

Institution: UCL		
Unit of Assessment: UoA 26 Modern Languages and Linguistics		
Title of case study: Enhancing public understanding and interpretations of collective violence and its aftermath: Nazi and communist rule in Germany.		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2000-2020 (Fulbrook and Bird); 2016-20 (Rauch)		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Mary Fulbrook Stephanie Bird Stefanie Rauch	Professor of German History Professor of German Studies Research Fellow	Since 1983 Since 1994 Since 2016
Period when the claimed impact occurred: REF period 2013-20		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N		
<p>1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)</p> <p>Fulbrook, Bird and Rauch's research explores how people become involved in collective violence; how they reflect on and are changed by living under dictatorial conditions; and reverberations in the long aftermath. Through an online exhibition, workshops for teachers, educators and other practitioners, and extensive media coverage (reaching over 6,000,000 people globally), this research has: (a) enhanced knowledge and deepened public understanding of involvement in collective violence and its aftermath, particularly in relation to the Holocaust and the German dictatorships; and (b) influenced the work of practitioners, educators and other professionals.</p>		
<p>2. Underpinning research</p> <p>Fulbrook, Bird and Rauch's research illuminates issues including: questions of justice; power and social interactions; and the co-production of subjective interpretations and cultural representations under differing socio-political conditions. Researchers have worked both individually and collaboratively on an interdisciplinary project developing a multifaceted approach to understanding perpetration and complicity. The AHRC-funded collaborative project, '<i>Compromised Identities?</i> (2018-2021)', explores ways in which individuals reflect on their own involvement in state-sponsored violence, both at the time and later, and how others have sought to deal with it; and it examines the compromises that states and societies enter into, in either justifying or seeking justice for acts of violence.</p> <p>Fulbrook's monograph, <i>Reckonings: Legacies of Nazi Persecution and the Quest for Justice</i> (2018) (R1), explores the experiences and memories of people involved in Nazi persecution – whether perpetrators or victims – and examines postwar reckonings in the courts as well as in the private sphere, across communities and over subsequent generations. It highlights the gulf between public reckonings and private approaches to the past, and challenges particularly West Germany's reputation for 'dealing with the Nazi past' effectively. Fulbrook's <i>A Small Town near Auschwitz: Ordinary Nazis and the Holocaust</i> (2012) (R2) presents a micro-study of the role and self-representations of a mid-level Nazi administrator of an area close to Auschwitz. It shows how civilian facilitators of the Holocaust justified their actions at the time and later, and it explores the impact on victims and uncovers significant issues that had largely lain dormant in postwar Germany. Fulbrook's <i>Dissonant Lives: Generations and Violence through the German Dictatorships</i> (2011; 2 vols, 2017) (R3), highlights the significance of experiences of collective violence at particular life stages for different generations, and develops an approach to 'history from within', bringing together individual, subjective experiences, and wider historical contexts. This work also took forwards Fulbrook's concepts of the 'normalisation of rule' and a 'participatory dictatorship' in the GDR, developed in several previous books including <i>The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker</i> (2005).</p> <p>Bird's research has spotlighted cultural responses to the perpetration, suffering and trauma of violence (<i>Comedy and Trauma in Germany and Austria after 1945</i>, 2016) (R4). She interrogates the relationship between fact and fiction, and explores cultural representations of perpetration and complicity in relation to justice, resentment and forgiveness. Her analyses show how fiction</p>		

can evoke complex, ambivalent and contradictory responses that are not always easily reconciled with moral expectations or judgments. She demonstrates how the novels 'organise' the reader's emotions and manipulate empathy in order to channel the reader's emotions to ethical or political ends in the present.

Rauch's research focuses on how people make sense of history, through ego-documents (letters, diaries, memoirs, interviews), or on film and television, and the wider context informing how people negotiate the past ('Good Bets, Bad Bets and Dark Horses', 2020, **R5**). Rauch has used a range of post-war oral testimonies, from Allied Intelligence reports on encounters with German civilians starting in autumn 1944 through to twenty-first century video interviews with individuals who were complicit in Nazi violence, to examine how individuals reflect on, evaluate, and interpret their behaviours, attitudes, and identities once the moral and normative parameters have shifted.

