Migrant Memories

Museum Representations of Liverpool Jewry

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Front cover image (top) Liverpool Albert Docks (circa 1905)

Front cover image (bottom) Jewish refugees arriving in Palestine

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INTRODUCTION

The Jews of Liverpool. This small sentence is by itself highly contentious and prompts the question: can Jews ever really be defined by a geographically-determined space? If so, surely this should be Israel? But again, this is a reductionist argument for it is true the Jews, or more precisely the Israelites, do come from Israel, but Israel is not only the name of the nation-state that we know of today, but it is also the name of a *man*. That man is Jacob. But there are Jews in Liverpool. It cannot be denied. Do they 'belong' there? Are they visitors to the city? What is Liverpool to these Jews, if not a safe port, shelter from the storm, so to speak? And how do memories of traumatic pasts come to settle, to rest, in Liverpool, if *at all*?

From a small word, comes many interpretations. I have no doubt, that many readers when they see the word *Jew* will feel a sense of anger, reproach and a whole *host* of other, negative interpretations. But why? How can something that is so difficult to define, carry so many dogmatic interpretations? How can one create arguments based on ethnic, racial, geographical, or even historical terms when the group they are trying to define, defies such reductionist methodologies and conclusions? Perhaps this is the 'problem'? With no rationale and no grounding for arguments it is easy to feel lost, and the anxiety that ensues often turns to anger and to hatred.

"Why do people hate the Jews?" A graduate student asks a group of Israelis (Gil-Shuster, 2013), to which one replies: "*I think anyone who asks why do so many hate the Jews has to ask himself why does he hate*?" It would be foolish and highly contradictory for me to suggest any concrete answers to the question the Israeli student poses. However, the questions above cover diverse themes such as culture, hospitality, xenophobia, ethnicity, belonging, history and memory, all of which I will discuss in the following pages and upon which I shall base the arguments for my thesis.

Today, more than ever, minority groups like the Jews, find themselves subject to increasing hostility from groups whose fears and anxieties have been aggravated by, amongst other things, the rise in Islamic militarism and the biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War. Across the world, but especially in Europe and North America, the sudden influx of refugees has sparked panic amongst the nation-sates. States who, until recently, prided themselves on their values of hospitality and democracy now see such values replaced by extremist politics and the subsequent increase in xenophobic and racist attacks. Between 2011 and 2015 race hate crimes recorded by police in Britain increased by 15%, and hate crimes based on religion increased by 43% (numbers given by Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW). These figures, though profoundly unsettling by themselves, suggest that not only are people attacked because of what they look like but also because of what they believe in. Jews are often perceived to be representative of *the other* and, as a result, often the victims of xenophobic attacks, but this is not the result of rational well-formed arguments but of fear, anxiety, and the collapse of liberal ideas:

> *"The appearance of antisemitism in a culture is the first symptom of a disease, the early warning sign of collective breakdown. If Europe allows antisemitism to flourish, that will be the beginning of the end of Europe,"* (Sacks, 2016)

What is most unnerving about this sudden increase in anti-Semitism, Sacks (2016) argues, is the fact that it is taking place within living memory of the Holocaust. How can this be? How can we have become so negligent of memory (see Huyssen, 2000), when there is so much at stake? Perhaps such amnesia has been encouraged? Regardless of the specificities of the 'new antisemitism', it is not, Sacks argues (ibid), a new phenomenon but rather a mutation of old ideas.

Bad things happen to all groups of people and trauma is an inevitability in all forms of life, it is simply a matter of interpretation how we decide to deal with such problems. The Jews of Liverpool, as with other minority groups, represent an alternative viewpoint to the uncontested cultural norms and these must be taken into account if things are to change. My research looks into the Jewish population of Liverpool and how it is represented to the wider, non-Jewish public via museum exhibitions, talks, workshops and tours. In particular, I look into the Jewish Historical Trails found at the Museum of Liverpool (see below).

As museums are seen to be public spaces of representation it might be beneficial, for the sake of my arguments, to see the museum as a *host* to the communities that are displayed in the museum who in turn may be understood as a *guest.* With this in mind, I argue that the museum is a public space where notions of hospitality are displayed to favour official narratives created and sustained by the nation-state. However, though such narratives are not entirely incorrect, they do not represent the *whole story* and so instead of displaying contrary/alternative narratives on equal terms, the museum shadows unfavourable narratives which would serve to undermine representations of multicultural harmony. As a result, the museum may be seen to be an *unequal* host.

ACADEMIC RELEVANCE

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed following the end of the Second World War in 1948, yet despite its promise to adhere to "a common standard of achievements for *all* peoples and *all* nations"[1], today we see prevalent inequalities between different groups and nation-states. In particular, Jewish communities across Europe, perhaps one of the groups whose suffering spurred the need for the acceptance of universal human values, now find themselves subject to discrimination from the far-left and the far-right and within living memory of the Holocaust.

For years, scholars have struggled with the predicament that despite advances in technology, academia, medicine and general increases in the standards of living, race, and the negative discrimination it entails, continues to exist. To begin with, race and racism were defined and justified by the dominating practices of power during colonial rule (see for example, Jackson, 1865). Later, when colonial rule fell into decline and the might of colonial rulers was brought into question, arguments linking culture and race were rejected, as was poignantly noted in Franz Boas' (1911) *The Mind of Primitive Man* (see Roseberry,1992). However, though Boas had debunked the myth of racial superiority, he still defined race in purely biological terms, a legacy which, according to some academics (Visweswaran, 1998; Smedley 1993), would prove to be hard to shift.

Indeed, it was not until much later in the 20th century that academics started to define race on cultural terms. But simply replacing race with culture did not expel the reality of hierarchically defined discrimination (see Lentin, 2005, Stolcke, 1995). In fact, by defining race in cultural terms rather than on more overt biological markers, discrimination was able to become even more fictional in its justification. This is well exemplified in Abu El-Haj's (2007) study of the "black disease": sickle cell anaemia, and M'charek's (2013) work where she identifies fictional markers such as clothing and body movement which are utilised to thinly disguise racial discrimination. What is more, the universalist dream of cosmopolitanism has, despite its claims to the contrary, fuelled racial discrimination based on the ambivalence of "dual loyalty" and its threat to the hegemony of the nation-state, (Baron, 2009).

As I have shown above, discrimination has not changed in essence over the years, but its form has simply mutated. My work seeks to offer insights not into the cultural or racial definition of discrimination but rather into the process through which discrimination is, or perhaps is *not*, represented in the public sphere of museums, exhibitions and talks. By looking at the representation of the Jewish community in exhibitions, talks and tours affiliated with the museums of Liverpool, I seek to draw attention to the process of representation and to question the validity of the hospitality on which such representations are supposedly founded.

My research was carried out in Liverpool, a city perhaps uniquely placed to discuss the arguments of hospitality, cosmopolitanism, racism and historical agency as discussed above. Liverpool is unique in that despite being founded on the Slave Trade and the hideous inequality that it embodied, it is simultaneously a city that has welcomed migrants from all over the world and earned itself a reputation of hospitality that is still experienced today by its inhabitants and visitors to the city. The question this prompts is: how, or more specifically, why is this myth of hospitality upheld?

[1] http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

LIVERPOOL SAILOR TOWN, AN INTRODUCTION

Liverpool is a port city with a long history of migrant identity. At one point, Liverpool was seen as the gateway to the New World through which thousands of migrants from all over the world passed on their way to America. In 1907, the 700th anniversary of the city, Liverpool was described as: "the New York of Europe, a world-city rather than merely British provincial", (Belchem, 2014:01). The polyglot city earned itself a reputation of hospitality towards newcomers, and the migrants helped shape the city and the mind-set and even the accent of Liverpudlians. Liverpool is home to the oldest Chinese population in Europe, the oldest Black population in Britain and one of the first Mosques in the country was built in Liverpool (Belchem, 2014).
On visiting the Edwardian cosmopolitan city, visitors were surprised by the multiple ethnicities that they encountered in the city:

"….a miniature League of Nations assembly gone mad…All the races of mankind were there, wonderfully mixed…Looking at them, you did not think of the riff-raff of the stokeholds and the slatterns of the slums who had served as their parents; they seemed like the charming exotic fruits, which indeed they were, of some profound anthropological experiment…"
(Belchem, 2014:05)

Though this observation seems to praise the cosmopolitism and hospitality of the city, its tone and particularly the last sentence speak of a darker undertone, indeed as Belchem (2014) remarks, this supposed hospitality was no more than an attractive façade: "at elite level, the much-deployed vocabulary of cosmopolitanism was often no more than an expression of civic boosterism" (02).

Yet Liverpool in her economic prowess continued to promote the grandeur of the city and to advocate the profits of cosmopolitanism, on Liverpool's docks: "as solid as the Pyramids, the most stupendous work of its kind and that the will and power of man have created" (Belchem, 2014:17). Yet, like the pyramids and the hierarchical structure they embodied, Liverpool soon fell into decay, and by 2007 a mere century later, Liverpool, primarily due to its economic decline, had become one of the least ethnically diverse cities in Britain (Belchem, 2014).

In 2008, after years of economic hardship, Liverpool won the European Capital of Culture award funded by the European Commission. The much-needed funds were ploughed into building Liverpool ONE[2] and refurbishing the docks adding three new river-side buildings including the magnificent Museum of Liverpool (see **figure 1**).
According to its website, the museum[3]:

"…reflects the city's global significance through its unique geography, history and culture. Visitors can explore how the port, its people, their creative and sporting history have shaped the city."

*(**Figure1.** The Museum of Liverpool (white building) juxtaposed between the old and the new -photo: author's own)*

[2] Liverpool ONE is a huge shopping centre located in the middle of Liverpool and situated near the docks.
[3] http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/about/

Research Question

Inside the museum of Liverpool there are three community trails: The Black Community Trail, The Irish Community Trail and the Jewish Community Trail. My research focused on the Jewish Community in Liverpool and the trails served as a starting point from which to answer my question:

How is the Jewish community in Liverpool presented to the wider public through exhibitions, talks and workshops affiliated with the museums of Liverpool, and how accurately does this reflect how the Jewish community of Liverpool wishes to remember its history of migration?

A Brief History of the Liverpool Jewish Community

The earliest record of Jewish life in Liverpool dates back to 1753 and though to begin with numbers were small, Liverpool soon attracted newcomers and by the mid-1800s Liverpool's Jewish community was second only to London in terms of size and prestige (Marks, 2012). By the 1870s the Jewish community had grown in numbers and they built a new, much larger synagogue on Princes road (see **figure. 2)**. The new synagogue, perhaps the most decorative and ornate of all the city's synagogues, was a symbol of the pride and wealth of the established Anglo-Jewish community. Later, as the community left the inner-city in favour of the leafy suburbs of Allerton and Childwall (see Belchem, 2014), the number of people attending Princes Road Synagogue fell. Despite falling numbers, today it is still a functioning synagogue and a source of much pride for the community.

In the late 1800s and at the turn of the century many Jews arrived in Liverpool fleeing persecution from the pogroms in Eastern Europe. Many of the new arrivals were highly religious and spoke Yiddish. To begin with, their arrival was not welcomed by the Jewish community, who had striven to assimilate into British culture and had, by and large, been accepted. Nevertheless, despite early discrepancies the two communities eventually merged to form the basis of today's community. At the start of the 20th century Liverpool's Jewish community numbered some 9,000 persons, by 2014 the Demographics Summary for the community concluded that the community numbered 2040 persons (Shapiro, 2015). Despite the decline in members, the community is still very active. There are a number of Jewish organisations, a Jewish School, many Jewish-run business and there are four functioning synagogues. Liverpool Jews have played prominent roles in law firms, education, academia, businesses and seven of Liverpool's Lord Mayors have been Jewish (Swerdlow, 2007).

(Figure 2. *Princes Road Synagogue, Liverpool photo: author's own)*

Research Population

My research population comprised mainly of older members of the Jewish community in Liverpool. Many of these were affiliated to Jewish community groups or with groups linked with the various synagogues around the city, consequently, most of the people whom I spoke to where either religious or had strong connections with the Jewish community or with national Jewish institutions. I used snowballing sampling (Russel Bernard, 2000) to create my field population and due to the time restraints of my research, I was unable to delve deeper into the Jewish population of Liverpool who do not overtly subscribe to such religious or community institutions and therefore the observations I draw in this study are representative of a certain group of individuals and *not* of the entire Jewish population of Liverpool.

Chapters Overview

Most of the chapters of my thesis are divided into two arguments which may be defined by the Jews of Liverpool as a *guest*[4] and Liverpool and it's museums as a *host*. This duality comes to a head in chapter four where I discuss the similarities and differences in the dual arguments of the preceding chapters, the results of which, comprise the final, concluding chapter. The reason I have chosen to make this dichotomy is purely for a framework in which to place my observations, I do not, however, suggest that these are rigid, unchanging arguments and it is where such arguments overlap and merge together from where I draw my conclusions. What is more, the dichotomies present throughout the chapters are reflective of the alternative viewpoints offered by minority groups like the Jews.

The first chapter of my thesis uses Pierre Nora's (1989) distinction between memory and history. I argue that the Jewish community of Liverpool base their reflexive representation on memories which have been continually passed down through generations. Their identity comes not from a fixed location but from many locations. Jewish trauma, resulting from centuries of discrimination and their sense of diasporic existence does not result in despair but in hope. Conversely, Liverpool and its inhabitants as hosts do not have a shared memory of rituals passed down through the generations. Nor do they come from different locations, their identity is not one of diaspora but one of homeland. Trauma, in the host's eyes, is a sense of shame that must be covered over, the result is a continuous rebuilding of a "total" history (Nora, 1989) which is not based on memory but on hard facts.

The second chapter looks into the Jewish community as a minority amongst other minority groups. Here I make reference to the Jewish Community Care network and contrast the Jewish migrant histories with that of other groups by arguing that, unlike other groups, the Jewish communities believes that migrants should retain their original identity. I utilise Stolcke's (1995) *Cultural Fundamentalism* to suggest that the Jewish community believes that undesirable groups are created and subordinated by practices of power. Conversely, the state believes that undesirable groups are subordinated because they refuse to assimilate. In addition, I argue that the Jewish community believes that migrant communities offer unique inputs on an equal footing and I contrast this viewpoint with Belchem's (2014) study on race relations in Liverpool to suggest that museum of Liverpool see such groups as simply a subplot to a bigger story.

In the third chapter I discuss antisemitism. In this chapter, I contrast the word "stranger" as defined in Plato's *The Republic,* with the idea of the Hebrew word *Ger* (**גֵּר**) as understood in Jonathan Sacks' *Dignity of Difference* (2002). This dichotomy is present in the difference between Everyday Racism (see for example, Feagin, 1991) where it is deemed natural to be hostile to the stranger, and the idea that the stranger evokes a sense of ethical responsibility (see Ladwig, 2012, Pitt-Rivers, 1963). The principal argument I make here, is that the Jewish community see themselves as representing what is different and therefore evoking hospitality. Other groups on the other hand, see the Jewish community as representing what is different and therefore evoking xenophobia in the form of anti-Semitism.

In the fourth chapter I make a descriptive analysis of the Jewish Community Trail in the Museum of Liverpool, and contrast it with the Jewish Heritage Trail created by Jewish community themselves. From here I make other contrasts and comparisons between how the Jewish community represents itself, and how it is represented by its non-Jewish host. I use Simmel's analogy of *Bridge* and *Door* (1994) to suggest that the Jewish community feels that the Jewish Community Trail at the Museum of Liverpool evokes segregation (Simmel's *door*), not hospitality, whilst the non-Jewish hosts feel that the trail evokes hospitality not segregation (Simmel's *bridge*). In the fifth and final chapter I conclude by questioning the limits of museum representation and by offering a suggestion as to the alternative viewpoints that the Jewish community of Liverpool can offer.

[4] This is a purely theoretical standpoint for the purpose of my argument.

CHAPTER ONE

WHENCE THEY CAME: MEMORY AND TRAUMA OF JEWISH MIGRANT PASTS

"What marks this period especially is the absence of landmarks: these memories are scraps of life snatched from the void. No mooring. Nothing to anchor them or hold them down. Almost no way of ratifying them"

(Taken from 'W or The Memory of Childhood' Georges Perec)

The extract above is taken from Georges Perec's semiautobiographical short novel which is split into alternating chapters, one depicting a fictional island 'W', and the other his childhood as a Jewish evacuee. As the extract above demonstrates Perec's work is littered with fragments of memory torn apart through trauma, and it is through the process of writing that he hopes to piece together his 'lost' memories. Perec's work well exemplifies the themes of memory, trauma, and representation that I discuss in this chapter. Through such themes I wish to address questions such as: How is memory defined and what is its value for understanding the past? How is trauma formative to past narratives, and how may it be 'overcome'? Finally, can memory and trauma *ever* be contextualised into definitive, unchanging landmarks? These questions will offer insight into the different representations of past narrative which will be useful for analysing the museum exhibition later in Chapter Four.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To begin with, I would like to make use of Nora's distinction between Memory and History:

> *"Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete of what is no longer. Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past." (Nora, 1989:08)*

In other words, Memory is changeable and it is defined by lived and inherited experience passed down through the generations, whereas History is a calculated and critical attempt to rebuild the past on purely factual, static terms. Nora's reference to the "manipulation and appropriation" (ibid) of memory is important, as History, he argues, makes use of memory and locates it in memory sites (*lieux de memoire),* consequently History has the guise of inherited and lived memory, but it is in fact a hierarchy of memory skilfully manipulated to satisfy the political agency of historians (Nora, 1989). Nora's distinction comes primarily from the temporal projection of the two concepts: Memory is defined by the past and informs the present, however History is defined by the present and informs the past.

If we consider the two following extracts from my field research this dichotomy becomes apparent and it is upon which I want to base my arguments for this chapter:

"…we like working collaboratively with other groups to allow them to tell their own history, it's not just the museum telling the community's story separate to them…."

(Curator of the Museum of Liverpool on how the Jewish Community Trail was created)

"It's done nothing for me, I do it for the family, it's me it's happened to, it's happened, it's been and it's gone. I do it for the family"

(Jewish informant on why she decided to write down her memoires)

If we analyse the first extract we can defer that the Community Trail was based on a collaborative process between the Museum of Liverpool and the Jewish Community of Liverpool which allows the Jewish Community to relate their history on their own terms. What is also apparent is the authoritative role of the museum as a mediator of memories and the museum as a place in which to house the memories of the Jewish Community. Such an analysis is akin to Nora's definition of History (ibid). On the other hand, the second extract is not collaborative, it is between Jewish family members. Moreover, it does not tell of any direct authority other than that of the memory itself, and instead of the present looking back and analysing the past, the fact that family is mentioned alludes to the inherited character of this process which is akin to Nora's definition of Memory (ibid).

In this chapter I argue that the Jewish representation of memory and trauma is based on Nora's definition of Memory, whereas the non-Jewish representation of memory and trauma is based on Nora's definition of History.

It may be important to note that the conversation in the first extract took place in the Museum itself and what can therefore be defined as 'public setting', as a consequence, the informant may have given a more formulaic and professional response. Conversely, the second extract was taken from a conversation within the private confines of the informant's home, and the response may therefore have been more spontaneous and less contrived. Though this may appear to be a somewhat obvious observation, I argue that Nora's definitions of History and Memory are *not* exclusively confined to the public and private spheres respectively, as I shall discuss below.

THE BENEFITS OF EXPERIENCE

During my field work I spoke to members of the AJR (Association of Jewish Refugees)[5]. Many of the Liverpool members had come over in the *Kindertransport*[6] when they were very young and had been housed in Christian families throughout Merseyside. As a result, they had grown up in Christian communities and, depending on their host families, they generally knew little of their family history or of their Jewish ancestry. Despite their severed roots, such informants often still made reference to their roots and their apparent juxtaposition in Christian homes as the following informant's use of the third person plural "they" would suggest:

"I got used to being with <u>them</u> (Christians)…I could relate to the Christian religion because where I lived <u>they</u> were mostly Christian people…"

As a result, the AJR members whom I spoke to, many in their own homes, offered an interesting insight into the interplay between Nora's definition of History and Memory.

