regarded as friendly aliens on the Canadian territory. In Britain, some internees were released by late 1940, and most of them had been freed by 1941. However, a curfew remained in place until 1944. The Jewish community, refugee organisations, and citizens, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, were opposed to this internment. (Fast, 2011)

It is worth mentioning that although the British government did not financially support the Kindertransport and interned some of the children as enemy aliens in 1940, the operation is "generally seen as a positive chapter in British history" (Hammel, 2020: 94)

4.1.2.4. Participation in the war effort and end of the war

Although they had been treated as enemy aliens, children from the Kindertransport, more precisely 754 boys and 157 girls, enlisted in the British armed forces in the Pioneer Corps, that is the Jewish Brigade. They were later transferred to the regular service or were seconded to the intelligence service. (Fast, 2011)

Although it had been planned that those children would emigrate within two years at the beginning of the project, the majority remained in Britain and became citizens when the government passed the necessary legislation after 1945. (ibid.)

4.2. The Evacuation of Dunkirk

As previously stated, the BEF had been sent to France during the 'Phoney War', then moved to Belgium to put the 'Dyle-Breda Manoeuvre' into practice on 10th May 1940. As a result of the failure of the manoeuvre, the French and British Armies were pushed back. (www.secondeguerre.net) The BEF soldiers became encircled, and Dunkirk was the only possible evacuation port. The Evacuation of Dunkirk, also called 'Operation Dynamo', was therefore launched.

Between 26th May and 4th June 1940, 338,226 men, among whom 50,000 French and Belgian soldiers, were evacuated by an extraordinary fleet. Noakes (2014) indeed explains that a flotilla of 'little ships' helped the Royal Navy with the evacuation. Only 60,000 members of the BEF could not be evacuated and were either killed in France, were missing, or were made PoW's. (Lake, 2000) However, the veracity of those figures is debatable as, according to Moore (2010), out of the 338,226 men that were evacuated at Dunkirk, 139,997 were French. The author also states that a total of 56 Fighter Command pilots were killed during the Evacuation of Dunkirk, while eight were made prisoners and 11 were wounded. (Moore, 2010) All British troops and squadrons had withdrawn to Britain by 18th June. The Battle of France, which had begun simultaneously with the invasion of Belgium on 10th May 1940, continued after Dunkirk until 22nd June 1940, when France finally surrendered. (Lake, 2000)

According to Noakes (2014), Dunkirk is considered as a defeat in France, but is regarded as a victory in Britain.

4.3. The Battle of Britain and the Blitz

After the Evacuation of Dunkirk and the end of the Battle of France, the BEF had survived in terms of numbers of men, but it was weakened in terms of armour, transport, heavy weapons, ammunition, rifles, and other supplies. Erhard Milch, Göring's deputy, therefore stated that it was time to attack Britain and that if they waited, it would be too late. Milch was right, waiting would give the British time to recover their pride and morale, and to get rearmed and re-equipped, but the Führer did not agree and preferred to wait, convinced that Britain would sue for peace. (Lake, 2000) According to Moore (2010), Hitler would have preferred to establish a peace settlement with Britain, but Downing Street did not agree.

The first orders to attack Britain by air were issued by Göring, who commanded the Luftwaffe, that is the German Air Force, on 30th June 1940. Germany had great confidence that air superiority, which would be necessary for any land invasion, could be achieved within two or three weeks. The main objective of the RAF was thus to deprive the Luftwaffe of air supremacy so that no land invasion would be possible. (Lake, 2000)

RAF's Fighter Command, which was formed in 1936 and commanded by Sir Hugh Dowding, was the key command that fought during the Battle of Britain. According to Moore (2010), it was headquartered at Bentley Priory, near Stanmore, on the outskirts of London. It was composed of 4 units: NO.11 Group, NO.12 Group, NO.13 Group, and NO.10 Group which was later formed. Lake (2000) explains that "the Battle of Britain was fought largely in the skies over No. 11 Group's area" (Lake, 2000: 174), that is the southern part of the country.

It is worth mentioning that, as stated by Lake (2000), it is difficult to precisely date the beginning and the end of the Battle of Britain because it was an air battle. Historians indeed do not all agree on the same dates. However, 10th July is usually considered as the date of the beginning of the Battle of Britain even though there had already been more than twelve raids, starting on 1st July. (Lake, 2000) Moore (2010) agrees, and mentions 10th July as the official start date of the Battle of Britain. She adds that the turning point on that day was not the German policy, which did not change in comparison with the early days of July, but it was the reaction of the British against the more frequent and more intense Luftwaffe raids.

4.3.1. Phase 1 – Kanalkampf (Battle over the Channel)

As defined by Lake (2000), the Battle of Britain was "an air campaign alone, initially aimed at military and industrial targets, and not the British people themselves". (Lake, 2000: 48) This definition of the Battle of Britain can be used to describe the first phase of the battle, that is 'Kanalkampf' (Battle over the Channel in English), which took place between 1st July and 7th August 1940.

The main targets of the Luftwaffe during this first phase of the battle were indeed the RAF itself, the armament industry, coastal convoys, transatlantic shipping, and British ports and harbours. The Luftwaffe chose those targets to attract fighters in the air and to destroy them, but also to dent Britain's war effort and to prepare coastal cities for German landings. (Moore, 2010)

4.3.2. Phase 2 – Adlerangriff (Attack of Eagles)

8th of August marks the beginning of the second phase of the Battle of Britain, according to historians. However, according to Lake (2000) “the 8 August did not mark the start of the mass attacks which characterised Göring’s Adlerangriff (Attack of Eagles), but rather a more serious prosecution of the ongoing Kanalkampf.” (Lake, 2000: 144) German attacks thus still focused on convoy attacks, until 11th August.

On 11th August, the nature of the German attacks changed as it was decided that “all known radar stations should be put out of action before Adlerangriff, which was scheduled to start on Tuesday 13 August”. (Lake, 2000: 152)

Tuesday 13th August was called ‘Adler Tag’ (Eagle Day) and marked the beginning of ‘Adlerangriff’ (Attack of Eagles), that is the massive, planned air campaign of the Luftwaffe. According to Moore (2010), the targets became Fighter Command’s airfields, and other military targets, such as naval bases and aeronautic factories.

During the night of 24th August, London was bombed for the first time. The Luftwaffe indeed attacked the oil terminal at Thameshaven, but the bombs fell on the East End at Bethnal Green, East Ham, Finsbury, and Stepney. (Moore, 2010) Consequently, RAF’s Bomber Command in turn attacked Berlin in the night of 25th August. In reaction, the main goal of the Nazi hierarchy became the bombing of London. Night raids were launched against other cities on 28th August, including Birmingham, Bournemouth, Bristol, Coventry, Derby, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield. (Lake, 2000)

4.3.3. Phase 3

According to Lake (2000) “Most historians agree that the very nature of the Battle of Britain changed on 7th September, with a shift away from the direct attack on Fighter Command’s airfields and the factories which produced its aircraft.” (Lake, 2000: 190) However, even if the main target became London, the goal of the Luftwaffe was still to destroy Fighter Command. Göring thought that targeting London was a good way to attract RAF’s fighters into the air, to then be able to destroy them.

London was thus the main target, being bombed day and night. Some minor attacks were held against airfields and 'Chain Home Stations', that is RAF's radar stations. There were some nuisance raids and fighter-versus-fighter combats. (Lake, 2000)

Moore (2010) states that on 15th September, the RAF proved that it could not be overcome by the Luftwaffe, even though they had not won the battle yet. That day is, according to Lake (2000), therefore considered as the 'hour of victory', and has been chosen as 'Battle of Britain Day' to annually remember the battle. However, the attacks of the Luftwaffe continued after that day.

4.3.4. The Blitz

On 14th October, really heavy and concentrated attacks against London and other cities started. Over a thousand bombs were indeed dropped over London, killing 591 civilians, and causing 900 fires and heavy damage. Therefore, some historians choose that day as the start date of the Blitz, even though the night attacks against cities had already begun on 7th September. It is worth mentioning that other major cities and ports were affected by the Blitz, also being heavily bombed. (Lake, 2000)

4.3.5. The end of the battle

According to Lake (2000), "The Battle of Britain did not end decisively on a particular date though it had petered out by the end of October." (Lake, 2000: 221) However, the heavy bombing campaign that was held against London from 7th September onwards, and that can be defined as the Blitz, lasted long after the Battle of Britain ended. According to Moore (2010), the Blitz would indeed not lessen until May 1941. Moreover, according to Clapson (2019), it continued until May 1945.

In terms of losses, the outcomes of the war were as follows on the British side: 60,000 men, women, and children died during the German air attacks. In addition, two million homes were destroyed. It is worth mentioning that, when compared to losses in other countries, Britain suffered less from air raids than other countries. (Clapson, 2019)

Although the defeat of the Luftwaffe is questionable according to some experts, the Battle of Britain was defined as a 'historic victory' by the British themselves. This so-called

victory had an influence on the rest of the war, as it is the resistance of the RAF against the Luftwaffe that convinced the US to intervene and help Britain during the rest of the war. (Lake, 2000)

4.3.6. Civilians during the Blitz

It is first worth mentioning that civilians of a country at war and their activities in support of the war effort are often referred to as the 'Home Front'. (www.dictionary.cambridge.org)

4.3.6.1. Impact on daily life

As stated before, many children were mass evacuated from cities from 1st September 1939, in view of possible air raids. In the end, air raids, which intensified in October 1940, did not happen before July 1940.

Many people were injured or made homeless because of the bombing; around 200,000 houses were indeed destroyed. Gas masks were distributed to citizens to protect them in case of gas attacks, and people had to hide in air raid shelters. A night-time blackout was also put in place to make the bombing of cities more difficult for the German enemy. At night, when alert sirens went off, people went to hide in air raid shelters. (www.iwm.org) In London, tube stations were used as shelters; between 100,000 and 150,000 people indeed hid in those stations at night. (<https://daily.istor.org>) These were all part of the Air Raid Precautions (ARP) that were put in place and explained to the population by the organisation of the same name, which was later renamed Civil Defence. Members of the ARP organisation were called ARP wardens. They were also responsible for providing first-aid in the aftermath of an air raid. (www.bbc.co.uk)

Regarding education, schools were still opened although 2,000 school buildings were requisitioned for war use. Lessons sometimes stopped for hours due to air raids as children and teachers had to hide. One school out of five was damaged by the enemy bombs. (www.iwm.org)

Attending school was mandatory until the age of 14, hence a number of teenagers who worked. Children aged over 16 joined the ARP services and helped as messengers, fire

watchers, or joined the voluntary services. Boys and girls aged over 18 were summoned to join the armed forces or the Women's Auxiliary Service to participate in the war effort. (ibid.)

Concerning shortages, food was scarce, like in Belgium. Imported food could indeed not reach Britain anymore. Food rationing was therefore introduced in January 1940. However, babies, children and expectant mothers were allocated extra rations. Food rationing did not end until 1954. (www.iwm.org) Due to food rationing, people were encouraged to 'dig for victory' by the British Ministry of Agriculture. It means that they were encouraged to grow their own food. (www.bl.uk)

Clothing rationing was also introduced from June 1941 onwards. However, in 1942, extra clothing coupons were allocated to growing children. The Women's Voluntary Service also organised clothing exchanges. (www.iwm.org) As a consequence of clothing rationing, a 'make, do and mend' pamphlet was issued by the British Ministry of Information. It provided housewives with ideas for reusing old clothing, covering holes in garments, transforming men's clothes into women's, etc. (www.bl.uk)

In connection with health, the bombing increased the stress rate, leading to a rise in diseases, such as anxiety attacks, tics, peptic ulcers, miscarriages, and cerebral haemorrhages. (<https://daily.jstor.org>)

4.3.6.2. The 'Blitz Spirit': between myth and reality

People outside Britain might not have thorough knowledge of the course of the Battle of Britain, but if one aspect of the battle is worldwide known and recognised, it is the courage of the British population during that stage of the war. The 'Blitz Spirit', which can be defined as the sense of unity and the great morale strength of the British population during the Blitz, has been remembered in many ways, inter alia in works of fiction. The morale values that are depicted in the 'Blitz Spirit' are still used today to define Britishness, in other words, what it means to be British. However, according to Lake (2000), "the heroism and the nobility of the time is fondly remembered, and perhaps even exaggerated, while the harsh realities of the period may sometimes be diminished or ignored." (Lake, 2000: 107)

On the one hand, the involvement of the British population in the war effort was a reality. Many people did not wait for the call-up to volunteer for military service. Among the

people who were not eligible for military service, many volunteered to do war work or to participate in war production. Others volunteered for service in the Local Defence Volunteers or in the Observer Corps, or as auxiliary firemen, policemen, firewatchers, or ARP wardens. The tasks of ARP wardens consisted in advising the public, supervising shelters, issuing gas masks, and checking the blackout, that is the obscuration of lightning at night to frustrate German navigation. (Lake, 2000)

On the other hand, the war caused an increase in criminality. A rise in the number of racketeers and black marketeers was the consequence of food rationing. Looters also took advantage of the violence of the events to steal things, such as jewellery and wallets, from people who were victims of the bombing. Some people who were members of the Auxiliary Fire Service were even looters themselves. Criminality was not the only problem, as some people simply failed to be compassionate and help those in need, which puts the sense of unity into question. It was the case, for example, when a cab driver refused to let an injured woman in because he did not want blood in his cab. Another example that can be stated is when people from Epping refused to give shelter to East Enders who had been bombed out, forcing the victims to sleep in the forest. There were also tensions between people living in different areas, particularly when the East End was the main target of the Luftwaffe. These tensions diminished when other areas of London, such as the West End, Kensington, and Chelsea, were also hit by the bombing. (ibid.)

4.4. D-Day

British troops also contributed to the liberation of Europe in 1944. D-Day, also known as the invasion of Normandy or 'Operation Overlord', indeed began on 6th June 1944 and ended on 30th June of the same year. (<https://dod.defense.gov/>) The Allies were present in occupied Europe for the first time after the Evacuation of Dunkirk.

Around 160,000 Allied troops and 6,000 Allied vehicles landed on the Normandy beaches on 6th June 1944. Those land forces were commanded by British General Montgomery. American troops invaded two western beaches (Utah and Omaha), whereas British and Canadian troops invaded eastern beaches, that is Gold and Sword for the British and Juno for the Canadians. (cf. appendix 10). Among the Allies, 10,000 casualties were reported. In addition, the German defences were bombarded by air and by sea. American

General Eisenhower oversaw the air, land and sea units that were involved in the operation. (www.nam.ac.uk)

The landings were successful. However, the Allies needed to advance further into Normandy, hence the launch of additional offensives. According to the Imperial War Museum ([IWM], 2022), “by the end of August 1944, the German Army was in full retreat from France”. (*The 10 Things you Need to Know about D-Day*, para.13) After having liberated France, the Allies liberated Belgium in September 1944 (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.8.).

The IWM (2022) specifies that “‘Overlord’ did not bring an end to the war in Europe, but it did begin the process through which victory was eventually achieved.” (*The 10 Things you Need to Know about D-Day*, para.13) A German counteroffensive was indeed launched in the Belgian Ardennes in December 1944. (cf. chapter 3, section 3.6.)

It is worth mentioning that after the Normandy invasion and the German counteroffensive, also called the Battle of the Bulge, the Allied marched into Germany in 1945. In that context, the British 2nd Army liberated the camp of Bergen-Belsen on 15th April 1945, discovering around 60,000 suffering people. On 7th May, Germany finally surrendered and the day after, that is 8th May 1945, was declared Victory in Europe Day (VE Day). (www.nam.ac.uk)

5. The Second World War in Belgian and English school curricula

As mentioned in the methodology, with the aim of establishing whether a link exists between pedagogical practices about WWII in Belgian and English museums and school curricula, it is necessary to look at whether Belgian and English school curricula set WWII as compulsory knowledge to teach. This chapter will therefore analyse the Belgian and English school curricula.

5.1. The Belgian case

Regarding school curricula in Belgium, the situation is complex. The management of education is indeed a competence that is conferred to communities. School curricula are consequently not the same in the Flemish, French-speaking, and German-speaking communities. As the subject of this dissertation is vast, it was necessary to establish a precise

research framework. This paper will therefore only focus on the case of French-speaking Belgium, and education in the French-speaking community.

Within the French-speaking community, the situation is also highly complex. There is indeed no unique history curriculum for all schools. To understand this, it is necessary to open a parenthesis about the structure of education within the French-speaking community.

5.1.1. Education structure and school curricula in French-speaking Belgium

The website of the Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles (FWB) dedicated to education explains that education can be divided into two, three or four networks, depending on the classification that is established. (www.enseignement.be)

It would not be relevant, in the context of this dissertation, to go into detail about the Belgian education structure. Therefore, I will define it in this paper as being divided into two networks, that is the state network ('réseau officiel' in French) and the state-maintained network ('réseau libre' in French).

According to the FWB, in the state network, education is organised and financed by the FWB. The Service Général de l'Enseignement de la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles (SGEFWB) is thus responsible for writing school curricula for fundamental and secondary education. (www.enseignement.be)

In the state-maintained network, education is organised by an organising authority, and subsidised by the FWB. The Fédération de l'Enseignement Fondamental Catholique (FédEFoC) is thus responsible for writing school curricula for fundamental education. For secondary education, the Fédération de l'Enseignement Secondaire Catholique (FESeC) oversees the writing of school curricula. (ibid.)

However, all school curricula, whether from the state network or the state-maintained network, are written based on decrees and frames of skills issued by the government of the French-speaking community. Among them, the decree called 'Décret Missions', which, according to the Ligue de l'Enseignement et de l'Education permanente (2022), "defines the priority missions of Fundamental Education and Secondary Education." [our translation] (*Le décret "missions", para. 1*)

5.1.2. Fundamental education structure and school curricula in French-speaking Belgium

Fundamental education, whether from the state network or the state-maintained network, is divided into two main categories: pre-school education and primary education. Pre-school education consists of the so-called cycle 1, aimed at children aged 2.5 to 5 years. Primary education consists of three cycles: cycle 2, aimed at children aged 5 to 8; cycle 3, aimed at children aged 8 to 10; and cycle 4, aimed at children aged 10 to 12.

Fundamental education (2.5-12 years)								
Pre-school (2.5-5)			Primary school (5-12)					
Cycle 1 (2.5-5)			Cycle 2 (5-8)		Cycle 3 (8-10)		Cycle 4 (10-12)	
Year 1 (2.5 – 3.5)	Year 2 (3.5 – 4.5)	Year 3 (4.5 -5.5)	Year 1 (5.5 – 7)	Year 2 (7-8)	Year 3 (8-9)	Year4 (9-10)	Year 5 (10-11)	Year 6 (11-12)

Table 1- Fundamental education structure in French-speaking Belgium

5.1.3. References to the Second World War in primary education history curricula

5.1.3.1. State network

The curriculum of the SGEFWB for primary education in the state network dates from 2008. It contains the skills and knowledge for the different cycles (cycle 2 to cycle 4), detailed by subject. Concerning history, references to WWII in terms of knowledge and skills are established as follows:

	Skills	Knowledge
Cycle 4 (10-12 years)	- Using temporal reference points and representations of time to situate oneself and facts in time - Discovering the way of life of people in a given period	- Situating the following historical landmarks: - Contemporary period: Belgian independence, the 1914-1918 war, the 1940-1945 war, the signing of the Treaty of Rome, the first man in space - The modes of oppression and exclusion

Table 2- References to the Second World War in the Belgian history curriculum for primary education of the state network (inspired by: SGEFWB, 2008)

5.1.3.2. State-maintained network

In the state-maintained network, the FédEFoC issued three curricula for primary education in 2018, that is one for each cycle. In each curriculum, expected skills and knowledge are detailed by subject. There is no reference to WWII in the history curriculum for cycle 2. In the history curriculum for cycle 3, WWII is mentioned as an example of important events that pupils should be able to situate in time. The history curriculum for cycle 4 mentions the monument dedicated to the Resistance in Liège as an example of trace of the past that could be analysed in the classroom. Moreover, like in the history curriculum for cycle 4 of the state network, under the skill 'Using temporal reference points to situate oneself and facts in time', pupils should be able to situate WWII. However, the cycle 4 history curriculum of the state-maintained network does not mention, unlike the state network curriculum, modes of oppression and exclusion. (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.3.1.)

5.1.4. Secondary education structure and school curricula in French-speaking Belgium

Secondary education, both in the state and state-maintained networks, is divided into three grades: the first grade for teenagers aged 12 to 14, the second grade for teenagers aged 14 to 16, and the third grade for those aged 16 to 18. In the first grade, all pupils receive the same training, which is called the common core. In the second and third grades, pupils can choose between four types of education: general, transitional, technical or vocational education. History is a mandatory course for all grades and all types of education.

In both the state and state-maintained networks, each subject has its own curriculum. The history curricula are spread as follows:

- A curriculum for the first grade (Years 1 & 2)
- A curriculum for the second and third grades (Years 3, 4, 5 & 6) of general and transitional education
- A curriculum for the second and third grades (Years 3, 4, 5 & 6) of technical and vocational education

These curricula contain the knowledge and the know-how that should be taught in the classroom, along with the final skills that should be acquired, and examples of learning

situations that allow pupils to put into practice knowledge and know-how in view of acquiring final skills.

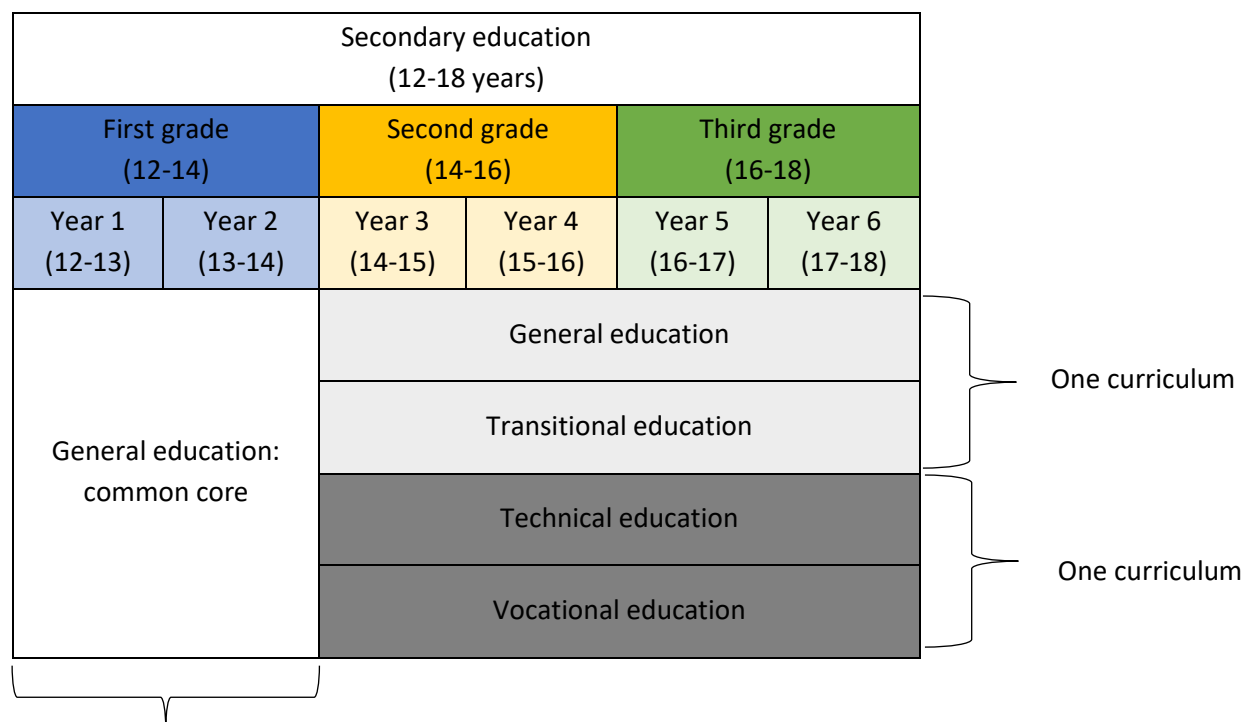


Table 3 - Secondary education structure in French-speaking Belgium

5.1.5. References to the Second World War in secondary education history curricula

5.1.5.1. First grade

5.1.5.1.1. State network

The history curriculum of the SGEFWB for the first grade of secondary education dates from 2000 and is divided into 9 surveys. The first reference to WWII appears in survey 8, which is devoted to contemporary times. However, it is simply a question of being able to situate the two World Wars on a timeline.