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

- R1.** Mary Fulbrook, *Reckonings: Legacies of Nazi Persecution and the Quest for Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2018). Winner of the 2019 Wolfson History Prize celebrating 'outstanding history' (<https://www.wolfsonhistoryprize.org.uk/>). Recognition of Excellence Award as one of three finalists for the 2019 Cundill Prize, which recognises 'the leading historians of our time' (<https://www.cundillprize.com/>). Submitted to REF2021. Emerged from **i** and **iii**.
- R2.** Mary Fulbrook, *A Small Town near Auschwitz: Ordinary Nazis and the Holocaust* (Oxford University Press, 2012). 2012 Fraenkel Prize winner. Translated into Dutch, *Een kleine Stad bij Auschwitz. Gewone Nazi's en de Holocaust* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2013) and German, *Eine kleine Stadt bei Auschwitz. Gewöhnliche Nazis und der Holocaust* (Essen: Klartext, 2015). Submitted to REF2014. Emerged from **iii** and **iv**.
- R3.** Mary Fulbrook, *Dissonant Lives: Generations and Violence through the German Dictatorships* (Oxford University Press, 2011; 2 vols pb, 2017). Submitted to REF2014. Emerged from **iv**.
- R4.** Stephanie Bird, *Comedy and Trauma in Germany and Austria after 1945. The Inner Side of Mourning* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2016). Submitted to REF2021. Emerged from **iii**.
- R5.** Stefanie Rauch, 'Good Bets, Bad Bets and Dark Horses: Allied Intelligence Officers' Encounters with German Civilians, 1944-45', *Central European History*, Vol. 53(1) (March 2020), pp. 120-145. DOI: [10.1017/S0008938919001006](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008938919001006). Emerged from **i**.
- R6.** Mary Fulbrook, 'Social Relations and Bystander Responses to Violence: Kristallnacht, November 1938' in Wolf Gruner and Steven J. Ross (eds), *New Perspectives on Kristallnacht* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2019), pp. 69-90. Emerged from **i**.

Grants underpinning research:

- i.** AHRC-funded interdisciplinary research project on 'Compromised Identities? Reflections on perpetration and complicity under Nazism' (Feb. 2018 – June 2021). Grant of GBP752,414. (PI: Mary Fulbrook; Co-I: Stephanie Bird; Research Fellow: Stefanie Rauch).
- ii.** Additional GBP75,000 for the above project from the Pears Foundation (PI: Mary Fulbrook).
- iii.** AHRC-funded interdisciplinary research project on 'Reverberations of War: Communities of Experience and Identification in Germany and Europe since 1945' (March 2010 – Jan. 2015). Grant of GBP858,720. (PI: Mary Fulbrook; Co-I: Stephanie Bird).
- iv.** 2006-09: Leverhulme three-year Major Research Fellowship (Mary Fulbrook). Grant of GBP126,206.

4. Details of the impact

In Holocaust education, 'musealisation' and commemoration, an (understandable) focus on victim voices and the top echelons of power and repression predominates. The broad spectrum of perpetrators, beneficiaries and facilitators of persecution remains underrepresented, as does the wider social context in which millions may become complicit. Surveys by the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education found a serious lack of knowledge and understanding of these issues among a majority of young people and their teachers, while the UK Holocaust Commission

noted there is insufficient education 'on the role of society and bystanders' (*Britain's Promise to Remember*, p.49). Research on these issues by Fulbrook, Bird and Rauch has raised awareness, enhanced knowledge and public understanding, and shaped professional practices.