One afternoon I phoned a lady from the AJR named Faye and having arranged a meeting I was surprised to find myself being interviewed by her husband: "*What is it you want*?" He demanded, I explained my research and why I was interested in speaking to his wife and his tone instantly became more jovial: "*you will stay for a cup of tea afterwards won't you*?" He asked. The following afternoon I went to their house, a small terraced house in a poor neighbourhood of Liverpool. I rang the doorbell and the husband came to usher me in and as I entered I noticed pictures of Mary and baby Jesus hanging despondently from the walls. As I came into the living

[5] http://www.ajr.org.uk/

[6] See Endnotes Chapter One (i)

room the husband scurried off to make the tea the Faye smiled at me and offered me a seat. To begin with the conversation was polite, I introduced myself, we spoke of the weather and I explained my research, then as we settled down Faye asked:

"…would you like me to tell like I do with the schools?"

This response alone was enough to make me question the 'authenticity' of Faye's response. According to Goffman (1956), as soon as someone walks into the presence of another, the two engage in theatrical performance where both actors are trying to form an impression of other without endangering their own standing in the other's eyes. As a result, both engage in form of playacting which is not necessarily a reflection of their own views but rather the views that they imagine the other wants them to express (ibid). What is more, both actors attempt to create a self-delineated positive image of themselves for the others to experience, Goffman refers to this as *face* (Goffman, 1967). To begin with my interaction with Faye, as with many other informants, *was* a form of playacting where we both attempted to place each other's social and cultural backgrounds as we mediated between quite banal conversation topics. Faye's question above leads itself well to Goffman's theory as it suggests that Faye was answering according to what she perceived I wanted and her *face* was one of a willing participant. As for myself, my *face* was to show a competent but not too overbearing researcher and so I casually replied: "*you can tell me what you like".*

As I mentioned, many of the conversations I had with participants started in this quite contrived and robotic fashion where it felt as though the answers were manufactured to suit the needs of my thesis. As a result, at the beginning of such conversations I often received quite fact-laden responses, often chronologically ordered and with few tangents or spontaneous anecdotes. In hindsight, such responses provide valuable insights into the questions of representation in my thesis, as I was in fact an audience to whom my informants wanted to express a certain *face* (Goffman, 1967). With reference to Nora (1989), such factual and impersonal responses could be likened to *History* and it was not until much later, in the conversations or in follow-up meeting and interviews, where I was able to access more genuine, "back-stage" (Goffman, 1959) information. Such information was more spontaneous, emotive and ambiguous and therefore more akin to Nora's (1989) notion of *Memory.*

Later on, as the conversation became more relaxed, Faye started telling me about her life in Danzik before the war, "*there was that crystal thing*" she told me, before her husband interrupted with the factual name: "*Kristallnacht*". Later, as she explained why she had started telling her story in schools, her husband interrupted by suggesting "*it's cathartic*". The husband's authoritative assertions into a scene he personally has no attachment to, is suggestive of Nora's fact-driven History which: "belongs to everyone and to no-one, whence its claim to authority" (Nora, 1989:09). What is more, it is interesting to note that it is the husband, and not Faye, who chooses to use the word *cathartic*, the origin of which comes from the Greek for '*cleansing*'[7], and is thus suggestive of a "reconstruction of the past without lacunae or *faults*" (author's emphasis) (Nora, 1989:09).

Though this perhaps could be perceived as an over-interpretation of a particular scene, when interviewing other *kindertransportees* I often found that their memories, or their past had been 'painted in', either by facts that they had learned later on in life, or that were given to them by their host families. This is perhaps best exemplified by the story of Fred Taylor who was lied to by his host family and told that his family had all been killed in the Holocaust, it was not until 67 years after he had left Danzig that he at last learnt that his family had survived (see *All Lies Revealed* Loewenthal-Taylor, 2016).

The authoritative role of historical accuracy displayed by the husband in the scene above, is well exemplified in Laub's (1992) account of a Holocaust survivor whose emotional tale was discredited by historians due to its factual inaccuracies. The merit of survivor's testimony, Laub argued, did not lie with its factual accuracy but rather with the fact that the survivor was able to recount "the reality of an unimaginable experience" (Laub, 1992:223).

FORGETFULNESS AND REMEMBERING TO FORGET

Many scholars agree that History is recreated to suit the needs of society in the present (see Connerton, 1989; Halbwach, 1992, French, 2012) as a result a process of hierarchal selectivity is employed as well as the need for an institutionalised forgetfulness. However, purposeful forgetfulness is not unique to *History* but also to *Memory* as Saul Marks demonstrates when relating how his grandfather tried to reconstruct the family history:

[7] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/cathartic

"[…] his dad wouldn't say where they came from, he wouldn't say what their real name was before it was Marks, they were very secretive. So my grandfather, who I never met, wasn't told anything, he was given one phrase and told that it was a Russian swear word and that was where they came from but you weren't allowed to say it."

Other informants, when asked of their ancestral roots, were equally dismissive and were quick to change the topic of conversation. This could be for one of two reasons which I shall discuss below. Much work has been done on the act of silence to supress traumatic events (see Friedlander, 1993; Kusno, 2003; Huyssen, 2000) and this is one explanation to the forgetfulness in the extract above. However, forgetfulness in this sense is merely a technique to avoid the damaging effect of trauma and it is *not* an attempt to recreate History to suit present needs (ibid). In other words, remembering to forget is *not* the same as simply forgetting.

History, on the other hand, is keen to cover over unsettling truths, as many postcolonial countries realised when they found themselves trying to sever their past with colonial rule (Anderson, 2006). What is more, it is not only recently formed nation-states which have utilised the rewriting of *History* to achieve their goals but *History* or more precisely historicity, has been used by marginalised groups in search of justice (see French, 2012; Geismar, 2015). With this in mind, it could be argued that by working collaboratively with the Museum of Liverpool, the Jewish community of Liverpool is in fact utilising this historicity process to get their voice heard, so to speak. However, I suggest that utilising such methods in a sphere where they are common-place and highly-valued, is not the same as using methods to identify oneself. I shall return to this point later in Chapter Four.

THE SHAPE OF TRAUMA

What became apparent very early on in my research was the different ways that people related to their past and to what extent they were willing to share this with me. Early on in my research, Wendy Bott, the head of AJR (ibid) in the North of England, invited me to a meeting with a group of elderly members of the AJR. The members meet up every month to discuss various topics over cups of tea and sandwiches and Wendy had agreed to allow me to run the session and to ask questions to help me with my research. The invitation with the heading: *'How do you view the country of your birth?' w*as sent around and those who were interested agreed to come along and participate. Prior to the meeting I was very nervous, I did not know what to expect, I did not know *who* to expect and I was very conscious of how I may or may not be received by the group. After all, this was a group of people who met regularly and presumably knew a lot about each other, and I was a stranger, but a stranger who wanted to pry in on their lives with attempts to gain some 'data'. I decided that I would make a good impression and so I prepared the *face* (see Goffman, 1967) of a competent researcher with a plan.

On the day of the meeting I arrived early on a cold and unpredictable spring morning, and as I walked mindlessly along the streets I continuously recited again and again the questions that I had previously prepared. I kept a close eye on the time, I did not want to be late – it would make a bad impression. As the time approached I made my way to the house, it was an ordinary, brick terraced-house which, to the casual observer, displayed no marker of its Jewish inhabitants. It was not until I came to the door that I noticed the Jewish name *Lachs* on the post-box and the *Mezuzah*[8] on the door frame. I was in the right place. With my heart racing I knocked on the door and waited.

I was greeted by a Wilmar, a short, bespectacled old man, "*come in*" he said, smiling "*we've been expecting you*". As I entered the house Wendy took me to one side, "*I wanted to ask*" she began, "*are you Jewish? It doesn't matter of course, if you're not*." I had been expecting this question, but perhaps not so directly, "*I'm not sure…I think I might have some Jewish ancestry*", I mumbled in reply, she looked at me for a moment, "*yes, you must, I can see it in your eyes. You must go to Israel*!" And then she took me into the next room. Inside, I met the group who were sat on the sofas chatting away. I looked around and apart from a few pictures and some books, there was nothing overtly Jewish about the scene at all, and the chirpy atmosphere of the room was not suggestive of the traumatic tales we were to discuss later on. After sandwiches and a brief introduction we began.

As we sat down and I started talking I was instantly aware of everyone staring at me in complete silence, and in this silence I muddled my words, and the phrases that I had repeatedly rehearsed, stumbled out in an

[8] A small container containing a Jewish blessing (see http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/mezuzah/)

incoherent mess. It was as I felt myself sinking under the slightly- bemused gaze of a table of pensioners, that I realised that my methods were all wrong. It was not that I had no method, I had diligently studied Russel Bernard (2006) and tried to envisage such occurrences and the possible steps I could employ to navigate between them, but, in my immersion of theory and methodology I had forgotten one very simple point. These were not cogs who formed the workings of my research, these were *people*, elderly people who were looking at me over their spectacles and seemed to be asking: *who is this strange young man who has come to our tea party*? In other words, I had forgotten the dual role of anthropologist as a researcher *and* a guest (Candea & Da Col, 2012).
It was not that I had no method but rather I had *too much* method. I had over-planned and had failed to interact with the group on a personal level, and after having discussed my research like it was some sort of sales pitch I finished, and everyone, including myself, heaved a sigh of relief.

They were, of course, forgiving as most old people are as they recognise the follies of youth, and we then began the discussion. What was most interesting about this particular discussion was the levels of involvement of the individuals in the group. Some chatted away, discussing things and opening up to family members in ways that they had never done before, whilst others were silent, taking in the stories and staring into their cups of tea. One lady left early on in tears whilst another was describing in minute details the brutal acts of antisemitism she had witnessed as a child in Germany. The discussion was brief but immensely powerful. I had naively thought that I could record expressions and turns of phrase that I could then use when writing my thesis. But the trauma I witnessed, was not a wonderfully recorded script, fit for some Hollywood film, but the cold and deeply saddening trauma expressed through tears and an incredibly profound silence. Fabian (1990) argues that data is not collected but *made* in the process of writing. By describing the scene above and the effects the silence had on me as the researcher, the material has become almost autobiographical and therefore the nervousness that I expressed becomes much more important for the reader in their analysis of my role as both a guest and researcher in the scene.

As I left the meeting it started to rain and as I walked to catch the bus I questioned my motives for attending the meeting, as people had become visibly upset I asked myself: was I somehow indirectly to blame for triggering their grief? Later, I came to the conclusions, mostly through my own personal experience at the time, that grief cannot be defined but, more importantly, it cannot be *controlled*. It is as spontaneous as the English rain and like the rain, it often catches up with you, when you least expect it (see Caruth, 1995; La Capra, 2001).

* * *

The two observations that were most apparent in this meeting were that firstly, trauma never completely disappears and there is no 'closure' as such, and secondly, people deal with trauma in very distinct ways. The silence that I observed is a common reflex when remembering trauma (Horowitz cited in Reading, 2002), and it is this silence that speaks of trauma as the image that haunts (Caruth, 1995). That trauma exists and is demonstrated in a variety of ways is in itself no revelatory observation, but exactly how one 'deals with' trauma relates back to Nora's (1989) notion of Memory and History.

Nostalgia and Selective Memory

According to Creighton nostalgia:

"[…] involves a sentimentalized longing for the past. Most often, however, this is a combination of a remembered, an imagined, and a reinterpreted past, which in memory seems more benevolent, loving, and problem-free than the actual past was" (Creighton, 2001:10744).

Moreover, nostalgia, Creighton (2001) argues, is often used as tool to escape the trauma of the present. Belchem's (2014) study shows that Liverpool's Black community today relies on "pan-racial nostalgia" as a form of escape, through nostalgia they are able to escape to the dream of "the Liverpool that was" a "reified 'authentic' multi-cultural Liverpool belonging to all" (Belchem,2014:11). But what is most notable here is the fact that this past is *imagined*, and this is clearly shown in Belchem's (2014) study as he meticulously pulls apart the historical façade of cosmopolitan Liverpool (ibid). In this way, nostalgia is utilised not only to escape the present but through its recreation of the past it disputes the very existence of trauma itself, Satner (1992) refers to this process as "narrative fetishism". This can have quite negative aftereffects as Schwab (2006:100)

identifies: "a certain amount of splitting is conductive to survival. Too much silence, however, becomes *haunting*" (author's emphasis).

If we are then to assess the extract from Hana Eardley describing her pre-war childhood, we could draw similar conclusions:

"I would hate not to have happy memories of my childhood"

But unlike the "pan-racial nostalgia" discussed above (ibid) this is not an *imagined* past it is a real past, an experienced past. Though Hana does appear to seek solace in the past, a common method used by trauma victims who wish to return to the pre-trauma location (Caruth, 1995), this past is *real* and therefore does not serve to deny the existence of the trauma itself. This dichotomy is well exemplified by La Capra (2001) who distinguishes between "historical trauma" which can be located in history and therefore, at least in theory, be avoided, and "structural trauma" which is experienced and its ambivalence renders it hard to locate it therefore can only be lived with. For the purpose of my argument, La Capra's (2001) *historical trauma* can be replaced with *nostalgia* or Nora's *History*, whereas *structural trauma* may be identified by Nora's *Memory*.

A lot of History's attempts to come to terms with trauma has either resulted in slumbering within the comfort of nostalgia (see above), or with fictionalised, or rose-tinted historical reinterpretations of traumatic events (see Satner, 1992). In Chapter Four I shall discuss the nature of such representations, but here I would simply like to highlight the fact that trauma from a History perspective is seen to be undesirable and therefore closure is desperately sought in order to achieve some sort of peace and stability. However, from a Memory perspective, "refusing closure is *not* (author's emphasis) melancholic […] but rather allows a productive transmission of loss" (Adams, 2015:229). This, I argue, is particular to Jewish transference of memory, as I shall discuss below, and is perhaps best exemplified in the reciting of *Kaddish*[9], which despite being a prayer to mourn the dead actually praises life itself and does not even mention death.

Locating Memory

If we return to the extract of Saul Marks describing the forgetfulness of his grandfather, there is another possible analyses for such forgetfulness. Many of my informants attached very little meaning to where their ancestors lived. One lady, when asked of her Eastern-European origins, simply replied:

"Personally I've kind of switched off to it I suppose"

Huyssen argues that "while memory discourses appear to be global in one register, in their core they remain tied to the histories of specific nations and states" (2000:26). If we are then to view this from a Jewish perspective, or more precisely from the perspective of a nation living in the Diaspora, then the geographical origin of one's ancestors bears no resemblance to how the Memory of the group is understood or realised. As one informant demonstrated early on my research, "*it depends how you look at it*", she said as I asked whether her Polish roots shaped her outlook today, "*my mother was from Russia and my father's family originally came from Wilna*[10]." Of course this argument does not factor in the nation-state of Israel, however, I argue that the relative newness of the modern state of Israel as well as the Torahic definition of Israel[11], suggest that, unlike Huyessen's (ibid) reference to states and nations, Israel, and by extent the Jewish people, may not be primarily defined by spatial locations alone.

[9] *Kaddish* is the mourner's prayer, usually recited by family members of the deceased (see http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/text-of-the-mourners-kaddish/)

[10] Wilna = Vilnius (capital of modern-day Lithuania)

[11] Israel is the name given to Jacob (Genesis 35:10)

PUBLIC COMMEMORATIONS

Perhaps the place where History and the nation-state become most intertwined is in public ceremonies and commemorations. Official ceremonies, Nora argues, are cold, solemn affairs "one attends them rather than visits them" (Nora, 1989:23). One informant described Liverpool's Holocaust Memorial Day as:

"[…] a way for the city to remember that enormous tragedy for the people of Europe. But they do bring in other people (Rwandans, Bosnians etc.)…but the focus is the city and the country saying sorry to the Jewish world"

Though, as many of my informants recognised, such events are no doubt useful in spreading awareness and stimulating dialogue, they are created, as with History, with a certain agenda in mind. Nora's use of "attend" as opposed to "visit" (ibid) is telling of the agencies involved in such public displays of memory. Moreover, as some scholars (see for example, Novick, 1994; Milchman & Rosenburg, 1996) have argued that by using the trauma of Holocaust to reference or to historicise other genocides, as we see above, the uniqueness of each event is devalued. Other scholars (Bauer, 2001; Katz, 1994) have drawn attention to the fact that traumatic events such as the Holocaust are important precisely *because* they make a definitive break from history. This impersonal and totalising approach adopted in public memory practices, as exemplified in the extract above, is perhaps where Nora's notion of History and Memory are most distinguished.

PASSING ON THE STORY

"And you shall tell your son on that day, saying, "Because of this, the Lord did for me when I went out of Egypt."

The extract above is taken from the Exodus story, a story that is re-enacted in the rituals observed during Passover and a story whose universal messages of freedom and redemption have not lost their potency despite the passing of thousands of years. The importance of this re-enactment is not to be overlooked, this is not simply the churning out of bygone traditions, it embodies Jewish identity and Jewish values and it is through the re-enactment of the Exodus story that Jews are able to relate to their ancestors and learn the valuable lessons which the story has to offer (Sacks, 2012), a point I shall return to in Chapter Three. Kokosalakis' study of Liverpool Jewry in the 1980s well exemplifies the role such rituals and religious symbols have on Liverpool Jewish identity: "(they) serve as the strongest and commonest *vehicles of identity* for both religious and non-religious Jews" (1982:230). But this is not an identity formed in the present but one borne of the past and continually played out through the generations. Though the text I cite above is religious, the sentiment of oppression and the struggle for freedom have been constant themes throughout Jewish history and though it may be convenient to suggest that my limited research population cannot be understood in such a broad context, this refutes the role of passing on memories in Jewish homes which is not defined by geographical determinations. To put this into context, Jacob's (2011) study as with many others shows that most Jews, whether religious or not and regardless of their geographic location, cannot remember a time when they did not know about traumatic past events such as the Holocaust, rituals and traditions therefore play a very important role in passing on these histories.

This desire to reconnect and pass on the story was prominent in many of my informants' responses and, as one informant observed, it became more prominent in old age despite the presence of past trauma:

"People who survived the Holocaust who completely disassociated themselves from the community until they're dying and then they come back…it's quite interesting"

But this is common through the generations as Tim Malroy, a nephew of a *Kindertransportee* who gives talks in schools, remarks:

"The rationale at the end is that I tell the story because it's an important story and it needs to continue and people need to keep on saying it and I think it's important for people to see someone younger who is doing it…I suppose it's for Dad's memory, for his legacy"

What is most noticeable about Tim's response is that not only does he directly refer to his father, but he also make reference to the merit of the story being passed on to younger generations. Nora (1989) describes Memory as malleable, with the ability to change according to time. Though of course this means that it can be appropriated and be politicised as I have discussed above, it also means that each generation can have their own take on the story whilst remaining faithful to its essence, something which Jacob's (2011) relates well in her text. Nora's (1989) notion of History, on the other hand, offers no such invitation for interpretation, it is based on undebatable, hard facts. In fact, it is this malleability which Nora (1989) claims make historians sceptical of Memory, as is often demonstrated in derogatory remarks aimed at 'primitive' cultures who utilise memory as a form of education (see Bloch cited in Connerton, 1989).

But, perhaps one of the most poignant distinctions between Nora's (1989) History and Memory, is that while Memory is based on the familiar, the personal, the human, History is based upon distance, universalism and dehumanised, cold, hard facts.

"It is the nostalgic dimension of these devotional institutions that makes them seem so beleaguered and cold – they mark the rituals of a society without ritual; integral particularities in a society that levels particularity; signs of distinction and of group membership in a society that tends to recognize individuals only as identical and equal"
(Nora, 1989:12)

The passing on of this personal and familiar Memory is best described not in the grandeur of state museums, or in the lecture halls of esteemed universities, but in the home of a young girl whose family was taken away by the Holocaust…

"[…]when I was five my father used to take me to bed, and he used to put his hands over my eyes and learn me the Shema[12], he learned it to me in stages before I knew all of it and he did that every night without fail"

In this chapter I have used Nora's distinction between Memory and History to suggest ways that Jews identity themselves through memory, trauma and remembering. I have argued that memory is emotional and encompasses the essence of events rather than factual information. Additionally, trauma, inherent in any memory, is not to be dismissed or forgotten but it is to be positively processed with the hope of a better future. I have also argued that memory, is not spatially defined and it is malleable and open to multiple interpretation whilst retaining its original essence. Finally, memory is passed down through generations and it is through this process that people can identify with their ancestral past whilst using the knowledge of such memories for future purposes.