Survey 9 is devoted to the world after 1940 and is a summary survey that allows pupils to apply the skills that they have learned in previous surveys. The choice of topic is therefore free, and among the suggested examples of topics is 'daily life during the war'.

5.1.5.1.2. State-maintained network

In the first grade of the state-maintained network, the history course is combined with the geography course under the course called 'étude du milieu' (EDM). The EDM curriculum of the FESec dates from 2008. There is no explicit reference to WWII. However, in the second year of the first grade, under the chapter 'living in society', there is a reference to 'phenomena of social integration and solidarity: social mix, multiculturalism, fight against oppression and exclusion (social security, trade unionism)' and to 'social exclusion phenomena: impoverishment, unemployment, segregation, social differences, exploitation, oppression'. Teachers could thus choose to use this chapter to talk about oppression during WWII.

5.1.5.2. Second and third grades general and transitional education

5.1.5.2.1. State network

The second and third grades curriculum of the SGEFWB for general and transitional education dates from 2000.

It is in Year 5, that is the first year of the third grade, that pupils are invited to discover WWII. The mandatory knowledge includes the general topic 'democracy/authoritarian system/people's rights and duties'. In this topic, we more precisely find:

- 'National Socialism': in the examples of learning situations, pupils are invited to draw a link between National Socialism and the concept of democracy, and to discover how power can be seized in authoritarian regimes
- 'concentration camps and genocide': in the examples of learning situations, pupils are invited to visit Fort Breendonk or the Musée Juif de la Déportation in Mechelen, which was later renamed KD, to learn about the persecution of Jews
- 'collaboration or Resistance': in the examples of learning situations, pupils are invited to discover collaboration and Resistance, and the reasons behind the choice through testimonies

It is worth mentioning that the recommendation for visiting the sites of Breendonk or Mechelen was added to the curriculum following a request of the Association des Rescapés de Breendonk (ARB). It was thus not the initiative of the FWB.

5.1.5.2.2. State-maintained network

The second and third grades curriculum of the FESec for general and transitional education dates from 2008.

It is in Year 6, that is the second year of the third grade, that pupils are invited to discover WWII. The mandatory knowledge includes concepts such as ‘nationalism’, ‘social stratification’ and ‘democracy/authoritarianism’, but also key moments such as ‘totalitarianism’, ‘concentration camps’ and ‘the Shoah’¹. The examples of learning activities include fascism, the big phases of WWII, collaboration, and the Resistance in Belgium.

5.1.5.3. Second and third grades technical and vocational education

5.1.5.3.1. State network

Technical and vocational education used to have separate curricula, but they have been combined in the new curriculum of the SGEFWB in 2015.

Like in general and transitional education of the state network, it is in the first year of the third grade (Year 5) that pupils are invited to discover WWII. Chapter 5 of the curriculum is indeed devoted to the rise of totalitarianism, Nazi Germany, World Wars and genocide. Pupils are invited to bridge the gap between past and present through the skill ‘comparing’ and the know-how ‘placing in a historical perspective, according to the axis of comparison, the fragility of democracy in the face of the extreme right in order to shed light on societal issues related to active citizenship and cultural diversity’. The compulsory knowledge includes the following concepts:

- ‘rights and freedoms’, among which totalitarianism, absence of rights, freedoms and independent justice. The Shoah² is indicated in the curriculum as time benchmark for this concept.
- ‘images of power’, among which the cult of the leader and the role of propaganda

¹ The term ‘Shoah’ is a synonym for the term ‘Holocaust’. Both terms refer to the systematic persecution and extermination of Jews from Europe by Nazi Germany and its collaborators during WWII. The term ‘Holocaust’ has generally been chosen in the framework of this research, as it is more often used than ‘Shoah’ in English-speaking countries. However, the term ‘Shoah’ has been used here to stick to what is written in Belgian school curricula.

² Cf. footnote 1

- 'social stratification', including the classification of Aryans/non-Aryans, and the relationship between these groups. The curriculum defines more precisely as notions linked to this concept 'the discriminatory policy exercised against populations considered inferior: Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, homosexuals' and 'measures aiming at their extermination: euthanasia, deportations, gassing, executions by shooting'.

It is worth mentioning that the former 2003 and 2006 curricula, respectively dedicated to technical education and vocational education, included, like the curriculum of the SGEFWB for general and transitional education and on request of the ARB, a recommendation for visiting Fort Breendonk or KD. This recommendation was removed from the new common curriculum in 2015.

5.1.5.3.2. State-maintained network

Regarding technical and vocational education in the state-maintained network, the FESEc established a common curriculum for both history and geography in 2014.

Like in general and transitional education of the state-maintained network, it is in the second year of the third grade (Year 6) that pupils are invited to discover WWII. The mandatory knowledge includes the following concepts:

- 'democracy and authoritarianism': power holders, rights/freedoms, institutions
- 'social stratification': social groups, distinctive traits, relationships between groups

The key moments 'World Wars', 'rise of totalitarianism' and 'genocides' are also mentioned, along with the time benchmarks 'Hitler's accession to power' and 'the Shoah'³.

Teachers are encouraged to teach those concepts and key moments by talking about 'genocides of the 20th century that are linked to Nazism', and about the 'characteristics of a totalitarian ideology and the seductive factors of the discourses that promote(d) them today/yesterday (Nazism and Stalinism)'.

³ Cf. footnote 1, p.68

5.2. The English case

As stated in the methodology, each country of the UK has its own school curricula. The NC that is written by the UK government's DfE only applies to England.

It is worth mentioning that within England, the NC only applies to state schools, that is schools that are funded by the government and run by the local authority. Free schools, also called academies, and independent schools do not have to follow the NC that is established by the government. (www.gov.uk)

Regarding Belgium, schools from both the state and state-maintained networks were analysed, because school curricula for both networks are based on recommendations issued by the government of the French-speaking community. Willing to follow the same pattern, that is focusing on school curricula that are established under the direction of the government in power, this paper will concentrate on analysing references to WWII in the NC that applies to English state schools.

5.2.1. Education structure and school curricula in England

In England, school is mandatory from the age of 5 years. Children first attend primary education. Primary education consists of Key Stages (KSs) 1 and 2. KS1, also called infant school, welcomes children aged 5 to 7. KS2, also called junior school, is aimed at children aged 7 to 11. (www.gov.uk)

Pupils then attend secondary education, which is divided into KS3 (pupils aged 11 to 14), KS4 (pupils aged 14 to 16), and KS5 (pupils aged 16 to 18), also called Sixth Form. (ibid.)

History is a mandatory subject from KSs 1 to 3. A history NC is dedicated to KSs 1 and 2, and another one is dedicated to KS 3. Both were issued by the UK government's DfE in 2013. (ibid.)

Concerning KSs 4 and 5, history is not a mandatory subject. At KS4, pupils must take the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSEs). According to Arblaster (2020), pupils must "take exams in at least one each of English, Maths, History or Geography, Sciences (Physics, Chemistry, Biology), and Languages. It is possible to take more than one of each (to do multiple sciences, or multiple languages, or both History and Geography)". (Arblaster,

2020: 11) It thus means that pupils from KS4 can take a history class, but they are not obliged to do it. The same pattern applies to pupils from KS5, who must take the Advanced-level certificate (A-levels) in only three to four subjects. GCSEs and A-levels are developed, marked, and awarded by examination boards. There are currently four examination boards in England: Pearson Edexcel, Oxford Cambridge and RSA (OCR), the Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (AQA), and Eduqas, which was founded by its Welsh counterpart, the Welsh Joint Education Committee, in 2014. (www.gov.uk)

As a result of that situation, the UK government's DfE does not write history school curricula containing specific subject content for KSs 4 and 5. The DfE instead issues documents that mention the scope of study that GCSEs and A-levels specifications should include (cf. appendices 11 & 12). These DfE's recommendations were updated in 2014. GCSEs and A-levels specifications are then written by the different examination boards. These specifications differ from one board to the other. References to WWII mentioned in these specifications will still be considered in the framework of this research, as the specifications written by examination boards follow recommendations issued by the UK government's DfE. (ibid.)

Nursery school or day care	Under 5 (non-mandatory)		
Primary education (5-11 years)	Key Stage 1 (infant school) (5 to 7)	Year 1 (5 to 6)	One DfE's curriculum
		Year 2 (6 to 7)	
	Key Stage 2 (junior school) (7 to 11)	Year 3 (7 to 8)	
		Year 4 (8 to 9)	
		Year 5 (9 to 10)	
		Year 6 (10 to 11)	
Secondary education (11-18 years)	Key Stage 3 (11 to 14)	Year 7 (11 to 12)	One DfE's curriculum
		Year 8 (12 to 13)	
		Year 9 (13 to 14)	
	Key Stage 4 (14 to 16) (GCSEs)	Year 10 (14 to 15)	DfE's recommendations + examination boards' specifications
		Year 11 (15 to 16)	
	Key Stage 5 (Sixth Form) (16 to 18) (A-levels)	Year 12 (16 to 17)	
		Year 13 (17 to 18)	

Table 4 - Education structure in England (inspired by: www.gov.uk)

5.2.2. References to the Second World War in the history curriculum for Key Stages 1 and 2

5.2.2.1. Key Stage 1

There is no explicit reference to WWII in the history curriculum for KS1 (2013). However, the section 'subject content' mentions that pupils should be taught about:

- 'events beyond living memory that are significant nationally or globally [for example, the Great Fire of London, the first aeroplane flight or events commemorated through festivals or anniversaries]'
- 'significant historical events, people and places in their own locality'

As different aspects of WWII are commemorated through anniversaries in the country, teachers could thus choose to talk about them. Moreover, in localities which were affected by the Battle of Britain and the Blitz, or which welcomed Jews, teachers could also choose to tackle these events.

5.2.2.2. Key Stage 2

The history curriculum for KS2 (2013) mentions that pupils should be taught about a local history study. The examples given in the curriculum are non-statutory so teachers in localities which were affected by WWII could choose to tackle that topic.

Moreover, the curriculum mentions that pupils should be taught about 'a study of an aspect or theme in British history that extends pupils' chronological knowledge beyond 1066'. The example of the Battle of Britain is stated but is non-statutory.

5.2.3. References to the Second World War in the history curriculum for Key Stage 3

As mentioned in the KS3 history curriculum (2013), pupils should be taught about a local history study, exactly as for KS2. The examples given in the curriculum are non-statutory so teachers in localities which were affected by WWII could choose to tackle that topic.

Moreover, the curriculum mentions that pupils from KS3 should be taught about 'challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world 1901 to the present day.' The Holocaust is

included in that topic as mandatory knowledge. In addition, WWII and the wartime leadership of Winston Churchill are mentioned as non-statutory examples.

5.2.4. References to the Second World War in examination boards' history specifications for Key Stages 4 and 5

References to WWII are included in the following subjects that are mentioned in the GCSEs (KS4) and A-levels (KS5) examination boards' specifications. It is worth highlighting that pupils taking the GCSEs or A-levels in history might not all study these subjects, as they are part of a broader list of subjects from which pupils have to choose.

Examination boards	GCSEs (Key Stage 4 – 14-16 years)	A-levels (Key Stage 5 – 16-18 years)
Pearson Edexcel	• Modern depth study: Weimar and Nazi Germany, 1918-39 • Thematic study and historic environment: London and the Second World War, 1939-45	• Breadth study with interpretations: Germany and West Germany, 1918-89 • Themes in breadth with aspects in depth: - Germany, 1871-1990: united, divided and reunited - The Changing nature of warfare, 1859-1991: perception and reality
OCR	• Non-British depth study: Germany 1925-1955: The People and the State • British thematic study: - Migration to Britain 1000 to 2000 - War and British Society 790 to 2010	• British period study and enquiry: - Britain 1930-1997 - Britain 1918-1951 • Non-British period study: Democracy and Dictatorships in Germany 1919-1963
Eduqas	• Non-British depth study: Germany in Transition, 1919-1939 • Study in breadth: The Development of Germany, 1919-1939	Eduqas does not organise history A-levels
AQA	• Understanding the modern world: Germany, 1890-1945: Democracy and dictatorship • Wider world depth study: Conflict and tension: the inter-war years, 1918-1939	• Breadth study: - Challenge and transformation: Britain 1851-1964 - The quest for political stability: Germany, 1871-1991 • Depth study: - Wars and Welfare: Britain in Transition, 1906-1957 - Democracy and Nazism: Germany, 1918-1945

Table 5 - References to the Second World War in examination boards' history specifications for Key Stages 4 and 5 (inspired by: <https://qualifications.pearson.com/> ; www.aqa.org.uk ; www.eduqas.co.uk ; www.ocr.org.uk)

6. The Holocaust in Belgian and English museums

As mentioned in the methodology, an emphasis is put on the Holocaust in the third research question. This chapter therefore seeks to further analyse commemorative and pedagogical practices in Belgian and English museums that are related to the Holocaust.

6.1. The Belgian case

In Belgium, there is only one museum which displays a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust, that is KD. In addition, the Jewish Museum of Belgium (JMB) organises a workshop about the Holocaust for schools although it does not display a permanent exhibition about that theme.

6.1.1. *Kazerne Dossin*

Located in Mechelen in the province of Antwerp, KD is a memorial, museum and research centre about the Holocaust and Human Rights. It was inaugurated in 2012 and was formerly called the 'Musée Juif de la Déportation et de la Résistance'. (SPF Chancellerie du Premier Ministre, 2012)

During WWII, more precisely between 1942 and 1944, KD was a transit camp where 25,490 Jews and 353 Romani had to stay, before being deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Only 5% of the people who were deported from KD survived the war. The site is consequently also known as 'the Antechamber of Death'. (www.kazernedossin.eu)

The memorial, which was renovated and reopened in 2020, is a place of mourning dedicated to the families of victims, but it is also opened to the public. It contains pictures of the people who were deported and is located in the old 18th-century building of the barracks. People who visit the memorial can also hear the names of the deportees. (ibid.)

The museum of the Holocaust and Human Rights is located in front of the old barracks. It hosts the permanent exhibition about the Holocaust. This exhibition is dedicated to the persecution of Jews, Romani, and Sinti in Belgium and in the North of France during WWII. Diverse resources, such as pictures, documents, multimedia documents and survivors' testimonies, are used to describe the victims' journey. A wall that displays photo portraits of

the victims is also part of the exhibition. Moreover, the exhibition allows visitors to learn more about the murderers, the witnesses, the reparations, and the management of traumas among survivors. According to KD (2022b), the exhibition seeks to answer the following four questions:

- 1) “How was the persecution and the Holocaust possible?
- 2) Why was there persecution?
- 3) What did the persecution mean for the victims? How did they react?
- 4) Was there no Resistance?” (*Permanent collection*, para. 2)

Finally, the permanent exhibition also more generally tackles Human Rights and their violation in the past and the present. (www.kazernedossin.eu)

6.1.1.1. Pedagogical activities and resources

6.1.1.1.1. Classical guided tour of the permanent exhibition

A guided tour of the permanent exhibition can be organised for school groups from the second and third grades of secondary education (14-18 years) and from the higher education. The visit begins with an introductory film. According to KD (2022a), during the tour, pupils will learn “how the Nazis seized power, which laws they imposed on the Jews in Belgium, how the barracks evolved into a deportation centre and how some people were able to escape by going into hiding.” (*Guided tour: Permanent exhibition for schools*, para. 2) The guide will encourage them to draw connections between the exhibition and the present and general topics, such as migration, exclusion, and discrimination.

Pedagogical resources for the upstream preparation of pupils before their visit to KD are available in French and in Dutch on the website of the museum. A 58-page file (*‘La masse et la marge’*) was indeed created by the education council of the museum, in collaboration with experts from the Flemish authorities (Vlaamse Overheid) and from the Walloon authorities (FWB). The central theme of those preparatory lessons is the seizure of power by the Nazis, with a focus on the processes that they used to massively convince people to join them. (www.kazernedossin.eu)

The document also establishes links between the theme of the preparatory lessons and the school curriculum for Belgian state schools dedicated to pupils from the second and third grades of general and transitional education. The pedagogical file of KD indeed refers to the mandatory concept ‘concentration camps and genocide’ and to the proposed learning

situation 'visits of places such as Breendonk or Mechelen' (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.5.2.1.). It is also mentioned that the pedagogical file can be used to develop transverse skills in the context of the history, foreign language and philosophy courses, and to develop disciplinary skills in history. Those disciplinary skills in history, as described by KD (n.d.a), correspond to the ones that can be found at the end of the state network history curriculum for the second and third grades of general and transitional education, that is:

1) Skill No. 1

On the basis of a past or present situation, develop a research problem and select useful information from various information and documentation sources

2) Skill no. 2

According to a given question, place in its historical context, analyse and criticise a limited number of sources

3) Skill no. 3

On the basis of a limited amount of data, organise a synthesis highlighting, depending on the case, permanent features, evolutionary processes, changes or synchronicities and formulate explanatory hypotheses

4) Skill no. 4

Conceive, prepare and carry out a strategy for communicating historical knowledge using different modes of expression, written, oral, visual or audiovisual

[our translation] (*La masse et la marge – Leçons préparatoires à une visite à la Kazerne Dossin*: 6)

In addition, the pedagogical file of KD highlights that a visit to the museum allows schools to respond to the objectives of the decree of 13th March 2009 that relates to the transmission of the memory of genocide crimes, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and acts of Resistance, or movements that resisted the regimes that caused these crimes. (cf. appendix 13) (www.kazernedossin.eu)

Finally, the link is mentioned between the mission statement of KD (cf. appendix 14) and the objectives of articles 6.3 and 8.9 of the decree called 'Décret missions' (cf. appendix 15), and article 14.2. of the decree that relates to the reinforcement of responsible and active citizenship education in state and state-maintained schools. (cf. appendix 16) (ibid.)

It is worth mentioning that the Dutch version of the pedagogical file is adapted to the objectives of Flemish school curricula. (ibid.)

In practice, the pedagogical file is aimed at pupils from the third grade of secondary education, but it can be adapted to other levels by teachers. It contains worksheets that can be used in the classroom and their solutions, a glossary with definitions of terms that are

specifically linked to the theme, and two lesson plans, including objectives, duration, work format, necessary material, work method, and a possible adaptation. (ibid.)

6.1.1.1.2. Interactive tour: 'Living a life'

An interactive tour led by teachers is another option for pupils from secondary education. Thanks to an *iPad*, pupils will discover the museum and the memorial through the story of Malvine Löwenwirth, a woman who survived the Holocaust. Stops are planned between the different audio extracts so that pupils can discover pictures and documents in the museum and ask and answer questions. Pupils will be encouraged to reflect on current phenomena, such as migration, exclusion, and discrimination. (ibid.)

Pedagogical resources in French and in Dutch can be downloaded from the website of KD. They were created by the museum with the support of experts from the Flemish authorities (Vlaamse Overheid). They include an *iBook*, in the form of slides, that contains missions, exercises, questions and their answers, and a guide for teachers. The guide for teachers contains a short version of Malvine's biography, the objectives of the visit, links to the curriculum for the second and third grades of general and transitional secondary education of the state network and to the relevant education decrees, clear and precise instructions for each stop of the visit, and the instruction manual on how to use the *iBook*. (ibid.)

Regarding links to the school curriculum and to education decrees, they are the same as those described for the 'classical guided tour' (cf. chapter 6, section 6.1.1.1.1.). However, it can be pointed out that this visit, although also referring to the school curriculum for the second and third grades of general and transitional secondary education of the state network, is, contrary to the classical guided tour, accessible to pupils from all levels of secondary education. Moreover, it is worth highlighting that the Dutch version of the pedagogical resources is adapted to the objectives of Flemish school curricula. (ibid.)

6.1.1.1.3. The 'What's New' interactive guided tour

Realised with the support of Fondation Roi Baudouin and in collaboration with *Mediawijs*, the 'What's New' interactive guided tour allows pupils to discover the power of fake news. Pupils will need a smartphone and will have to install the 'Patrimoine App' to get access to the tour. The tour is available to school groups from the third grade of secondary

education (16-18 years) but also to families with teenagers. Pupils will learn what role propaganda and conspiracy theories played in the unfolding of the Holocaust. (ibid.)

Pedagogical material to prepare for the tour is available in French and in Dutch on the website of KD, and in Dutch on the website of their partner, *Mediawijs*.

Resources include a brochure aimed at teachers with advice on how to talk about propaganda and conspiracy theories in the classroom, theoretical background about both topics, a list of websites and other resources to get more information about the topics, and two workshops, including learning objectives and instructions that can be used in the classroom. A *PowerPoint* presentation and pupils' worksheets that can be used in the classroom can also be downloaded from the website of KD. (ibid.)

Links to school curricula are not mentioned on the website or in the brochure.

6.1.1.1.4. Workshop and visit: 'Simon tells'

Pupils from cycle 4 of primary education (10-12 years) can also benefit from a visit in Mechelen. They will be invited to discover the Holocaust and WWII through the story of Simon Gronowski, a Jewish boy who was deported with his mom from KD when he was 11 years old. The visit consists of an upstream preparation in the classroom, a two-and-a-half-hour workshop at the museum, and follow-up lessons in the classroom. During the workshop, the guide will first talk about Simon by using personal objects that belonged to him. He will then discuss with pupils and check what they remember from the preparatory lesson. Pupils will then visit the site with a small bag containing objects that will allow them to complete some missions. At the end of the visit, pupils will have the opportunity to create their own exhibition about themes such as freedom, Resistance or discrimination. (www.kazernedossin.eu)

It is worth mentioning that the workshop takes place in the educational space and focuses on the memorial as to avoid shocking images from the permanent exhibition that are not adapted to primary school pupils. (ibid.)

A teachers' guide ('L'histoire de Simon') is available in French and in Dutch on the website of KD. It was created by the education council of KD and the Flemish authorities (Vlaamse overheid), in collaboration with Simon Gronowski himself. It contains a short version of Simon's biography, references to the primary school curriculum, and explanations about the preparatory lesson, the workshop and the follow-up lessons. (ibid.)