Raising awareness and enhancing knowledge and understanding of involvement in collective violence and its aftermath, particularly in relation to the Holocaust and dictatorships

Aspects of the collaborative research project on '**Compromised Identities?**' (based on **R1, R2, R4, R5, R6**) are presented in an **online exhibition** (<https://compromised-identities.org/>). The exhibition has eight sections exploring processes of involvement in perpetration and complicity, the ways in which such involvement was confronted after the war, and reverberations up to the present; it includes thirty short films highlighting elements of our research, including both on-location films and analyses of interviews with people closely involved with or witnesses to Nazi violence; and it is accompanied by materials for further research and study. Drawing on our research findings, it points up the significance of context in understanding the ambiguities of behaviours variously motivated by conviction and careerism, conformity and peer pressure, partial enthusiasm or justification by self-distancing, as well as capitulation rooted in fear and powerlessness. The exhibition was originally scheduled to open at Swiss Cottage Library, London, in May 2020, and then travel to selected locations in the UK. This was prevented by COVID-19 and instead a pilot web version was launched online on 20 July 2020 (c. 75 attendees), with a public launch of the revised version on 15 October 2020 (c. 75 attendees). In the period from 13 July to 31 December 2020, the website was accessed by 2,335 users in 3,761 sessions; users came from 71 countries worldwide, especially the UK, USA, Germany, Netherlands, and Canada, but also Austria, France, China, Finland, Lithuania, Poland, Argentina, Israel, India, Australia, Norway, Belgium, and elsewhere. Viewers gained 'deeper understanding of the issue of entanglement and complicity' and 'genuinely new set of insights into acts of violence and perpetration' – confirmed in responses detailed further below (**A** and **B**).

Impact on educators, influencers, and other professionals

Events in connection with the **Compromised Identities? research and exhibition** have been held for educators, third sector practitioners in museums, memorial sites and charities, students, scholars and members of the public, in conjunction with other organisations, including: with the Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre, Huddersfield (30 July 2020, 59 attendees); CPD event on 'Teaching with Testimony', Birmingham University (7 October, c. 80 attendees); CPD full training day with the Holocaust Education Trust, Yad Vashem and Villa ten Hompel (29 October, 25 participants); a public panel discussion with Hope Not Hate (2 December, c. 30 attendees). A high proportion of both attendees and website users are educators. Comments include: 'It's a fantastic resource' for using in undergraduate and MA courses; the site is helpful in 'using the videos in a classroom setting and for engaged discussion'; using 'elements to steer discussion and training within my own team'; using 'as part of a top up / refresher into the latest methodology/research in Holocaust Education' and as 'a training tool for how do we address the discussion of perpetrator/bystander in the classroom and how do we do this safely'. The exhibition is 'valuable in teaching some KS4 and certainly post 16'; and for 'teacher training, to deepen teachers' understanding of this history, so that they can go on to teach this history with a more nuanced approach'. Professionals found it deepened their understanding: 'I have extensive experience in teaching and researching the Holocaust, but this exhibition brought to light German (non-Jewish) experiences in new ways for me'; and 'The framework of compromised identities, communities, and violence' provides 'a new lens through which to approach the topic and encourage critical thinking'. One teacher commented that the exhibition is 'an outstanding resource for Sixth Form teaching'; another asked his Modern Germany students to explore the website and they 'find these resources extremely useful and interesting'; another commented that it 'challenged me to think about ways in which perpetrator narratives and imagery might be used appropriately'. In November 2018, Rauch led a teacher-training seminar on perpetrator testimonies for 25 teachers, on invitation by the Holocaust Education Trust; eleven teachers confirmed they would now use such testimony in their teaching, enabling them to 'encourage thought about motives and reactions in a wider context' (**A, B**).