[12] A daily Jewish prayer recited in the morning and at night, see: http://www.jewfaq.org/shemaref.htm

END NOTES CHAPTER ONE

(i) The *Kindertransport* was set up in 1938 with the express purpose of transporting Jewish children from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Poland to the UK to avoid Nazi persecution in the occupied territories. The last transport left in 1940 a year after war broke out and it is estimated that by that time almost 10,000 child refugees, mainly of Jewish extraction, had come over to Britain. The children were placed in foster homes throughout the war and many remained in Britain after the war had finished as their families had been wiped out in the Holocaust. For more information see: http://www.kindertransport.org/history.htm

CHAPTER TWO

A MINORITY AMONGST MINORITIES: *THE MIGRANT GROUPS OF LIVERPOOL AND THEIR (CO) EXISTENCE*

"Jews are just like everyone else, only more so."

(Lionel Blue)

The extract above is taken from Lionel Blue's autobiography and it oxymoronic viewpoint is fitting for the themes I would like to discuss in this chapter. In this chapter I discuss the similarities and difference between the Jewish community and other migrant groups in Liverpool. Through Stolcke's (1995) definition of Cultural Fundamentalism I would like to offer answers to questions such as: how are migrant groups in Liverpool defined and by whom? To what extent are migrant groups' contribution curbed and sustained by themselves or by others? What role does 'assimilation' play in how migrant groups define themselves in comparison to the social majority? Finally, how is the Jewish story of migration different to other migrant stories? By answering such questions I will be able to draw conclusions about how the Jewish community of Liverpool wishes to represent itself against the backdrop of its migrant past, but also ways in which the community feels as though it has been categorised and grouped together with other migrant groups. This is particularly useful as it will draw questions on the methodology and political process behind the creation of the Community Trails in the Museum of Liverpool, ideas which I shall build upon in the Fourth Chapter.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Cultural Fundamentalism, according to Stolcke's (1995) analysis, recognises the rhetoric of exclusion found in racial discourse elsewhere, however, as racial terminology has been discredited in recent times, such distinctions are demarked on *cultural* rather than *racial* terms. It is such cultural differences, defined by Cultural Fundamentalism, that result in the "incommensurability" of minority groups with the social majority (Stolcke, 1995; Silverstein, 2005; Hannerz, 1999). What is more, Cultural Fundamentalism often 'borrows' terms from biological discourses on race to suggest that it is *natural* to be hostile towards other groups (Stolcke, 1995), as a result, such groups must be separated into different *spatial* locations by practices of power in order to maintain the peace (ibid). One particularly defining characteristic of Stolcke's Cultural Fundamentalism is its 'openness' that allows access to the social majority for foreign groups as long as they are willing to *assimilate* into the dominant culture. In short, Stolcke's Cultural Fundamentalism may be seen to be a critique of the unchallenged authority of one static culture over another and therefore lends itself well to the debate surrounding past anthropological practices which sought to define 'the other' on fixed terms as stipulated by dominant western cultures.

If we analyse the extract below taken from a Jewish informant who I spoke to on a number of occasions we see that, from a Jewish perspective, there is a clear distinction between how Liverpudlian Jews view themselves in comparison with other minority groups:

"We are a minority amongst minorities"

In other words, though the Jewish community of Liverpool comprehend their minority status, this is where the similarities between Jews and other minority groups begins and *ends*. In this chapter I argue that the Jewish community of Liverpool feel that they, and other minority groups, have been categorised and defined on Cultural Fundamentalist terms which promote assimilation in exchange for the loss of their own, unique

cultural practices. In order to understand how the Jewish Community of Liverpool view themselves in comparison to other minority groups in the city and towards the greater working of the state itself, I decided that I would need to interview people directly involved with Jewish-run organisations. In doing so, I also managed to collect some criticism on the methodology employed to create the exhibition in the Museum of Liverpool.

WHITEWASHING

"*I've got a lot of ancestors called Rose,"* Saul Marks told me as we discussed his family history in the attic room from where he runs his business, "*and that came about because Abraham Kazynsky went to register the birth of his first child and he went to the registrar and said his surname Kazynsky and the registrar said: "I can't say that, you've got rosy cheeks, your name is Rose." That sort of thing happened all the time.*" Though Saul's story is somewhat innocent, it reflects other stories that I heard which depicted the, sometimes traumatic, assimilation processes experienced by Jewish migrants to Britain in the early 20th century.

Waldinger's (1995) study into the ethnic groups of New York begins by explaining that migrant groups are often grouped together on an economical basis and it is through this economic framework that migrant groups communicate and interact, but also how they are defined by the state. Many other scholars have drawn attention to the political process whereby immigrants are grouped regardless of apparent dissimilarities with the view of eventual assimilation into the dominant culture, (Silverstein, 2005; Ceuppense & Geschiere, 2005; Brodkin cited in Thomas & Clarke, 2013: 310). This unsettling position in which migrants find themselves during the process of assimilation, of being neither *here* nor *there* has coined the term: "in-between peoples" (Barret & Roediger, 1997). This categorisation process requires some form of logic and rhetoric and this is often provided by race and its accompanying by historically determined racial discriminatory practices (McDonald & Ugra, 1999; Thomas & Clarke, 2013). For the supposedly unproblematic 'white' communities like the Jews and the Irish, assimilation is not a gradual learning process but rather an abrupt *whitewashing* (Silverstein, 2005:365) whereby such communities instantly lose the uniqueness of their cultures as they are engulfed by the dominant culture (see Saul's story above). This state-imposed categorisation process may be seen to be an imposed melting-pot scenario akin to Stolcke's (1995) Cultural Fundamentalism. Such embedded and contradictory racial inequalities were evident in many of the stories my informants told me.

I spoke to Tim Malroy one lunchtime in small, vegetarian café near the university where he works. Conducting the interview in such a public place affected the outcome of the conversation and I found myself unconsciously speaking in hushed tones so as not to draw too much attention to ourselves.

We spoke for over an hour and Tim's enthusiasm on the subject was apparent right from the start as he explained to me his trip to Auschwitz and the trauma he had felt for victims he would never meet. Though Tim was not brought up in a Jewish household and has since married a Christian lady has been drawn to his Jewish ancestry and feels compelled to piece together the broken fragments of his past. We discussed his Jewish roots and how his father had tried to assimilate into the British ways of life, "*he changed his Christian name from Hans to John*" Tim told me, "*but I think that was more a social acceptance things because you know after the war, if your name was Hans, you'd be in trouble*". Tim's father also took on his foster family name Malroy and replaced his original Czech Jewish name Kohn*, "I think the reason Dad changed his name"* Tim explained, "*was that he felt he owned his parents… his adoptive parents, such a debt,*". I then mentioned that having spoken to his aunty a few days earlier I had observed that she had expressed some remorse over her brother changing his name, Tim agreed, *"yes, they lost an element of their history from Czechoslovakia*" he said, thoughtfully shaking his head.

Yet, despite the gratitude that Tim's father expressed towards his foster family and attempts to anglicise his name, appearance and behaviour, it was still not enough to dispel the notion of 'the immigrant'. "*This lady came up to me at the end of a talk*" Tim explained, "*and she said: John Malroy, he's that immigrant isn't he?*" Tim shrugged his shoulders in disbelief, "*…this is sixty or seventy years on and that person still has the perception that Dad was an immigrant, even though he didn't have an accent and had taken a British name!"*

* * *

Tim's disbelief may be seen to be characteristic of modern British society where overt statements towards minority or migrant groups is understood as a faux pas. But what is most noticeable about Tim's story is not only that it demonstrates that inequalities faced by immigrants are deeply embedded into all walks of British life, but it also shows that despite the fact that Tim's father's name and subsequent link to his family history

had been anglicized or whitewashed (ibid), he was still unable to coexist on equal terms to his British counterparts, thus echoing the "incommensurability" of Stolcke's (1995) Cultural Fundamentalism. The lady's remark may seem somewhat isolated, but it echoes the sentiment of other first, second and third generation Liverpool Jews that I interviewed who had come from Europe and had experience the unpleasant hostilities that accompany the migrant label, something I shall discuss further in the proceeding chapter. This embedded and poorly disguised racial discrimination is evident in many situations in multicultural Britain today:

"..years later one can still hear white British people, especially of the older generation, talking despairingly about 'immigrants', even when it is clear from the context that they mean blacks or Asians who may well have been born in the UK, and not, say, first generation white South African migrants"
(Banks, 1999:105)

The negative effects of the migrant status is not something unique to the Jewish community, however, I observed that the community was keen to distinguish itself from other migrant groups in Liverpool.

Hierarchy Between the Groups

One morning I received a call, "*Hello, is that Mr Elkin*?", "*yes*" I replied, it was the guide who organises tours around Princes Road synagogue, "*can you come in half an hour*?" I was at the museum at the time and when I put the phone down I then had to rush off, up the hill to Princes Road.
I had decided early on in my research that I would go on a tour of the Princes Road synagogue and try to speak to one of the guides who conduct the tours. The Princes Road Synagogue is perhaps the most overly Jewish institution in the centre of Liverpool and I thought it would be a good starting point to see how the Jewish community represents itself to the wider non-Jewish public. As a religious institution, I was aware of the types of responses I might get from interviews carried out there, but I choose, for reasons I shall explain later, that this was not a sufficient reason for me to distinguish such responses from my more secular informants.

Princes Road is the main artery through the notorious Toxteth neighbourhood and along it are many boarded up shops and houses as well as an Orthodox Church, a Mosque and a Synagogue. Over the years, the neighbourhood has seen diverse migrant groups pass through it and in 2015 the museum of Liverpool created the *L8 Unseen* exhibition[13] which the depicted the lives and the histories of the different migrant groups in the area. Nowadays, the neighbourhood is home to predominantly Afro-Caribbean and Muslim Somali populations and it is severely rundown with the reputation of being one of Liverpool's roughest inner-city neighbourhoods. The Synagogue (see **figure.2.**) is wonderful example of Victorian grandeur and set amongst the ruins of Toxteth, it seems quite out of place as it represents the remains of a Jewish population that left years ago. The Synagogue has the capacity to seat nine hundred but Shabbat services are typically attended by fewer than thirty people.

When I arrived at the synagogue five minutes late and sweating from the uphill cycle ride, I was greeted by a man sitting on a chair outside, the sun was shining and the man smiled at me as I entered. "*You must be Mr. Elkin*?" The guide asked as I slid in between the great doors, I nodded, "*would you mind putting your hat on*" I did so, and the tour began. We were a small group, myself, two Israeli women, and a family of four comprising of a younger married couple and the in-laws, later, I found out that the usual visitors to the synagogue were made up of visiting Jews, school groups and, elderly, religious Christians. The tour was brief but the apparent enthusiasm of the guide was infectious and I noticed that the visitors all seemed content as the tour neared its end. As the last members of the group left I asked the guide whether he would mind answering a few questions, "*how political is it?"* he asked suspiciously, before agreeing. We sat in a small room adjoining the main hall which serves as a small museum and a place to purchase memorabilia items, "*it's mainly for school children*" the guide explained as I looked over the brightly-coloured fridge magnets, pencil sharpeners and miniature candelabras on display. "*Why do you do the tours*?" I asked, expecting to hear an answer related to interfaith dialogue or community building projects, "*we do it to earn a bit of money*" the guide replied nonchalantly. We discussed the repairs that needed doing, including the replacing of the lead roofing that had been stolen a few months earlier, "*it wasn't a particularly anti-Semitic gesture*" he quickly pointed out, "*as they did the church next door and they did the blue coat school*".

We then discussed why the tours were important for the school children, *"the difficulty is these children hardly ever meet anyone Jewish"*, the guide began, *"they don't meet any Jewish contemporaries*

[13] http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/exhibitions/l8-unseen/

because all the Jewish kids go to the Jewish school so they don't consider us any more important they would consider the Muslims or the Hindus or the Sikhs or whatever. Whereas, when I was a child, and I went to secular school, we were the only exotics…there were no west-Indians, there were no Indians, Pakistanis or whatever…" What was particularly noticeable from this response was the fact that the guide made direct reference to other migrant groups in the city, and the apparent competitiveness that stemmed from being grouped together in the eyes of the majority. The guide's use of "exotic" suggests that he sees the Jewish community as something apart from the general population, a point I shall return to below.

Belchem's (2014) study suggests that such competition between migrant groups was encouraged by political policies which simultaneously promoted ideals of hospitality *and* xenophobia. In 1948, the British Nationality Pact was passed which encouraged ethnic groups from across the Commonwealth to come and work in Britain, in practice however, this was simply a tokenistic gesture and white Eastern European 'alien' workers were given priority over other migrant groups due to "presumed genetic similarity" (Belchem, 2014:07). Here, as in Stolcke's (1995) *Cultural Fundamentalism*, biological rhetoric was utilised by the state to explain the choices based on the idea of incommensurable cultural differences. The resulting discrimination and falling economic prospects led to the next wave of immigrants from the Commonwealth in the late 1960s to avoid Liverpool altogether, yet "local councillors continued to subscribe to the *fiction* of racial harmony, dismissing all who argued otherwise as interfering do-gooders and sensationalist sociologists'" (Belchem, 2014:09).

Waldinger (1995) refers to the "process of moving up" as migrant communities seek to gain standing within the dominant culture, and this process, he argues, inevitably leads to forms of competitiveness both between differing migrant groups *and* within the migrant groups themselves. This process is promoted by policy makers who in attempts to assimilate migrant cultures into the dominant culture in effect practice a "colonization of the interior" (Sayad cited in, Bava, 2011: 495). However, due to the assimilation process and the subsequent anxiety of culture loss that immigrants suffer, such groups unintentionally become caught up in the process of radicalised discrimination themselves as they seek to construct their own reference apart from the other groups (Bava, 2011:497).

The competitiveness between migrant groups was apparent in many of my informants' responses. When I asked the synagogue guide what he thought about the Community Trails at the museum he told me that when he had discussed them with other members of the community:

"Nobody seemed to know what I was talking about…but there's a magnificent Chinese room, I learnt an awful lot about the Chinese population of Liverpool, but the Jewish one wasn't really very good"

The guide's response is interesting in that not only does he feel that the Jewish contribution is underrepresented in the museum, an opinion shared by almost all of my Jewish informants, but he also makes a direct comparison with the Chinese community's representation in the museum.

That the Chinese population is more prominently displayed in the museum is not a novel concept but rather the continuation of past political policies which seem to favour certain groups over others. According to Belchem (2014), political policies in Liverpool often favoured one migrant group at the expense of another. Despite the then-charitable names of institutions such as the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste *Children,* such organisations "drew upon the new eugenic binary orthodoxy, contrasting the *virtue* of the (now rehabilitated) Chinese with the vice and 'real social menace' of the 'negro'" (Belchem, 2014:04). Comparative to the Black community of Liverpool, the Irish, the Chinese and the Jews of Liverpool, who were a "were an exemplary class apart" (Belchem, 2014:68), faired quite well. But such representation politics is simply a form of *positive discrimination,* created and sustained by practices of power and therefore akin to Stolcke's Cultural Fundamentalism which does not encourage self-representation of different cultural groups. What is more, practices which attempt to classify various migrant groups under umbrella terms serve to aggravate the situation as it undermines cultural distinctiveness. When I described the various community trails at the museum of Liverpool to Johnny Cohen, he was quite critical:

"Is that trying to imply that we're all together and integrated, is that the idea?"

It is important to note that such racially defined favouritism is not visible only in state-run institutions like museums, but it is filtered down to effect individuals, and even Anthropologists themselves, as Sue Benson critical observation shows: "Asians have culture, West Indians have problems" (Benson cited in Banks, 1999:97). What is more, such favouritism shown by Anthropologists towards the 'exotic' rather than the mundane *can* have disastrous effects on such groups (see Borgois, 1991). With this in mind, it would be

hypocritical for me not to now analyse my own role in selecting the subjects of my particular study. It could be suggested by the short-sighted and overly-critical reader, that my work could be reduced to a study moulded by philosemitism. However, I would argue that my study does not only focus on the positive aspect of the Jewish community in Liverpool, a point I shall return to below, but perhaps more importantly my arguments as will become clearer, are in essence and somewhat confusingly not necessarily connected to Liverpool Jewry *at all*. In fact this is why the Jews are so unique as a subject of study, as they are subjected to a range of different interpretation which, as I demonstrated in the introduction, are not necessarily 'Jewish' in nature at all. Therefore I was not attracted to exoticism, but rather to the extraordinariness of the mundane.

* * *

One of the most common responses I got from informants was that the Jewish community despite recognising the fact that they came from migrant origins, did not want to be associated with economic migrants who, in their eyes, tainted the reputation of migrant communities by depending on state benefits:

"…it's all these immigrants that are doing it so why do we let them in? Although, at the same time, my parents were immigrants they came from Russia but we never begged any money or benefits, whatever we had, we worked for. We didn't have to depend on benefits. Here, as soon as they come they get benefits."

Another informant echoed this response:

"When you have people coming over from Europe now, they're a burden on society, Jewish people were never a burden on society because even in Liverpool now, we have a welfare department"

However, such criticism, common amongst a number of different informants I observed, were not necessarily aimed against the groups themselves, as one informant explained:

*"…**because we've always been the underdog, so we've always had sympathy for those people other than our religion for them as well…"***

Instead such criticism seemed aimed towards how the behaviour of such groups affect the representation of migrant groups on a whole. Views on assimilation and contributions is where I observed that the Jewish community greatly differs from other migrant communities, as I shall discuss below.

Back Stage Information

As well as more *official* responses to question regarding other migrant groups, I also received some quite derogatory views aimed at other migrant groups. The contrast between such views offers interesting insight into the difference between what Berreman's (1962) study referred to as "official view information" and "back region information". In other words, what is deemed acceptable to be shown to the public and what is deemed unacceptable, for, as Berreman (1962) demonstrates, the researcher himself, is an audience that must be addressed

For the sake of my research, the *official view* that I obtained rarely covered any controversial issues such as politics and religious matters, whereas the *back region* information often included personal anecdotes and opinions. However, unlike Berreman's study, which was undertaken within an unchallenged, historical caste system, the lines between the *official* and *back region* views in my research were *not* so clear cut. Some of the 'heads' of the community expressed *back region* topics and equally some of my informants who were not involved in the community at all, expressed what could be seen to be more official, less controversial views. However, it is important to note here that, how the Jewish community communicates to itself, through publications, meetings etc., is very different to how it communicates to the wider public. Though I *would* argue, having observed both forms of communication, that the Jewish values or ethos that I shall discuss below, is present in *both* forms of communication.

At this point I would like to make an important observation on the ethics involved in my fieldwork. As I mentioned above, when I spoke to some informants they expressed what could be interpreted as quite derogatory remarks aimed at other migrant groups. As a result, when writing my thesis I was confronted with

the dilemma of possibly spreading this information out to a wider audience and the possible negative repercussions that may ensue, (see McDonald & Ugra, 1999). When writing I did consider using pseudonyms. However, as Scheper-Hughes (2000) study shows, using such fictional techniques in fact encourages overly-embellished description and it does not necessarily protect the subjects in the study as it is easy for one to decipher the responses of others in the same community. As a result, I decided to use the real names of my informants and to quote them directly.

In order to defend this decision I would argue that one man's opinion, as Berreman (1962) demonstrates, regardless of whether it is complimentary or defamatory is *not* to be understood as representative of the whole group. Banks (1999), argues that Anthropologists in search of ground-breaking conclusions, often fall into the trap of totalising theories which serve to homogenise the groups that they are studying. With this in mind, it is important for me to stress at this point, that my research is only representative of a *small proportion* of the Jewish community of Liverpool and though I draw conclusions which are suggestive of the group as a whole such conclusions are only *hypothetical* in nature.

As the information discussed above is vital for the overall arguments in my thesis, I have decided to keep what could be potentially harmful responses in my writing. Moreover, an anti-Semite, I would argue, would find fault in the mere title of the thesis alone and so this should not stand in the way of my overall arguments. What is more, by only focusing on positive aspects of the community I could be accused of Jewish apologetics, something which, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2015) observes, is dated and rooted in Jewish integration and emancipation of the enlightenment period. But more importantly, by focusing only on the good, I would avoid painting the 'rounder', more *real* picture of the community, for as one lady told me:

"I think we're the same as everyone else…. we hold the same prejudices as other groups…"

And through my study I observed that the Jewish community *are* "the same as everyone else", only *more so*.