As far as the preparatory lesson is concerned, the teachers' guide mentions the material that teachers should prepare upstream, the objectives, the work method, and instructions. The book that is necessary for the preparatory lesson can also be downloaded from the website of KD. (www.kazernedossin.eu)

Regarding follow-up lessons, they are articulated around the following five themes: 'believing (or not)', 'war and conflicts', 'Resistance', 'freedom', and 'remember'. As for the preparatory lesson, the teachers' guide mentions the work method, instructions, the objectives, the necessary material, but also theoretical background and transitions between each theme. The necessary material includes worksheets and a *PowerPoint* presentation that can be downloaded from the website of the museum. (ibid.)

In terms of know-how, the following links to the cycle 4 primary education school curriculum are mentioned by KD (n.d.b) in the teachers' guide:

- "Using time markers: representations of time to situate oneself and facts in time
 - Reading traces of the past: objects, monuments, old photos, testimonies, etc.
 - Using historical sources: distinguishing, interpreting and comparing"
- [our translation] (*L'histoire de Simon – Guide pour le professeur*: 5)

The teachers' guide issued by KD (n.d.b) also refers to specific knowledge that is mentioned in the curriculum:

- Organisation of time: situating events experienced by oneself or by others
 - The way of life of people at a given time: identifying, comparing and characterising concrete aspects of the way of life, activities and techniques, and work and life in the community
 - The nature of a trace of the past: identifying and classifying objects, monuments, written documents, photographs and audiovisual documents
- [our translation] (*L'histoire de Simon – Guide pour le professeur*: 5)

This knowledge and know-how can be found in the primary school curricula of both the state and state-maintained networks. Moreover, it can be pointed out that the Dutch version of the teachers' guide is adapted to the objectives of Flemish school curricula.

6.1.1.1.5. Mobile exhibition: 'The hidden child'

A mobile exhibition about Jewish children who could escape the atrocity of the Holocaust is permanently available to children from cycle 4 of primary education (10-12 years) and for teenagers from the second and third grades of secondary education (14-18 years). The

particularity of this exhibition is that it is not displayed at the museum. It consists of 15 banners that can be displayed in schools. In addition, teachers receive documents and pictures that can be used in the classroom. It is free and only a deposit will be asked of schools. (www.kazernedossin.eu)

Theory about the exhibition is available in French and in Dutch on the website of the museum. (ibid.)

An educational sheet created in collaboration with the Flemish authorities (Vlaamse Overheid) can also be downloaded in French or in Dutch. It is primarily aimed at teenagers from the second and third grades of general, transitional, technical, and vocational secondary education. The proposed activities are varied so that they can please everyone. However, they can be adapted to other education levels. The sheet contains activities for before, during and after the exhibition. For each activity, objectives and the work method are described. Possible sources, such as websites, books, brochures, and documentary films, are also mentioned. Moreover, KD encourages schools to invite an eyewitness of the Holocaust in the classroom and can act as intermediary between schools and witnesses. (ibid.)

Links to Walloon school curricula are not mentioned for this exhibition, but the Dutch version of the educational sheet mentions links to Flemish school curricula.

6.1.2. The Jewish Museum of Belgium

As previously stated, the JMB does not display a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust, but it offers a workshop about that theme for pupils aged 10 and older. The workshop as currently conceived allows pupils to meet a person who survived the Holocaust. There is no pedagogical file available on the website of the museum for this workshop and there are no links to school curricula that are established. (www.mjb-jmb.org)

6.2. The English case

In England, there are five museums that display a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust. Those museums are the IWM London, the Jewish Museum London (JML), the Manchester Jewish Museum (MJM), the National Holocaust Centre and Museum (NHCM) in

Nottinghamshire, and the Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre (HELC) in West Yorkshire. Among them, only the MJM does not offer pedagogical resources or activities.

In addition, four museums offer pedagogical resources or activities about the Holocaust although they do not display a permanent exhibition about that theme. The IWM North organises a workshop about the Holocaust, whereas the IWM Duxford, the Churchill War Rooms (CWR) and the Second World War Experience Centre (WWIEC) provide schools with pedagogical files or multimedia resources.

6.2.1. The Imperial War Museums

Five museums are designated by the group name 'Imperial War Museums'. Three of them, that is the IWM London, the CWR and *HMS Belfast* are located in London. The two others, the IWM North and the IWM Duxford, are respectively located in Manchester and in Cambridgeshire.

6.2.1.1. The Imperial War Museum London

Since 2000, the IWM London hosts the 'Holocaust Galleries', a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust. According to Holtschneider (2020), it is the only Holocaust exhibition that is publicly funded in the UK. Visitors will discover the individual stories from some of the six million Jewish people who were murdered in the Holocaust through pictures, books, artworks, letters, survivors' testimonies, and personal objects ranging from jewellery and clothing to toys and musical instruments. In the exhibition, the relationship between the Holocaust and the course and consequences of WWII is also examined. It is worth mentioning that the IWM (2022) specifies that it is not recommended for children under the age of 14 to visit the gallery because a film footage, which is displayed in the exhibition, might be shocking. (www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-london)

The first part of the exhibition, that is the upper floor, is dedicated to Nazi ideology and the beginning of the persecution of Jews in Germany. The reactions of Jewish people towards discrimination and violence are also tackled. In addition, this section includes a display about refugees, particularly focusing on the Kindertransport. (Holtschneider, 2020)

The second part of the exhibition, that is the lower floor, is dedicated to the Holocaust itself. It represents the unfolding of genocide, including Nazi murder squads, the ghettoization of the Jewish population, and the establishment of death camps. In this part of the exhibition, visitors will also discover a room-scale representation of Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944. (ibid.)

The last part of the exhibition addresses subjects such as slave labour, rescue, Resistance, the end of the war, and war crime trials. (ibid.)

At the end of the exhibition, interactive screens are displayed in a room and tackle themes that were not addressed in the rest of the exhibition. These themes include the German occupation of the Channel Islands, (ibid.)

Holtschneider (2020) argues that the focus of the IWM Holocaust exhibition is put on the actions of Nazi perpetrators rather than on the victims' perspective. The author adds that the storyline of the exhibition generally "follows the progress from persecution to murder as perceived and executed by the perpetrators". (Holtschneider, 2020: 396) However, video testimonies of survivors are displayed on the lower floor, but, according to Holtschneider (2020), they simply interrupt the perpetrator-led narrative, without undercutting it.

It is worth mentioning that other reviews of the IWM Holocaust exhibition were realised, notably by Jinks in 2013 and by Pearce in 2014. These reviews were generally not taken into consideration in the context of this research because the IWM Holocaust exhibition was renewed in 2020. However, considering that Lawson's arguments were also quoted by Holtschneider in 2020, a part of Jinks' review was taken into account and is described in the following paragraph.

Lawson (as cited in Jinks, 2013 and in Holtschneider, 2020) indeed argues that the British and Allied responses to the 'Final Solution' are mentioned in the IWM's Holocaust exhibition, and their refugee policies are deemed less than humanitarian. The author continues explaining that "the resulting exclusion of refugees is presented as a consequence of economic self-interest and political pragmatism – normative values well within the visitor's accepted political experience". (Lawson, as cited in Holtschneider, 2020: 401)

6.2.1.1.1. Pedagogical activities and resources

Schools cannot self-visit the 'Holocaust Galleries'. They can only visit the Holocaust exhibition as part of the 'Holocaust Learning Programme', which is supported by the Association of Jewish Refugees. The session is available to pupils from upper KS3 (13-14 years), KS4 (14-16 years) and KS5 (16-18 years). The session will help students understand how and why the Holocaust happened. They will notably discover the following themes:

- Life for Jewish people before WWII
- The mass murder of Jewish people due to the Nazi policy
- The role of individuals, groups and governments
- The causes, course and consequences of the Holocaust
- The relationship between the Holocaust and WWII (www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-london)

At the end of the session, pupils will be invited to discuss what they have learned and to record what they think about the Holocaust and its legacy. (ibid.)

On the website of the IWM, the following links to specific history curricula are established (cf. chapter 5, sections 5.2.3. & 5.2.4.):

- KS3: challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world 1901 to the present day
- KS4 Edexcel: modern depth study: Weimar and Nazi Germany, 1918-1939 (Life in Nazi Germany 1933-1939)
- KS4 OCR: non-British depth study: Germany 1925-1955: The People and the State (ibid.)

Notes for teachers are also available on the website of the museum. They contain advice to prepare for the visit, an explanation about the course of the visit at the museum, a notice that some content might be sensitive, and recommendations to prepare pupils for that content and to support them after the visit. A sensitive content guide is consequently also available on the website of the IWM. It gives further advice on how to support pupils and shows a list of sensitive content which is featured in the 'Holocaust Galleries', in the order in which students may encounter it. This includes a map of the 'Holocaust Galleries', and the location of sensitive content on that map. (ibid.)

The museum also offers a teachers' guide to prepare teachers for teaching the Holocaust in secondary schools. The teachers' guide is available on the website of the museum in the form of videos. The videos tackle the following questions that were raised by teachers:

- Why is language so important when trying to teach the Holocaust?
- What should we consider when using images in our teaching of the Holocaust?
- How can the Holocaust be taught with limited teaching time? (ibid.)

6.2.1.2. The Imperial War Museum North

The IWM North, which is located in Stretford, Manchester, does not display a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust, but the museum organises a workshop about the Holocaust for pupils from upper KS3 (13-14 years) and KS4 (14-16 years). Pupils will more precisely learn about political, economic, and social changes in Germany between 1919 and 1939 and how they affected people who lived in the country. Personal stories of men, women and children, propaganda and indoctrination in Nazi Germany, and anti-Jewish laws will also be tackled during the workshop. (www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-north)

In connection with the workshop, the museum mentions the following links to the NC (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.3.):

- KS3 history: challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider worlds 1901 to the present day
- Literacy: developing speaking and listening skills (ibid.)

The teachers' guide for teaching the Holocaust, which was described in section 6.2.1.1.1., is also available on the website of the museum. (ibid.)

6.2.1.3. The Imperial War Museum Duxford

The IWM Duxford does not display a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust and does not organise workshops about the Holocaust for schools. However, the teachers' guide for teaching the Holocaust, which was described in section 6.2.1.1.1., is also available on the website of the museum. (www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-duxford)

6.2.1.4. The Churchill War Rooms

The CWR, which are located in London, do not display a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust and do not organise workshops about the Holocaust for schools. However, the teachers' guide for teaching the Holocaust, which was described in section 6.2.1.1.1., is also available on the website of the museum. (www.iwm.org.uk/visits/churchill-war-rooms)

6.2.2. The Jewish Museum London

The JML hosts the 'Holocaust Gallery', a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust. The gallery is centred on the story of Leon Greenman, who survived six concentration camps, including Auschwitz. In addition, the gallery allows visitors to discover filmed testimonies of four other Holocaust survivors who have settled in Britain, that is Solly Irving, Jack Kagan, Josef Perl and Mala Tribich. (www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/)

The JML hosts another the permanent exhibition, called 'History: A British Story'. In this gallery, visitors will discover refugees from Nazism who settled in Britain, including the 10,000 children from the Kindertransport. (ibid.)

6.2.2.1. Pedagogical activities and resources

The JML offers a wide range of pedagogical activities and resources.

6.2.2.1.1. Mobile exhibitions

First, mobile exhibitions. As previously explained, the particularity of mobile exhibitions is that they are not displayed at the museum, but they can be displayed in schools. Three mobile exhibitions can be hired at the JML. The first one tells the story of Eva Schloss, who was interned in Auschwitz and survived the camp. The second one tackles the story of a group of teenage Holocaust survivors who were admitted to Britain after WWII. The last one illustrates the story of the 10,000 unaccompanied children from the Kindertransport. (www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/)

6.2.2.1.2. Workshops

Second, workshops. Five workshops are organised for schools at the JML. The first workshop can be attended at the museum or at school and is available to pupils from upper KS2 to KS5 (9-18 years). It tackles the impact of Nazi rule on one family and the impact of the Kindertransport. Shabbat and Havdalah, which are not linked to the Holocaust, are also dealt with during the workshop. (ibid.)

The second workshop can be attended at the museum, at school or online and is also available to pupils from upper KS2 to KS5 (9-18 years). The story of the Kindertransport is told as by the 'Kinder' themselves. (ibid.)

The third workshop is virtual. Pupils from KS2 to KS4 (7-16 years) will discover the impact of the Holocaust through the story of a Kindertransport refugee. (ibid.)

The fourth workshop consists of a meeting with a Kindertransport refugee. It can be a face-to-face meeting at the museum or a virtual meeting online. The workshop is available to pupils from KS2 (7-11 years). (ibid.)

The fifth workshop follows the same pattern as the fourth one but is available to pupils from KS3 and KS4 (11-16 years). (ibid.)

6.2.2.1.3. Resources

Finally, resources. A file describing anti-Jewish laws in Germany is available on the website of the museum. Videos of veterans who talk about WWII can also be consulted online. Online pictures and archive documents complete the pedagogical resources that are provided by the museum. (ibid.)

Links between the diverse pedagogical activities and resources and the NC are not mentioned on the website of the JML.

6.2.3. The Manchester Jewish Museum

The permanent collection of the MJM holds 530 recorded interviews, including 138 interviews with Holocaust survivors and refugees, and testimonies of Jewish refugees who settled in Manchester. A diary written by Kindertransport refugee girls can also be consulted

at the museum. Moreover, visitors will discover items that were produced by Jewish internees on the Isle of Man (cf. chapter 4, section 4.1.2.3.) and belongings from Holocaust survivors, including pictures, objects, and documents. (www.manchesterjewishmuseum.com/)

Schools can visit the permanent collection on request but there are no specific pedagogical activities that are organised by the museum. (ibid.)

6.2.4. The National Holocaust Centre and Museum

The NHCM, which is located in Laxton, Nottinghamshire, opened in 1996 as the first memorial and learning centre dedicated to the Holocaust in the UK. The museum displays a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust. The exhibition includes the following themes:

- Prewar Jewish life, including life in Nazi Germany, 'Kristallnacht' and its aftermath, and anti-Jewish laws
- Prewar life of all victims of the Nazis
- Postwar life of Holocaust survivors and their families
- The origin of antisemitism and its development
- The Nazi propaganda machine
- Ghettos
- The planning of the 'Final Solution'
- People who sought refuge from the Nazi regime in Europe and beyond
- Rescuers, bystanders and perpetrators
- Liberation and repatriation
- Sites of murder (extermination camps, labour camps, concentration camps, and ghettos) (www.holocaust.org.uk/)

In addition, visitors can experience interactive conversations with recorded testimonies of Holocaust survivors. (ibid.)

Another permanent exhibition, called 'The Journey', tells the story of Leo, a German Jewish boy who grew up in Berlin and escaped the Holocaust by coming to Britain via the Kindertransport. This tactile exhibition, which was built with younger children in mind, includes testimonies of children from the Kindertransport. (ibid.)

According to Pearce (2014), the approach chosen by the NHCM puts the emphasis on the victims' perspective and uses strategies to rehumanise them.

6.2.4.1. Pedagogical activities and resources

6.2.4.1.1. Workshops

The NHCM organises six workshops for schools. The first workshop is centred on 'The Journey' exhibition. It can be held at the museum or at school for pupils from upper KS2 (9-11 years). Through the journey of Leo, a Jewish German boy who left Germany on the Kindertransport, pupils will discover the following themes:

- The isolation and persecution of Jews under the Nazi regime, including children
- The impact of the Nazi regime on the lives of Jewish families and others
- The Kindertransport and the lives of these children
- The influence of propaganda
- Identity and antisemitism
- Kristallnacht
- Survivors' testimonies (www.holocaust.org.uk/)

Pupils attending the workshop at the museum will also be immersed in a simulated Kindertransport train. For pupils attending the workshop at school, a follow-up workshop is also available. The first part of the follow-up workshop tackles the importance of testimony, including testimonies, artefacts, and photographs of Holocaust survivors who arrived in Britain as refugees. Pupils will then be invited to write the last page of Leo's diary, describing his arrival in Britain. (ibid.)

The second workshop is held at the museum for pupils from upper KS2 (9-11 years). It includes the visit of 'The Journey' exhibition, the visit of the memorial gardens, a face-to-face meeting with a Holocaust survivor or an interactive conversation with recorded testimonies, and a writing workshop about pupils' experiences at the museum. (ibid.)

The links between these first two workshops and the NC are explicitly mentioned, including links to the citizenship, spiritual, moral, social, and cultural education (SMSCE),

personal, social, health and economic education (PHSEE), English, history, and religious education courses. Regarding history, the following link to the KS2 NC is mentioned:

- A theme in British history that extends pupils' chronological knowledge beyond 1066 (ibid.)

It is worth mentioning that teachers' notes are also available online for these first two workshops. They contain general information about the visit of the centre, and worksheets that consist of writing frames for film, poetry, or diary extracts. Moreover, the website of the museum mentions that teachers will receive complete lesson plans, including exercises and a film footage of survivors' testimonies that can be used in the classroom, after their visit of the centre. (ibid.)

The third workshop takes place at school and is available to pupils from KS3 and above (11 years and older). Pupils will analyse the movie 'the Boy in the Striped Pyjamas' with the aim of determining if it is an accurate depiction of the Holocaust or not. To realise this analysis, pupils will first learn about the chronological events of Hitler's Germany and the Holocaust, the development of Nazi society, the Lodz ghetto, and the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. (ibid.)

The fourth workshop is held at the museum for pupils from KS3 (11-14 years) and KS4 (14-16 years). It tackles the choices made by ordinary people and the extent to which they contributed to the Holocaust. The workshop includes the visit of the Holocaust exhibition and the memorial gardens. Pupils will also have the opportunity to meet a Holocaust survivor. (ibid.)

A pedagogical file about this fourth workshop is available on the website of the museum. It contains pre-visit activities to do in the classroom, including objectives, instructions and debate questions, a map of the memorial gardens, a description of the workshop and questions about it. (ibid.)

The fifth workshop is held at the museum for pupils from KS5 (16-18 years). Pupils will visit the Holocaust exhibition and the memorial gardens, with a focus on the reasons for launching and the timing of the decision to launch the 'Final Solution'. They will also have the opportunity to meet a Holocaust survivor. (ibid.)

6.2.4.1.2. Teachers' sessions

The NHCM also organises training sessions for primary and secondary education teachers. During the sessions, they will learn about the definition of the Holocaust and about pedagogical approaches that can be used to teach the Holocaust. They will also explore resources that are available at the centre to support delivery in the classroom. (ibid.)

6.2.5. The Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre

The HELC, which is located at the University of Huddersfield, West Yorkshire, displays a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust, called 'Through Our Eyes'. It is an interactive, multimedia exhibition. Filmed survivors' testimonies are displayed on six interactive touchscreens. Visitors will hear the survivors' stories about discrimination, persecution, escape, hiding, ghettos, forced labour, concentration camps, and the liberation. Text, images, and animated maps are displayed to support the survivors' testimonies. Visitors will also discover personal photos, artefacts, and documents from survivors, together with artefacts from the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora. In addition, visitors will have the opportunity to watch a video footage of concentration camps. At the end of the exhibition, a reflective space invites visitors to discover how survivors rebuilt their lives in Britain and to explore a digital memorial dedicated to local families. (www.holocaustlearning.org.uk/)

The HELC (n.d.) specifies that the exhibition is suitable for children and teenagers but is not suitable for very young children. (ibid.)

6.2.5.1. Pedagogical activities and resources

The HELC organises four workshops for schools. They all include a visit of the exhibition. Links between the workshops and the NC are not mentioned on the website of the museum. (ibid.)

The first workshop is aimed at pupils from KS2 (7-11 years) to KS5 (16-18 years). It covers the persecution of all victims of Nazism, including the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Antisemitism is also defined and contextualised, and the political and economic contexts in Germany between 1919 and 1939 are tackled. Pupils will also explore case studies of three

‘perpetrators/collaborators’, including how changes introduced by the Nazis divided the population. (ibid.)

The second workshop is aimed at pupils from KS3 (11-14 years) to KS5 (16-18 years). The session is centred on the roles that ordinary citizens took on during the Holocaust, that is helper, bystander, collaborator or perpetrator. (ibid.)

The third workshop is also aimed at pupils from KS3 (11-14 years) to KS5 (16-18 years). It outlines how Nazi Germany used propaganda and the media. Pupils will also explore the ways in which the media still influences behaviours, attitudes, prejudice, and discrimination today. (ibid.)

The fourth workshop is aimed at pupils from upper KS2 (9-11 years) and tells the stories of survivors who are featured in the exhibition of the museum. Schools can choose between four activities:

- The first activity covers the timelines of two Kindertransport refugees, Edith Goldberg and Martin Kapel, and describes their feeling through their respective journeys.
- The second activity is centred on the experiences of Suzanne Rappaport, who was a hidden child in France. Through her experiences, pupils will discover the different roles people played during the Holocaust.
- The third activity is centred on the story of Rudi Leavor. Through his story, pupils will discover the importance of personal identity and how the Holocaust impacted people’s personal identities.
- The fourth activity explains how and why ordinary things can be special to people. Pupils will explore refugees and survivors’ belongings in the exhibition. In addition, pupils will discuss why it is important to remember the Holocaust. (ibid.)

6.2.6. Second World War Experience Centre

The WWIIEC, which is located in Otley, West Yorkshire, does not display a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust, but the centre can provide schools with a DVD that was produced for teachers. The DVD contains testimonies of Holocaust experiences and is suitable for KS3 (11-14 years). (www.war-experience.org/)

7. Results

7.1. First research question

This dissertation first aimed to determine which aspects of WWII are commemorated in permanent exhibitions in Belgian and English museums.

Concerning Belgium, the starting hypothesis suggested that the following aspects would be tackled in permanent exhibitions: the 18 Days' Campaign, daily life under the German occupation, including the Resistance and collaboration, the Holocaust and the deportation of Jews from Belgium, the Battle of the Bulge, and the liberation.

After having analysed Belgian museums (cf. appendix 1), it can be claimed that the aspects that are most frequently tackled in permanent exhibitions are the 18 Days' Campaign, daily life under the German occupation, the Resistance, the Battle of the Bulge, and the liberation. Only one out of the 30 analysed museums, that is the Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire Militaire (MRA), addresses the persecution of Jews in Belgium and collaboration. Similarly, only one museum, KD, deals more specifically with the Holocaust, focusing on the case of the Holocaust in Belgium. However, it can be pointed out that all aspects of WWII that were mentioned in the initial hypothesis are well covered in the Belgian museum landscape.

It is worth mentioning that other aspects of WWII that were not listed in the starting hypothesis are also tackled in Belgian museums. Memorial Breendonk and the Fort of Huy, two places where political prisoners were held during the war, notably deal with the fate and living conditions of these prisoners. The MRA, in addition to the persecution of Jews and collaboration, also addresses the end of WWII in Europe and Asia in 1944-1945, the repressive policies of National Socialism, the German persecution and genocide policies between 1933 and 1945, and the role of the King of Belgium during the war.