The exhibition '**Through the Eyes of Youth: Life and Death in the Bedzin Ghetto**', produced by the Martin-Springer Institute at Northern Arizona opened in Arizona on 30 September 2014. The Director of the Martin-Springer Institute writes that Fulbrook's research (R2) 'was an indispensable and essential resource for creating the traveling exhibit', and 'was instrumental in the decision to create an exhibit on a larger scale that would attract a broad audience'. Without Fulbrook's research it 'would not have gained the public recognition it received over the course of the last six years'. The exhibit has 'traveled to and been displayed at dozens of public and educational venues locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally', from 'rural school districts in southern Arizona, urban schools in Phoenix and Tucson, Jewish community centers, community colleges, and academic symposia' to a 'modern orthodox temple in Riverdale, New York' as well as Jewish religious schools. In 2019 it travelled to Sosnowiec in Poland, and in 2020 to the Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Center, South Africa. The Director summarises the impact as follows: 'what started in 2013 encouraged by Fulbrook's research has become a continual project for the last seven years—with no end in sight' (C).

Raising awareness and deepening understanding of complicity and its memorialisation

Fulbrook has delivered more than **fifty public lectures nationally and internationally** during the REF period 2013-20, cumulatively reaching 3,000-5,000. Audiences include: members of the general public; Holocaust survivors and relatives; teachers and sixth-form students; members of U3A; scholars and practitioners. These have enhanced listeners' knowledge and understanding, evidenced in selected examples here. Her 2020 Pears Institute Holocaust Memorial Day lecture in London (c. 500 attendees), focused on bystanders to perpetration (R1, R6). One person whose grandparents were murdered in the Holocaust wrote that, after years of exploration, this 'lecture was by far the most informative event in my quest'. A son of Holocaust survivors wrote that he had 'often wondered how bystanders behaved', and thanked Fulbrook for 'an amazing lecture' which deepened his understanding. A 2018 lecture in Poland to around 200 people in Będzin, the 'small town near Auschwitz' (R2), during memorialisation ceremonies for Holocaust survivors and descendants organised by the Zagłębie World Organisation, deepened attendees' understanding of complicity and its memorialisation. Indicative comments include: 'I was impressed by the degree to which complicity is not in any way memorialized, even now' and 'Deepened my understanding of the ease with which one can become an accomplice' (D).

Fulbrook has contributed to **radio, film and television documentaries**, reaching an audience of over 2,250,000 including: the major German network ZDF 10-part documentary series on Nazism (summer 2020); the Belgian CANVAS 'Children of the Holocaust' series (9 June 2020); the BBC World Service documentary 'Germany: Justice and Memory' (12 January 2020); ITN Productions for VICE, 'Rise Up! The Berlin Wall' (29 November 2020). She has been **interviewed** by CNN on war crimes trials, and East German schools (November 2019); BBC Radio 4 on East German 'Welcome Money' (4 November 2019) with an extract replayed on 'Pick of the Week'; BBC World Service, and LBC radio, on the Berlin Wall (9 November 2019); and VE Day discussions on the BBC and *Deutsche Welle* (8 and 9 May 2020). Articles in *Time Magazine*, and the *Canada Globe and Mail* precipitated debate, including an interview on the Arlene Bynon Show on Sirius XM satellite radio. She has been an expert guest on **high-profile popular history podcasts** including BBC 'History Extra' (January 2019), *History Today's* 'Travels Through Time' (July 2019), 'Dan Snow's History Hit', and the US-based legal podcast 'Good Law, Bad Law' (both November 2019) as well as 'New Books Network' (October 2018). Fulbrook's contributions stimulated further exploration on the part of both listeners and interviewers. Fulbrook's research on the GDR (R3) has enhanced public understanding of the dictatorship. Her 2019 radio lecture on Deutschlandfunk ('With more than 2 million listeners daily, [it] is the most listened to information and cultural programme in Germany') helped listeners understand their own experiences, attested by personal emails (including from the daughter of GDR writer Christa Wolf). The editor of Deutschlandfunk writes that reactions 'were consistently positive' and the 'differentiated presentation of history was praised' (F). 120,000 people listened to the episode of 'Dan Snow's History Hit' based on (R1) from start to finish (G). Snow writes that: 'It was such a success that we re-used elements of the podcast in the Christmas episode which then generated another 90,000 listens.' As he puts it, 'Professor Fulbrook's work struck me as being of the greatest importance because she attempts to