MERSEYSIDE JEWISH COMMUNITY CARE (MJCC)

When I first inquired about the Jewish Community Care organisation (MJCC), many of my informants were quite elusive in their responses and it took a while before I was allowed to interview staff members at the community care centre. Michael Swerdlow, a prominent member of the Jewish Community and a keen participant in the Community Trails exhibition, replied when asked why the organisation exists:

"It's because not all members of the Liverpool Jewish community are well-off, quite a lot of families need support, need help, and even since the days of David Lewis they've always said we've got to look after our own, we've got to build our own school, we've got to build our own charity organisations, home for homeless people"

Michael's response, as with many others I observed, appeared to be somewhat defensive, a telling sign perhaps of some negative interpretation of the organisations or perhaps infringements on its own policies (see for comparison Ceuppens & Geschierre (2005) study on allochthons in Belgium). Another possible reason why informants were so guarded in the response to the MJCC was perhaps due to unfavourable press that such migrant communities often attract. McDonald & Ugras study of ethnicity in English cricket showed that, whilst ethnic minority groups were shunned by all-white clubs, when they then formed their own clubs, they came under scrutiny, one white informant even suggested: "It's a sort of voluntary apartheid policy in action. Isn't that then producing segregation?" (McDonald & Ugra, 1999:168). This well exemplifies Stolcke's Cultural Fundamentalist practices whereby one set of cultural norms are favoured over another.

* * *

The Merseyside Jewish Community Care organisation (MJCC), formerly known as the Board of Guardian for the Relief of the Jewish Poor of Liverpool, was set up in 1875 along the following premises:

"Mindful always of the heavy burdens borne by the local authorities through widespread general poverty and destitution, it had always been declared policy of the leaders of our Liverpool Jewish community from its earliest days in Hanoverian times to take full responsibility for the care and relief of its Jewish poor"
(Abrahams, Felton & Simpson, 1975)

Today, due to falling numbers in the community, mainly caused by declining economic prospects in the city, the organisation has been greatly reduced. However, it is still an integral part of the Jewish community in Liverpool providing a range of services including: meals on wheels, education workshops and classes, therapy sessions as well as financial aid for those in need. The organisation has four full time staff members and a large group of volunteers both from the Jewish and non-Jewish communities. The programmes are run throughout the city and in various other Jewish-run organisations, but the main office, which has no visible marking on the outside to portray its use, is located on a busy street just outside the centre of Liverpool. The buildings ordinary and non-decorative façade is testament both to the organisation's work behind-the-scenes, but also to the discrete nature of the Jewish community in the public eye, something that I shall discuss more in the proceeding chapter.

The existence of organisations like MJCC and others, for example the Irish Community Care[14], draws many questions as to the way that migrant groups wish to interact with others but perhaps also to the failings of the state to provide for its migrant communities. Belchem's (2014) study shows that despite repeated attempts by the state to remedy the discrimination faced by the migrant communities of Liverpool, such policies were of little real use to the people they supposedly served. The result, was that migrant communities had to define themselves but this was no simple task as migrants communities are "forced to be continuously concerned with transforming, challenging, or confirming migrant identity labels" (Kosnick cited in Vertovec, 2011:248).

Different Values – the 'Jewish Ethos'

On the website of the Irish Community Care (ICCM) organisation it describes the history and the reasoning behind its creation:

"ICCM was set up in the 1960s by Irish people in Liverpool who were concerned about the welfare of other Irish people arriving into the city with no support mechanisms, little or no information about services and no family support." [15]

If we return to the reasoning behind the creation of MJCC, mentioned above, we see that it was formed not because there were no services available, as the ICCM website suggests, but rather because the Jewish community did not want to burden the state. When I asked Lisa Dolan at her office in MJCC, about the services they provide she told me: *"if the welfare state will do something then we won't do that, we will compliment that."* She then added: *"the Jewish community doesn't want to be a burden on the state, we don't want to be a burden on anybody actually, I think there's a great sense of pride in the Jewish community."* If the Jewish community or in fact any other migrants community believed that the state did not work on Cultural Fundamentalist (ibid) terms, then there would be no need for their own institutions as they could express themselves freely in a shared and equal setting. But, as Lisa mentions above, there are certain services that are not provided by the state and this can only be seen as a result Cultural Fundamentalist policies with eventual assimilation in mind.

Other informants told me of the "*Jewish ethos*" prevalent and fundamental in many of the Jewish-run organisations, "*as a community we like to do things our own way"* I was told by one informant, "*if you go to the state you have to do it in their way don't you*?" What is noticeable here is that though the Jewish community does not want to burden the state and hence has created its own welfare institutions, it also desires institutions which are '*kosher*'[16]. When I asked Lisa, why many of the members of the community preferred using the services provided by MJCC she replied:

[14] http://iccm.org.uk/
[15] http://iccm.org.uk/about-iccm/our-history/ (accessed 23/10/2016 at 14:42)
[16] *Kosher* in this sense does not only refer to dietary requirements but a general Jewish 'ethos' on the whole

"…it's having that safe cultural environment […] our older people are survivors of World War Two and that stays with them and that has an impact, so there is a trust issue…

Phil Shapiro, the community's appointed demographer, confirmed this scepticism of state authorities when he told me that many Jews did not participate in the state census because they are afraid, due to past events, that such information will not remain confidential. But it is not only a question of security, though many informants did stress its importance, it is also something more profound as Lisa explained:

"…everything we do has a Jewish ethos to it otherwise there's no point…"

So what exactly is the 'Jewish Ethos'? True it is shaped by dietary needs and the desire for security, but its roots go much deeper than that and can only really be expressed through a story.

Uniqueness of Diaspora Jews

What is perhaps most unique when discussing the Jewish community as compared to other groups is not only that they are self-sufficient, they do not rely on state services benefits and they like to do things their own way, but that their migrant status is not a recent occurrence but a Diaspora which spans thousands of years. Jonathan Sacks (2012) has suggested that this unique status of Jews as a nation living in the Diaspora for so long, places Jews in a unique position to offer guidance in the anxiety-ridden state that globalisation has induced. I shall return to this point later, but I would like to conclude this chapter by telling a story that was told to me by Johnny Cohen. Gunaratnam (2003) argues that life stories and other forms of narratives are *ideal* sites to analyse the relations between theory and lived experiences of 'race' and 'ethnicity' (Gunaratnam, 2003:10). Moreover, the stories reflect how many of my informants chose to speak to me and therefore represent the self-expressive and collaborative relationship favoured by 'new' ethnographers towards their informants (Sluka & Robben, 2012).

I spoke to Johnny Cohen in the Jewish Community Centre in the King David School. King David's is no ordinary school, there is a high fence running right around its perimeter and there is a guard at the gate who sternly inspects everyone who enters. After waiting for a few minutes in the lobby, Johnny Cohen a friendly-looking man with a continual grin on his face, came and ushered me into the Community Centre room. It was obvious from how Johnny interacted with the receptionist and other staff members that he was a popular character and his jovial personality soon came across in our discussion. Unlike many of my informants, Johnny did not provide an *official* response and waved away my attempts to steer the conversation towards certain topics of interest for my thesis, and instead told stories and personal anecdotes. It was a refreshing change for my research and provided insight into the community which I believe could not have been expressed in any other way.

"*Tell him* (my tutor) *this*" Johnny said waving his finger emphatically in the air, "*nothing to do with what you're talking about*". He then proceed to tell me a story of when Jonathan Sacks, the then chief Rabbi, went to Kosovo in the late 1990s and his interview with the head of NATO on state television. The commander, Johnny told me, said to Rabbi Sacks: "*I want to thank your people*" and by *your people*, Johnny explained, he was referring not only to the eleven Jews in Kosovo who had helped supply primary education to children in the war zone, but also to Jews around the world. "*They've been in exile for thousands of years!"* Johnny expressed in disbelief, "*what have Jews in Brazil got in common with me in Liverpool?"* he asked, "*but there is a link…when you read about a Jew being hurt, you feel for them".* And this is an idea, Johnny concluded, "*which is very strong in Judaism, which isn't specifically Jewish at all: collective responsibility…we all have a duty to one another and there is a link between us all*" (see Sacks, 2005). "*So you tell them*" he said looking directly at me "*they* (the Jews) *do have a contribution way beyond their numbers*!"

Johnny's view may not be shared by other members of Liverpool's Jewish community, yet that does not mean it should be overlooked, indeed from a certain Anthropological perspective, Johnny's story is an uncomfortable proposition. Gupta & Fergusson (1997) in their quest to create a "decolonized anthropology" (1997:138) suggest that anthropologists must challenge the idea of discrete, separate cultures and instead focus on the interplay and merging of cultural practices within a specified location. How then can one apply such theory when an informant, rather than the researcher, draws direct comparisons between themselves and people geographically separated by thousands of miles? Would it not be an example of colonized anthropology to suggest that Johnny's and other informants' references to other Jewish communities is to be discredited as it suggests a fixed, rigid culture? Classification, after all, may be seen to be an attempt to exert

authority over things and people, as Stolcke's (1995) Cultural Fundamentalism shows. I shall return to this point later.

When writing the scene above I decided to employ "thick description" (Narayan, 2012) to give depth to the scene and to emphasise Jonny's use of gestures which, as Herzfeld (2009) argues, express a voice which would otherwise be unheard. Moreover, the summary of scene which includes the guards and the fence are to give emphasis to the concepts of fear and security that I shall discuss in the next chapter, however, by doing so I recognise my agency in the writing process as I choose to highlight certain things rather than others (Narayan, 2012). But aside from the description that I have used to embellish the scene what is most noticeable about this scene is Johnny's direct reference to the assumed wider readership of my thesis, this is particularly important as Johnny is aware that he is indirectly presenting information to a wider audience, his choice of wording and the content of his story may therefore be affected.

In this chapter I have argued that Jews and other migrant groups are often grouped together in political policies and in public representations. However, though the Jewish community recognises its migrant past, it wishes to distance itself from other migrant communities for two principal reasons. Firstly, as they do not want to be tarnished by negative interpretations associated with *some* migrant groups, and secondly, because they want to maintain their Jewish Ethos which is contrary to state institutions which are aimed at eventual assimilation. I have also argued that despite claims that politics and public representations are built on terms which supposedly promote diversity, they are in fact based upon *Cultural Fundamentalist* terms which promote eventual assimilation.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ETERNAL JEW: *ANTISEMITISM IN LIVERPOOL*

"For too long I have played on the stage of lucidity, and I have lost. Now I need to accustom my eyes to the falling darkness. I need to contemplate the natural slumber of things, which the light calls forth, yet also causes to tire. Life must begin in darkness. Its powers of germination lie hidden. Every day has its night, every light has its shadow.

I cannot be asked to accept these shadows gladly. It is enough that I accept them"

(Sebastian, 2016:205)

Sebastian's famous book *Two Thousand Years* set in Romania in the early 1930s, is a striking account of the re-awakening of antisemitism and its effects not only on Jews, but on society itself. As Sebastian, so eloquently expresses in the quotation above, it is a task for the Jews to accept the existence of the shadows of antisemitism, but one must understand these shadows in order to understand the light. In this chapter I discuss the anecdotes of acts of antisemitism relayed to me by my informants. I discuss these stories in order to attempt to answer questions such as: what form does this persecution take? Where and who carries out these acts? How do Jewish informants respond to this antisemitism? Finally, how do such acts of antisemitism compare to potential acts of hospitality experienced by my informants? The answers to these questions aim to offer insight into the different forms of antisemitism in Liverpool and its ramifications. It will also attempt to draw into question the wider role Jews have played in terms of assimilation processes and the dominant forms of representation of minority groups.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The arguments of this chapter rest on the dichotomy of the concept of 'the stranger' between the two quotations below. The first taken from *The Book of Exodus*, and the second from Plato's *Republic*.

Exodus 23:9

"You shall not oppress a stranger, since you yourselves know the feelings of a stranger, for you also were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Plato's *The Republic*

"Why, a dog, whenever he sees a stranger, is angry; when an acquaintance, he welcomes him, although the one has never done him any harm, nor the other any good. Did this never strike you as curious?
The matter never struck me before; but I quite recognise the truth of your remark.
And surely this instinct of the dog is very charming;–your dog is a true philosopher.
Why?

Why, because he distinguishes the face of a friend and of an enemy only by the criterion of knowing and not knowing. And must not an animal be a lover of learning who determines what he likes and dislikes by the test of knowledge and ignorance?" (Plato, 2002:229)

Divine Hospitality

The first extract requires an analysis of the Hebrew word *Ger* גֵּר (stranger). The word *Ger,* used in modern Hebrew simply as stranger, is repeated more than thirty five times throughout the Torah (Sacks,2005) and is linked to many of the protagonists in the early books including Abraham, Ruth (the famous convert to Judaism) and Moses who, after fleeing Egypt, named his son *Gershom* (a stranger there). But why is the word Ger so prevalent in all of these stories? Because, as the quotation from Exodus infers, memory of slavery, oppression and foreignness appear to form the cornerstone of Jewish thought: "those who *remember* suffering, can be sensitised and respond, to the suffering of others" (Sacks, 2005:103). But the image of the stranger is not in fact a mirror reflection of ourselves but the presence of the *Divine* in all its diversity. The extract above can then be translated to: *respect the stranger because you are/were also a stranger.* With this in mind, *Ger* (guest) is of an equal, if not higher social rank to the host for the very reason that the *Ger* promotes the divine act of hospitality. The concept of hospitality as being linked to the Divine is by no means unique to Judaism and the Abrahamic Religions. Hospitality and the divine are linked in other locations such as Mongolia (Humphrey, 2012), Laos (Ladwig, 2012), moreover, it is found in the works of Pitt-Rivers (2012) and Derrida (Penchaszdeh, 2011, in the *universal laws of hospitality*, which, despite being based on an ethical rather than theological frameworks, makes use of the rhetoric of the Divine in acts of hospitality. For the purpose of my thesis, I shall refer to *Devine Hospitality*, not on religious terms, but simply to make reference to the equality of respect between guest and host and therefore the subsequent equality of treatment. *Divine Hospitality* in this sense, suggests that it is *not* natural to be inhospitable to strangers for we are *all* 'strangers' in each other's eyes and therefore equal in our unique peculiarities.

Everyday Racism

If we study the extract above taken from *The Republic* we may reach the following conclusion: it is *natural* to be wary or even inhospitable towards the stranger, as we do not have the *knowledge* to suggest that this stranger is deserving of acts of hospitality. In contemporary discourse this idea may be defined as *Everyday Racism.* As the name suggests, *Everyday Racism* accounts for all the small acts of racially motivated discrimination that individuals suffer on a daily basis and, as they occur with regularity, they are seen to be 'trivial' or even 'normal', (Essed, 2008; Castro, 2008; Mullings, 2005). It is due to its 'normality' that Everyday Racism is so hard to define and to distinguish, and therefore so difficult to combat. Though such acts are 'small' they are in fact a culmination of years of historical discrimination and therefore part of a much broader, integrated system of discrimination which is much larger than the individual acts of racism themselves, (Feagin, 1991; Reskin, 2012). If we return to the extract from *The Republic* we can see that the dog's 'natural' inhospitality towards the stranger may be seen to be akin to the triviality or normality of *Everyday Racism*, and the knowledge which is employed to reach this conclusion is akin to the system, or in Plato's words: *The State* (Plato, 2012:229), in *Everyday Racism*. I shall refer to *Everyday Racism* to make reference to a certain engrained, learned, and unchallenged 'natural' disposition to be inhospitable to the stranger.

In this chapter I will argue that the Jewish community believe that Jews represent what is different which evokes *Divine Hospitality*, as in the first extract; and the non-Jewish communities believe that Jews represent what is different which evokes *Everyday Racism*, as in the second extract.

THE LIGHT SLEEPER

What became apparent in many of my informants' responses was an underlying sense of anticipated anti-Semitism that ran throughout many of their narratives. Despite the fact that many informants did not explicitly describe an act of antisemitism, subtle references to security issues, noticeable ellipsis in conversation and even gestures like quick eye movements or sudden changes in the direction of the conversation all suggested the unwelcome presence of past and present antisemitism. This idea is well expressed in Kokosalakis' study of Liverpool Jewry in the early 1980s:

"…one has only to scratch the surface to find that almost in every Jewish consciousness there is always a feeling that somebody somewhere may wish to deny them that right or even persecute them for it. Anti-Semitism after all is an inextricable part of Jewish historical experience" (Kokosalakis, 1982:164)

This fear of anticipated antisemitism has, almost ironically, fuelled anti-Jewish sentiments based on arguments of self-inflicted victimisation (Fannon, 1952:87, Satre, 1994:68). Not only do such texts present, what could be argued to be as anti-Semitic sentiments, they fail to address the very real prospect of anti-Semitic attacks. A lot of the time this palpable fear of anti-Semitism is anticipated in an ambiguous, hidden form which is arguably much more damaging than the act itself. There are however, times when antisemitism is overtly expressed in acts of public violence in Liverpool, as Lisa Dolan demonstrated when I spoke to her in her office:

"You've got to look back through history, I can only talk about my personal story, persecutions has gone on through the years and even here in this building, I've had a brick through my window and it's missed me by millimetres […] there's always been incidences […]you just grow up with it in this country…I can't say as an individual I feel persecuted but you're always aware, you're always security aware, and I would imagine the older generation, having lived through the war, feel It far more strongly"

Another informant, Seb Drayer of Liverpool AJEX (The Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women)[17] , described the explicit antisemitism in public sporting organisations:

"Some golf clubs didn't allow Jewish members and that's why they started their own Jewish club where they had non-Jewish members as well"

Though the acts described above are seemingly quite minor incidences, the fear and anticipation that is produced from each act feeds into the broader system of discrimination found in *Everyday Racism* and which seems to be somehow sanctioned and ratified both on individual and organisational levels. As a result, the 'isolated' micro incidents of anti-Semitism described by my informants, must therefore be contextualised in the "macro world of historical subordination" (Feagin, 1991:115).

Out of Sight Out of Mind?

As aforementioned, many of my informants did not explicitly describe acts of antisemitism, in fact some informants avoided altogether topics which could trigger traumatic episodes. When I asked Abe Drayer about his army placement in Germany following the war he simply replied:

"It wasn't very nice actually, that's why I don't talk about it too much, even my wife doesn't know"

The conversation stopped there and the utter reluctance to talk was profound. Herzfeld (2009) stresses the need for Anthropologists to understand cultural gestures and references in order to gain access to back-stage information. What is more, a good ethnographer, he concludes, must simply know when to *stop talking*. There were many other incidents during my field research when one could feel an undeniable sense that the informant no longer wished to proceed in a particular line of conversation.

Having read ethnographies like Vanderstaay's (2005), I was under no pretence as to the limits of my role as a researcher: if informants would not express such things to a family member, why would they do so to me? But it was the unequivocal avoidance of traumatic recollections and the silence that I referenced in the first chapter, that came to be the very fabric of these peoples' expression. What is perhaps most interesting, is that, regardless of how my informants described, or did not describe, the various forms of anti-Semitism, its *everyday* usage is based on age-old myths.

[17] http://www.ajex.org.uk/

HEARSAY

"*Antisemitism is not about Jews*", the opening line of Jonathan Sacks' speech at a conference on the future of Jewish communities in Europe seems somewhat contradictory, that is until, after a pause, he adds: "*it is about anti-Semites*" (Sacks, 2016). This is an incredibly powerful opening sentence not only because it exemplifies the extraordinary breadth of antisemitism in society today, but it also shows that it is not a problem faced by Jews alone. The problem of anti-Semites is endemic and not the result of sporadic, isolated incidences but the result of an engrained racism in an integrated system. In short, antisemitism is the essence of *Everyday Racism*. Many scholars have drawn attention to the social construction of race, and its reliance on fictional narratives, (M'charek, 2013; Stewart, 2013; Mulling 2013; Erikson 1997; Vertovec 2011; Lacoue-Labarthe, 1990), But what makes Antisemitism so terrifying, is that unlike other forms of racism which make use of biological arguments, it is overtly reliant on completely irrational arguments (see Beller, 2007), and many of my informants made it clear to me that they were aware of these ingrained prejudices. Bernard Michaelson, a successful businessman whose family had come over from Eastern Europe and owned a delicatessen shop, commented:

"for whatever reason, they give a very big contribution and get very little thanks…they don't ask for the thanks…but I think that the perception of Jews by non-Jewish people is that they're all born with a silver spoon in their mouth"

Whilst David Coleman told me:

"one of the reasons people don't like us is that wherever you go…you will see Jewish names…it doesn't mean to say we're running it all!"