Several museums talk about foreign troops that fought with Belgium during WWII. On the one hand, the Musée du Corps de Cavalerie Français (CCF) tells the story of the light mechanic units of the CCF that fought against the German Armoured Divisions during the Battle of La Petite Gette, that is the first battle of tanks that took place during the 18 Days' Campaign. On the other hand, the Ensival Historical Museum narrates the story of the veterans of the US Air Force, who helped the RAF with the air war from 1942 onwards. The

Divisions of Infantry of the American Army which contributed to the liberation of Belgium in 1944 are also commemorated at the Remember Museum 39-45 and at the Museum 40-44 Lieutenant Cook. The latter also commemorates Canadian troops which came in Europe during the Dieppe (France) landings in 1942. Canadian and Polish troops which fought during the Battle of the Scheldt, also called the Battle of the Dykes, in 1944 are also remembered at the Canada Poland War II Museum. This battle is also part of the permanent exhibition of the For Freedom Museum.

In connection with Belgian troops, the Belgian Army is tackled at Musée Cabour, and the Musée Spitfire tells the story of Colonel Raymond Lallemant, a Belgian who fought as a member of the RAF during the war.

The Bastogne Barracks is dedicated to WWII vehicles. Finally, Brûly-de-Pesche 1940 discusses the stay of Hitler in Belgium, and the headquarters that he had established in the village of the same name in 1940.

Regarding England, the initial hypothesis suggested that the following aspects would be tackled in permanent exhibitions: the Evacuation of Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain and the Blitz, including daily life during those events, the D-Day landings, and the Holocaust, including the Kindertransport.

After having analysed English museums (cf. appendix 2), it can be argued that the aspects that are most frequently tackled in permanent exhibitions are the Home Front, that is daily life during the Battle of Britain and the Blitz, and the D-Day landings. Five out of the 92 analysed museums tackle the Blitz, five others address the Battle of Britain, and only one museum mentions the Evacuation of Dunkirk. The Holocaust is commemorated in five museums, while the Kindertransport is commemorated in two. Despite differences in frequency, it can be concluded that all aspects of WWII that were mentioned in the starting hypothesis are well covered in the English museum landscape.

It can be pointed out that the following aspects of WWII, which were not listed in the initial hypothesis, are also frequently tackled in permanent exhibitions: the RAF, WWII vehicles, including RAF aircraft, and the British soldiers and regiments which participated in WWII.

Other aspects which were not mentioned in the hypothesis are also addressed, but less frequently. The development of the radar system, which contributed to the victory of the RAF in the Battle of Britain, is described at the Malvern Museum of Local History and at the Swanage Museum and Heritage Centre.

The IWM London and the Royal Navy Fleet Air Arm Museum deal with the Pacific war. The latter also tackles the Battle of the Atlantic, which is also dealt with at the Liverpool War Museum, and the invasion of Norway, which is also addressed at the Green Howards Museum.

American troops are also commemorated in English museums. The IWM Duxford, the 100th Bomb Group Memorial and Museum, and the WWIIEC indeed tell the story of the US Air Force, whereas the Dunkeswell Heritage Centre narrates the story of the unique US Naval Air Base in Europe.

The IWM North is the only museum, out of the 92 that were analysed, which talks about the role of the Commonwealth in WWII. Finally, the WWIIEC tackles the Luftwaffe and British structures, such as the Special Operations Executive (SOE), which contributed to the Resistance in occupied Europe, the Tewkesbury Museum and the Ashford Museum address PoWs' camps, and the MJM tells the story of Jews who were interned on the Isle of Man.

7.2. Second research question

This dissertation also aimed to identify the general pedagogical practices in Belgian and English museums. More precisely, it intended to determine the type of pedagogical activities and resources that are offered, and the aspects of WWII that are tackled in those activities and resources. Moreover, it sought to establish whether a link exists between these pedagogical practices and the respective national school curricula.

Concerning Belgium, 60% of the analysed museums display a permanent exhibition about certain aspects of WWII and offer pedagogical activities and/or resources that are linked to that theme. Around a third of the analysed museums display a permanent exhibition about an aspect of WWII, but do not offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about the subject. Finally, only 3.5% of the analysed museums do not display any permanent exhibition about WWII although they offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about the subject. All in all, around 63% of the analysed museums offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about

WWII. (cf. appendix 17). Among them, only 21% explicitly mention links to Belgian school curricula. (cf. appendix 18)

In Belgium, educational activities organised by museums most frequently include guided tours that are adapted to schools and workshops at the museum. Several museums also enable school groups to visit permanent exhibitions although the visit is not especially adapted to schools.

Only two museums, KD and the JMB, allow pupils to meet Holocaust survivors. Similarly, only two museums, the Canada Poland War II Museum and the MRA, allow schools to borrow loan boxes containing objects related to WWII. The latter, together with KD, are the only two museums that also offer mobile exhibitions which can be displayed in schools. Finally, MaquiStory and the Fort of Huy innovate, offering pupils the opportunity to discover certain aspects of WWII through escape games

In connection with teachers, only one museum, Memorial Breendonk, organises learning sessions in which teachers will learn how to guide pupils in the museum.

Finally, around half of the museums that organise pedagogical activities related to WWII also provide teachers with pedagogical files that contain theory and/or activities to be done in the classroom. There is no museum that provides schools with resources without organising activities.

The themes that are most frequently tackled in pedagogical activities or resources are the Holocaust, the Battle of the Bulge, daily life under the occupation, and the Resistance.

Regarding England, 60% of the analysed museums display a permanent exhibition on certain aspects of WWII and offer pedagogical activities and/or resources that are linked to that theme. Around 15% of the analysed museums display a permanent exhibition about an aspect of WWII, but do not offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about the subject. Finally, 26% of the analysed museums do not display any permanent exhibition about WWII although they offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about the subject. In total, more than 80% of the analysed museums offer pedagogical activities and/or resources related to WWII. (cf. appendix 17) Among them, 38% explicitly mention links to the English NC. (cf. appendix 18)

In England, educational activities organised by museums most frequently include workshops at the museums and loan boxes containing objects related to WWII that schools can borrow. Other frequent activities are guided tours that are adapted to schools, self-guided tours led by teachers, and online or at school workshops.

Several museums also give pupils the opportunity to meet WWII survivors or eyewitnesses: the IWM London, the IWM North, the IWM Duxford, and the Blandford Town Museum allow pupils to meet WWII survivors. At the Museum of Richmond, the British Schools Museum, and the Rural Life Living Museum, pupils can meet survivors who were children during the war. The Royal Albert Memorial Museum & Art Gallery enables pupils to meet a WWII evacuee child, whereas the NHCM allows them to meet Holocaust survivors. Finally, the JLM organises meetings with Kindertransport refugees. This museum is also the only one which offers mobile exhibitions that can be displayed in schools.

In connection with teachers, only two museums, the Museum of Richmond and the NHCM, organise training sessions to learn about WWII and pedagogical techniques that can be used to teach the subject.

It is worth mentioning that among the 79 museums that offer pedagogical activities and/or resources, 74 organise activities. A quarter of these 74 museums also provide teachers with theoretical resources and/or activities that can be done in the classroom. Finally, five museums also provide teachers with theoretical resources and/or activities that can be done in the classroom although they do not organise educational activities.

The theme that dominates the English museum landscape in terms of pedagogical activities and resources is the Home Front, including the evacuation of children, rationing, 'make, do and mend', 'dig for victory', and ARP, such as air raid shelters and gas masks. The Holocaust, the Kindertransport, the Blitz, the Battle of Britain, and D-Day are also covered.

7.3. Third research question

Finally, this dissertation focused on the Holocaust, with the aim of determining which approach is used in permanent exhibitions in Belgian and English museums to tackle the subject. In other words, is the emphasis put on the victims, the heroes, or the perpetrators? Moreover, it sought to determine whether the roles of the Belgian and British authorities are

recognised in these exhibitions, and to identify pedagogical practices in relation to the Holocaust.

In Belgium, KD is the only museum that displays a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust. The questions that the exhibition seeks to answer (cf. chapter 6, section 6.1.1., para. 4) show that victims, bystanders, and perpetrators are tackled in the exhibition. However, the focus of the exhibition is put on victims and their journey. Visitors will discover their stories through pictures, (multimedia) documents, and testimonies. Moreover, the exhibition also displays a wall of victims' photo portraits and visitors can hear the names of these victims in the memorial. The role of the Belgian authorities in the deportation of Jews from Belgium does not seem to be tackled in the exhibition.

In connection with pedagogical practices in Belgian museums, KD and the JMB offer pedagogical activities and resources related to the Holocaust. First, KD organises three visits for secondary schools: a classical guided tour of the permanent exhibition (14-18 years), an interactive tour of the permanent exhibition and the memorial (12-18 years), and an interactive tour about the role of propaganda and conspiracy theories in the unfolding of the Holocaust (16-18 years). Pupils from cycle 4 of primary education (10-12 years) can benefit from a workshop centred on the story of a Jewish boy who was deported with his mother from KD, which is organised in the education space of the museum. Primary education pupils are indeed not allowed to visit the permanent exhibition due to the possibly shocking images it contains. In addition, schools can borrow a mobile exhibition about hidden children, which is aimed at pupils aged 10 to 12 and 14 to 18. As part of the mobile exhibition, schools have the opportunity to invite a Holocaust survivor. For each activity, the museum provides schools with complete educational resources. Resources always include worksheets, with or without solutions. For four of the proposed activities, theory and a complete lesson plan, including the duration of each activity, the work method and the necessary material, are also provided. Finally, links to Belgian school curricula are mentioned for three of the activities.

Second, the JMB invites pupils aged 10 and older to meet a Holocaust survivor at the museum. The museum does not provide schools with any resource related to this activity and does not mention links to school curricula.

In England, five museums display a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust. First, the IWM London. The victims of the Holocaust are tackled in the exhibition, including Kindertransport refugees who could escape the Holocaust. The reactions of Jewish people towards discrimination are notably mentioned, and video testimonies of survivors are displayed. However, as argued by Holtschneider (2020), the focus of the exhibition is put on Nazi perpetrators and their actions. The role of the British and Allied authorities in the unfolding of the Holocaust is mentioned, describing their refugee policies as less than humanitarian. However, the resulting exclusion of refugees is not presented as a consequence of those policies, but as the result of economic self-interest and political pragmatism. This perspective helps normalise the exclusion of refugees in the eyes of visitors.

Second, the Holocaust permanent exhibition of the JML adopts an approach centred on victims, more precisely on personal stories of five Holocaust survivors. In another permanent exhibition of the museum, the focus is put on refugees who came to Britain to escape the Holocaust, including the 10,000 children from the Kindertransport.

Third, the permanent exhibition of the MJM also focuses on victims' stories, enabling visitors to discover 138 recorded interviews with Holocaust survivors and refugees. Kindertransport refugees and Jewish internees on the Isle of Man are also tackled.

Fourth, the permanent exhibition of the NHCM deals with victims of the Holocaust, including Kindertransport refugees, rescuers, bystanders, and perpetrators. However, according to Pearce (2014), the exhibition emphasises the victims' perspective and uses strategies to rehumanise them.

Finally, the permanent exhibition of the HELC narrates the stories of Holocaust survivors through video testimonies, text, images, documents, personal photos, and artefacts.

Regarding pedagogical practices in English museums, the IWM London, the IWM North, the IWM Duxford, the CWR, the JML, the NHCM, the HELC, and the WWIIEC offer pedagogical activities and resources related to the Holocaust. First, the IWM London organises the 'Holocaust Learning Programme' for secondary education pupils aged 13 to 18. This session includes a visit of the permanent exhibition, and a workshop that allows pupils to record what they have learned about the Holocaust during the visit and what they think about it. Schools cannot visit the permanent exhibition out of the 'Holocaust Learning Programme'

due to its sensitive content. Hence the possibly shocking images, the museum provides teachers with a file that gives advice on how to prepare pupils for the visit, locates sensitive content of the exhibition on a map, and gives advice on how to support pupils who would need it. The museum also displays a video guide for teachers on its website, that aims to prepare teachers for teaching the Holocaust. Links between the activity and the NC are mentioned.

Second, the IWM North organises a workshop for secondary education pupils aged 13 to 16, which describes political, economic, and social changes in Germany between 1919 and 1939, personal stories of victims, propaganda, indoctrination, and anti-Jewish laws in Nazi Germany. The museum does not provide teachers with specific pedagogical resources about the workshop, but the video guide to prepare teachers for teaching the Holocaust, which was mentioned in the above paragraph, is also available on the website of the IWM North. Links to the NC are also mentioned.

Third, the IWM Duxford and the CWR do not organise pedagogical activities about the Holocaust, but the video guide to prepare teachers for teaching the Holocaust mentioned above is also available on the websites of these two museums.

Fourth, the JML organises workshops for primary and secondary education pupils. The first workshop (9-18 years) can take place at the museum or at school. It tackles Nazi ideology and the Kindertransport. The second one (9-18 years) can be attended at the museum, at school or online. It tells the story of the Kindertransport, from the Kindertransport refugees' perspective. The third one (7-16 years) is virtual and outlines the impact of the Holocaust from a Kindertransport refugee's perspective. The fourth one (7-11 or 13-16 years) consists of a meeting with a Kindertransport refugee, online or at the museum. The JML does not provide teachers with specific pedagogical resources for each activity but provides them with general pedagogical resources that include theory about German anti-Jewish laws, pictures, archive documents, and online videos of veterans.

Fifth, the NHCM also organises workshops for primary and secondary education pupils. The first workshop (9-11 years) can be attended at the museum or at school and tells the story of the Kindertransport. A creative writing follow-up is possible for the version of the workshop held at school. The second one (9-11 years) takes place at the museum. It includes the visit of

the Kindertransport exhibition, a meeting with a Holocaust survivor, and a creative writing session. A pedagogical file containing worksheets is available for these first two workshops and teachers will receive complete lesson plans after the activities. The third workshop (11 years and older) is held at school and consists of an analysis of the movie 'the Boy in the Striped Pyjamas' and its truthfulness in relation to the Holocaust. The fourth one (11-16 years) takes place at the museum and includes the visit of the Holocaust exhibition and the memorial gardens, with a focus on the choices of ordinary people, and how they contributed to the unfolding of the Holocaust. A pedagogical file containing activities to be done in the classroom, complete instructions, and objectives is available for that workshop. The fifth workshop (16-18 years) also takes place at the museum and includes the visit of the Holocaust exhibition and the memorial gardens, and a meeting with a Holocaust survivor. In addition, the NHCM organises training sessions for teachers in which they will learn about the Holocaust and the possible pedagogical techniques to teach the subject.

Sixth, the HELC also organises workshops for primary and secondary education pupils. The first workshop (7-18 years) covers the persecution of all victims of Nazism, including Jews. It also tackles perpetrators and collaborators. The second one (11-18 years) focuses on the roles of citizens during the Holocaust, that is helpers, bystanders, collaborators, or perpetrators. The third one (11-18 years) outlines Nazi propaganda techniques. The fourth one (9-11 years) tells the stories of Holocaust survivors, with a choice of focus on the Kindertransport, hidden children, the impact of the Holocaust on victims' personal identities, or the importance of commemorating the Holocaust. The museum does not provide teachers with educational resources related to these activities.

Finally, the WWIIEC does not organise pedagogical activities but can provide schools with a DVD containing Holocaust survivors' testimonies.

8. Conclusion

The results have shown that the events that were mentioned in the starting hypothesis to the first research question are indeed tackled in Belgian and English museums. Concerning Belgium, it can, however, be surprisingly pointed out that collaboration is addressed in only one museum out of the 30 that were analysed. Therefore, it could be assumed that there is a tendency to overshadow the less glorious aspects of the war. However, the almost total absence of collaboration in the Belgian museum landscape could be explained by de Launay (1977). The author indeed argues that active and voluntary collaboration with the German occupier concerned at most 15% of the Belgian population and is consequently not representative of the attitude that was adopted by the majority of the population. (cf. section 3.5.)

Regarding England, the Evacuation of Dunkirk, which, as stated by Finney (2018), is regarded as an iconic event in Britain, is surprisingly tackled in only one English museum. Similarly, the Kindertransport, which, as explained in section 4.1.2.3., is considered as a positive chapter in Britain's history, is astonishingly addressed in only two museums.

Contrarily, the prominence of the Home Front, that is civilian life during the war, in the English museum landscape is logical, given that, as explained in section 4.3.6.2, the moral values that civilians supposedly developed during the war are still used today to define British identity.

In connection with the Holocaust, it is astounding that there are more English than Belgian museums that deal with the subject, considering that in Britain, unlike in Belgium, Jews were not deported. However, it is normal that the subject is tackled in both countries given its impact on world history. In addition, it is worth highlighting that, surprisingly, only one permanent exhibition about the Holocaust is publicly funded in England.

Among the subjects that were not mentioned in the starting hypothesis but are nevertheless addressed in Belgian and English museums are the respective national troops, as well as some foreign troops. On the one hand, American troops are indeed commemorated in both Belgian and English museums. On the other hand, Canadian troops that participated in WWII are only commemorated in Belgian museums. This can be explained by the participation

of Canadian troops in the Battle of the Scheldt, which took place on Belgian soil, in 1944. However, it is astonishing that English museums do not commemorate these troops, considering that Canada was a British colony until 1931 and that the Queen of England was still head of the Canadian state in 1939-1945, and is still today.

The results have also revealed that in Belgium, like in England, more than half of the analysed museums display a permanent exhibition about WWII and offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about that theme. However, distinctions can be drawn between the two countries: in England, few museums that host a permanent exhibition about WWII, that is 15%, do not offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about that theme, whereas that percentage is doubled in Belgium. Finally, there are almost no museums that do not display a permanent exhibition about WWII that offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about that theme in Belgium, whereas 26% of English museums offer pedagogical activities and/or resources about WWII although they do not host a permanent exhibition about that theme. Generally, there are more English than Belgian museums that offer pedagogical activities and/or resources related to an aspect of WWII. The percentage of museums that explicitly mention links between these activities and/or resources and school curricula is also higher in England than in Belgium.

Regarding the type of pedagogical activities that are proposed, workshops at the museum are largely organised in both countries. However, England broadens its offer by also organising workshops online and in schools, whereas Belgium does not. Guided tours of permanent exhibitions adapted to school audiences are also frequently offered in both countries, with England also frequently offering self-guided tours led by teachers.

A major distinction between Belgian and English pedagogical practices is the possibility for schools to rent loan boxes. Loan boxes are indeed often proposed in English museums, whereas only two Belgian museums put them at the disposal of schools. Another difference can be pointed out regarding meetings with survivors or eyewitnesses. On the one hand, there are more opportunities to meet survivors in England than in Belgium. On the other hand, English museums enable pupils to meet evacuated children, Kindertransport refugees, Holocaust survivors, and other war survivors, whereas Belgian museums only allow pupils to meet Holocaust survivors. Finally, resources for teachers, such as pedagogical files containing

theory and/or activities to be carried out in the classroom, are more frequently provided by Belgian museums than by the English ones.

The possibility of displaying a mobile exhibition in schools and the possibility for teachers to learn about WWII in museums are similar in both countries.

As previously stated, themes that are most frequently tackled in pedagogical activities and resources provided by Belgian museums are the Holocaust, daily life under the occupation, the Resistance, and the Battle of the Bulge. The first three themes are mentioned in Belgian school curricula, hence their prominence in museum pedagogical practices. The Holocaust, genocides, and concentration camps are indeed part of the mandatory knowledge of the state and state-maintained school curricula for the second and third grades of general, transitional, technical, and vocational education (cf. chapter 5, sections 5.1.5.2. & 5.1.5.3.). The school curriculum of the state network for cycle 4 of primary education (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.3.1.) also mentions 'modes of oppression' as mandatory knowledge, whereas the school curriculum of the state-maintained network for the first grade of secondary education (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.5.1.2.) mentions 'social exclusion phenomena' and 'fight against oppression and exclusion'. Although the Holocaust is not explicitly named in the latter two curricula, it can therefore be linked to them.

In connection with daily life under the occupation, it is suggested as possible theme in the school curriculum of the state network for the first grade of secondary education (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.5.1.1.). Finally, the Resistance and collaboration are categorised as mandatory knowledge in the state and state-maintained school curricula for the second and third grades of general and transitional education (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.5.2.). The Battle of the Bulge is consequently the only aspect of WWII, which is not mentioned in Belgian school curricula, but which is frequently addressed in pedagogical activities and/or resources in Belgian museums. It is worth highlighting that collaboration, which is referred to in analogy with the Resistance in school curricula, is not present in educational practices in museums, and is almost absent from the Belgian museum landscape. (cf. section 8., para. 1)

Concerning England, the results have revealed that themes that are most frequently addressed in museum educational practices are the Home Front, the Holocaust, including the Kindertransport, the Blitz, the Battle of Britain, and D-Day. Among these themes, the

prominence of the Holocaust can be explained by the fact that it is the only topic which is encompassed as mandatory knowledge in the NC for KS3 (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.3.). Regarding the Battle of Britain, it is suggested as non-statutory example in the NC for KS2, under the theme 'a study of an aspect or theme in British history that extends pupils' chronological knowledge beyond 1066' (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.2.2.). Although they are frequently tackled in museum pedagogical practices, the Home Front, the Blitz, the Kindertransport, and D-Day are not explicitly mentioned in the NC. However, the NC for KS1 refers to 'significant historical events, people and places in their own locality' (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.2.1.) and the NC for KS2 and KS3 both mention 'a local history study' (cf. chapter 5, sections 5.2.2.2. & 5.2.3.). The Home Front, that is civilian life during the war, the Blitz, the Kindertransport, and D-Day can therefore be addressed in the classroom in localities which were impacted by or participated in one of these aspects of the war. In addition, Kindertransport refugees, which could escape the Holocaust, can also be tackled while teaching the Holocaust.

Finally, the results have shown that Belgian and English museums which deal with the Holocaust in permanent exhibitions approach the theme differently. KD, the only Belgian museum that addresses the theme, covers the victims, the bystanders, and the perpetrators' perspectives, with a focus on victims. They are notably identified thanks to their names and pictures. It is worth highlighting that the quoting of the victims' names, as well as the showing of their pictures, contribute to their recognition as individuals instead of passive objects that were mass murdered. This approach follows hereby the advice of the IHRA (2019), which puts the emphasis on the importance of the recognition of the victims as individuals in its recommendations for the teaching and the study of the Holocaust. In England, the NHCM adopts a similar approach to KD by also covering victims, bystanders, and perpetrators, and by putting the emphasis on victims. The IWM London adopts the reverse viewpoint, talking about victims but focusing on Nazi perpetrators and their actions. Consequently, the museum does not follow the advice of the IHRA (2019), which recommends not to limit the responsibility for the crimes to Hitler and the Nazis, and not to forget to talk about the role of local bystanders and collaborators in the unfolding of the Holocaust. Finally, the JML, the MJM, and the HELC focus solely on victims. It is worth mentioning that except the HELC, all

the analysed English museums include Kindertransport refugees when they discuss the victims of the Holocaust.

With respect to the role of the Allied authorities in the unfolding of the Holocaust, the IWM London is the only museum that points it out, but the perspective which is adopted tries to rationalise the authorities' behaviour by invoking economic self-interest and political pragmatism. In Belgium, the role of the Belgian authorities is not addressed in museums. However, it is worth remarking that in 2004, the Belgian Senate decided to conduct a survey on the responsibility of the Belgian authorities for the deportation and the persecution of Jews. The task of conducting this survey was allocated to the Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation Guerre et Sociétés Contemporaines. The results of the survey were published by Rudi Van Doorslaer, Emmanuel Debruyne, Frank Sebrechts and Nico Wouters in 2007, under the name 'La Belgique docile. Les autorités belges et la persécution des Juifs durant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale.' Anne Roekens summarised these findings in a book dedicated to a wider audience, which was entitled 'La Belgique et la persécution des Juifs'. Following the publication of these books, which were both consulted to write the historical context of this research, former Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt officially apologised to the Jewish people on behalf of the Belgian state on 8th May 2007. He had already presented apologies on behalf of the Belgian state at KD in October 2002, and in Jerusalem in March 2005.