understand the motivations of the otherwise unremarkable people who committed some of history's most appalling crimes' (G). Fulbrook also devised the episode 'Wolfson Prize Special; Professor Mary Fulbrook' of *Travels Through Time* (sponsored by *History Today* magazine) broadcast on 2 July 2019. *Travels Through Time* was the seventh most listened to podcast in the UK on Apple Podcasts in summer 2019. The episode had over 3,000 listens in the first month and featured as an article on History Today's website which receives 500,000 unique views a month (H). Fulbrook's episode increased the reach of other histories of the Holocaust to the global audience of *Travels Through Time*: the host of the show explains that 'Several publicists at the major publishing houses in the UK heard the interview with Professor Fulbrook and used it as an introduction to pitch other books by other authors on the Holocaust' (H). In October 2018, Fulbrook was interviewed for the *New Books Network* (NBN) podcast. The episode had 'over 4,000' listens in the first month (I). The editor of NBN observes that Fulbrook's research 'recover[s] silenced voices vital for understanding authoritarian threats to democracy, while her engagement amplifies that message to the public through a global audience of influencers' (I). Podcast analytics show that 'five to ten per cent of listeners are educators, history presenters, and social media managers for professional historical associations or pedagogical projects. These listeners use the interviews in ways that magnify impact' while 'educators also draw on the interviews to inform their teaching' (I). The editor's 'own Third Reich History Podcast reached a further 2,800 people with an episode about post-war memory based on Professor Fulbrook's work' (I). He notes that '*Reckonings* (R4) both drives the scholarly conversation forward and informs debate about political abuses of public memory by authoritarian regimes today'.

In 2019-20, Fulbrook's research on legacies of Nazi persecution (R1) reached approximately 3 million people via print media coverage. Following publication in October 2018, *Reckonings* received numerous acclamatory reviews in the international press. *History Today* noted that 'one of the most impressive achievements of *Reckonings* is to weave together a forensic account that exposes what was essentially a kind of legalised clemency which integrated most former Nazis into society while scapegoating just a few'. In an article shared 405 times, the *Daily Mail* declared 'there could be no more propitious time for the publication of *Reckonings*, Mary Fulbrook's monumental account of the attempt to bring the perpetrators of the Holocaust to justice'. Upon *Reckonings* being nominated for and then winning the 2019 Wolfson History Prize, 37 English language news outlets (from the *London Evening Standard* to the *Financial Times*), with a total readership exceeding 23 million, published positive articles about the importance of Fulbrook's research. She was interviewed on BBC Radio 3's 'Free Thinking' in May 2019, on BBC Radio Wales, and on the 12 June 2019 BBC Radio 4 *Today Programme* (estimated audience of 10,484,000). The *Financial Times* (circulation 169,119) ran an opinion piece on the importance of history, quoting from Fulbrook and referencing her research. In July, the *Los Angeles Review of Books* featured *Reckonings*. In October 2019 *Reckonings* was selected as one of three Finalists for the Cundill History Prize, and received a Recognition of Excellence Award; a related debate was aired on CBC radio on February 17, 2020 (E).

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of ten references)

- A. Feedback on online exhibition and website
- B. Feedback from participants at events including teacher training seminars
- C. Testimonial from Director, Martin-Springer Institute
- D. Feedback on public lectures
- E. Media coverage of *Reckonings*
- F. Testimonial from the Editor, *Deutschlandfunk* (see also: <https://bit.ly/36AwJoO>)
- G. Testimonial from Dan Snow, History Hit TV and Podcast <https://bit.ly/39PdZnI>
- H. Testimonial from host of *Travels Through Time* (see also <https://bit.ly/3tkq4Je>)
- I. Testimonial from New Books Network (see also <https://bit.ly/39FFDmP>)