Postpone argues, that "what is common to all forms of antisemitism is the degree of power attributed to the Jews […] It is not only the degree, but also the quality of power attributed to the Jews which distinguishes anti-Semitism from other forms of racism" (Postone, 1986, 1990:133). Indeed, Antisemitism is almost farcical in the power it attributes to the Jewish people, they have been blamed for everything from 9/11 to devaluing the Yen (Bauman, 1989). Though Liverpool has seen few overtly anti-Semitic attacks, something my informants were keen to stress, there have been times through its history when anti-Semitisms has come to the surface in the same old stereotypical form. After the sinking of the *Luciana* during the Second World War, there was widespread looting in the immigrant neighbourhoods across Liverpool:

"The mob was not particularly discriminating in its attentions, which were paid not only to Germans and Austrians, and the English husbands and wives of Germans and Austrians, but to Russian Jews, heathen Chinese and Irish and Italian Catholics whose wares excited the cupidity of the mob, or who, as was apparent in some cases, especially in the Jewish quarter, had incurred the hostility of trade rivals"
(Belchem, 2014:40)

What is interesting here, is that though the Jews were grouped together with other migrant groups, they received the particularistic attention of the mob, based on age-old, stereotypical characteristics bestowed on the Jews.

One thing that exemplifies the irrationality of antisemitism more than anything is the fact that anti-Semites must rely on identifiable exterior markers, hence why the Nazis forced the Jews to wear the Star of David (Leiris, 1951). Many of my informants explained to me that compared to the Muslims, Jews received very little discriminatory abuse:

"…we're less identifiable, unless perhaps on a Saturday when we're walking to and from the synagogue or on holy days when it does happen, we have abuse hurled at us, usually from a fast moving car"

Another obvious example of the irrationality of antisemitism is the fact that it has seemingly dispersed into countries where there is no history of Jewish presence or population. (Bauman, 1989). Johnny Cohen demonstrated this well when mid-way through our conversation he exclaimed:

"There are people who are anti-Semitic in countries where there aren't even any Jews! Why?"

But regardless of its doubtful rationale, antisemitism continues to exist, but why? Or rather, how? Racism, according to Mulling, "is maintained and perpetuated by coercion and consent" (Mulling, 2005:684). Nazi anti-Semitism, Bauman argues, relied on "latent" and "passive" anti-Semites who were integral not necessarily in their actions but rather in their *inaction* to prevent such events happening (Bauman, 1989). Acts of Everyday Racism, as I shall discuss below, rely on the same principal of inertia by the general masses. Everyday Racism despite its usual or everyday appearance is ratified by ambiguous and elusive systems of power (ibid). Distinguishing between the everyday and Everyday Racism is not a simple task, as Hall argues:

"Almost everyone has difficulty believing that behaviour they have always associated with "human nature" is not human nature at all but learned behaviour of a particularly complex variety"
(Hall, 1990:43).

Monsters, according to the famous Holocaust writer Primo Levi (2000), are not truly dangerous, "more dangerous are the common men, the functionaries ready to believe and to act without asking questions." But who tells them to act?

AMALEK(S)

"*He should have been a Rabbi.*" This was the most common response when I spoke of David Coleman to other members of the community and, when I met him in Allerton *Shul* one morning, I was not disappointed. "*My religion is Judaism, that's what I practice*," he told me early on in the conversation in a very matter-of-fact sort of way, "*but my faith is I believe in God and my faith in him*". But faith and religion are the same, I mused. David explained. We all have the same God, he told me, but we have different ways of communicating to him, this is religion,*" my religion is Judaism"* he repeated. In a very simple way David had depicted one of the tenements of Judaism: Jews believe God is the God of all humanity, but that there is *not* one, universal religious truth, To put it more simply, unlike its other monotheist cousins, Judaism believes that you do *not* have to be Jewish in order to gain a place in *the world to come* (Sacks, 2002).

But this idea, David continued, which is essentially rooted in the protest against domineering powers (Sacks, 2002), has not always been kindly received. "*Right throughout our history there have been what we call Amaleks*", I looked at him puzzled and he explained the biblical reference of Amaleks, the archetypal enemy of the Jews who attacked the children of Israel as they wandered through the dessert. *"Where did he attack?"* David asked*, "from behind, the weakest people first, they were the ones lagging behind while they were going through the dessert, and there was no reason for him to hate us, but he just hated us and that's gone on through history culminating in, of course, in Hitler and Nazism."*

But what did David's story indicate to me about antisemitism in Liverpool? After all, it is a religious reference and therefore 'irrelevant' perhaps to many of the people I spoke to. But every Jew, regardless of their religious piety, knows what it is to be discriminated against, whether it is through inherited trauma (see Jacobs, 2011) or through lived experiences, as I have shown above. "To be a Jew is to be a stranger", Sacks (2008) argues, and every Jew knows what it is like to be that stranger in a strange land.

* * *

Bauman (1989) stresses the need to distinguish between *heterophobia* and *racism. Heterophobia* (the fear of the stranger), according to Bauman (ibid), is natural, a common reflex to the anxiety induced by the stranger and the resulting antipathy is understandable though not commendable, a view shared by Sacks (2002). On the other hand, racism Bauman (1989) argues, is a political practice which asserts that certain undesirable groups may not, regardless of policy or personal desire, be reformed and thus assimilate into society. The key differentiation here is that whilst *Heterophobia* may be seen to be natural (Bauman, 1989; Sacks, 2002), racism is in fact *not* natural (see Gordon cited in Bauman, 1989:286), but in fact a false mimesis which is politically motivated (Lacoue-Labarthe, 1990). For this reason the fictional discourse that is employed to support such acts (see above) is wholly unsurprising. The same can be said of antisemitism:

"Antisemitism is based on a false projection. It is the counterpart of true mimesis, and fundamentally related to the repressed form; in fact, it is probably the morbid expression of repressed mimesis. Mimesis imitates the environment, but false projection makes the environment like itself. For mimesis the outside world is a model which the inner world must try to conform to: the alien must become familiar; but false projection confuses the inner and outer world and defines the most intimate experiences as hostile"
(Horheimer & Adorno, 1990:126).

If we return to the concept of *Everyday Racism* (ibid), one could argue that the trivial, everyday acts of hostility are akin to *Heterophobia (Bauman, 1989)* that are influenced and even encouraged by the integrated system of discrimination (ibid) or, *racism (Bauman, 1989).* In other words, practices of power are playing off the natural anxiety towards strangers in order to achieve their political objective (Hannerz, 1999). But what, or more precisely, who are responsible for this process? Who are the Amaleks?

The State (and its institutions)

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated ways in which the state has enacted discriminatory policies and practices against the migrant communities. Here, rather than repeating myself, I would like to simply express a couple of 'isolated' acts of *Everyday Racism*, as experienced by my informants in state-run institutions. Hana Eardley a refuge of the *Kindertransport*, told me that integrating into British ways of life was easy, "*we were so happy and integrated in our new families that we didn't suffer like a lot of refugees, mentally if not physically*". However, she did recall a moment at school where when she applied for the role of postman over Christmas, her application had been rejected, "*why?"* I asked, "*because my parents weren't English*," she told me. Gerda Rothenberg, another *Kindertransportee* refugee, told me:

"Netty, the teacher, said in England you must do as the English do, and she made us speak English and no German at all"

Though such acts are not necessarily overtly anti-Semitic gestures, they do offer insight into the role of state institutions in the political process of 'weeding out' or simply rejecting undesired groups or undesirable behaviours. Other informants made reference to the recent Anti-Semitic acts that have plagued Labour party in recent months, with particular focus on the anti-Semitic attacks on the Liverpool-born Jewish MP Lucian Berger[18], "*it was the sort of stuff that Hitler would have proud of*" Saul Marks, told me in disbelief.

Whilst other informants made reference to the 'big politics' of the EU:

"…but there's quite a lot of anti-Semitism around today, you are not really noticing anything about it, but you read about it now, in the Labour party now – there's supposed to be quite a lot and in France there's quite a lot of it all these bombs being set off. A lot of them are all this IS people, you know these Islam believers, I don't know what's going to happen…what do you think about the EU business, are you in or out?"

Sluka & Robben (2012) have argued that one of the concerns of 'new ethnography' is to define the context of writing and reading ethnographic texts. With this in mind, it is important for me to note that the above quotation was gathered a few weeks prior to the Brexit vote at a time when the country had become very politicised and this was reflected in many of my informants' responses. At the time of writing, after the Brexit vote and following the subsequent increase in hate crime across Britain, the plight of minority groups like the Jews may very well have changed and this could possibly change certain responses if the study were to be conducted again.

[18] http://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/man-charged-over-anti-semitic-abuse-of-luciana-berger/ https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/28/luciana-berger-i-have-been-contending-with-issues-surrounding-my-safety-and-security-for-years

The Church

I spoke to Liz Spencer a prominent member of CCJ Liverpool[19] (The Council of Christians and Jews) and former headmistress at the King David School, one morning in a small garden centre café. I choose to spoke to Liz as she represented a Christian viewpoint of the Jewish community and I felt it was important for me to get bit of distance and a rounded viewpoint of my research population. Amongst the continual squeal of the coffee grinder and in close proximity to a group of elderly and chatty ladies, it was not an ideal spot to conduct a potentially controversial interview and after a few minutes we moved tables. "*Don't take it personally*" Liz smiled at the tables of ladies showing her natural gregarious nature that I would observe throughout our conversation. Liz was an inspirational character with strong morals and a real zest for community building activities. "*Some people said to me*" she began as we started talking of her role in the school, "*how are you going to manage being a non-Jew*?" Liz shrugged her shoulders as if brushing off a silly notion before explaining what she had told them: "*people on a whole recognise that conversation is good*". And Liz, as she explained to me, is a prominent mediator in this conversation, but it is not always easy, "*we find it much easier to get Jewish people to come than to get non-Jewish people to come*", Liz explained, "*we circulate the churches – we don't get a lot of feedback from them*" Why? I asked, and Liz shrugged her shoulders, "*the Gaza question is the big sticking point*" she explained, "*when we've had meetings in the cathedral we've had some pretty nasty comments from people who are very pro-Palestinian*". But it is not only in interfaith community work where the Church is often not compliant. Unlike the modern Muslim community, who are very willing to let their children go to the Jewish school, the Catholics, Liz explained, cannot get the confirmation that they are a member of faith community, as King David requires because "*if the family attend a Catholic church the priest won't give them a letter because they're not applying for a Catholic school."*

It could be argued that while the events Liz relates are not overtly anti-Semitic acts, they do represent an unwillingness to participate on equal terms with Jewish organisations and in interfaith events. Though the role of the Church in spreading anti-Semitism is not a new occurrence (see Beller, 2007; Maccoby, 1996), the fact that CCJ exists demonstrates that such practices are not an uncontested norm. Moreover, the continual presence of religious separatism is interesting when contextualised in today's largely secular and multicultural society.

The Media

Scholars have also demonstrated the role the Media has played in formulating racially-inspired negative opinions (Eisenlohr, 2012; Bauman, 1989; Silverstein, 2005). But what is perhaps most unsettling about the Media involvement, which now must be understood in its contemporary globalised settings, is its ambiguity and consequent lack of responsibility (Sacks, 2002). Through the Media, Mullings argues, racist transmission has become "more subtle, with striking images of hipness, coolness and superstars counterpoised by dangerous ghettoized criminals" (Mulling, 2005:676). The role of the Media in spreading anti-Semitic messages, was a common argument made by many of my informants, as Saul Marks demonstrated:

"It's ironic because if you speak to an anti-Semite he will say Jewish people control the media, if you speak to a Jewish person they will say the media is dead against us and the media is anti-Semitic and the media is anti-Israel"

* * *

All of the actors above, ranging from the global to the local have attributed to the "macro world of historical subordination" (Feagin, 1991:115) which has resulted in 'isolated' and 'sporadic' attacks of antisemitism. But perhaps what is more unnerving, as was particularly present in many of my informants' responses, is the presence of anticipated violence. It is no wonder, therefore, that many Jewish run institutions, like the MJCC, and Jewish individuals themselves choose to keep a low profile.

[19] http://www.ccj.org.uk/branches/merseyside/

HIDDEN IDENTITY

"Lots of things are in shadows" De Waal argues, ""lots of things that matter to us are not well lit" (De Waal, 2013:11:20). It is true. Photos, letters, pieces of jewellery, notes written on scraps of paper are often hidden away in drawers and lost in bottomless cupboards never to be found except by those who know where to look. Like De Waal's art work, which appears at certain times of the day when the light is right, some of my informants were nominally Christian, or atheist even and it was only through my visiting them at their homes that I was able to observe more overt representations of their Jewish heritage.

"*I was playing it safe, I've got a foot in every camp*" Faye laughed as she told me of her marriage to a Catholic and sending her children to the local Methodist school. But I could not help noticing a sense of sadness in her eyes as she told me her stories, and when I asked her why she had rejected the offer to stay with her extended family in London after the war she replied: "*I think they (*the Fox family*) would have been very upset if I had left*." Then her husband chimed in by suggesting: "*perhaps Faye felt obliged to stay there because they had been so kind"*. What is interesting here is that both views do not necessarily reflect Faye's own views on the matter. The first is her expressing the foster family's viewpoint and is suggestive of feelings of guilt, something I observed in many of the *kindertransport* informants. If we are to use Goffman's (1956) analysis we could suggest that Faye is displaying *front stage* information which is presented with a particular audience in mind, in this case the Fox family, it is almost as though she is *performing* on behalf of their legacy. The husband's comment could be seen to be the 'politically correct' viewpoint of the group of which he is an uncontested member – but again not necessarily one that he or Faye share.

It was not until later when we started talking about Jews changing their names that Faye expressed a much more *backstage* (Goffman, 1956) opinion: "*actually they're frightened*" she told me, "*when they came to England, they didn't know they were going to be received"* she paused for a second before adding *"I was still a little bit scared, if I saw a gang of youths coming towards me…after a while I realised I didn't need to feel threatened.*" It is interesting how Faye moves from the third person 'they' to the first person in her narrative, it is almost as though to begin with she is narrating an event of which she was not part, and then later, as a her memory is triggered, she places herself directly in the scene. This could be part of the coping strategies of trauma, as discussed in the first chapter, but it could also be understood as the result of the process of assimilation and the subsequent eroding away of her heritage.

Faye, as with other *kindertransport* informants who were not directly involved in the social or religious aspects of the community, displayed not only a real sense of gratitude for the hospitality she had received, but also a deep sense of loss, and rootlessness. When I left, Faye handed me a box *Matzos*[20] and as I passed the Christian icons once more with the box of *Matzos* in my hand, I felt incredibly confused – no doubt a reflection of how Faye has spent most of her life.

Hana Eardley, another *kindertransport* refugee, told me a story of her childhood in Pilsen shortly before she left Czechoslovakia to come to England. Hana and her mother were walking down the street when they saw two Jewish ladies, "*highly made up*" Hana explained, "*you know the people that like to draw attention, a bit… loud-voiced*" she paused for a second before adding: "*but, on the other hand why not? In a free country*." Her mother, Hana told me, took her to one side and whispered in her ear: "*you know it's women like that which makes us Jews unpopular*". Hana paused before concluding rather sadly: "*to some extent they must have felt that the Jews brought it upon themselves…by drawing too much attention to themselves*." I then asked whether she thought it was the more assimilated Jews who kept their heads down that survived the Holocaust and Hana shook her head and replied: "*that keeps the Jewish race, you know they've got more metal and more zest about them*".

Hana's story offers an interesting insight into the role of assimilation in society and the subsequent diluting of culture that it entails. The audacity of the Jewish ladies in Pilsen obviously had quite an imprint on Hana's memory, so much so, that more than sixty years later she felt the need to tell me with minimal prompts on my behalf. What is more, it seems that Hana was impressed by the ladies way of behaving and the answer to

[20] unleavened bread similar to crackers eaten as an integral part of the ritual of the Jewish festival of *Pesach* (Passover): http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/matzah/

my question would suggest that according to Hana, the "zest" of the Jewish race belongs not in assimilation but in preserving one's own Jewish identity.

But Hana's mother's viewpoint of keeping a low profile and hiding Jewish identity is common. Herzfeld recounts scenes where his elderly Jewish family members would talk in hushed voices, "not, they thought, because it was somehow dangerous, but out of a defensive and perhaps misplaced sense of tact that served to reinforce the feeling that there was somehow something negative about their identity in the eyes of the majority of the population" (2009:135). The hushed, hidden Jewish identity is common in many European countries today, and Liverpool is no exception, "*fear, pure fear*" Saul Marks, explained when I asked why Jewish families had started sending their children to the Jewish school. "*Keep them amongst their own*", he explained, "*don't give people the chance to…they don't want to put their children in a situation where they might be victims of racism.*"

On his ceramic pots in the museum exhibition, De Wall describes the elusive objects as "shadows which are always present" (De Waal, 2013: 8:00). The same could be said of the unwanted presence of antisemitism which is present in all of the stories related above. But, as Sebastian (ibid) remarks: "*life must begin in darkness"* and the shadows of anti-Semitism serve not only to highlight the brightness of the Jewish spirit but also, and perhaps more importantly, the brightness of *Divine Hospitality.*

Acts of Divine Hospitality

The title of this chapter: *The Eternal Jew*, could be seen to be quite a derogatory statement, in fact it has been utilised in many well-known anti-Semitic books, films and plays. But interestingly, the image of the *Eternal Jew* has also been used by many Jewish artists as well, but for wholly different ends (see Brichetto, 2006). With reference to the nostalgia as a means to escape trauma, as I mentioned in the first chapter, this is especially poignant as it suggests that Jews do not wish to escape such *images* by reframing or redrawing, but that they simply have a different interpretation of such ideas. Below I shall discuss two stories that were related to me by informants, which prompt questions as to the role of the *Eternal Jew* in the light of *Divine Hospitality.*

When I first met Bernard Michaelson and his wife Sara at their big house in the leafy suburbs of Liverpool I was struck by their profound humility. The conversation began with the ease of old acquaintances, I felt like I was visiting a relative's house, and though I was respectful as a guest, I felt very much at ease throughout our conversation. Bernard began the story that I wish to relate by telling me "*there's been very little anti-Semitism in this city even when there's been problems elsewhere, but there was one incident in 1947 just before the state of Israel was established*[21]*…"* he then described the hangings of British army personal by the then Israeli freedom fighters. "*The following day*" Bernard continued, "*all the Jewish shops in Liverpool got smashed, including my father's shop…"* he looked at me before concluding: *"and that was only four years after the war!"*

"I went to school the following day I was in school and lots of young boys surrounded us in the playground, they didn't attack us, they just surrounded us, but it was threatening. But then the teachers came out and broke it up because all the teachers had been in the Second World War and they could see the reality of the situation and see that this was not on."

"The following day a non-Jewish boy came over to me, his name was Pete Langworthy, and he says to me: my father said I've got to be your friend because he was in one of the brigades that went into Auschwitz…and he (Pete Langworthy) was a friend of mine right through our schools…that was the logic of it, although things were bad there was a great sensibility at the basis of it …and it taught me a lot that…"

Johnny Cohen told me a similar story. When he was walking back from *Shul* on Saturday morning, wearing his *kippah (*Jewish religious cap) like he always does, a stranger came up to him and asked: why does everyone hate the Jews. Johnny turned around surprised and replied: *"if we knew the answer to that…we've been looking for it for centuries!"*. The man told Johnny that he had heard a conversation in the pub a few weeks previously where the group of men were blaming the *Zionists* for almost everything and the stranger suggested that it was all fabricated and that the reasoning for these viewpoints was something much more hidden and elusive, he concluded that it was due to *envy.* After the initial shock of the stranger coming up to him and expressing his thoughts, Johnny felt a sense of relief, "*that's the first time it's ever happened to me*" he told me, "*usually I have a stone thrown at me or abuse*." Johnny thanked the man for his thoughts and told him, as they parted: "*as long as there's friends like you who are prepared to back us, then we're ok aren't we?"*

[21] See End Notes Chapter 3 (i)

Although the two stories above were related by different people and set almost fifty years apart, they have much in common as they do with other such stories. In both the stories the two men are approached by, what is at the time, a stranger. Although Bernard later befriended Pete Langworthy, at the time he was a stranger, as was the man who came to speak to Johnny in the park. Another similarity is the reference to the *wider group* and the stranger's intentional desire to distance themselves from it. Pete Langworthy in Bernard's story, makes reference to the group of people bullying the Jewish boys, and the stranger in Johnny's story makes reference to the men in the pub and their anti-Zionist arguments. But why was I told these stories by Johnny and Bernard? Perhaps they wanted to show me that not everyone behaves in the same way, that not everyone subscribes to the same set of behaviours and that if such rules do exist then they may be interpreted in many different ways? Or, perhaps they did not want to focus purely on the acts of antisemitism but rather focus on the positive acts that they have received? This is an especially poignant point if these responses are set in a historical context which seems to inextricably pair together Jews with Antisemitism and the Holocaust.