In relation to educational practices related to the Holocaust in Belgian and English museums, similarities and differences were identified. First, some English museums provide teachers with pedagogical resources about the Holocaust although they do not organise activities about that theme. In Belgium, pedagogical resources are provided only by museums which also organise activities. In addition, pedagogical resources provided by English museums are often less detailed than those provided by Belgian museums. KD indeed furnishes worksheets that can directly be used in the classroom and their solutions for each activity, together with full lesson plans for some activities. In England, the NHCM is the only museum that offers worksheets and full lesson plans for some workshops, whereas other English museums only provide teachers with general recommendations for teaching the Holocaust, or multimedia resources.

Second, the type of educational activities that are organised is globally identical. Belgian and English museums indeed set up guided tours of the permanent exhibitions that

are dedicated to the Holocaust, meetings with Holocaust survivors, and workshops at the museum. In England, these latter can also take place online or at school. Belgian schools also have the opportunity to display mobile exhibitions within their own walls.

Third, similarities were also identified regarding the age of the target audience. Belgian museums indeed do not organise guided tours of the permanent Holocaust exhibitions for pupils aged under 12, whereas English museums do not organise them before the age of 11. This situation is due to the potentially shocking nature of the images displayed in the permanent Holocaust exhibitions. The IWM London even prohibits schools, regardless of the pupils' age, from visiting its permanent Holocaust exhibition without the educational guidance of a museum staff member. Workshops about the Holocaust and meetings with survivors are, however, accessible to a younger audience, from the age of 10 years in Belgium, and from 7 years in England.

Finally, it can be pointed out that, unlike Belgian pedagogical activities, activities in English museums also frequently tackle Kindertransport refugees who could escape the Holocaust, in addition to the Holocaust itself. The prominence of this theme in English educational activities is surprising, considering that it is only addressed by two English museums in permanent exhibitions. (cf. section 8., para. 2)

As previously stated, the need to commemorate WWII has always existed and increased in recent years due to growing international tensions. Moreover, the current gradual disappearance of first-hand witnesses reduces opportunities to hear oral testimonies and reinforces the importance of passing on WWII memory thanks to cultural memory, via, for example, places called 'sites of memory'. After having conducted this study, it can be concluded that in Belgium and England, museums are well and truly 'sites of memory' that contribute to the transmission of WWII memory to future generations. Many Belgian and English museums indeed display permanent exhibitions about certain aspects of WWII. However, aspects of the war that are tackled in those permanent exhibitions differ from one country to the other, revealing which aspects are crucial in the national history of the two countries. Due to its international impact, the Holocaust is tackled in permanent exhibitions in both countries.

In addition, thanks to the numerous educational activities and resources related to WWII that they provide schools with, Belgian and English museums also enable future generations to understand this event and to reflect upon its implications for today's society. Among the proposed activities, meetings with first-hand witnesses are more frequent in England than in Belgium, allowing oral memory and cultural memory to intermingle in order to pass on a significant chapter of collective memory.

The educational role of Belgian and English museums is not limited to educating pupils about WWII and completing the knowledge that is acquired at school. Museums also constitute tools for teachers. The example of the survey on Holocaust teaching that was conducted in Britain has revealed that teachers do not always have accurate knowledge of the subject, or do not know how to teach it in the classroom. Although few specific trainings are organised for teachers in Belgian and English museums, teachers can however go to museums and visit them to learn about different aspects of the war, including the Holocaust, before teaching them in the classroom. Furthermore, teachers can follow recommendations that are provided by museums to teach certain themes, and they can use lesson ideas that are proposed by museums to complement their teaching practice.

This research has analysed the educational role that museums play in the passing on of WWII memory. However, as museums are not the only 'sites of memory' that contribute to the transmission of collective memory, of which WWII memory is part, it would be interesting to examine other Belgian and English 'sites of memory', such as monuments, cemeteries, and ceremonies, with the aim of determining the importance of WWII in the global commemorative landscape.

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Appendix 1 - List of Belgian Museums tackling WWII

1. Kazerne Dossin	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Holocaust - Human Rights
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Visit 1: guided tour of the permanent exhibition (2nd and 3rd grades secondary education – 14-18 years) - Pedagogical file about visit 1: preparatory lessons including worksheets and their solutions, a glossary, lesson plans with objectives, duration, work format, necessary material and work method - Visit 2: Interactive tour based on the permanent exhibition (all levels secondary education – 12-18 years) - iBook about visit 2: missions, exercises, questions and their answers, guide for teachers including the biography of a Jewish woman, the objectives of the visit, instructions for each stop of the visit, an instruction manual on how to use the iBook - Visit 3: interactive tour about propaganda and conspiracy theories (2nd and 3rd grades secondary education – 14-18 years) - Brochure for teachers about visit 3: theory about propaganda and conspiracy theories, resources about the topic, two workshops for in the classroom including learning objectives, instructions, a PowerPoint presentation, and worksheets - Visit 4: ‘Simon Tells’: visit about the story of a Jewish boy who survived the Holocaust (cycle 4 primary education – 10-12 years) - Guide for teachers about visit 4: biography of Simon Gronowski, explanations about the preparatory lessons, the workshop, and the follow-up lessons, including the necessary material, the objectives, the work method, instructions, theory, and worksheets - Mobile exhibition in schools about Jewish children who escaped the Holocaust (cycle 4 primary education – 10-12 years/2nd and 3rd grades secondary education – 14-18 years) - Theory about the mobile exhibition, and worksheets with activities including objectives, work method and resources
	Links to school curricula: - Visits 1 and 2: - o Explicit links to the state schools’ history curriculum for the 2nd and 3rd grades of general and transitional secondary education

	○ Explicit links to the decree on the transmission of memory of 13th March 2009, the decree 'Décret missions', and the decree about active citizenship education - Visit 4: explicit links to the state schools and state-maintained schools' history school curricula for cycle 4 of primary education Website: https://kazernedossin.eu/
2. Jewish Museum of Belgium	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1: workshop about myths and stereotypes about Jews (pupils aged 12 and older – secondary education) - Pedagogical file about workshop 1: information about the workshop and its objectives, brief suggestions for a preparatory lesson and a post-visit debrief - Workshop 2: meeting with a witness of the Holocaust (pupils aged 10 and older – cycle 4 of primary education and secondary education)
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop 1: explicit links to the philosophy and citizenship curriculum
	Website: www.mjb-jmb.org/
3. Memorial Breendonk	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Life of political prisoners in Breendonk, including members of the Resistance and Jews
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Visit of Fort Breendonk - Section of the website dedicated to teachers: information about the memorial and the museum, detailed information about the room called 'I am not a number', information about the commemorative book of Fort Breendonk, written testimonies of former prisoners, resources, and a pedagogical file including worksheets containing documents, such as pictures, testimonies, extracts of books, etc. - A theoretical brochure about the fort and Resistance movements - Pedagogical training for teachers who would like to guide their pupils themselves during the visit
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.fortbreendonk.be

4. Bastogne War Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of the Bulge (including causes and consequences)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Visit 1: classical audio guided tour of the museum (pupils aged 6 and older – primary and secondary education) - Pedagogical file (10-14 years – cycle 4 of primary education and 1st grade of secondary education) about visit 1: worksheets containing activities for during the visit and a follow-up activity for in the classroom - Pedagogical file (15-18 years – 2nd and 3rd grades of secondary education) about visit 1: same as pedagogical file (10-14 years) + debate questions for in the classroom - Workshop 1 (pupils aged 2.5 to 6 years – pre-school): daily life during the war, the occupation, the Resistance and the exile - Workshop 2 (pupils aged 6 to 13 – primary education): daily life during the war - Workshop 3 (pupils aged 13 and older – secondary education): migrations due to the Nazi persecution and the battles of WWII - Workshop 4 (pupils aged 16 and older – 3rd grade of secondary education): Human Rights and how they were flouted during WWII
	Links to school curricula: - Workshops 1 to 4 - o History, citizenship, geography, French and philosophy curricula are mentioned but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: www.bastognewarmuseum.be/
5. Baugnez 44 Historical Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of the Bulge and the massacre of Baugnez/Malmédy - Life of soldiers during the Battle of the Bulge
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.baugnez44.be
6. Bulge Relics Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of the Bulge and daily life of soldiers during the battle in the region of Vielsalm
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /

	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.bulge-relics-museum.be/
7. Musée de la Bataille des Ardennes	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of the Bulge, especially in the region of La Roche-en-Ardenne
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: http://batarden.be/musee/
8. December 44 Historical Museum La Gleize	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of the Bulge, including the human experience of the Allies and the Germans during the battle
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.december44.com
9. 101st Airborne Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of Bastogne, that is a step of the Battle of the Bulge, including the story of the 101st Airborne Division, that is the only air assault division of the United States Army, and the other units that played a role during the Battle of Bastogne
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.101airbornemuseumbastogne.com
10. Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire Militaire	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The occupation and the liberation of Belgium between 1940 and 1944 - The end of WWII in Europe and in Asia in 1944-1945 - The repression of National Socialism - The persecution and genocidal policies between 1933 and 1945 - The Resistance - The collaboration - The persecution of Jews - The role of the Belgian King ➔ For all themes, the focus is put on the social, political, economic, and human consequences of the war
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Guided tour of the permanent exhibition (cycle 4 of primary education – 10-12 years/secondary education – 12-18 years); schools choose up to two themes: - o Belgium under the German occupation

	○ The Belgians at war ○ Women at war ○ 1939-1945: a World War ○ Key moments of WWII ○ Propaganda, techniques, and tactics ○ Terror, persecution, genocide - Pedagogical file for primary education including: ○ Information about the visit of the museum, a map of the museum, a list of the pedagogical activities that are offered, resources, such as films and books, a vocabulary list ○ Ice-breaking activities for before the visit ○ Theoretical information, illustrations, testimonies, worksheets and their corrections for during the visit, tackling the following themes: ▪ The invasion of Belgium ▪ The Mediterranean area and Russia ▪ War by sea and by air (including the Battle of Britain and the Blitz) ▪ The Normandy landings ▪ Belgium under the occupation, including the Belgian authorities, daily life, mandatory work in Germany, Resistance, collaboration, repression, persecution, and the liberation ▪ The end of the war in Europe, including the Battle of the Bulge and the discovery of concentration camps ▪ Terror, persecution, genocide ▪ The other World War, that is the Pacific ○ Suggestions of themes that could be broadened in the classroom after the visit - Pedagogical file for secondary education, including: ○ Information about the visit of the museum, a map of the museum, a list of the pedagogical activities that are offered ○ Separate theoretical documents tackling the following themes: ▪ The start of the war ▪ German victory in the West, including the Battle of Britain ▪ Summer of 1940 ▪ The war in the Mediterranean area ▪ The war in the East ▪ The war by sea ▪ The war by air ▪ The red army counterattacks ▪ Towards the liberation of Europe ▪ The Normandy Battle and landings ▪ Belgium under the occupation, including the Belgian authorities, daily life, mandatory work in
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	Germany, Resistance, collaboration, repression, persecution, and the liberation ▪ The end of the war in Europe ▪ Terror, persecution, genocide ▪ The other World War, that is the Pacific ○ Suggestions of activities for after the visit, including the following themes: ▪ Propaganda ▪ Executioners and more precisely how ordinary people became executioners ▪ Oral history and survivors' testimonies: why are they used? ▪ The denazification and the war courts ▪ The evolution of the humanitarian international right ▪ The concept of total war and what it implies - Workshop 1: propaganda and its dangers in the context of the interbellum and WWII (cycle 4 of primary education – 10-12 years/ 1st grade of secondary education – 12-14 years) - Workshop 2: daily life of children under the occupation (cycles 3 and 4 of primary education – 8-12 years) - Workshop 3: the mechanisms of propaganda (3rd grade of secondary education – 16-18 years) - Mobile exhibition in schools 1: the Resistance in Europe - Mobile exhibition in schools 2: deportation and genocide: the persecution of communists, members of the Resistance, Jews, disabled people, homosexuals, and Gypsies - Mobile exhibition in schools 3: resisting to war propaganda - 'Musée-valise': renting a suitcase containing objects, documents and pictures that are related to the interbellum and WWII Links to school curricula: - Guided tour of the permanent exhibition for primary education: ○ Links to the state schools' curricula, including ▪ Transverse skills common to all disciplines ▪ French curriculum disciplinary skills ▪ Science curriculum know-hows ▪ Specific know-hows and knowledge from the geography and history curricula ○ Link to article 8 of the decree 'Décret Missions' (cf. appendix 13) - Guided tour of the permanent exhibition for secondary education: ○ General skills, attitudes and know-hows are mentioned
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	○ Specific concepts from the history curriculum are mentioned but they do not specify the network, the type of education or the grade
	Website: www.klm-mra.be
11. The Bastogne Barracks	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Vehicles of WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.warheritage.be (no specific website)
12. Musée Spitfire	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Military aviation in Belgium, among which the story of Colonel Raymond Lallemand, who was a member of the RAF
	Pedagogical activities and resources: in project for 2023
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.museespitfire-florennes.be
13. Fort Eben-Emael	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The 18 Days' Campaign and the German invasion of 10th May 1940 - Life of civilians in the region of Eben-Emael during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Visit 1: the underground fort (primary education – 6-12 years): history of the fort and life of soldiers - Visit 2: the intern fort (secondary education – 12-18 years): history of the fort and life of soldiers, including the underground barracks, a part of the tunnels, the command post, an artillery bunker, and the gun room of an artillery bunker - Visit 3: the intern and the extern forts (secondary education – 12-18 years): same as visit 2 + the outside of the plateau above the fort, where the attack of 10th May 1940 took place - Resources: ○ Text describing the history of the fort ○ Pedagogical brochure for secondary education, including: ▪ Theory about the fort ▪ Theory about the composition and organisation of an army, propaganda techniques, the attack of the fort in 1940, and the burial of soldiers after the war ▪ Documents, such as written documents and graphs ▪ Questions related to the theory and the documents

	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.fort-eben-emael.be
14. Manhay History Museum 44	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of the Bulge (the German, British and American troops)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.mhm44.be
15. Mons Memorial Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Daily life of civilians and soldiers in the region of Mons during the war, and the relationships between them
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Classical guided tour of the permanent exhibition (all ages) - Visit-workshop (all ages): guided tour of the permanent exhibition + creative workshop - Pedagogical brochure, including: - o General information about the museum, a map of the museum, theoretical information about the different sections of the museum (including WWII and more precisely the 18 Days' Campaign, the occupation, the liberation, the victory, and the former battlefields nowadays)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.monsmemorialmuseum.mons.be
16. Musée du Corps de Cavalerie Français	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The light mechanic units of the CCF that fought against the German armoured divisions during the Battle of La Petite Gette, that is the first battle of tanks that took place during the 18 Days' Campaign
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://www.orp-jauche.be/musee-du-corps-de-cavalerie-francais/
17. Musée du Souvenir Mai 1940	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of the Meuse, which took place during the 18 Days' Campaign - French soldiers and pilots that fought during that battle
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /

	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: http://emission-amplification.be/musee/
18. Musée français de Cortil-Noirmont	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The operations of the Belgian, French and British Armies in the context of the 'Dyle manoeuvre' (18 Days' Campaign) - Belgian and German Armies that fought in May 1940 - Daily life under the occupation
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.destinationbw.be/ (no specific website)
19. Musée d'Histoire Militaire de Tournai	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The bombing of Tournai by the Luftwaffe in May 1940 - The Battle of the Scheldt in May 1940 - The Allied bombing in 1944 - The liberation of Tournai by the British and the American troops on 2nd and 3rd September 1944
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.mhm.tournai.be
20. Musée de la Résistance de Belgique	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Resistance including the underground press, the armed Resistance, the civilian Resistance, the information networks, the escape routes, the rescuing of Jews
	Pedagogical activities and resources: in project for 2023
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.museumresistance.be
21. MaquiStory	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Resistance
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Visit 1: the daily life of children under the occupation, the actions and the dangers of the Resistance (cycles 3 and 4 of primary education – 8-12 years) - Vocabulary sheet about visit 1 - Visit 2: specific local members of the Resistance and their actions (cycles 3 and 4 of primary education – 8-12 years) - Visit 3: permanent collection of the museum (cycles 3 and 4 of primary education – 8-12 years)

	- Visit 4: the Resistance and the communication with London, including an interactive activity (cycles 3 and 4 of primary education – 8-12 years) - Visit 5 (cycle 4 of primary education – 10-12 years) - o Before the visit: DVD about the containers full of weapons and rationing tickets that were sent by the Allies to the local Resistance members, including a questionnaire about the film - o During the visit: complementary information and discussion - Escape game at the museum (pupils aged 8 and older – cycles 3 and 4 of primary education, and secondary education)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.silly.be/loisirs/tourisme/syndicat-dinitiative/maquistory (no specific website)
22. Fort de Huy	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Life conditions of political prisoners in the fort (most of them were communists, socialists, and members of the Resistance) - Daily life of civilians under the occupation, including the Resistance
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Escape game based on the experience of a former prisoner in the fort (cycle 4 of primary education – 10-12 years/ 1st grade of secondary education – 12-14 years, but can be adapted to all levels) - Brochure for primary school pupils: through the story of Arthur Masson, a former prisoner, pupils will discover theory about the history and geography of the fort, the life conditions of prisoners, their liberation, deportation or execution - Brochure for secondary school pupils: written extracts of Roger Pannequin's testimony (a former prisoner) that describe the life conditions in the fort - Two pedagogical files for teachers: - o Theory about the history and the geography of the Fort, including the detention camp of WWII - o Life conditions of prisoners, including testimonies and documents, such as extracts from books, pictures, letters, poems, etc.
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.huy.be (no specific website)

23. Musée du souvenir 40/45	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Local history of the region of Perwez during WWII, including the invasion in 1940, the occupation, civilian life, and the liberation in 1944
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.museedusouvenir.be
24. Ensival Historical Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Local history of the region of Verviers during WWII, focusing on the occupation and the liberation of the region - Veterans of the US Air Force
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.liegetourisme.be (no specific website)
25. Musée 40-44 Lieutenant Cook	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The 9 th Division of Infantry of the US Army which came in Europe in 1944 to liberate the continent - The Canadian troops that came in Europe during the Dieppe (France) landings in 1942 - The crew of the American B-17 bomber called 'Susan Ruth', which crashed in the region of Macquenoise in 1944 while on a mission to Frankfurt - Local Resistance movements
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.belgiumbattlefield.be (no specific website)
26. Remember Museum 39-45	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The 1 st Division of Infantry of the US Army
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.remembermuseum.be
27. For Freedom Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The history of West Flanders during WWII - The liberation of the region - The Battle of the Scheldt in 1944, also called the Battle of the Dykes

	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits on request but no specific activities
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.forfreedommuseum.be
28. Canada Poland War II Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Canadian and Polish soldiers who fought during the Battle of the Scheldt in 1944
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Guided tour of the permanent exhibition (all levels) + introductory game for upper cycle 3 and cycle 4 of primary education (9-12 years) - Loan box containing objects from WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.canadapolandmuseum.com
29. Museum Cabour	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Local history of West Flanders during WWII - The 2nd and 4th Divisions of Cavalry of the Belgian Army
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.depanne.be (no specific website)
30. Brûly-de-Pesche 1940	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The stay of Hitler in Brûly-de-Pesche in May 1940 - The local Resistance - General Piron, from the 1st Belgian Infantry Division, who took part in the Normandy landings - Jewish children who were hidden in the region
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Activity 1: visit of the museum and track game (cycle 4 of primary education and lower 1st grade of secondary education – 10-13 years) - Pedagogical brochure about activity 1 containing questions for during the visit, pictures, a map of the village and information about the village - Activity 2: visit of the museum and watching a film, including a debate about the film (pupils aged 10 and older – cycle 4 of primary education and secondary education). Schools choose between the following films: - o 'Monsieur Batignole' - o 'En mai, fais ce qu'il te plait' - o 'The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas' - o 'The Wave'

	- Activity 3: visit of the museum and activity (secondary education – 12-18 years). Schools choose between two activities: ○ Short film about citizenship and democracy + activities about the film ○ Debate on multiculturalism - Activity 4: combined visit of the museum and a touristic site in the region (cycle 4 of primary education – 10-12 years/ secondary education – 12-18 years) ○ Same brochure as for activity 1 for pupils aged 10 to 12 - General pedagogical file that can be used in the classroom (upper cycle 4 of primary education – 11-12 years/1st grade of secondary education – 12-14 years) ○ Theory, archive documents and questions about WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.bdp1940.be

Appendix 2 - List of English Museums tackling WWII

1. IWM London	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Key moments of WWII, including immigration from Germany, war in the Pacific, the D-Day landings - WWII aircraft and tanks, including Japanese aircraft - V2 rockets - The relationship between the Holocaust and the course and consequences of WWII - Objects and stories from WWII - The Holocaust
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - The Holocaust Galleries cannot be visited during a self-guided tour - Meeting with veterans and eyewitnesses from WWII at the museum (upper KS2 – 9-11 years and KS3 – 11-14 years) - Holocaust Learning Programme: why and how did the Holocaust happen? (upper KS3 – 13-14 years, KS4 – 14-16 years and KS5 – 16-18 years) Including: - o Life of Jewish people before WWII - o The mass murder of Jewish people due to the Nazi policy - o The role of individuals, groups, and governments - o The causes, course and consequences of the Holocaust - o The relationship between the Holocaust and WWII - o The impact of the Holocaust today - Teachers' notes about the Holocaust Learning Programme: - o Advice to prepare for the visit - o Notice that some content might be sensitive and recommendation to prepare pupils and support them after the visit - o Explanation about the course of the visit at the museum - Sensitive content guide about the Holocaust Learning Programme: - o Advice on how to support pupils - o List of sensitive content featured in the Holocaust Galleries for teachers, in the order in which students may encounter it, including a map of the Holocaust Galleries and the location of sensitive content on that map - Theoretical information about rationing, war in the air, the Home Front, Jewish life, daily life in 1940, and D-Day (videos, texts, and quizzes) - Teachers' guide: preparing them to teach the Holocaust (videos) - Activities to do at home: Christmas during WWII, party like it's Victory in Europe Day (VE Day)

2. IWM North	Links to school curricula: - Meeting with veterans and eyewitnesses: explicit links to the KS2 history, citizenship and English curricula and to the KS3 history and English curricula are mentioned - Holocaust Learning Programme: explicit links to the KS3 and KS4 history curricula are mentioned.
	Website: www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-london
	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII, including experience of war, women and war, impressions of war, empire, Commonwealth and war, science, technology and war, legacy of war - The forgotten stories of service personnel and civilians who came to Britain during WWII - The Home Front, including the Blitz, the evacuation, daily life, rationing
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Self-guided visit of the permanent exhibition(s) (KS2 and above – 7 years and older) - Loan box: living in Britain during WWII, including the impact of the war on people's lives and society - Meeting with veterans and eyewitnesses from WWII at the museum (upper KS2 – 9-11 years and KS3 – 11-14 years) - Workshop: the Holocaust: life in Germany in 1919-1939, including the impact of political, economic and social changes on people's lives, and the impact of propaganda and indoctrination in Nazi Germany (upper KS3 – 13-14 years and KS4 – 14-16 years) - Theoretical information about rationing, war in the air, the Home Front, Jewish life, daily life in 1940, and D-Day (videos, texts, and quizzes) - Teachers' guide: preparing them to teach the Holocaust (videos) - Activities to do at home: Christmas during WWII, party like it's VE Day
	Links to school curricula: - Meeting with veterans and eyewitnesses: explicit links to the KS2 history, citizenship and English curricula and to the KS3 history and English curricula are mentioned - Workshop: explicit links to the KS3 history and literacy curricula are mentioned
	Website: www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-north

3. IWM Duxford	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The US Army Air Forces which came to Britain during WWII (American Air Museum, which is part of the IWM Duxford) - Aircraft from WWII - Naval aircraft and boats from WWII - D-Day - The Battle of Britain, including the Few, the Observer Corps, anti-aircraft guns, aircraft, the Operations Room and the people who worked there, the Dowding System
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Guided tour of the museum (pupils aged 5 and older – primary and secondary education) - Self-guided tour of the museum (pupils aged 7 and older – KS2 to KS5) - Workshop 1: meeting with veterans and eyewitnesses from WWII (upper KS2/KS3 – 9-14 years) - Teachers’ notes about workshop 1: general information about the visit, and advice to prepare for the workshop. Teachers will receive a short biography of the eyewitnesses one week before the session. - Workshop 2: visit of the hangar 4 about the Battle of Britain Pupils will be equipped with smart-cameras and will be required to make mini documentaries (upper KS2/KS3 – 9-14 years) - Teachers’ notes about workshop 2: general information about the visit, advice to prepare for the workshop, post visit lesson ideas - Theoretical information about rationing, war in the air, the Home Front, Jewish life, daily life in 1940, and D-Day (videos, texts and quizzes) - Teachers’ guide: preparing them to teach the Holocaust (videos) - Activities to do at home: Christmas during WWII, party like it’s VE Day
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop 1: specific links to the KS2 English, history and citizenship curricula are mentioned. Specific links to the KS3 English and history curricula are also mentioned - Workshop 2: specific links to the KS2 and KS3 history curricula are mentioned
	Website: www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-duxford https://www.americanairmuseum.com/ (American Air Museum)

4. HMS Belfast (IWM)	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - HMS Belfast, that is the most significant surviving WWII Royal Navy warship, including its participation in the D-Day landings
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits are not currently accepted
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.iwm.org.uk/visits/hms-belfast
5. Churchill War Rooms (IWM)	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The underground nerve centre where the British government directed WWII, including the civilians and secrets who worked there during the Blitz and their lives in the bunker - Churchill's wartime speeches
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits are not currently accepted - Theoretical information about rationing, war in the air, the Home Front, Jewish life, daily life in 1940, and D-Day (videos, texts, and quizzes) - Teachers' guide: preparing them to teach the Holocaust (videos) - Activities to do at home: Christmas during WWII, party like it's VE Day
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.iwm.org.uk/visits/churchill-war-rooms
6. Jewish Museum London	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Jewish refugees from Nazism in Britain, including the 10,000 children from the Kindertransport - The life of an Auschwitz survivor, including oral testimony and testimonies of four other Holocaust survivors who settled in Britain
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - File describing the anti-Jewish laws in Germany - Online videos of veterans talking about WWII - Online pictures and archive documents - Mobile exhibition 1: WWII and the Holocaust, including the story of an Auschwitz survivor - Mobile exhibition 2: the story of a group of teenage Holocaust survivors admitted to Britain after WWII - Mobile exhibition 3: the story of the 10,000 children from the Kindertransport

	- Workshop 1 'every object tells a story' (at school or at the museum): the impact of Nazi rule on one family, Shabbat and Havdalah, the impact of the Kindertransport (upper KS2 to KS5 – 9-18 years) - Workshop 2 'lasting legacies' (at school, at the museum, or online): the history of the Kindertransport as told by the 'Kinder' (children) themselves (upper KS2 to KS5 – 9-18 years) - Workshop 3 'Kindertransport: A personal story' (online): the impact of the Holocaust from one person's story (Kindertransport refugee's testimony) (KS2 to KS4 – 7-16 years) - Workshop 4 'a child's journey' (at the museum or online): meeting with a Kindertransport refugee (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop 5 'witness the witness' (at the museum or online): meeting with a Kindertransport refugee (KS3/4 – 11-16 years) Links to school curricula: / Website: https://jewishmuseum.org.uk/
7. Novium Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): / Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop at the museum or at school: life in Chichester during WWII, including the evacuees, rationing, and air raid wardens (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Loan boxes about the following themes: - o WWII Chichester - o WWII evacuees - o WWII food & rationing - o WWII home guard - o WWII: the Home Front - o WWII air raid warden Links to school curricula: / Website: www.thenovium.org/home
8. Amersham Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Amersham in 1939: migration and growth, including the evacuees and the Red Cross workers during WWII Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: WWII including documents, maps, photographs and information - Workshop at the museum, at school or online: WWII, including the emigration, refugees, rationing, the military hospital, Amersham at wartime, and the impact of war on people's lives (KS1-2 – 5-11 years)

	Links to school curricula: - Explicit links to the KS1 and KS2 history and English curricula
	Website: https://amershammuseum.org/
9. Trowbridge Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop about WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://trowbridgemuseum.co.uk/
10. The Epping Forest District Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Artefacts from WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: WWII Home Front, including air raids, rationing, black out and salvage (upper KS2 – 9-11 years) - History day at the museum: WWII Home Front - o Discover the theme - o Explore the museum, including the special role played by ARP wardens - o Creative activity - Loan box: WWII Home Front, including identity and ration cards, black out lamps, parts of uniforms, a bit of a bomb
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.eppingforestdc.gov.uk/museum/
11. The Poole Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop about the impact of WWII on people's lives, including wartime rations, air raids safety instructions, fire practice and school at wartime (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Loan box about WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.poolemuseum.org.uk/
12. The Hertford Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Hertford at war
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: daily life in Hertford at wartime (upper KS2 – 9-11 years) - Loan box: WWII Home Front, including ration books, gas masks, clothes, etc. (KS2 – 7-11 years)

	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.hertfordmuseum.org/
13. The museum of Richmond	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Richmond during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: daily life in Richmond during WWII, including a meeting with a resident of Richmond that was a child at wartime (KS1-2 – 5-11 years) ○ The workshop can also be organised at school - Loan box: WWII Home Front (KS1-2 – 5-11 years) - Special afternoons for teachers: they can learn about the topics that are tackled at the museum, including WWII
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop: ○ Explicit links to the history, English, and science school curricula are mentioned for KS1 ○ Explicit links to the history and English school curricula are mentioned for Years 3 & 4 (KS2) ○ Explicit links to the history school curriculum are mentioned for Years 5 & 6 (KS2)
	Website: www.museumofrichmond.com/
14. The Abington Park Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop at the museum or at school: life in Northampton during WWII, including air raids, identity cards, black out, gas attacks and rationing (KS2 – 7-11 years) ○ Possibility to include the evacuation of children from London and big cities - Loan boxes: ○ The WWII Home Front including air raids, rationing, 'make, do and mend', hardships that people faced, etc. (KS2 – 7-11 years) ○ Evacuee suitcase containing objects that evacuated children packed (KS2 – 7-11 years) ○ Life of soldiers (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop and loan boxes: explicit links to the KS2 history curriculum are mentioned
	Website: www.northamptonmuseums.com/

15. The Milestones Living History Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1 + activity: daily life during the Blitz, including air raids, gas masks, blackout, plane identification, the role of an ARP warden, shelters (KS2 – 7-11 years, adaptable to KS1 – 5-7 years) - Workshop 2: WWII jobs (KS2 – 7-11 years, adaptable to KS1 – 5-7 years)
	Links to school curricula: - Workshops 1 and 2: explicit links to the KS2 history curriculum are mentioned
	Website: www.milestonesmuseum.org.uk/
16. The Abingdon County Hall Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: life in Abingdon during WWII (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.abingdon.gov.uk/abingdon-county-hall-museum/
17. The East Grinstead Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Guinea Pig Club and the Allied aircrew treated at the Queen Victoria Hospital
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits about any local history topics related to the NC on request ➔ Visits about WWII could thus be organised on request - Loan box: daily life in East Grinstead during WWII
	Links to school curricula: - The National Curriculum is mentioned but there are no explicit links that are established
	Website: www.eastgrinsteadmuseum.org.uk/
18. The British Schools Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1: life at school during WWII (KS1-2 – 5-11 years) - Workshop 2: daily life during WWII, including the life of an evacuee, air raid shelters, and a meeting with a person who was a child during WWII (KS1-2 – 5-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.britishschoolsmuseum.org.uk/

19. The Dock Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Blitz in Barrow - Life in Barrow during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Visit: the Barrow's Blitz and Barrow during WWII (KS1-2 – 5-11 years) - Loan box: the Barrow's Blitz, including rationing, air raids and daily life in Barrow during the war
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.dockmuseum.org.uk/
20. Worthing Museum & Art Gallery	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: wartime in Worthing, including air raid shelters, evacuees, utility wear and rations (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://wtm.uk/
21. The Lightbox	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: the Home Front (KS1 and above – 5-7 years and older)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.thelightbox.org.uk/
22. Manchester Jewish Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Oral interviews with Holocaust survivors and refugees - Diary written by children from the Kindertransport - Items produced by Jewish internees on the Isle of Man - Belongings from Holocaust survivors - Jewish immigration to Manchester and life of migrants in the city
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Schools can visit the permanent collection on request but there are no specific workshops organised about WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.manchesterjewishmuseum.com/
23. National Army Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop at the museum or online: London in WWII: the Blitz (KS2 – 7-11 years)

24. Royal Airforce Museum London	Links to school curricula: - The history and English curricula are mentioned but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: www.nam.ac.uk/
	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Polish Airforce in WWII (online) - The Battle of Britain (online) - Aircraft of WWII - Aircraft from the Battle of Britain Pedagogical activities and resources: - Self-guided tour of the museum - Workshop 1: air raids during WWII (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop 2: planes during WWII (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop 3: wartime classroom (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop 4: the Battle of Britain (upper KS2 – 9-11 years) - Workshop 5: the experiences of men and women of the RAF (upper KS2 upper – 9-11 years) - Workshop 6: ethnical diversity in the RAF (KS3/4 – 11-16 years) - Workshop 7: involvement of the RAF in key moments of British history including the Battle of Britain (KS3/4 – 11-16 years) - Brochure with brief ideas for before, after and during the visit: workshops 1 to 5 - Learning videos (KS2 – 7-11 years): workshops 1 and 4 - Brochure: theory about the Battle of Britain (KS3 – 11-14 years) (workshop 7) - Brochure: biographies of members of the RAF (KS3 – 11-14 years) (workshop 6) Links to school curricula: - Workshops 1 to 3: the history curriculum is mentioned, no specific links are established - Workshop 4: specific links to the KS2 history curriculum are mentioned - Workshop 5: the literacy and history curricula are mentioned, no specific links are established - Workshop 6: the history and citizenship curricula are mentioned, no specific links are established

	- Workshop 7: the history curriculum is mentioned, no specific links are established
	Website: www.rafmuseum.org.uk/
25. Royal Airforce Museum Midlands	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Polish Airforce in WWII (online) - The Battle of Britain (online) - Aircraft of WWII - Aircraft from the Battle of Britain
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1: the Battle of Britain (KS1-2 – 5-11 years) (also online) - Workshop 2: Spirit of the Blitz (KS1-2 – 5-11 years) (also online) - Workshop 3: WWII Artefact Handling (KS1-2 – 5-11 years) - Book (pdf) + writing comprehension activities about the Battle of Britain (pupils aged 7 and older – KS2 and above)
	Links to school curricula: - Workshops 1 and 2: explicit links to the KS1, KS2 and KS3 history curricula are mentioned - Workshop 3: explicit links to the KS2 history curriculum are mentioned
	Website: www.rafmuseum.org.uk/
26. Brixham Battery Heritage Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The trials and tribulations faced by both the armed forces and civilians during WWII - ARP and the Home Front, including daily life of civilians
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Schools can visit the museum on request, but no specific activities are organised for schools
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.brixhambattery.net/
27. Brixham Heritage Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Artefacts from WWII - Brixham heroes of WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: Brixham's role in the two World Wars
	Links to school curricula: - The museum specifies that all workshops meet the requirements of the KS1 and KS2 curricula, but no specific links are established
	Website: www.brixhammuseum.uk/

28. Liverpool War Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The bunker, that is the headquarters of the Battle of the Atlantic, including the Western approaches at the headquarters - Allied naval officers - The Royal Navy Signals Office - Liverpool during the Blitz, including daily life
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Interactive guided tour of the bunker, including Liverpool's role in the war and the stories of the people who worked in the bunker (KS2/3 – 7-14 years) - Interactive guided tour of the bunker + workshop (KS2/3 – 7-14 years): same as the interactive guided tour + choice between three workshops: - o Rationing - o Codes and intelligence in WWII - o The impact of the war on civilians - Wartime Waterfront Walking Tour: self-guided tour of the area and the impact of WWII on the area, including the Battle of the Atlantic (KS2/3 – 7-14 years) - Education pack KS2 (7-11 years): general information about the visit, theory about the Battle of the Atlantic, Liverpool during WWII, the history of the Derby House bunker, a description of the different rooms of the museum, information about school activities that are offered - Education pack KS3 (11-14 years): general information about the visit, theory about the Battle of the Atlantic, Liverpool during WWII, the history of the Derby House bunker, a description of the different rooms of the museum, information about school activities that are offered
	Links to school curricula: - Explicit links to the KS2 and KS3 history curricula are mentioned
	Website: https://liverpoolwarmuseum.co.uk/
29. 100th Bomb Group Memorial and Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The 100th Bomb Group of the 8th American Air Force
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.100bgmus.org.uk/
30. Second World War Experience Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - War by sea during WWII, including the Royal Navy, the Merchant Navy, and the Fleet Air Arm - War by the air during WWII, including fighter and bomber pilots, the women's services, the RAF (including the foreign troops), the US Air Force, and the Luftwaffe

	- War on the land, including the life in various armies - Civilians' war, including the impact of the conflict on daily life - Clandestine war, including groups such as the SOE that contributed to the Resistance networks
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - DVD including veterans' testimonies about Dunkirk and the Holocaust (KS3 – 11-14 years) - It is not mentioned whether specific activities are organised for schools on site
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://war-experience.org/
31. Solway Aviation Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The RAF n°14 Maintenance Unit - The Royal Observer Corps - Local wartime RAF airfields - Air shelters - Airports' WWII control towers
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.solway-aviation-museum.co.uk/
32. Fleetwood Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The role of fishing trawlers during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: the role of the fishing industry during WWII (KS2/3 – 7-14 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.fleetwoodmuseum.co.uk/
33. The Green Howards Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Online exhibition: the invasion of Norway - Soldiers' letters
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1: the Home Front, including daily life of civilians and the military, the Blitz, propaganda, evacuation, and Civil Defence - Workshop 2: key events of WWII, including the Phoney War, the Blitzkrieg, Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain, the Eastern Front and the USSR, Pearl Harbour and the USA, North Africa, Italy, D-Day, the road to Berlin, and the outcomes of the war - Online exhibitions and quiz about VE Day and the invasion of Norway

	Links to school curricula: - It is mentioned that workshops are about any element of the curriculum but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: https://greenhowards.org.uk/
34. Discovery Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: the Home Front during WWII (KS1/2 – 5-11 years) - Virtual workshop: Newcastle during WWII, including ARP, air raid shelters, evacuation, and the role of women (KS1/2 – 5-11 years) - At home activity about VE Day - Loan boxes: - o The evacuee's suitcase, including a book and a CD about Britain during the Blitz - o WWII artefacts - o The Battle of Britain, including a teachers' pack and a DVD
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop and virtual workshop: the KS1 and KS2 history curricula are mentioned but no specific links are established
	Website: https://discoverymuseum.org.uk/
35. Cheshire Military Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Cheshire Regiment during WWII - The Home Front, especially the role of women - Weapons and equipment from WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: daily life of local civilians and soldiers during WWII, including air raids and gas attacks + possibility to cover rationing and 'make, do and mend' in collaboration with the Grosvenor Museum (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Loan box about WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.cheshiremilitarymuseum.co.uk/
36. Congleton Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop about the evacuee experience, including life of children who were evacuated during WWII, clothes rationing, 'make, do and mend', food rationing, gas masks, air raids (KS1/2 – 5-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /

	Website: www.congletonmuseum.co.uk/
37. The Brampton Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Newcastle during the two World Wars
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: the Chesterton air raid (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.newcastle-staffs.gov.uk/museum
38. Crich Tramway Village	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: the Home Front during WWII, including the journey of an evacuee, gas masks, jobs and rationing (KS1/2 – 5-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: - Links between the museum in general and the KS1/2 history curricula are mentioned, but there are no specific links that are established regarding the workshop about WWII
	Website: www.tramway.co.uk/
39. The Royal Lancers and Nottinghamshire Yeomanry Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The 17 th and 21 st Lancers Regiment that fought in North Africa and Italy during WWII - The 16 th and 5 th Lancers Regiment that fought in North Africa and Italy during WWII - The Battle of Fondouk (North African Campaign) - The South Nottinghamshire Hussars Yeomanry during the North African Campaign
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Themed activities about WWII on request
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://rlnymuseum.co.uk/
40. Newark Air Museum RAF	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Anderson shelter - Royal Observer Corps - Aircraft from WWII and equipment used for the maintenance of aircraft - The RAF during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Activities about the evacuation of children during WWII on request - Activities about the Battle of Britain on request - Self-guided or guided visits of the permanent exhibition(s) of the museum

	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.newarkairmuseum.org/
41. The Fusilier Museum Warwick	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Royal Regiment of Fusiliers during WWII, including eyewitness accounts of the D-Day landings
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: the Home Front - Worksheets about WWII (on request, not available on the website) - Visit of the museum, including the WWII display (KS1/2 – 5-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: - The KS2 history and English curricula are mentioned but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: www.warwickfusiliers.co.uk/
42. The Museum of English Rural Life	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Town and country gallery - o Lives of evacuated children during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop at the museum and online: the experience of evacuees during WWII, including rationing (KS2 – 7-11 years but adaptable to KS1 – 5-7 years) - Guided tour of the museum, including the town and country gallery about evacuees - Pedagogical brochure about the visit of the gallery about evacuees: learning objectives, an activity for before the visit, advice for during the visit including a worksheet with questions, and advice for a post visit activity - Three pedagogical brochures each describing the journey of a child who was an evacuee during WWII
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop at the museum and online: links to the KS1 and KS2 history curricula are explicitly mentioned
	Website: https://merl.reading.ac.uk/
43. Malvern Museum of Local History	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Malvern during WWII, including Belgian refugees, the men from Malvern who fought during the war, the naval training centre, the military hospitals that were built after D-Day, Jewish refugees in Malvern, and the development of radar systems in Malvern

	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Schools can visit the museum on request but there are no specific activities organised for schools - Brief ideas of questions that could be answered during the visit
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://malvernmuseum.co.uk/
44. Waterworksmuseum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Rotherwas Munitions Factory, including the air raid against the factory and the work of women - The Home Front in Hereford
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Self-guided tour of the museum - There are specific activities for schools, but they do not focus on WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.waterworksmuseum.org.uk/
45. Kington Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The occupation of the building by the American Army Hospital during WWII, where the injured were brought from France for treatment
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.kingtonmuseum.com/
46. The D-Day story	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - D-Day, including landing craft tanks, the preparation of D-Day from the Evacuation of Dunkirk to the Normandy landings, the Battle of Normandy, and veterans' testimonies
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Self-guided tour of the museum - Teachers' guide for primary education: instructions, necessary material, missions that pupils will complete during the visit and their corrections - Pupils' worksheets for primary education: worksheets that pupils will have to complete during the visit (they correspond to the missions that are described in the teachers' guide) - A teachers' guide and pupils' worksheets are also available for secondary education. They follow the same pattern as the

	primary education resources, but the missions are adapted to the pupils' level
	Links to school curricula: - The history, English, geography and maths curricula are mentioned, but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: https://thedaystory.com/
47. Royal Armouries Museum Leeds (including Fort Nelson)	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Weapons from WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Online workshop: WWII, including the Home Front (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop at Fort Nelson: the Home Guard, air raids and artillery (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop at the RAM: the Home Front, including the Home Guard and ARP (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Resources: videos and pictures about the SOE, the ARP, and the attacks
	Links to school curricula: - Online workshop and workshop at the RAM: the history and literacy school curricula are mentioned, but there are no specific links that are established - Workshop at Fort Nelson: the history school curriculum is mentioned, but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: https://royalarmouries.org/
48. Saffron Walden Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: the WWII Home Front - Activities on the website, including information (texts, pictures, videos) and questions - School session about WWII on request at the museum
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://saffronwaldenmuseum.swmuseumsoc.org.uk/
49. Tewkesbury Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The PoW's camp (camp 1009) for Germans in Northway
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Theoretical PowerPoints (KS2 – 7-11 years) about: - o The American camp of Ashchurch - o WWII rationing

	○ The difference between British and American culture during WWII ○ Christmas in Ashchurch in 1944 ○ The Northway PoW's camp, including the camp after D-Day
	Links to school curricula: - Theoretical PowerPoints: the history, geography, design and technology, art, physical education, citizenship, and PSHEE curricula are mentioned, but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: www.tewkesburymuseum.org/
50. Royal Navy Fleet Air Arm Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The role of the Fleet Air Arm in the Pacific campaign - The Battle of the Atlantic - Operation Skua (the invasion of Norway)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.fleetairarm.com/
51. Royal Albert Memorial Museum & Art Gallery	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Pedagogical file 1: the Home Front – theory about the Civil Defence, the police, ARP wardens, fire services, rescue and demolition parties, first aid parties, ambulance drivers, the Women's Voluntary Service, and the Women's Land Army - Pedagogical file 2: an evacuee suitcase, including theory and an activity - Pedagogical file 3: activity about an evacuee postcard - Pedagogical file 4: theory and activity about 'dig for victory garden' - Pedagogical file 5: activity about wartime posters - Online oral testimonies of people who lived in Exeter during the Blitz - Online quiz about the Home Front - Teachers' file: theoretical background about the Home Front, including the blackout, the gas attacks, the shelters, the ARP wardens, the Blitz in Exeter, the Home Guard in Exeter, and the evacuees