The individuals in the two stories, did not gain anything from their acts other than from the moral currency in the act of giving itself, in fact, as in many such cases, they may very well have been discredited in the eyes of the group whose opinions they chose not to share (see Browning, 1998). So why do these strangers demonstrate compassion when everything/everyone around them would suggest otherwise?

I cannot, nor would I wish to, explain the thought process behind these two acts, but I would like to suggest that these two acts of compassion were borne of some feeling of strangeness towards, or perhaps estrangement the ideas expressed by the group in the two stories. This is important as it suggests there is an element of choice that must be taken by the individual which may be in direct contrast to the local setting in which they found themselves.

If we return to Plato's quotation above, one could argue that the dogs natural behaviour is only 'natural' to the group environment in which it finds itself, or rather the set of teachings it has been given. But, in a different environment and with a different set of teachings, could it not also be equally as 'natural' to show kindness to the stranger as in the case of the two stories above? If the *Eternal Jew* may be positive or negative according to the way one sees it, we must now look at the different methodologies of representation, to decide which viewpoint such representations reflect. This I shall discuss in the following chapter.

In this chapter I have argued that *Everyday Racism* is widespread and in its fluidity it takes many forms. What is more, such acts are supported and even encouraged by practises of power which are both local and global and that influence individual's thoughts and behaviour. In contrast, acts of Divine Hospitality are relatively rare both in their number, but also in the amount of people carrying out such acts. Finally, I have suggested that the rarity of such events draws into question the dominant ways of teaching or environments in which we live.

END NOTES CHAPTER THREE

(i) In 1947 two British army personnel were hanged in British-ruled Palestine by the Israeli right-wing underground movement *Irgun Zvai Leumi.* The news of the deaths sparked nation-wide riots across Britain against Jewish communities and Jewish institutions.

For more information see:

http://www.jta.org/1947/08/05/archive/britons-arrested-for-attacks-on-jews-in-liverpool-manchester-saiford

http://www.jta.org/1947/07/31/archive/irgun-announces-hanging-of-two-british-soldiers-warns-of-more-reprisals

CHAPTER FOUR

PASSING ON THE STORY: THE FIGHT AGAINST IGNORANCE

"Its scabbard, scratched and scarred, was lost for good and all;
Without a sheath in which to sink it,
It glitters pleasantly – a toy upon the wall,
An unheroic, harmless trinket"

(extract from *The Poet*, Mikhail Lermontov)

The extract above, taken from Lermontov's poem *The Poet*, utilises the old metaphor of the poet's pen as a sword, but like the soldier whose sword has been left unused, the poet's pen is simply an object of no use, unless it is in the hand of the writer. Lermontov's analogy of the "harmless trinket" is a useful metaphor for the objects in the museum displays that I shall describe in this chapter.

This chapter is a descriptive and critical analysis of the representations of the Jewish community of Liverpool both by the Jewish community itself, and by groups associated with the museums of Liverpool. The chapter will predominantly focus on the Jewish Community Trail at the Museum of Liverpool but it will also make reference to other forms of representation outside of the museum. Using representations of the Jewish community, including the Liverpool Jewish Heritage Trail, I will seek answers for the following questions: What is the goal of the Community Trails and how does this compare to the interpretations made both by members of the Jewish community and the general public? What techniques does the museum employ to create the Community Trails and what affect does this have on the interpretation(s)? How does the Jewish Community Trail compare to the history of Jewish migration discussed in previous chapters?

I suggested in the introduction that it may be a good idea to see the Museum of Liverpool as a *host* to the different communities exhibited in the museum. The Community Trail exhibitions could then be seen to be expressions of the host – guest relationship of the Museum of Liverpool and the migrant communities in the city. I would like to use this conceptual framework and analyse this host-guest relationship by using Simmel's essay *Bridge and Door* as well as references to themes present in the preceding chapters.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In his essay *Bridge and Door* Simmel analyses the human experience of spatial separation and unity. Separation and unity, he argues, is a solely human endeavour, a task which serves to guide us symbolically, physically, but also intellectually. He determines the two as follows:

"Whereas in the correlation of separateness and unity, the bridge always allows the accent to fall on the later, and at the same time overcomes the separation of its anchor points that make them visible and measurable, the door represents in a more decisive manner how separating and connecting are only two side of precisely the same act"
(Simmel, 1994:07).

In other words, the *Bridge* is a symbol of unity, which, at the same time as connecting, allows us to visualise and measure what it is that is naturally separated. The *Door* however, focuses on division rather than unity. The *Door,* Simmel continues, is an expression of *human intent* of defining his space, through deciding when to open and close it and thus defining one's own inclusion or exclusion (Simmel, 1994). In other words, the *Bridge* is a human connection between two points separated by nature (the river), however the *Door* connects and separates two points which are defined purely on human terms. What is more, unlike the *Bridge* which connects two finite positions which are *known*, the *Door* connects the finite place of the *known* with the infinite place of the *unknown* (ibid).

Ladwig draws on Simmel's distinction between *Bridge* and *Door* to suggest that the *Door* scenario, with its human intention of division, relates to the spatial aspect of hospitality where the "stranger enters a places where he does not usually belong" (2012:593). This process of entering or passing over the threshold of known and unknown spaces is suggestive of inequalities in the balance of power, Julian Pitt-Rivers suggests that "the stranger is incorporated *only* through a personal bond with an established member" (author's emphasis) (Pitt-Rivers, 1963:503). In other words, the stranger may only be accepted once he has crossed the threshold and entered into a space that has been defined by the established members inside. Inside the members perform acts of hospitality, but this ritual may only be tokenistic or "artificial" and played out simply to gain social or moral currency (Ladwig, 2012; Candea & Da Col, 2012; Westmoreland, 2008), and when *outside*, such moral standards may quickly fall away (see Humphrey, 2012). Derrida would classify such contrived 'acts' of hospitality which disempower the guest, as *conditional hospitality* (Kakoloris, 2015).

The two accounts of *Divine Hospitality* that I described in the previous chapter, were not based on a group's definition of hospitable laws, nor were they enacted with any exchangeable currency in mind, their real merit lay with the fact that the acts were carried out alone by individuals who stood nothing to gain from their actions. If, as Simmel suggests, connection is a human creation, could it not be equally as valid to suggest that the spatial aspect of hospitality relates to Simmel's *Bridge*? In other words, if the guest and host were to meet in the middle of the *Bridge* where they would be, to use Simmel's words: "floating for a moment between heaven and earth" (Simmel, 1994:08), would their relationships not be formed on equal rather than on unequal terms? This would be more akin to Derrida's *unconditional hospitality* (Kakoloris, 2015).

In this chapter I argue that the Museum of Liverpool understands its guest-host relationship on equal terms, akin to Simmel's *Bridge.* On the other hand, the Jewish community understand the guest-host relationship within the museum on *unequal* terms which favour the host, and thus akin to Simmel's *Door.* However, I also argue that this is by no means a rigid dichotomy and what is particularly interesting is where the two points of view converge.

The Museum of Liverpool and the Community Trails

To begin with, before analysing the contents of the trails and the various interpretations I observed, I would like to describe the ethos behind the creation of the museum, with particular reference to the Community Trails. As I quoted in the introduction, the Museum of Liverpool was built to demonstrate the global significance of Liverpool and the contribution that the various people have made to the city. When I spoke to one of the curators at the museum she told me that a driving idea behind the museum was to show how Liverpool:

"… might be slightly different to the rest of the country, there's a lot of experience of people feeling that they're not part of the city and how we look outwards in the city rather than the more insular approach favoured in other cities."

In other words, to show the outward-looking and hospitable image of Liverpool, in comparison to other cities in the country. This opinion of Liverpool was shared by many of my informants who were keen to show their gratitude to the city, Saul Marks told me:

"Liverpool people…firstly Liverpool is different…Liverpool is so multicultural in its history because it was the gateway to the west, it was the gateway to America……you've always had people here so Liverpool, a true Scouser[22] will do anything for you, no matter where you come from, they're very warm, very caring, it's the dodgy Scousers that give Liverpool a bad name, but a really true, proper Scouser will do anything for you"

[22] Liverpudlian (someone from Liverpool)

Saul's use of a "true Scouser" could be interpreted in a number of different ways but though he recognises the presence of less-welcoming locals, he expresses an overall hope shared by many of my informants towards the inhabitants of the city, a point I shall return to below.

Yet Liverpool, like every place, cannot escape its past. As I explained in the introduction and in Chapter Two, the shadow of the Slave Trade has hung over Liverpool and massively influenced the way communities in the city interact. This is not a forgotten issue. For many people of a particular generation, Liverpool is often synonymous with the Toxteth Race Riots[23] of the early 80s (see Jefferson, 2012), and Belchem's (2014) study shows that in many ways Liverpool is not quite as harmonious as the *official line* would suggest. It must be noted however, that the Toxteth Riots were primarily instigated by Police brutality, and indeed much of the civil unrest in Belchem's (2014) study relates back to national and local policies rather than innate hostility between local inhabitants. With such a troubling history and in light of the conversations I had with people involved in the exhibitions at the Museum of Liverpool, it would not be inappropriate to suggest that the Museum of Liverpool's primary function is to hail the arrival of a new era or, at best, to paper over unsettling historical events. Amy Sodaro's analysis of a museum in Berlin could also be used for the Museum of Liverpool:

> *"The Museum serves, in many ways, as a screen upon which present-day Germany can project an idealized image of its past, masking some of the present tensions around German national identity and ideas of German multiculturalism"*
> *(Sodaro, 2013:77)*

As many scholars have suggested museums are by no means neutral zones where each party involved is represented on equal terms, (Anderson, 2006; Sodaro, 2013; Huyssen, 1995; Smith, 2006; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). Instead they are highly politicised spaces which serve to express the ideals of society, they are spaces where "the rituals of citizenship are played out" (Duncan, cited in Sodaro, 2013:79). As mirrors of the ideal society they serve to represent, museums are, in turn, places which create and sustain identities, (Libeskind cited in Sodaro, 2013:79).

The Museum of Liverpool is no exception. It is no coincidence that the museum is located on the dockside where thousands of migrants would have come off the boats to begin their lives in Liverpool, it is also, perhaps more uncomfortably, a place where hundreds of slave ships would have docked before heading to the Americas. Moreover, surrounded by the 'Three Graces'[24] and other equally impressive historical buildings (see **figure.3.**), the museum serves as mediator between the 'old Liverpool' and the 'new Liverpool'. It is fresh slate upon which Liverpool can draw out its multicultural present and look towards the future.

[23] Toxteth Race Riots took place in 1981 and were seen to be a protest against the racial discrimination from policed shown towards minority groups – predominantly Black communities (see Belchem, 2014; Jefferson, 2012)

[24] The 'Three Graces' refer to the three iconic buildings on Liverpool's waterfront, the most famous being the Liver Building: http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/exhibitions/worldheritagecity/three-graces.aspx

(**Figure. 3.** The old and the new: Museum of Liverpool (left) next to the 'Three Graces' – photo author's own)

When conducting my research I made many attempts to speak to the people who work in the museums of Liverpool, however, I often did not receive a response and when I did they seemed cold and indifferent. One interview I did have with one of the curators of the community trail took part in a small room adjoining the museum, the interview was very brief and the answers were often very formulaic and repetitious and when we concluded the interview the curator expressed what could be perceived to be quite an anti-Semitic view by suggesting that the Jewish community only wanted to demonstrate the success of their businesses rather than any more defamatory aspects of the community.

Later when I emailed the museum to ask if I could interview visitors to the museum I was told, with no accompanying explanation, that it would not be possible:

"Unfortunately, we do not allow filming with tripods in the venue, but you are welcome to use a handheld camera. You must avoid filming children due to child protection laws, and I must ask that you don't interview visitors please."

Due to the lack of information in the above email, it is difficult to understand the reasoning behind such decisions, it may be linked to legal or insurance policies or it may be due to a history of bad press from independent journalists or researchers. Whatever the explanation is, it was very restrictive for my research and did not express the open-minded approach that I hoped an educational institution would. In order not to miss out on some vital information I decided to carry out my interviews of the visitors to the museum just outside the main entrance. In hindsight, such an approach was beneficial as I observed that visitors were perhaps more open in their critique than they may have been within the museum itself. I am aware that such a cold response from the museum representatives, contrasted with a very warm reception from the Jewish community, may very well have altered my own interpretation of the trails and of the responses I received from informants linked to the museum. If I were to conduct my study again I would spend more time attempting to understand the authoritative structure of the museum on a local and national level in order to gain a more rounded interpretation of the museum and the trails.

WHAT COMMUNITY TRAILS?

What Community Trails? This was the most common answer I gained from both members of the Jewish community and the non-Jewish public, when I asked for their opinions on the Community Trails at the museum. It is not hard to see why people are unaware of the Community Trails. The museum contains thousands of objects and it is spread over three floors. One couple from Merseyside that I interviewed outside the museum said:

"There's a lot packed into a small place, we couldn't find a logical route around the museum"

Whilst another couple from West-Bromwich said:

"It could do with some arrows on the floor, so you cover that area first before you go somewhere else…it's a bit confusing"

Notably the two couples above were middle-aged and perhaps were not accustomed to the interactive and experiential approach favoured by most modern museums (Huyssen, 1995), however, this was a common response with all informants regardless of age. It would seem that whilst this new approach may well have dragged visitors from a sense of "amnesia" (Huyssen, 1995), they now find themselves in an equally discomforting state of bewilderment. Many members of the Jewish community whom I spoke to, had not heard of the Community Trails and many of those who had, either held quite critical opinions of the trails, or referred to them in vague terms as though the trails held little personal connection for them. Johnny Cohen when I asked him about the Jewish Community Trail simply replied:

*"**Problem: why didn't I know about it?"***

Johnny raises a very valid point as to the methodologies of representation employed by the museums and the subsequent interpretations that may be drawn from the exhibition. Heritage, Harrison argues, *must* be critically analysed:

"Heritage is not a passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future" (author's emphasis) (Harrison, 2013:04).

So, how can the choice of selection in the Museum of Liverpool be analysed?

SPACE AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

The Community Trails, as I observed myself from various visits prior to starting my research, are hidden behind closed doors, so to speak, to all those who are not explicitly aware of their existence. The trails are found by following small symbols on the side of the glass cabinets which contains a number of different items (not just the Community Trail items) following a particular theme (**see figure.4**.). However, even by following the trails using the leaflets, it is difficult to locate the items, and the sheer size of the museums makes following the trails quite tiring.

When I spoke to the curator of the trails she told me:

"…before we had the trails, people assumed that we didn't have any representation of a certain community. It's a big museum, there's 9,000 objects on display, lots of things to see and do and it could be quite easy to assume that there isn't any representation."

(**Figure.4.** The Candelabra symbol shows objects on The Jewish Community Trail – photo author's own)

Brown argues that "even conscientious and well-meaning researchers fail to anticipate all the possible effects of their work" (Brown, 1998: 200). Indeed, no one can doubt the sentiment behind the creation of the trails, however, the public's interpretation as cited above would suggest that the trails have done little to highlight the objects and it could be argued, that they have simply highlighted an institutionalised marginalisation process of the migrant groups. With such a minimal presence in the museum, a visitor might very well reach the conclusion that the communities shown in the trails have played a very limited role in the history of the city. A Liverpudlian man I interviewed outside the museum told me:

"I remember seeing a Welsh section and a Chinese one, that's on the first floor"

Whilst a couple from Norway, when I asked them about the symbols in the trails, replied:

"We never saw a sign for them"

The first response echoes the view of the Jewish informant I mentioned in the second chapter and draws into question the hierarchy of representation of different migrant groups that I also discussed in this chapter. The second response demonstrates the ineffectiveness of the community trails to highlight, in the words of curator: "*the massive contribution*" (see below) groups like the Jewish community have had on the city. This concern for representation was common in many informant's views when we discussed the community trails. Bernard Michaelson told me:

"From a Jewish point of view we know our contribution, and people directly after the war knew our contribution because of the Lewis', who built hospitals…but I don't think the world or the country know what the Jewish contribution is"

When I spoke to one of the curators of the trail she told me that the purpose of the trails was to *"highlight the massive contribution that the different communities have given to the city and how it has shaped the city culturally and historically"*, I then asked her the techniques that the museum had employed to gather the information and she told me that the museum had favoured a collaborative approach with the groups portrayed on the trails. Later we discussed the future of the trails and she told me *"I know that Michael is keen to develop a temporary exhibition just on the Jewish community"* before concluding, *"and that's a potential"* But, why the delay? I asked myself. Or, more precisely, why do the Welsh and Chinese communities get their own space whilst the Irish, Jewish and Black communities are expressed through the elusive, hidden trails? The curator avoided my questions on such topics.

WHAT IS HOME?

The objects in the trails form part of a collection of items that follow particular themes. There is one section that depicts the journeys of various migrant groups to Liverpool and beyond, below is a text which prompts the visitor to discover more about the individual migrants' journeys:

"People move their home for many reasons – to escape poverty, to make a better life for their families, to find work, for education, for love, to escape persecution and war […] Liverpool still attracts newcomers today. Here. People's personal stories and personal objects reveal why they decided to put down roots in the city."

(**Figure. 5.** 'What is home' exhibition showing the passport of Jewish migrant Sarah Levy's identity book – photos author's own)

The cabinet includes many objects that immigrants brought with them when they came to Britain, as well as travel cards and visas (see **figure.5.**). Any visitor would agree that moving home to "find work" is not really comparable with moving home "to escape persecution and war". In Chapter One I cited Novik (1994) amongst others, to suggest that grouping together historical events, such as those depicted in the *What is home*? exhibition, devalues the uniqueness of each event. Geismar (2015) has argued that certain museum spaces have served to bring together quite disparate groups under commonly shared themes or experiences, however, Young, deconstructs such notions by claiming that thy represent the "illusion of common memory" (Young, 1993: 06). This exhibition also serves to contrast the innate hospitality of Liverpool with the "terrible discrimination" (see **figure.6.**). that Jews faced in Russia. There is nothing in the exhibition to suggest that Eastern European Jewish immigrants were unwelcome in the UK (see Kushner, 2004), and the only discrimination by the local communities that *is* shown, is that of the established Anglo Jewish community (see **figure.6.**). Rand notes that a similar technique has been used in museums in the United States where they have converted "…the traumatic experiences of migrants at Elis Island into a nostalgic badge of genealogical pride for third-generations Americans" (Rand cited in Geismar, 2015:77).

(**Figure .6.** exert taken from the Jewish Community Trail leaflet)

From this analysis, it would seem that though the museum appears to demonstrate the multicultural essence of the city, it does so on its own terms, therefore demonstrating what Povinelli in her book *'The Cunning of Recognition'* refers to as the "monoculture of multicultural tolerance" (Povinelli, 2002:176). If we return to the idea of the museum as host, it would seem that this exhibition is an example of Simmel's *Door* (ibid), whereby the guest is invited but must adhere to certain terms as stipulated by the host.

(**Figure.7.** Sewing machine from Italian Jewish family – photo author's own)

Another object found in this exhibition case is a sewing machine owned by a family who had emigrated from Italy and had settled in Liverpool (see **figure.7.**). Though the leaflet (**figure.8.**) demonstrates why the family left Turin, it does not go into detail, and what could be understood as an individual event is in fact an example of antisemitism which, as I showed in the preceding chapter, is not unique to one singular time and place. The minimal description does not encapsulate the memories of Jewish migration, as discussed in the first chapter, nor does it tell the visitor why the family choose to bring a heavy sewing machine with them on their travels. In short, the *agency* of the objects has been curtailed (Van Eck, Versluys & Ter Keurs, 2015) to suit the narrative that the museum wishes to express.