	- Activity: the Home Front, including the Exeter Blitz, home life, clothing, rationing, 'dig for victory', air raids, ARP wardens, and a meeting with an evacuee child from WWII (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://rammuseum.org.uk/
52. London Transport Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - London transport during WWII, including the shelters in Underground stations
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Self-guided tour of the galleries - There are no other activities about WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.ltmuseum.co.uk/
53. De Havilland Aircraft Heritage Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Aircraft from WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Guided tour of the exhibitions, including De Havilland Mosquito operations of WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.dehavillandmuseum.co.uk/
54. The National Holocaust Centre and Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Interactive conversational experiences with recorded testimonies of Holocaust survivors - The Holocaust, including - o Prewar and postwar life of Holocaust survivors - o Kristallnacht - o The planning of the Final Solution - o Prewar life of all victims of the Nazis - o The Nazi propaganda machine - o Anti-Jewish laws (1933-1945) - o People who sought refuge from the Nazi regime in Europe and beyond - o Rescuers, bystanders and perpetrators - o Liberation and repatriation - o Sites of murder (extermination camps, labour camps, concentration camps, and ghettos) - o The Kindertransport ('The Journey' exhibition)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Training for teachers (primary education, secondary education and sixth form) - o Defining the Holocaust - o Pedagogical approaches to teaching the Holocaust

	○ Exploring resources that are available at the centre to support delivery in the classroom - Workshop 1 at school or at the museum 'The Journey' (upper KS2 – 9-11 years): ○ The isolation and persecution of Jews under the Nazi regime, including children ○ The impact of the Nazi regime on the lives of Jewish families and others ○ The Kindertransport and the lives of these children ○ The influence of propaganda ○ Identity and antisemitism ○ Kristallnacht ○ Survivors' testimonies ○ Immersion in a simulated Kindertransport train (only at the museum) ➔ These themes will be discovered through the journey of Leo, who left Germany on the Kindertransport when he was ten, including diary extracts and testimonies - Workshop 2 at school (follow-up to workshop 1) (upper KS2 – 9-11 years): ○ The importance of testimony, including testimonies, artefacts and photographs of Holocaust survivors who arrived in the UK as refugees ○ Pupils will then write the last page of Leo's diary when he came to the UK - Workshop 3 at the museum (upper KS2 – 9-11 years) ○ Visit of 'The Journey' ○ Face-to-face meeting with a Holocaust survivor OR interactive, recorded testimony ○ Visit of the memorial gardens ○ Writing workshop about the experience of the day - Teachers' notes about workshops 1 to 3 ○ General information about the visit of the centre ○ Worksheets containing writing frames for film, poetry or diary extracts ○ Teachers will receive full lesson plans with exercises and a film footage of survivor testimonies after their visit - Workshop 4 at school (KS3 and above – 11 and above) ○ Development of Nazi society ○ Lodz ghetto and Auschwitz-Birkenau camp ○ Analysing if 'the Boy in the Striped Pyjamas' is an accurate depiction of the Holocaust or not, in function of what has been learned during the workshop
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	- Workshop 5 at the museum (KS3/4 – 11-16 years) - o Choices made by ordinary people and the extent to which they contributed to the Holocaust, including the visit of the Holocaust exhibition and the memorial gardens - o Meeting with a Holocaust survivor - Pedagogical file about workshop 5: - o Pre-visit: objectives, activities to do in the classroom, including instructions and debate questions - o A map of the memorial gardens - o Description of the workshop and questions - Workshop 6 at the museum (KS5 – 16-18 years) - o Visit of the Holocaust exhibition and the memorial gardens with a focus on the reasons for launching and the timing of the decision to launch the Final Solution - o Meeting with a Holocaust survivor Links to school curricula: - Workshops 1, 2, 3: explicit links to the KS2 history, citizenship, PHSEE, English, religious education, and SMSCE curricula are mentioned Website: www.holocaust.org.uk/
55. Dartmouth Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Dartmouth at war, including shelters, the evacuation of Dartmouth, Exercise Tiger (D-Day rehearsals), and the preparation for D-Day
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.dartmouthmuseum.org/
56. Tiverton Museum of Mid Devon Life	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Mid Devon at war
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: Devon at war, including shelters, evacuees, and rationing (KS1/2 – 5-11 years) - Loan boxes - o WWII through objects and archives - o The Home Front
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.tivertonmuseum.org.uk/

57. Elstree and Borehamwood Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: the Home Front, including artefacts, posters, and photographs - Workshop at the museum or at school: life in Borehamwood during WWII (KS2/3 – 7-14 years)
	Links to school curricula: - Explicit links to the KS1 and KS2 curricula are mentioned, including the history curriculum
	Website: https://elstree-museum.org.uk/
58. Bushey Museum and Art Gallery	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: the Home Front, including the Blitz in Bushey, rationing, and evacuation (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://busheymuseum.org/
59. Watford Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Watford during WWII (online)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan boxes: - o WWII - o WWII evacuees' suitcase - Resources box: - o Watford during WWII, including photographs, newspaper articles, and a DVD
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.watfordmuseum.org.uk/
60. Museum of Croydon	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Life in Croydon during WWII (online) - Evacuation, 'dig for victory', the Blitz, and VE Day (online)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://museumofcroydon.com/
61. Godalming Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Wartimes in Godalming, including rationing, and the Home Guard

	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: evacuation, gas masks, food, ARP and emergency services, VE Day parties, including artefacts and CD's (upper KS2 – 9-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.godalmingmuseum.org.uk/
62. Rural Life Living Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Stanton shelters - Anderson shelters - Postwar pre-fabricated homes
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1: the Home Guard (KS1/2 – 5-11 years) - Workshop2: 'Make, do and mend' (KS1/2 – 5-11 years) - Workshop3: meeting with someone who was a child during WWII (KS1/2 – 5-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://rural-life.org.uk/
63. Chelmsford City Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: daily life in Chelmsford during WWII, including air raids, gas masks, rationing, and 'make, do and mend' (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Theoretical PowerPoint about the aspects that will be covered during the workshop - Loan box: WWII and the Home Front, including ARP, air raids, rationing, children's entertainment, and medals
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop: links to the KS2 curriculum are explicitly mentioned
	Website: www.chelmsford.gov.uk/museums/
64. Great Dunmow Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII in Dunmow, including RAF squadrons and Dunmow airfield
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.greatdunmowmuseum.org.uk/

65. Museum of Barnstaple and North Devon	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Royal Devon Yeomanry WWII action in Sicily and Italy
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1 at the museum or at school: WWII, including daily life in North Devon during the war, and jobs involved in the wartime effort (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop 2 at the museum or at school: evacuees in North Devon during WWII, including air raids and rationing (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Loan box: WWII - Pedagogical file: D-Day in North Devon, theory about the D-Day preparations in the region and the buildings/places that played a role in the preparations that can still be visited today
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://barnstaplemuseum.org.uk/
66. North Devon Maritime Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Local activities for the preparation of the D-Day landings
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://northdevonmaritimemuseum.co.uk/
67. Cobbaton Combat Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Home Front, including rationing, gas masks, ARP, and the Home Guard - Vehicles from WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.cobbatoncombat.co.uk/
68. Upottery Heritage Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The role of the Upottery airfield in the D-Day operation
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshops about WWII can be organised at school on request, the aspects of the subject to be treated are to be determined with the South West Airfields Heritage Trust
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.southwestairfields.co.uk/index.html

69. Dunkeswell Heritage Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Life at Dunkeswell airfield, the only WWII US Naval Air Base in Europe
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshops about WWII can be organised at school on request, the aspects of the subject to be treated are to be determined with the South West Airfields Heritage Trust
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.southwestairfields.co.uk/index.html
70. South West Heritage Trust	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: WWII - Workshop at school: Somerset in wartime, including incendiary bombs, rationing, the Home Guard, and evacuees (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop at the Somerset Rural Life Museum: the evacuee experience, including air raids, ‘dig for victory’, and rationing (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop at school and workshop at the Somerset Rural Life Museum: links to the KS2 curriculum are explicitly mentioned
	Website: https://swheritage.org.uk/
71. Sherborne Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Artefacts from WWII, including the bombing of Sherborne in 1940 (reserve collection which can be viewed on request)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.sherbornemuseum.co.uk/
72. The Keep Military Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Dorset Regiment, including its participation in WWII - The Devonshire Regiment, including its participation in WWII - The Queen’s Own Dorset Yeomanry, including its participation in the D-Day landings
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: WWII
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.keepmilitarymuseum.org/

73. Swanage Museum and Heritage Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII in Swanage, including air raids, the preparations for D-Day, and the RADAR development
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - School visits can be organised but there are no specific school activities that are mentioned
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://swanagemuseum.org.uk/
74. Blandford Town Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Militaria from WWII - Wartime Blandford
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Interviews with WWII survivors
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://blandfordtownmuseum.org.uk/
75. Museum in the Park	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Online activity: WWII Home Front, including a loan box, a digital teachers' pack, and a video-call with an expert - Visit: WWII Home Front
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://museuminthepark.org.uk/
76. Steam – Museum of the Great Western Railway	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1: the air raid experience, including life during the Blitz, air raid shelters, ARP, and ARP wardens (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Workshop 2: evacuation experience: the journey and life of evacuated children during WWII (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Wartime day at the museum: the era of WWII is recreated in the museum, the day includes workshops 1 and 2 + interactive workshops covering wartime memories, wartime childhood, the Home Front, and the changing role of women (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Education pack to prepare for the wartime day: ○ Theory about the evacuation, railway travel in wartime, war damage, war works, ARP, the role of the railway during the war, chronology of war ○ Artefacts that pupils should look for during their visit ○ Tips to dress up as in 1940

	○ Activities to do before the wartime day at the museum: make your own gas mask, identity card, food ration book, evacuee label, and sing a morale boosting WWII song - Teachers' guide to prepare for the wartime day: ○ Practical information about the day ○ Overview of the different workshops ○ What to bring on the day at the museum ○ Pictures
	Links to school curricula: - Workshops 1, 2, and wartime day: links to the KS2 history curriculum are explicitly mentioned
	Website: www.steam-museum.org.uk/
77. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Resources pack: evacuees, including: ○ History map of your local area in 1941 ○ Local newspaper report describing the arrival of evacuees ○ Extract from your local trade directory in 1939 ○ Extract from school logbooks and admission records ○ Extracts from local government records concerning billeting of evacuees ○ Teachers' notes
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.wshc.org.uk/
78. Army Flying Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Battle of Britain (online)
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: experiences of pilots during WWII, including the role of gliders and the Battle of Britain at Middle Wallop (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Online learning ○ The role of gliders during WWII (KS2 – 7-11 years) ○ The Home Front, including wartime homes, rationing, air raids, 'dig for victory', ARP wardens, and the evacuation (KS2 – 7-11 years) ○ Importance of the Spitfire in the Battle of Britain (KS2 – 7-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://armyflying.com/

79. Buckler Hard's Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The role of Buckler Hard in the D-Day landings - Buckler Hard at war
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.bucklershard.co.uk/attractions/maritime-museum/
80. St Neots Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: WWII Home Front - Educational video: the Battle of Britain (online)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.stneotsmuseum.org.uk/
81. 306th Bombardment Group Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The personnel of the 306th Bomb Group who operated from Thurleigh during WWII as part of the 8th Air Force 40th Combat Wing of the 1st Air Division
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.306bg.co.uk/
82. Felixstowe Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII Coastal Forces based at Felixstowe
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: http://felixstowemuseum.org/
83. Ipswich Museum 84	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Ipswich at war
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop: Ipswich at war, including daily life, air raid shelters, rationing, gas masks, 'make, do and mend', and the evacuation of children (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Teachers' notes about the workshop: - o Objectives of the session - o Pre-visit activities - o Overview of the activities during the workshop, including examples of questions to ask the pupils during the visit

	○ A map of the museum ○ Post-visit activities
	Links to school curricula: - Explicit links to the KS2 history curriculum are mentioned
	Website: https://ipswich.cimuseums.org.uk/
84. Ely Museum	Tackled aspects: - The evacuees in the region of Ely during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop at the museum or online: WWII evacuees, including rationing, 'make, do and mend', wartime toys, children's occupations during the war (KS2 – 7-11 years) - Online resources (theory + activities): Ely during WWII, including rationing, the evacuation, gas masks, and RAF airfields
	Links to school curricula: - Workshop at the museum or online: the history, English, religious education, and maths curricula are mentioned but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: www.elymuseum.org.uk/
85. Spitfire & Hurricane Memorial Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Aircraft from WWII (Spitfires and Hurricanes) - The Home Front
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Self-guided tour of the museum (worksheets available on request for KS2 and KS4 – 7-11 years and 14-16 years) - Guided tour of the museum - Pedagogical file: theory and quiz about the Battle of Britain (KS3 – 11-14 years) - Pedagogical file: quiz for during the visit and answer sheet (KS3 – 11-14 years) - Pedagogical file: quiz for during the visit (no level specified)
	Links to school curricula: - Self-guided tour: it is mentioned that WWII is part of the KS2 and KS4 history curricula
	Website: www.spitfiremuseum.org.uk/
86. Kent Battle of Britain Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII RAF aircraft - Airfield diorama - The Home Front, including air raid shelters - German aircraft - Autographs of 'The Few' - RAF and Luftwaffe uniforms and personal effects from the Battle of Britain - V1 & V2 bombs

	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Schools can visit the museum but there are no specific activities organised for schools
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.kbobm.org/
87. Ashford Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII in the Borough of Ashford, including PoW's camps within the Borough
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Schools can visit the museum but there are no specific activities organised for schools
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: https://ashfordmuseum.org.uk/
88. Battle Museum of Local History	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII in Battle
	Pedagogical activities and resources: /
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.battlelocalhistory.com/battle-museum.html
89. Hastings Museum and Art Gallery	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): /
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: WWII Home Front (KS1/2 – 5-11 years)
	Links to school curricula: - Loan box: the history, literacy and geography curricula are mentioned but there are no specific links that are established
	Website: www.hmag.org.uk/
90. Dover Museum & Bronze Age Boat Gallery	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - Cross Channel shelling - WWII artefacts
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Cross-curricular activities can be organised on request
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.dovermuseum.co.uk/Home.aspx
91. Bexhill Museum	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - WWII Home Front in Bexhill, including gas masks, rationing, air raids, air raid shelters, recorded oral testimonies of people who lived in Bexhill during WWII
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Loan box: WWII

	- Workshop: the Home Front, including rationing, the evacuation, 'make, do and mend', gas masks, and Coastal Defence (KS1/2 – 5-11 years) - Workshop: Bexhill's role in the two World Wars (KS3/4/5 – 11-18 years)
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.bexhillmuseum.org.uk/
92. The Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre	Tackled aspects in the permanent exhibition(s): - The Holocaust, including filmed survivors' testimonies
	Pedagogical activities and resources: - Workshop 1 (KS2 to KS5 – 7-18 years): - o The broad spectrum of victims of Nazism and why they were persecuted, including Jewish victims of the Holocaust - o Political and economic context of Germany between 1919 and 1939 - o Definition and contextualisation of antisemitism - o Case studies of three 'perpetrators/collaborators' - o The workshop includes the visit of the exhibition - Workshop 2 (KS3 to KS5 – 11-18 years): - o The roles that ordinary citizens played during the Holocaust: helper, bystander, collaborator or perpetrator - o The workshop includes the visit of the exhibition - Workshop 3 (KS3 to KS5 – 11-18 years) - o How Nazi Germany used propaganda and the media - o The workshop includes the visit of the exhibition - Workshop 4 (upper KS2 – 9-11 years): the stories of the survivors who are featured in the exhibition; schools choose between 4 activities: - o Timelines of two Kindertransport refugees and their feeling through their journeys, including the discovery of the exhibition - o The roles people played during the Holocaust as seen through a hidden child's experience - o The impact of the Holocaust on people's personal identities - o Exploring the refugees and survivors' belongings in the exhibition + why it is important to remember the Holocaust
	Links to school curricula: /
	Website: www.holocaustlearning.org.uk/

Appendix 3 - Dates of liberation of Belgian towns in 1944

Reference: (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982: 245)

La Libération de la Belgique :

ALOST, nuit du 3 au 4 sept.	LOUVAIN, 4 septembre.
ANVERS, 4 septembre.	MAASEIK, 22 septembre.
ARLON, 10 septembre.	MALMEDY, 11 septembre.
ATH, 3 septembre.	MALINES, 4 septembre.
BEERINGEN, 8 septembre.	MARCHE, 9 septembre.
BLANKENBERGE, 9 septembre	MENIN, 7 septembre.
BRUGES, 12 septembre.	MOL, 13 septembre.
BRUXELLES, 3 septembre.	MONS, 2 septembre.
CHARLEROI, 4 septembre.	MOUSCRON, 4 septembre.
CINEY, 7 septembre.	NAMUR, 6 septembre.
COURTRAI, 6 septembre.	NINOVE, 3 septembre.
COUVIN, 3 septembre.	POPERINGHE, 6 septembre.
DIEST, 6 septembre.	RENAIX, 3 septembre.
DIXMUDE, 8 septembre	ROULERS, 9 septembre.
DINANT, 7 septembre.	ST-NICOLAS-WAES, 8 septembre.
EEKLO, 15 septembre.	ST-TROND, 7 septembre.
GEEL, 23 septembre.	SOIGNIES, 3 septembre.
GEMBLOUX, 5 septembre.	TERMONDE, 4 septembre.
GENK, 14 septembre.	THIELT, 8 septembre.
GAND, 6 septembre.	THUIN, 4 septembre.
HAL, 3 septembre.	TORHOUT, 8 septembre.
HASSELT, 7 septembre.	TOURNAI, 3 septembre.
HEYST, 2 novembre.	VERVIERS, 9 septembre.
KNOKKE, 1er novembre.	WAREMME, 7 septembre.
LA LOUVIERE, 3 septembre.	YPRES, 6 septembre.
LA PANNE, 9 septembre.	et, après la bataille des Ardennes :
LIEGE, 8 septembre.	SAINT HUBERT, 11 janvier 1945.
LIERRE, 4 septembre.	HOUFFALIZE, 16 janvier 1945.
LOKEREN, 9 septembre.	

Appendix 4 - List of products that were still rationed in Belgium in 1945

Reference: (de Launay & Offergeld, 1982: 223)

PRODUITS	RATION QUOTIDIENNE	PRIX (en FB)
Pain	450 gr	2,75 les 800 gr
Café torréfié	11,66 gr	30 le kg
Margarine	23,33 gr	17 le kg
Beurre	10 gr	52,50 le kg
Sucre	33,33 gr	10,25 le kg
Chocolat	5 gr	36 le kg
Viande	50 gr	48 à 54 le kg
Pommes de terre	300 gr	1,40 le kg

Les produits suivants n'étaient plus rationnés mais chers : poisson, volaille, gibier et le marché noir fonctionnait toujours :

Beurre	180 à 200 FB	le kg
Viande	150 à 200	le kg
Huile	170	le litre
Café	180	le kg
Œufs	5	la pièce

En tout cas, le Belge disposait par le rationnement, de 2000 calories par jour et il pouvait compléter librement ses achats.

Appendix 5 - Anti-Jewish laws in Belgium in chronological order

Reference: (Steinberg, 2004: 307-310)

CHRONOLOGIE : JUDENVERORDNUNGEN ET MESURES APPLIQUÉES SPÉCIALEMENT AUX JUIFS

année	date	Ordonnance	Objet ou effet
1940	22/10	Ordonnance sur l'abattage des animaux à sang chaud	Interdiction de l'abattage rituel ; les Juifs ne sont pas mentionnés
	28/10	1. <i>Judenverordnung : Verordnung über Maßnahmen gegen Juden (Judenverordnung)</i> Ordonnance sur les mesures contre les Juifs	Définition de la notion de Juif ; interdiction de retour et registre des Juifs ; déclaration des entreprises juives ; interdiction de tout acte de disposition des biens ; affichage des hôtels, restaurants, cafés et débits de boisson
	28/10	2. <i>Judenverordnung : Verordnung über das Ausscheiden von Juden aus Aemtern und Stellung</i> Ordonnance sur la cessation des fonctions et activités publiques	Interdiction professionnelle des fonctionnaires, enseignants d'écoles supérieure et d'université, avocats, juges, journalistes
	12/11	<i>Verordnung über polizeiliche Maßnahmen in bestimmten Gebieten Belgiens und Nordfrankreich</i> Ordonnance sur les mesures de police dans certaines régions limitant le séjour dans les provinces côtières des Flandres et de l'arrondissement d'Anvers	Restrictions de séjour dans les provinces de Flandre et dans l'arrondissement d'Anvers ; l'ordonnance ne précise pas les personnes concernées et les Juifs ne sont pas mentionnés ; application dans la Feldkommandantur d'Anvers : expulsion au Limbourg de 3 273 Juifs étrangers de diverses nationalités, immigrés à partir de 1933 pour les émigrants d'Allemagne ou de 1937 pour ceux d'un pays hostile à l'Allemagne
1941	31/05	3. <i>Judenverordnung : Verordnung zur Ergänzung der Judenverordnung</i> Ordonnance complétant l'ordonnance relative aux Juifs	Affichage des entreprises ; déclaration des immeubles, des titres ; comptes en banque bloqués ; élimination des Juifs administrateurs de société ; confiscation des appareils de radio

année	date	Ordonnance	Objet ou effet
1941	31/05	4. <i>Judenverordnung</i> : <i>Verordnung über wirtschaftliche Maßnahmen gegen Juden</i> (Dritte <i>Judenverordnung</i>) Ordonnance sur les mesures économiques contre les Juifs (« 3 ^e ordonnance »)	Réécriture de la première ordonnance du 28/10/1940 en y intégrant la première ordonnance du 31/05
	29/08	5. <i>Judenverordnung</i> : <i>Verordnung über Aufenthaltsbeschränkungen für Juden</i> Ordonnance limitant la libre circulation des Juifs	Bruxelles, Anvers, Liège et Charleroi, seules villes autorisées aux Juifs ; couvre-feu de vingt heures à sept heures
	25/11	6. <i>Judenverordnung</i> : <i>Verordnung über die Errichtung einer Vereinigung der Juden in Belgien</i> Ordonnance sur la création de l'Association des Juifs en Belgique	Adhésion obligatoire ; activer l'émigration des Juifs ; prise en charge des écoles et institutions de bienfaisance ; autres devoirs possibles ; personnalité juridique sous le contrôle du ministère de l'Intérieur
	01/12	7. <i>Judenverordnung</i> : <i>Verordnung über das jüdische Schulwesen</i> Ordonnance sur l'enseignement juif	Interdiction des élèves juifs non soumis à l'enseignement obligatoire dans les établissements non juifs, à dater du 31/12/1941 ; le ministère de l'Instruction publique fixera après la création des écoles primaires la date d'interdiction des enfants soumis à l'obligation scolaire dans les écoles non juives ; obligation pour l'Association des Juifs en Belgique de créer des écoles primaires
1942	17/01	8. <i>Judenverordnung</i> : <i>Verordnung</i> Ordonnance régissant les voyages des Juifs à l'étranger	Interdiction de quitter le territoire sans autorisation écrite
	06/03	<i>Verordnung über die Sicherstellung des Kräftebedarfs für Arbeiten von besonderer Bedeutung</i> Ordonnance en vue d'assurer la demande de travailleurs pour les travaux d'une importance spéciale	Instauration du service de travail obligatoire pour l'exécution de certains travaux dans le territoire du Commandant militaire ; application à 2 252 travailleurs obligatoires juifs déportés dans les camps de l'organisation Todt en France, en huit convois du 13/06 au 12/09/1942