But other stories could be drawn from this object. Presumably the family formed part of the Brownlow Hill Jewish community where families, due to economic hardship and poor levels of English, often created small business within their own homes, to sustain themselves (Swerdlow, 2007). This is pure speculation and based on knowledge that I have gathered elsewhere and *not* from the little knowledge provided in the trails at the Museum of Liverpool.

(**Figure.8.** *extract taken from the Jewish Community Trail leaflet*)

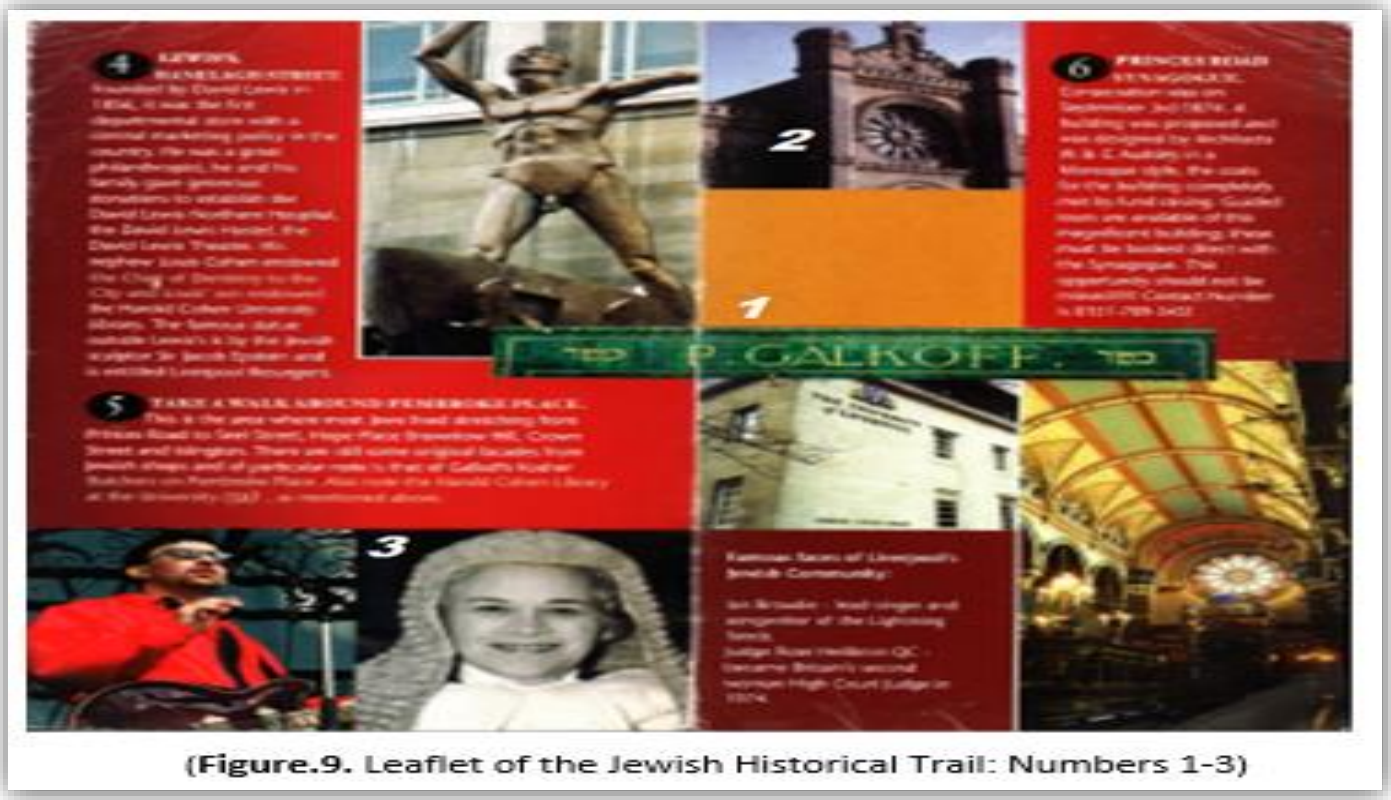
Unlike in the Jewish Historical Trail which is keen to depict the, to use Bernard's words, the "Fiddler on the Roof" Brownlow Hill community (see number 1 (in white) – Galkoff Butcher shop sign on Brownlow Hill **figure.9.**), there is *very little* representation of the Brownlow Hill community in the Museum of Liverpool. So why has the museum chosen not to present the Brownlow Hill community to the wider public?

Perhaps there was limited space? Perhaps they had no objects to display?

One other possible answer would be that the Brownlow Hill community does not blend well with the ethos of multiculturalism and hospitality that the museum aspires to evoke.

In Chapter Two, I suggested that the Jewish Community Care organisation (MJCC), which was set up primarily to aid immigrant Jewish families, had a different ethos to the services provided by the state. As a result, despite the fact it wished "not to be a burden"(see Lisa Dolan's extract), it may very well have promoted hostility as a direct 'competitor' to state services – this would explain, in part, the defensive responses of some informants as I discussed in this chapter.

In short, the Brownlow Hill community is an example where the state was *not* integral in the assimilation process, and therefore representation of this community would be a counter argument, so to speak, to the "process of value formation" (Geismar, 2015:73) of the state-funded museum.



(**Figure.9.** Leaflet of the Jewish Historical Trail: Numbers 1-3)

Again, what is noticeable here is an unequal dialogue between the *host* (the Museum) and the guest (the communities depicted in the museum). The museum, in its quest to promote the ideal of Liverpool's charity and hospitality, is *unaccommodating* to ideas which do not fit into the story it wishes to present. This is well exemplified in one of the responses made by the curator:

"Objects are generally picked to illustrate the story that you want to tell"

But, objects do not simply tell one story (see Clifford, 1997; Van Eck, Versluys & Ter Keurs, 2015), as I have shown above. Moreover, objects acquire new meanings as they are transferred between different owners (Ter Keurs, 2011). Here, what the curator is unintentionally admitting, is the museum's role as a *social agent* (Gell, 1998) in its attempts to attribute certain objects with certain narratives. By placing the sewing machine in a cabinet with the title '*What is Home*?' it is promoting interpretations of hospitality, and by placing it among other migrant groups objects it is suggesting that each group is treated on equal terms, and, as I have shown in Chapter Two, this is simply *untrue*.

* * *

Another object which may be suggestive of the museum intentional or unintentional agency is the Torah decorations (see **figure.10.** and **figure.11.**). The Torah decorations are placed in the bottom corner of the display cabinet and are therefore quite unnoticeable. Though the description in the leaflet references the importance of the Torah it does not give any further details and its placement within the display cabinet does little to highlight its importance for Jewish people. What is more, the reference to the "first five books of the *Old Testament*" (see **figure.11.**) is a definitive Christian classification, this a particularly important observation because, as Navaro-Yashin (2009) notes, naming and classifying objects is by no means an apolitical or neutral endeavour. Consequently, the Torah scroll and its accompanying description portrays more of the relationships between the Jewish community and the museum creators rather than the material culture of the Jewish community itself, (see for comparison, Ter Keurs, 2011). The classification is also suggestive of the public which the museum wishes to address. I shall return to this point below.

(**Figure. 10.** Showing the Torah scroll Decorations – photo author's own)

I have said that there is an unequal dialogue between the *host* and *guest*, but that is not to say there is no dialogue. Indeed the curator, when I spoke to her, was very keen to stress the cooperative role that the communities presented in the trails played:

"…it's important for us to work with someone of the community to make sure that the trail is giving that own-view information and represent the most important objects because not everything is on the trail, we don't have enough room for that!"

Though I observed that members of community have been actively involved, many informants whose stories are told in the museum were either unaware, disinterested or highly critical. When I showed Sarah and Bernard Michaelson, the information regarding their family-run famous shop *Hessie's,* Michael looked at it for a moment before concluding:

"Yeah, well that's factually wrong…I don't know who put that together…anyway, it's near enough"

(**figure.11** *extract taken from the Jewish Community Trail leaflet*)

Bernard's response draws into question the "*own-view information*" that the curator praises and suggests that such methodologies are gestures, rather than realities. If the museum really did want to collaborate with members of the community, Bernard would have been an obvious choice for gaining information on *Hessie's*. Clifford (1997) refers to the museum as a 'contact zone' where contentious and collaborative relations between curators and the communities they wish to represent are played out. He argues that it would be unrealistic to assume that everyone in the community be involved in the selection process, with this in mind the curator's point above is valid. But, who draws the boundaries and where are they placed?

Geismar has demonstrated how the collaborative approach favoured in contemporary museum spaces has allowed minority groups to express themselves through their objects on display, however she also notes that this is still within a framework created and sustained by the nation-sate (2015).

Kirshenblaat-Gimblett summarises this apparent hypocrisy well by observing: "inclusions within the collection or within the space of display is one thing. Inclusion within the very infrastructure of the institute is quite another," (Kirshenblaat-Gimblett, 2006:376). So, why have the Jewish community been excluded from the infrastructure of the museum?

JEWISH STARS

The community trails makes use of public figures in the Jewish community. It ranges from internationally famous characters such as Frankie Vaughn (see **figure.12.**), and Brian Epstein, to more locally-known characters such as David Lewis and *Dafna Cheesecake Factory* owner Anne Lev (see **figure. 13.)**. When I asked the curator how these characters' stories had been utilised in the trails she responded:

"using people's stories helps you to relate to another person individually, even though you might see this certain community as very different and distinct to yours and not have anything in common, but it's those personal experiences and the personal objects which help tell that story and it really helps people commit on a different level and think that they're not so different to other people"

Once more this is an admirable notion, however if we compare and contrast the famous characters shown in the museum with those shown in the Jewish Heritage Trail (see **figure. 9.**), we can observe the *agencies* involved in the representation process and the different narratives that are prioritised.

In the Jewish Heritage Trail two characters are depicted which are noticeably absent from the trails at the museum: *Harold Cohen* and *Judge Rose Helibron*. Rose Helibron is a particularly well-known and cherished character in the history of Liverpool's Jewish community as Bernard Michaelson told me as we sat in his living room:

"The very first person to become a woman judge built this house"

Helibron is obviously an integral character in Liverpool Jewry's history but her absence in the trail prompts questions that I shall discuss below. Other important Jewish political figures, like Charles Mozley, *are* present in the trail (see **figure.14.**) but again the descriptive text misses one very important piece of information. The appointment of Charles Mozley as Major of the city and the seven other Jewish mayors mentioned, is by itself an incredibly achievement with regards to the relative size of the Jewish community (Swerdlow, 2007).

But what is most impressive from a Jewish perspective, is that Jews were only allowed to hold public office in the UK since the mid-1800s. Charles Mozley's appointment in 1863 therefore was an impressive feat not least because of the anti-Semitic protests which accompanied his new appointment (Wolfman, 2014).

(**Figure.12.** Photo of display case showing the hat worn by Frankie Vaughn -Photo author's own)

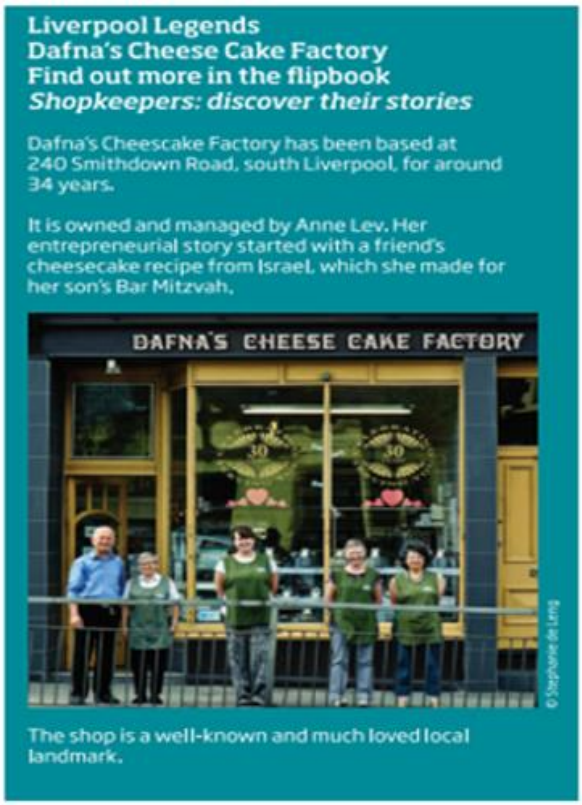


Figure.13. Exert taken from the Jewish Community Trails Leaflet – showing Anne Lev and her husband Jacov outside their shop: *Dafna Cheesecake Factory*.

The absence of Rose Helibron in the trail as well as the lack of contextualisation of Charles Mozley's appointment as Mayor of Liverpool, again might suggest that these stories, formed as protest against anti-Semitic discriminative political policies, are incongruent with the image of hospitality upon which the museum is founded. The museum as *host* has barred its doors from the arrival of such unwelcome narratives. If we return to Nora's notion of *History*, mentioned in Chapter One, it would seem that the museum has manipulated historical events to compliment its narrative of the present. Something which Mskell argues, is common in museum representation: "all heritage work essentially starts from the premise that the past is contested, conflictual and multiply constituted" (Mskell cited in Geismar, 2015:72).

The showbiz section of the museum, mentioned above, has a feel of nostalgia, and one cannot help thinking that perhaps the Merseybeat music in the Black Community Trail and the prominent focus on the showbiz stars of the Jewish community detracts the visitors from the hidden narratives of a troubled past. Sodaro argues:

"The politics of nostalgia is today's antidote to regret. If societies must come to terms with the negative past in order to adhere to the international normative demands of today, they can soften the shame of regret with a dose of nostalgic remembrance" (Sodaro, 2013:88)

Alongside the bitter-sweet memories of nostalgia is a prominent use of the narrative past in most of the texts accompanying the objects in the trail. This is suggestive of a *History* that is no longer, despite the fact that, in the words of the curator, the Jewish Community Trails:

"Wants to celebrate the contribution but also to highlight the continued presence in the city and the continued contribution that the community is giving to the city"

When I showed the community leaflet to a group of children at an after school club at the King David, they were very critical and the lady who runs the club pointed at the leaflet and asked:

"…the only shul they show is the one that's closed down. We've got plenty of others that are open, why did they show that one?"

In the leaflet (see **figure.15.**) it states that the synagogue has been deconsecrated, but why not show the more spectacular Princes Road Synagogue or the community's most popular current synagogue in Childwall, both of which are present in the Jewish Heritage Trail?

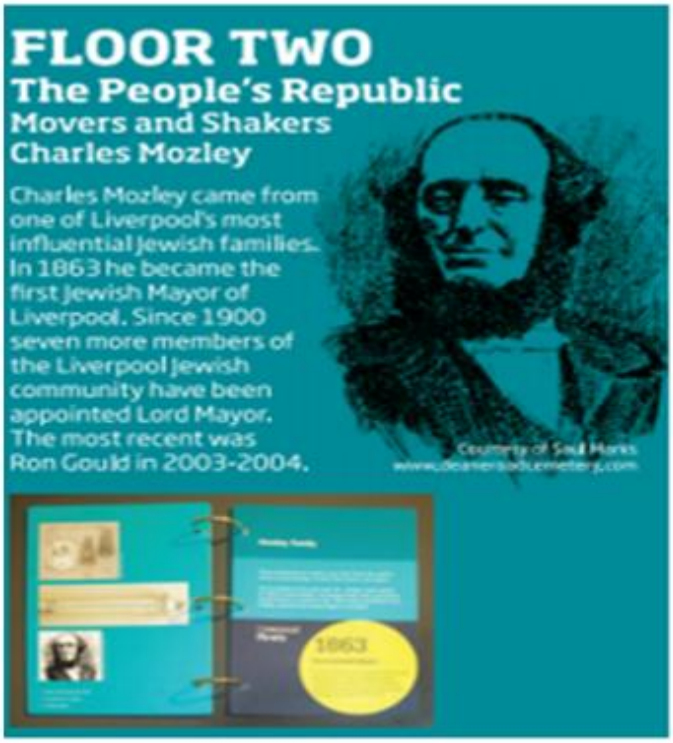


Figure.14. Exert taken from the Jewish Community Trails Leaflet – describing the story of Charles Mozley.

(**Figure.15.** showing the leaflet and a recent photo of the deconsecrated Greenbank Lane Synagogue)

The Museum as a (Public) Space

A lot of the disinterest shown by my informants towards the Jewish Community Trail was because they felt it had nothing to do with them. Anne Lev, when I asked her about the trails brushed away my question by saying:

"It's for tourists"

And when I asked Saul Marks how the Jewish community represents itself to the wider public he replied:

"in some ways we try not to […]we have a few events in the year which are well-publicised most notably Holocaust memorial day and the lighting go the communal Hanukah on the St George's Plateau, so there are two or three occasions when the Jewish community does stick its head above the parapet and say look we're here and this a community event for the Jewish community, run by the Jewish community, it highlights the Jewish community here, and we tend to receive reasonably positive responses to that "

Saul's use of the wording "stick its head above the parapet" is reflective of some of the discreet practices of Jewish life that mentioned in the previous chapter and that come as a direct response to antisemitism. Moreover, Saul's response reflects the community's general wariness towards public institution which they feel do not necessarily reflect the values of their own community (see Chapter Two). Although my informants often expressed ambivalence towards the community trails, it would be misleading to assume that they did not *care* about the trails, indeed, as I have shown, many members of the community were actively involved in their creation. However, most informants agreed that the museum was not created with the Jewish community in mind. So, if the museum does not serve the Jewish public of Liverpool, who is the museum aimed at? Who is the museums' public? When I asked members of the public they tended to be tourists but also a few local people as well. One man whom I spoke with outside the museum told me:

"The purpose of the museum is to show the history of Liverpool, not just for the tourists but also for the people who actually live here. There are quite a few people who are living here now and they have no idea what happened here in the past, so, from that point of view, it's a good measure….it's an attraction, whether it's the highlight. When people mention Liverpool it comes back to the Beatles doesn't it?"

Another couple from near Birmingham, echoed the man's opinion by saying:

"It was all great, it needed a bit more about the Beatles though."

With this in mind, it is not surprising that the museums curators choose the more approachable and entertaining topics like sport, film and music rather than the perhaps more challenging topics linked to immigration and the troubles it entails. Though the endless focus on the Beatles is somewhat crass and limiting, it *is* a popular opinion and, as Young argues, this must be recognised: "rather than patronising mass tastes, we must recognize that public taste carries weight and that certain conventional forms in avowedly public art may eventually have consequences for public memory – whether or not we think it should" (Young, 1993:12). The museum has no doubt taken into account the public's view as the curator's comment below demonstrates:

"…through consultations, we knew which objects were really popular with visitors and what they wanted to see, mainly from the previous museum Liverpool life…"

However, a public, as Warner argues, does not simply exist in a preordained naturalised form, it is created, indeed a public, to use Warner's wording, "exists by virtue of being addressed" (Warner, 2002:413). What is more, Warner argues that the addresser tries to pre-empt the appearance of the pubic it wishes to address and mimic its world in the form of how it addresses the members. If we take Warner's approach and analyse the museum relationship with its public we could argue that the museum forms a passive, uncritical public which simply wants to be entertained. Indeed, the museums builds in so much "noise" (Spyer & Steedly, 2013), into the exhibitions that the visitor is blown away in a whirlwind of entertainment and has little time to contemplate any of the deeper truths that are hidden amongst all the multimedia sounds and visual effects. Perhaps this is the point? Perhaps the museum does not want the visitor to contemplate on the history of the city, but simply to passively surrender to the onslaught of media entertainment? Museums must demonstrate the unexpected if they are to prompt contemplation (Van Eck, Versluys & Ter Keurs, 2015), however, with well known 'Jewish' themes like migration and enterprise, the museum does little to provoke the unexpected and therefore visitors are not encouraged to delve deeper. The question then occurs: is the museum fighting against ignorance, or in fact encouraging it through inaction?

If this is the case, then it makes the points I made above even more poignant, as the museums would not only be attempting to hide uncomfortable past narratives but it would also be actively discouraging critical interpretations and this has far wider reaching consequences. As Povinelli (2002) shows, multiculturalism is *made* and exhibitions and their role in influencing popular opinions can have a formative role in this process, as the informants' responses of Schorch's (2013) work show.

The Limits of Museum Representation

Using arguments made in the proceeding chapters, above I have noted examples of different interpretation of the objects on display in the museum. Nora describes public commemorations as "cold" and "solemn" (ibid) and the same could be said of museums, despite attempts to promote personal stories museums are by nature, an institutionalised and impersonal space. In other words, museums, like all forms of representation, have their limits. Below I shall relate a story told to me by Ruth Edwards which I believe well exemplifies the boundaries of museum representation.

I spoke to Ruth Edwards, a *Kindertransportee*, for over an hour in her sitting room. She spoke to me of her childhood in Vienna and her travels to the UK as a young girl. When describing Vienna, she adopted a blissful, almost melancholic tone, *"all this was before Hitler of course",* she repeatedly constantly. Ruth told me that when they had taken her father away her mother told her: "*they didn't throw him down the stairs, they walked down the stairs, one in front, one behind*", later, before her mother was taken away, Ruth was sent to safety on a train carrying a suitcase that her mother had packed for her. Ruth told be in finite details what she was wearing the day she left, unnecessary information perhaps, but not for someone whose memories and grief paint with such vivid accuracy. When she at last arrived in Britain, and made her way to her aunt's house where she would stay until the end of the war and further, Ruth carried her suitcase up the seep staircase to the attack room where she would sleep. She lay the suitcase on the bed and began unpacking, *"two blue blouses, three pairs of stockings, a new pair of black leather shoes"*, the details all minutely described and then, as she pulled the bed linen from the case she felt something inside. Her mother had sewn in her jewellery,

cutlery and other precious objects into the fabric, away from the prying eyes of the border control officers. "*I still have this cutlery today*" Ruth told me pointing at the dresser in the dining room, "*and the bed linen that my mother gave me is folded in the cupboard upstairs*."

These objects of Ruth's are naturally incredibly important to her, and she promises to pass them on to her family accompanied by the stories of her parents and the guidance they provided, when she was far away from home. Silverstein attaches a lot of importance to objects as vessels of memory: "narratives link memory to property, indicating that it has the ability to spark the recollection of past events and emotions[…]ownership of property also entails a belief in its transgenerational properties, i.e. its ability to be passed on to one's heirs" (Silverstein, 2003:142). With Silverstein's arguments in mind and in light of the arguments made in the proceeding chapters, one must ask: could the sentiments attached to the objects in Ruth's story ever be adequately translated to a museum public?

Meeting Halfway

Above I have described the museum as an unequal host who like Simmel's *Door* restricts entry to those who do not form part of the desired narrative and for those who it does welcome it does so in a highly politicised, restricted environment. But are there no examples of the host and guest meeting halfway across Simmel's *Bridge?* Many of the informants praised the museums for simply showing the public that a Jewish community exists in Liverpool. David Coleman told me:

"I knew there was a trail but I wasn't aware of it because…it's more for the tourists, but, I think it's great because it promotes the Jewish community, it promotes the Jewish community of Liverpool, and if it might just make someone think that's a great place to live, then…even better"

David's comment is similar to many other expressed by informants: they are happy that there is some representation but they are well aware of its shortcomings and indeed the overall limitations of public museum designed for tourists. This is demonstrated in Arnold Lewis' comments of the trail:

"It's a good first effort, I'd like to see more…I've been asked to be involved in improving it and extending it"

It must also be noted that the Museum of Liverpool is *not* a Jewish Museum. Unlike the Jewish Museum in Manchester, which aims to demonstrate Judaism and Jewish culture to a predominantly non-Jewish clientele, there are no overt attempts by the Museum of Liverpool to dispel prejudices towards minority groups through educational means. As the comments above suggest, there is a limit to the museum's potential and though this does not necessarily excuse the methodologies that may be interpreted negatively, especially by members of the Jewish community, it is not altogether unsurprising.

In this chapter I have argued that by demonstrating to the public that the Jewish community exists in Liverpool and engaging in dialogue with members of the community the museum, as a host has shown that it is willing to accept the Jewish community (as a guest) on equal terms. However, when the trail is analysed within the broader context of other exhibitions and when one analyses the hidden and absent objects and narratives, one can see that the relationship on the whole is generally unequal. But, the Jewish community, as Arnold's comment above suggests, does have hope for the future. I began this chapter by referencing Lermontov's poem where he describes the sword as a "harmless trinket" (ibid) hanging on the wall. I would like to build upon this metaphor in the concluding chapter by asking: to what extent do museums curtail stories and knowledge and can the themes of memory, trauma, migration, and antisemitism, as discussed in the previous chapters, ever be accurately expressed within a museum space?

CONCLUSION

THE NEXT CHAPTER

"You must know that there is nothing higher and stronger and more wholesome and good for life in the future than some good memory, especially a memory of childhood, of home. People talk to you a great deal about your education, but some good, sacred memory, preserved from childhood, is perhaps the best education. If a man carries many such memories with him into life, he is safe to the end of his days, and if one has only one good memory left in one's heart, even that may sometime be the means of saving us."

(extract taken from Dostoevsky's Brothers Karamzov)

At the end of life, what do we have? We have lost our health, our dignity, and many of us have even lost our minds. As we lay in the peaceful slumber that precedes death and we hear the voices of loved ones around us, what do we have except the memories of a life that is quickly draining away? And as we pass on, away from this world, what do we leave? Our body lies there, cold and silent, a discarded unrecognisable object lying there on the bed, and people place flowers beside us and they grieve and the tears wash away the pain, but something remains, as it always does. What is this? What do people have to sustain themselves later on, when all is gone? Memories.

I began this essay talking about memories as it is the foundation upon which we build our lives and I shall finish with the same vein in which I started, because, as Dostoevsky's quotation shows, memories are all that is left after we have gone. But memories are not static interpretations of a fixed moment in the past. Time never simply stops, and we can analyse an era of history no more adequately than we can the understand time itself. Memories, like migrants, have no fixed abode and their interpretation comes not within the boundaries of a nation-state, an ethnicity, and even less so a museum, but with movement and the crossing of such boundaries. Memories' meaning can only be interpreted when *in motion*.

This idea is best expressed in a story that Bernard Michaelson told me about a trip him and his wife Sara made in South Africa:

"….We stopped at a place called Oudtshoorn where Jewish people came from Europe round about 1890, and when they came to this little village, they had to go through mountain ranges and everything, and they came upon a whole little town, about five hundred people came and they came with the Rabbi and everything and they established, this was the first Jewish people in South Africa, they established a community with Oudtshoorn. And Oudtshoorn's main business was ostrich farming, and they had a population of a couple of thousand, and these Jewish people came through the mountain ranges, pushing barrows and horses – another Fiddler on the Roof thing – and they come and find the promised land here in Oudtshoorn. And in Oudtshoorn the ostrich farming was starting to die, but when the Jewish people came along they built up the whole business, because they all had relations in New York, London, Paris and they said: Ostrich, well I can send feathers here, I can send the leather here, we can cook this out of it…they had all sorts of recipes and it became a very prosperous place."

"Now, the reason I'm telling you this is because about eight years ago Sara and I went with a couple of other people to visit the place and I knocked on the door on the Jewish school and said: "I'm Bernard Michaelson, I'm involved in the school in Liverpool and I'd like to meet your head teacher and meet some of

your pupils and see what sort of Jewish education is being taught" and the Lady said to me: "You're about 20 years too late, we don't have any Jewish children here, there's only a half dozen of Jewish people in the whole of Oudtshoorn" and I said: "but it's a Jewish school", "oh yes" she said, "but the Jewish people put a lot into this city and we respect them for that" she said, "this will always be a Jewish school" and she said "you should go to the Jewish museum down the road." So we went about three hundred yards down the road to the Jewish museum, and the Jewish museum is built right around the old Jewish synagogue, and everywhere it's got: "bless the Jewish people for coming to Oudtshoorn in 1890" and "without them people would have starved" and they've got photographs all over, and there's one photograph and it just looks like my mate, a fellow called Neville Lipkin, picture of a Rabbi – looks like my mate, turned out to be his grandfather!"

"So when I came back and told him he said "I know", it's the spitting image of him. And I said to myself, I said: even when the schools go in Liverpool, hopefully people will recognise it, to get back to your point: do the people know about the Jewish contribution in Liverpool, well, do they? One of the main hospitals in Liverpool was the Northern Hospital, it's been pulled down now, people wouldn't know about it, but that was a very important institution built with the funds of the Jewish community." As Michael finished his story I asked: *"does that make you sad: that the community went there and left, or do you think it's just part of the bigger story?" "I think it's part of the Jewish story".* He replied, *"you've heard that phrase: the wandering Jew? That's what it is. They never settle, unless they settle in Israel, because in the Bible it says that eventually everyone will go back to Israel."*

* * *

Bernard' story takes place in a small town in South Africa, yet, with a few alterations, it could quite easily have taken place in Liverpool or indeed any other place in which Jews have lived and have passed through. I began this essay by asking whether it would be possible to define the term: *The Jews of Liverpool*, I end by asking: for what purpose would this serve? Interestingly, Bernard, like Johnny Cohen in the second chapter, makes direct comparison between the Jewish community of Liverpool and those elsewhere and this is important as it suggests that by attempting to define my research population as something affected by the social, cultural and political locations in which it is situated (see Gupta & Fergusson, 1997), I may, in the name of scientific objectivity, ignore the ways that my informants wish to express themselves. By quoting Bernard's story in full I have chosen to adopt a technique of "plural authorship" (Clifford, 1983:140) whereby my agency as a writer is minimalised and the informant is expressed in a way which evokes multiple interpretations by the reader. The use of Clifford's' (ibid) polyphonic technique, that I have used throughout my text, compliments the arguments I make below.

The Jewish story is one of migration. To reduce this story to one singular time or place is to refute the very essence of the Jewish character. Yet in the museum, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, what we see are examples of static time, decontextualized stories selected to serve the purpose of the museum's narrative. There is no cross-reference to similar stories from Jewish history and uncomfortable topics such as antisemitism and the failings of the state towards newly arrived immigrants are entirely avoided and covered over in the warm and secure blankets of nostalgia. But, why does the museum rely on nostalgic narratives of a past that never was? Because the stories of 'real events' would interfere with the harmonious present narrative of hospitality. From a Jewish perspective this is unacceptable, suffering is formative part of the Jewish experience and it *must not* be forgotten. But why? Why do the Jews continuously lament the persecution they have suffered and their years of exile in foreign lands? Contrary to popular belief, it is not simply a drawn out self-obsession, in fact, it is not an entirely 'Jewish problem' at all. The ritual of Passover, played out every year is to remind the Jews of the bitter taste of slavery for, as Sacks (2002) explains, the Jews must "learn from the inside and never lose the memory of what it feels to be an outsider, an alien, a stranger" (59). Memory, in this sense, is played out, not resigned and confined to a cold glass box in some museum.

The museum cherry-picks parts of history which it deems acceptable to its narrative, this is understandable: every argument is formed via a process of careful selection, however, by grouping the migrant stories together in one exhibition, it reduces historical narratives to one universalized story and this does *not* reflect how the Jewish community wishes to remember their own history of migration. In the museum all migrants are therefore the same, they are all willing recipients of the charitable hospitality shown by Liverpool and they have all come from inhospitable and uncivilized places which do not share the same values. But, as I have argued in the previous chapters, does this not simply devalue the uniqueness of each migrant's story?

Though the museum does utilise personal stories to 'bring to life' the objects they display, the narratives that they prioritise are often brief and curtailed. It could therefore be argued that the museum is attempting to *tame the agency* of the objects (Van Eck, Versluys & Ter Keurs, 2015) to fit in with the narratives of hospitality

of the museum. What is more, as I also argued in this chapter, due to the extensive built in "noise" of the exhibitions and its confusing and tiring layout, the museum is not only attempting to minimalize the scope of interpretations but it is also wishes to dissuade interpretation all together. The museum therefore may be seen not to be a place where the quest for learning is promoted but rather a "house of confinement" (Foucault, 1965), which promotes certain narratives whilst hiding others. If we return to Nora's (1989) argument, we can see that history's suspicion for memory due to its spontaneity, fluidity and its inability to be confined to a certain time and place, almost identically mirrors what the taming of agency in the museum objects, as discussed above, wishes to eradicate. Therefore, though the museum does make use of memory in particular objects, Nora (1989) refers to this as *lieux de memoire,* it does so in a highly restrictive way. In fact, the use of *lieux de memoire* and the supposed collaboration of the groups involved in the trail does much to mask the political agency of the museum itself.

* * *

The lady's remark that I quoted in the second chapter: "*we are a minority amongst minorities*" is not simply a testament to the relative size of the Jewish population in comparison to other groups, but an assertion that Jews are representative of *the other*. But this is not some essentialised categorization process where the 'same size fits all' ideas apply, but one that promotes peculiarities precisely because they *are peculiarities*. Sacks (2002) argues that one of the fundamental differences between Jewish thought and that of the other monotheist world religions, is that Judaism, unlike the others, does not strive for one universal whole where everyone shares the same values. On the contrary, Judaism promotes the idea of difference and of diversity and does not strive for universality in the sense of common beliefs, or even common values, but on the premise of a shared humanity (ibid). Sacks (2002) refers to this idea as *The Dignity of Difference.* Though his is a theological argument, it stands for religious and secular Jews alike because Jews, as a minority living in the diaspora, are representative of difference regardless of choice. Therefore, from a Jewish perspective, reducing individual stories into one exhibition serves to undermine the uniqueness of each group of peoples and thus to abandon *the other* altogether. This is why the MJCC, discussed in Chapter Two, is fundamental to the Jewish community in Liverpool, not because it is attempting to overrun or outcompete state services, but because it provide a service for the Jewish people which has a '*Jewish ethos*'.

In a way, the Jewish community does not require any state or institutionalised form of representation at all. Perhaps this explains the ambivalence shown by many of my informants towards the trails. One of the most fruitful discussions I had with my informants was one I had with a group children at the *Merseyside Jewish Girls and Lads Brigade* (JLGB)*,* and what was most useful about the responses I gathered here was their simplicity and direct tone. When I asked the question: i*s it important that visitors to Liverpool learn about the Jewish community of the city*? A pair of boys scribbled in the box:

"No. They don't need to know."

Other responses echoed that of the boys. Interestingly though, from the same group of Jewish children responding to the question: *if a Jewish Museum were to be built in Liverpool, would you help with its creation*? Many replied in the affirmative. Theses comments suggest that whilst the Jewish community does not actively seek to present itself to the non-Jewish public, if it does so, then it would like to do so on Jewish terms. I have no doubt that some readers will, once more, jump to conclusions depicting the exclusivity and even the arrogance of the Jewish community. But such argument serve only to ignore the deeper message.

Whilst writing up my thesis I went to speak to a Rabbi and he raised some interesting points as regards to Jewish representation to the wider public. He explained to me that people who had created a local exhibition to educate people on different groups' religious practices, had shown concern over the Jewish community's general ambivalence towards the project. "*Why?"* he asked, "*why do I need to know about these other religions? It makes no difference to whether I appreciate these individuals on a personal, human level*." "*And what if I learn about these ways of doing things and I don't like them, what then?"* he asked, "*do I then dislike these people because of what they practice regardless of my own interpretation of who they are?"*
The Rabbi raises a very interesting point, but, of course, for many, this is also quite an unsettling notion. For the Museum of Liverpool which, as I have demonstrated, wishes to portray a united and harmonious present, the idea that certain groups who are involved in the trails may appear to show ambivalence towards the exhibition, is an uncomfortable proposition. Why? Because not only does it bring into question the notion of cooperation with minority groups it also, as a direct consequence, unveils the political agency of the museum

itself and prompts the question: if the communities displayed in the museum are not representing themselves, who is representing them and why?

This is perhaps why the 'problem groups': The Irish, the Blacks and the Jews, are all minimally represented in the museum as they offer an alternative narrative which is too disruptive. What is more, their representations, through the museum's skilful manipulation of light and shadow (Nora, 1989), discourage further probing from the visitor and result in a comfortable, blissful ignorance on behalf of the visitor. Smith argues that the reason museums are seen to be so trustworthy is because they reaffirm our identities by reiterating "*known knowns*" (2015: 479). Museums therefore, do not educate as such, but rather play off 'natural', uncontested 'knowns', it is here where lies the authoritative role of classification that I mentioned in the second chapter. Consequently, learning about *the other* through the highly subjective gaze of the museum naturally only prompts questions such as: why are they not more like me? Why are they so different? Why should I show hospitality towards something I do not know? In other words the museum does not promote us to understand the groups on their terms, but rather on the generally accepted terms with which we are already familiar.

But who decides what is 'known'? This question is not unique to the museum and could be more broadly directed at theories discussed in previous chapters: who decides the content of Nora's *History?* Who decides on the 'cultural norms' of Stolcke's *Cultural Fundamentalism?* Who decides that it is natural to be inhospitable towards the stranger as in *Everyday Racism?* It would be impossible to answer such questions in any definitive or meaningful way, however, if the image of the Wandering Jew is merely a point of interpretation, could the same not be said of all the other theories discussed above? It is up to the individual to form their own interpretation.

If we return to the two act of Divine Hospitality that I demonstrated in the third chapter, what is most powerful about these stories is their rarity, they are individual acts played out against a tide of "known knowns", they are individual thoughts opposed to a collective thought tin those particular situations that stifles such ideas. "Do you know why the Jews are always persecuted?" the protagonist asks in Stefan Ruzowitzky*'s* film *The Counterfeiters,* "because they refuse to adapt!" (2007: 8:41). The Jews represent the other, why? Because they never forget and encourage others not to forget what it is to be *a stranger in a strange land.*

* * *

In my study I have quoted religious Jews, secular Jews, Jews who are affiliated with the wider Jewish community, Jews who have no connection with the community at all and have grown up in Christian or secular environments, yet despite this, they all form part of a story which goes far beyond the geographical limitations of Liverpool where I conducted my study, as Bernard's and Johnny's stories show. Thornton (1988) argues that the ethnographer can only ever experience a small part of a society and in order to imagine the greater whole, one must employ an "ethnographic trope" (ibid) when writing. Below, I make use of an ethnographic trope by means of conclusion.

A group of people come to a town. They have all come from different places, but they all share a similar story. They come to the town and quickly settle down, they start making small businesses and in time they become more prosperous and start adopting local customs. Yet they are an ambitious group and grateful for the hospitality they have received they wish to give back to the local community, and so they build schools, museums, businesses and hospitals and they integrate into all walks of life. A time comes, when members of the group decide to move on, and away from the town that they have called home for so many years. When the last member has gone, what is left? There is a school, a museum, houses, places of worship, but where are the people to populate them? What is left after they have gone? Memories. People remember that group of strangers, they remember that they were different, they remember that difference is good, they remember that difference can also lead to disagreements but most importantly they remember never to forget.

"In the last analysis, it is upon the individual and upon the individual alone that the constraint of memory weighs insistently as well as imperceptible. The atomization of a general memory into a private one has given the obligation to remember a power of internal coercion. It gives everyone the necessity to remember and to protect the trappings of identity; when memory is no longer everywhere, it will not be anywhere unless one takes the responsibility to recapture it through individual means"
(Nora, 1989:16)

Memory is passed down through generations, every generation has its own anxieties, its own struggles and obstacles and every memory has a way of overcoming such problems. Memories are migrants with no fixed abode, they wander across the dessert of history and where there is no life they plant a seed of hope, and when this seed has begun to flower, the memories then move on.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AJEX = Association of Jewish Ex-servicemen and women

AJR = Association of Jewish Refugees

CCJ = Council of Christians and Jews

ICCM = Irish Community Care Merseyside

JLGB = Jewish Girls and Lads Brigade

Kaddish = Hebrew prayer for the dead.

Kindertransport = transport sent from the UK to collect Jewish refugee children during WWII (see end notes Chapter one)

Kindertransportee = someone who came to the UK on the Kindertransport

King David's = Jewish primary and secondary school in Liverpool

Kosher = food prepared within Jewish dietary laws (informal usage: genuine or legitimate)

Matzos = unleavened bread eaten during the festival of Passover

Mezuzah = container fastened to the outside of Jewish homes containing a blessing

MJCC = Merseyside Jewish Community Care

Pesach = Passover

Shabbat = Sabbath

Shema = Hebrew prayer recited in the morning and evenings

Shul = synagogue