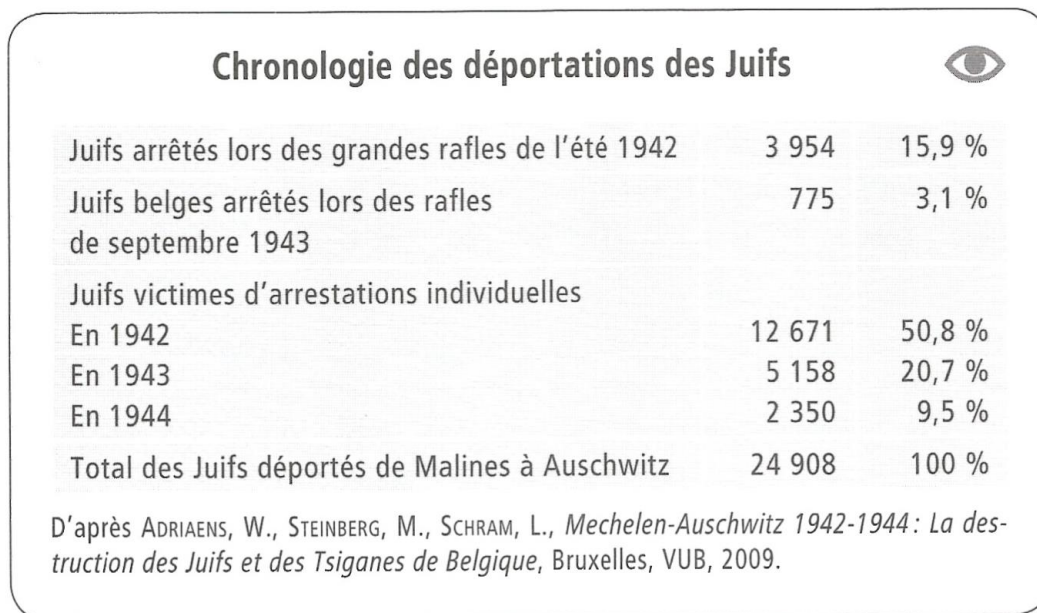
année	date	Ordonnance	Objet ou effet
1942	11/03	9. <i>Judenverordnung : Verordnung über die Beschäftigung von Juden in Belgien</i> Ordonnance relative à l'emploi des Juifs en Belgique	Conditions de travail d'un caractère spécial pour les Juifs employés à des travaux
	22/04	10. <i>Judenverordnung : Verordnung über den Verfall des Vermögens von Juden zu Gunsten des deutschen Reiches</i> Ordonnance relative à la saisie et la confiscation de l'avoir des Juifs au profit du Reich allemand	Confiscation de l'avoir des Juifs ayant perdu la nationalité allemande en vertu de la onzième ordonnance sur la citoyenneté allemande du 25/11/1941, prise dans le Reich
	30/04	Première ordonnance pour l'exécution de l'ordonnance du 06/03/1942 en vue d'assurer la demande de travailleurs pour les travaux d'une importance spéciale	Recrutement de travailleurs pour l'organisation Todt (construction du Mur de l'Atlantique)
	08/05	11. <i>Judenverordnung : Verordnung zur Durchführung der Verordnung über die Beschäftigung von Juden in Belgien</i> Ordonnance pour l'exécution de l'ordonnance sur les conditions de travail des Juifs	Restriction du droit à la rémunération au travail réellement fourni, y compris les dimanches et jours fériés ; obligation d'accepter les occupations de travail assignées par les Offices du Travail ; occupés en groupe et isolés du reste du personnel, ils seront hébergés dans des centres réservés, s'ils sont occupés en dehors de la localité de leur résidence
	27/05	12. <i>Judenverordnung : Verordnung über die Kennzeichnung der Juden</i> Ordonnance sur le signe distinctif des Juifs	Port obligatoire de l'étoile jaune, à dater du 7 juin pour les Juifs âgés de plus de six ans paraissant en public

année	date	Ordonnance	Objet ou effet
1942	27/05	<i>13. Judenverordnung : Verordnung zur Durchführung der Verordnung über die Kenn- zeichnung von Juden</i> Ordonnance pour l'exécution de l'ordonnance sur le signe distinctif des Juifs	
	27/05	<i>14. Judenverordnung : Verordnung über Aufenthalts- beschränkungen für Juden</i> Ordonnance limitant la liberté de mouvement des Juifs	Le couvre-feu s'applique à l'adresse inscrite dans le registre des Juifs ; obligation d'établisse- ment à Anvers, Bruxelles, Charleroi et Liège
	01/06	<i>15. Judenverordnung : Verordnung über die Ausübung von Heilberufen durch Juden</i> Ordonnance interdisant l'exercice de toute profession médicale aux Juifs	
	01/08	<i>16. Judenverordnung : Verordnung zur Ergänzung der Verordnung über den Verfall des Vermögens von Juden zu Gunsten des Deutschen Reiches</i> Ordonnance complétant l'ordonnance relative à la confiscation des biens de Juifs au profit du Reich allemand	La <i>Brüsseler Treuhandgesell- schaft</i> est chargée de la gestion et la liquidation des biens confisqués aux Juifs en vertu de l'ordonnance du 22/04/1942
	13/08	<i>17. Judenverordnung : Ordonnance sur la création d'écoles</i>	Complément à l'ordonnance du 01/12/1941 régissant l'enseignement juif et son admi- nistration par l'Association des Juifs en Belgique
	21/09	<i>18. Judenverordnung : Verordnung zur Ergänzung über wirtschaftliche Maßnahmen gegen Juden</i> Ordonnance de complément aux mesures économiques contre les Juifs	Interdiction des actes juridiques ou de disposition relatifs aux valeurs et biens mobiliers appartenant à des Juifs sans autorisation des Feldkommandanturen

Appendices 6 & 6bis - Number of Jews who were deported from Belgium

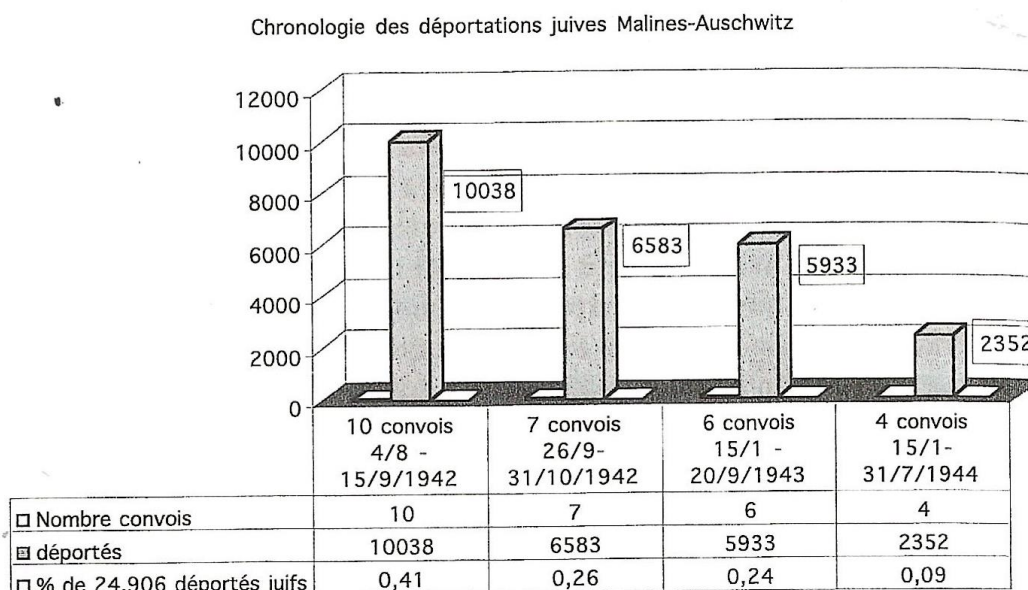
Appendix 6

Reference: (Roekens, 2010: 81)



Appendix 6bis

Reference: (Steinberg, 2004: 298)



Appendix 7 - Distribution of deportations of Jews from Belgium per locality

Reference: (Wouters, 2007a: 644)

Provinces	Nombre de Juifs	Nombre de déportés	
Anvers :			
Grand Anvers	13.779	9.009	(65,88 %)
- Anvers ville	9.515	6.038	(63,45 %)
Kalmthout	49	42	(85,71 %)
Brabant :			
Grand Bruxelles	12.045	4.460	(37,02 %)
Bomal	16	1	(6,25 %)
Genval	19	5	(26,31 %)
Louvain	15	3	(20 %)
Tirlemont	16	/	(0 %)
Hainaut :			
Grand Charleroi	1.082	414	(38,26 %)
- Charleroi ville	838	342	(40,81 %)
- Gilly	72	19	(26,38 %)
- Marcinelle	51	17	(33,33 %)
- Dampremy	42	16	(38,09 %)
- Lodelinsart	33	7	(21,21 %)
- Montignies-sur-Sambre	17	3	(17,64 %)
Grand La Louvière	85	34	(40,00 %)
- La Louvière ville	53	23	(43,39 %)
Ecaussines	26	9	(34,61 %)
Mons	88	38	(43,18 %)
Limbourg : /			
Liège :			
Grand Liège	1.823	618	(33,90 %)
- Liège ville	1.267	456	(35,99 %)
- Seraing	279	86	(30,82 %)
- Jemeppe-sur-Meuse	51	12	(23,52 %)
- Bressoux	49	37	(75,51 %)
- Grivegnée	37	16	(43,24 %)
Spa	45	14	(31,11 %)
Verviers	24	5	(20,83 %)
Luxembourg :			
Arlon	43	12	(27,90 %)
Namur :			
Profondeville	15	3	(20 %)
Flandre orientale : Grand Gand	198	71	(35,85 %)
Flandre occidentale : Ostende	18	6	(33,33 %)

Appendix 8 - Extracts from the Hague Convention

Reference: (Roekens, 2010: 40)

Extraits de l'annexe à la convention IV de La Haye (1907)



SECTION III. – DE L'AUTORITÉ MILITAIRE SUR LE TERRITOIRE DE L'ÉTAT ENNEMI.

Article 42.

Un territoire est considéré comme occupé lorsqu'il se trouve placé de fait sous l'autorité de l'armée ennemie.

L'Occupation ne s'étend qu'aux territoires où cette autorité est établie et en mesure de s'exercer.

Article 43.

L'autorité du pouvoir légal ayant passé de fait entre les mains de l'occupant, celui-ci prendra toutes les mesures qui dépendent de lui en vue de rétablir et d'assurer, autant qu'il est possible, l'ordre et la vie publics en respectant, sauf empêchement absolu, les lois en vigueur dans le pays.

Article 44.

Il est interdit à un belligérant de forcer la population d'un territoire occupé à donner des renseignements sur l'armée de l'autre belligérant ou sur ses moyens de défense.

Article 45.

Il est interdit de contraindre la population d'un territoire occupé à prêter serment à la puissance ennemie.

Article 46.

L'honneur et les droits de la famille, la vie des individus et la propriété privée, ainsi que les convictions religieuses et l'exercice des cultes, doivent être respectés.

La propriété privée ne peut pas être confisquée.

Appendix 9 - Intervention of the Belgian police in the roundups

Reference: (Steinberg, 2004: 279)

LES GRANDES RAFLES DES JUIFS ÉTRANGERS EN 1942

Date	Ville	Policiers belges	Acteurs allemands et belges d'Ordre nouveau	Juifs déportés
Nuit du 15 au 16/8/42	Anvers	53	? Feldgd + ? Sipo	801
27/8/42	Anvers	60	45 Feldgd + 40 SS Fld	0
Nuit du 28 au 29/8/42	Anvers	68 + 50/60 ?	Sipo	1 095
Nuit du 3 au 4/9/42	Bruxelles	0	? Feldgd + ? Sipo	484
11 et 12/9/42	Anvers	?	? Feldgd + ? Sipo + 20 ? SS Fld	816
Total des déportés juifs rassemblés au cours des rafles du 15/8 au 12/9/42				3 196

RAFLE DES JUIFS BELGES LÉGAUX EN 1943

Du 3 au 4/9/43	Bruxelles	16 Sipo + 36 SS Fld + ? DSK	750
Du 3 au 4/9/43	Anvers	Sipo	225
Total des Juifs belges raflés en septembre 1943			775

? = nombre non établi

Sipo = Sicherheitspolizei

Feldgd = Feldgendarmen

DSK : Devisenschutzkommando

SS Fld = SS flamands

Appendix 10 - The Normandy Landings' beaches

Reference: (www.nam.ac.uk)



Map of the Normandy landing beaches, France, 1944

Appendix 11 - Recommendations of the UK government's DfE for GCSEs specifications

Reference: (Department for Education, 2014b: 4-5, retrieved from www.gov.uk)

Subject content

4. GCSE specifications in history must reflect the aims and learning outcomes. GCSE specifications in history should build on the national curriculum programmes of study for history at key stage 3.

5. This content sets out the full range of content for GCSE specifications in history. Awarding organisations may, however, use any flexibility to increase depth, breadth or context within the specified topics or to consolidate teaching of the subject content.

Scope of study

6. GCSE specifications should include history:

- from three eras: Medieval (500-1500), Early Modern (1450-1750) and Modern (1700-present day)
- on three time scales: short (depth study), medium (period study) and long (thematic study)
- on three geographical contexts: a locality (the historic environment); British; and European and / or wider world settings

British history¹ must form a minimum of 40% of the assessed content over the full course.

7. Depth studies should focus on a substantial and coherent short time span and require students to understand the complexity of a society or historical situation and the interplay of different aspects within it. Depending on the particular society or historical situation selected for study, these aspects may include (but are not restricted to) social, economic, political, religious, technological and military factors. For European or wider world depth studies the complexity may stem from the number and diverse interests of the different nation states involved.

8. Period studies should focus on a substantial and coherent medium time span of at least 50 years and require students to understand the unfolding narrative of substantial developments and issues associated with the period.

9. Thematic studies should require students to understand change and continuity across a long sweep of history, including the most significant characteristics of different ages. They should reveal wider changes in aspects of society over the centuries and allow comparisons to be made between different periods of history. These aspects should include (but are not restricted to) some or all of the following: culture, economics, politics, religion, science, technology and war.

¹ Reference to British history here and elsewhere in the document means British history and/ or the history of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland as appropriate to the historical context and focus of the study.

10. The study of the historic environment should focus on one particular site in its historical context. The study should examine the relationship between a place and historical events and developments. The focus of study may range in scale from, for example, a particular building or part of a building to a city or rural landscape/ setting. There is no requirement that students visit the site. This study may be linked to any other part of the course or may stand alone.
11. The course and each element within it must form a coherent and substantial study of history in which the elements are reasonably balanced across the full range of assessed content.
12. GCSE specifications in history should require students to study:
- at least one British depth study chosen from the historical eras defined above
 - at least one European or wider world depth study chosen from the historical eras defined above. This should focus on the history of a nation or group of peoples or on international relations between several nations. It must not merely study British overseas involvements
13. British and wider world depth studies may not be taken from the same era of history or from the same overlapping fifty-year period.
- a period study into British, European or wider world history from any one of the historical eras defined above. One depth study may be from the same era as the period study
 - the historic environment through the study of a particular site in its historical context
 - one thematic study involving the study of people, events and developments drawn from all three eras defined above. Where appropriate, it may also draw on earlier times
14. While some overlap is likely, the thematic study must differ significantly in focus from the people, issues and events covered in the depth and period studies.

Appendix 12 - Recommendations of the UK government's DfE for A-levels specifications

Reference: (Department for Education, 2014a: 1-2, retrieved from www.gov.uk)

Subject content

Breadth and depth of content

2. AS and A level specifications in History must provide sufficient depth and breadth to allow students to develop the knowledge, skills and understanding specified below, and must include a

rationale for the specification of topics including periods and/or themes which indicate how the following criteria for content are addressed.

3. AS and A level specifications in History must provide a broad and coherent course of study for all students whether they progress to further study in the subject or not.
4. There are no prior knowledge requirements for AS and A level specifications in History.
5. Both AS and A level specifications must require students to study:
 - the history of more than one country or state, including at least one outside of the British Isles
 - aspects of the past in breadth (through period and/or theme) and in depth
 - significant individuals, societies, events, developments and issues within a broad historical context
 - developments affecting different groups within the societies studied
 - a range of appropriate historical perspectives, for example aesthetic, cultural, economic, ethnic, political, religious, scientific, social or technological
6. In addition, A level specifications must require students to study:
 - topics from a chronological range of at least 200 years
 - a substantial (a minimum of 20 per cent) and coherent element of British history and/or the history of England, Scotland, Ireland or Wales
 - change and/or development over a period of time sufficient to demonstrate understanding of the process of change, both long term (normally at least 100 years) and short term

Appendix 13 - Objectives mentioned in the decree of 13th March 2009 on the transmission of the memory of genocide crimes, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and acts of Resistance, or movements that resisted the regimes that caused these crimes

Reference: (La masse et la marge – Leçons préparatoires à une visite à la Kazerne Dossin: 7, retrieved from www.kazernedossin.eu/)

- To transmit the memory of the facts of the past for the understanding of the present and the construction of the future.
- To provide the tools to apprehend, analyse and understand and not simply commemorate.
- To pursue objectives of education and awareness, information and training for the general public and the younger generations.
- To encourage critical thinking, the development of responsible citizenship and the promotion of democratic values, especially among the younger generation.

[our translation]

Appendix 14 - Mission statement of Kazerne Dossin

Reference: (La masse et la marge - Leçons préparatoires à une visite à la Kazerne Dossin: 4, para. 4, retrieved from www.kazernedossin.eu/)

Kazerne Dossin takes as starting point the historical account of the persecution of Jews and the Holocaust in relation to the Belgian case, to analyse the current phenomena of racism, exclusion of population groups, and discrimination based on origin, belief, conviction, skin colour, gender, or sexual orientation. Kazerne Dossin also wishes to analyse group violence in society, as a possible step towards genocide. By using that approach, the museum leads in a fundamental way to an educational citizen project in which citizenship, democratic values and the defence of individual freedoms occupy a central place.

[our translation]

Appendix 15 - Articles 6.3 and 8.9 of the decree called 'Décret missions'

Reference: (www.enseignement.be)

Article 6. - La Communauté française, pour l'enseignement qu'elle organise, et tout pouvoir organisateur, pour l'enseignement subventionné, remplissent simultanément et sans hiérarchie les missions prioritaires suivantes :

1° promouvoir la confiance en soi et le développement de la personne de chacun des élèves;

2° amener tous les élèves à s'approprier des savoirs et à acquérir des compétences qui les rendent aptes à apprendre toute leur vie et à prendre une place active dans la vie économique, sociale et culturelle;

3° préparer tous les élèves à être des citoyens responsables, capables de contribuer au développement d'une société démocratique, solidaire, pluraliste et ouverte aux autres cultures;

4° assurer à tous les élèves des chances égales d'émancipation sociale.

Article 8. - Pour remplir les missions prioritaires visées à l'article 6, les savoirs et les savoir-faire, qu'ils soient construits par les élèves eux-mêmes ou qu'ils soient transmis, sont placés dans la perspective de l'acquisition de compétences. Celles-ci s'acquièrent tant dans les cours que dans les autres activités éducatives et, de manière générale, dans l'organisation de la vie quotidienne à l'école. A cet effet, la Communauté française pour l'enseignement qu'elle organise, et tout pouvoir organisateur, pour l'enseignement subventionné, veillent à ce que chaque établissement :

1° mette l'élève dans des situations qui l'incitent à mobiliser dans une même démarche des compétences transversales et disciplinaires y compris les savoirs et savoir-faire y afférents;

2° privilégie les activités de découverte, de production et de création;

3° articule théorie et pratique, permettant notamment la construction de concepts à partir de la pratique;

4° équilibre les temps de travail individuel et collectif, développe la capacité de consentir des efforts pour atteindre un but;

5° fasse respecter par chaque élève l'obligation de participer à toutes les activités liées à la certification organisée par l'établissement, et d'accomplir les tâches qui en découlent;

6° intègre l'orientation au sein même du processus éducatif, notamment en favorisant l'éveil aux professions et en informant les élèves à propos des filières de formation;

7° recoure aux technologies de la communication et de l'information, dans la mesure où elles sont des outils de développement, d'accès à l'autonomie et d'individualisation des parcours d'apprentissage;

8° suscite le goût de la culture et de la créativité et favorise la participation à des activités culturelles et sportives par une collaboration avec les acteurs concernés;

9° éduque au respect de la personnalité et des convictions de chacun, au devoir de proscrire la violence tant morale que physique, à la vie relationnelle, affective et sexuelle et mette en place des pratiques démocratiques de citoyenneté responsable au

Appendix 16 - Article 14.2. of the decree on the reinforcement of responsible and active citizenship education in state and state-maintained schools

Reference: (www.gallilex.cfwb.be)

TITRE III. - Mise en place d'activités interdisciplinaires pour une citoyenneté responsable et active

Article 14. - § 1^{er}. Le chef d'établissement dans l'enseignement organisé par la Communauté française ou le Pouvoir organisateur dans l'enseignement subventionné veille à ce qu'il soit élaboré et mis en oeuvre, au moins une fois durant chaque cycle du continuum pédagogique défini à l'article 13, § 1^{er}, du décret «Missions» et au moins une fois durant chaque degré des Humanités générales et technologiques ou des Humanités professionnelles et techniques tel que définies aux chapitres IV et V du décret «Missions», une activité interdisciplinaire s'inscrivant dans la perspective d'une éducation pour une citoyenneté responsable et active.

Durant la troisième étape du continuum pédagogique, la possibilité d'adapter l'horaire tel que défini à l'article 7, § 2, du décret du 30 juin 2006 relatif à l'organisation pédagogique du 1^{er} degré de l'enseignement secondaire peut être utilisée dans cette perspective.

En ce qui concerne les deuxième et troisième degrés des Humanités générales et technologiques ou des Humanités professionnelles et techniques, la possibilité d'adapter l'horaire tel que défini aux articles 30 et 34 du décret Missions peut être utilisée dans cette perspective.

§ 2. Par activité interdisciplinaire s'inscrivant dans la perspective d'une éducation pour une citoyenneté responsable et active, il y a lieu d'entendre au sens du présent décret une activité requérant la mise en oeuvre de compétences relevant d'au moins deux disciplines différentes et visant à promouvoir la compréhension de l'évolution et du fonctionnement des institutions démocratiques, le travail de mémoire, la responsabilité vis-à-vis des autres, de l'environnement et du patrimoine au niveau local ou à un niveau plus global.

Outre les deux disciplines visées à l'alinéa précédent, l'élaboration et la mise en oeuvre des activités visées peuvent rassembler les élèves inscrits à des cours philosophiques différents sous la tutelle des enseignants chargés de ces cours œuvrant en partenariat.

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Appendix 17 - General pedagogical practices related to WWII in Belgian and English museums

	Belgium	Percentage distribution – Belgium	England	Percentage distribution – England
Total number of analysed museums	30	100%	92	100%
Museums with a permanent exhibition and pedagogical activities/resources	18	60%	55	60%
Museums with a permanent exhibition but without pedagogical activities/resources	11	36.5%	13	14%
Museums without a permanent exhibition but with pedagogical activities/resources	1	3.5%	24	26%
Total number of museums offering pedagogical activities/resources	19	63.5%	79	86%

Appendix 18 - Belgian and English museums offering pedagogical activities and/or resources related to WWII

	Belgium	Percentage distribution – Belgium	England	Percentage distribution – England
Total number of museums offering pedagogical activities/resources	19	100%	79	100%
Number of museums offering pedagogical activities/resources that mention links to national school curricula	4	21%	30	38%

