



International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (Ed.)

Research in Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

A Dialogue Beyond Borders

Edited by Monique Eckmann, Doyle Stevick
and Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs



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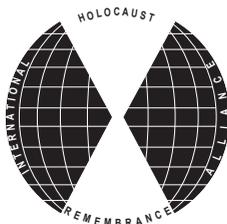
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Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust

The members of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance are committed to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, which reads as follows:

1. **The Holocaust (Shoah) fundamentally** challenged the foundations of civilization. The unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning. After half a century, it remains an event close enough in time that survivors can still bear witness to the horrors that engulfed the Jewish people. The terrible suffering of the many millions of other victims of the Nazis has left an indelible scar across Europe as well.
2. **The magnitude of the Holocaust**, planned and carried out by the Nazis, must be forever seared in our collective memory. The selfless sacrifices of those who defied the Nazis, and sometimes gave their own lives to protect or rescue the Holocaust's victims, must also be inscribed in our hearts. The depths of that horror, and the heights of their heroism, can be touchstones in our understanding of the human capacity for evil and for good.
3. **With humanity still scarred** by genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, antisemitism and xenophobia, the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils. Together we must uphold the terrible truth of the Holocaust against those who deny it. We must strengthen the moral commitment of our peoples, and the political commitment of our governments, to ensure that future generations can understand the causes of the Holocaust and reflect upon its consequences.
4. **We pledge to strengthen** our efforts to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust, both in those of our countries that have already done much and those that choose to join this effort.
5. **We share a commitment** to encourage the study of the Holocaust in all its dimensions. We will promote education about the Holocaust in our

schools and universities, in our communities and encourage it in other institutions.

6. **We share a commitment** to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to honour those who stood against it. We will encourage appropriate forms of Holocaust remembrance, including an annual Day of Holocaust Remembrance, in our countries.
7. **We share a commitment** to throw light on the still obscured shadows of the Holocaust. We will take all necessary steps to facilitate the opening of archives in order to ensure that all documents bearing on the Holocaust are available to researchers.
8. **It is appropriate** that this, the first major international conference of the new millennium, declares its commitment to plant the seeds of a better future amidst the soil of a bitter past. We empathize with the victims' suffering and draw inspiration from their struggle. Our commitment must be to remember the victims who perished, respect the survivors still with us, and reaffirm humanity's common aspiration for mutual understanding and justice.

About the IHRA

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) unites governments and experts to shape and advance Holocaust education, remembrance and research world-wide, to speak out on Holocaust related issues including antisemitism, and to uphold the commitments of the 2000 Stockholm Declaration.

The IHRA (formerly the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, or ITF) was initiated in 1998 by former Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson. Persson decided to establish an international organization that would expand Holocaust education worldwide, and asked President Bill Clinton and former British Prime Minister Tony Blair to join him in this effort. Persson also developed the idea of an international forum of governments interested in discussing Holocaust education, which took place in Stockholm between 27 and 28 January 2000. The Forum was attended by twenty-three Heads of State or Prime Ministers and fourteen Deputy Prime Ministers or Ministers from forty-six governments.

The Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust was the outcome of the Forum's deliberations and is the foundation of the IHRA. The IHRA currently has thirty one Member Countries, eleven Observer Countries and seven permanent international partner organizations. Membership is open to all countries, and members must be committed to the Stockholm Declaration and to the implementation of national policies and programs in support of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research.

Member Countries are encouraged to develop multilateral partnerships and to share best practices. The national government of each Member Country appoints and sends a delegation to IHRA meetings that is composed of both government representatives and national experts. In addition to the Academic, Education, Memorials and Museums, and Communication Working Groups, specialized committees have been established to address antisemitism and Holocaust denial, the situation of the Roma and the genocide of the Roma, and comparative genocide studies. The IHRA is also in the process of implementing Multi-Year Work Plans that focus on killing sites, access to archives, educational research, and Holocaust Memorial Days.

The IHRA has an annually rotating chairmanship, and the appointed chair is responsible for the overall activities of the organization. The Chairmanship is supported by the Executive Secretary, who is the head of the Permanent Office located in Berlin. The IHRA also has an Honorary Chairman, Professor Yehuda Bauer, and an Advisor to the IHRA, Professor Steven Katz.

One of IHRA's key roles is to contribute to the funding of relevant projects through its grant strategy. The purpose of the Grant Programme is to foster international dialogue and the exchange of expertise, increase government involvement in program creation, and support projects with strong multilateral elements in order to create sustainable structures for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research.

Preface

In the year 2000 in Stockholm, Heads of State, Prime Ministers and Ministers from more than forty-six governments came together because they understood the importance of education about the Holocaust. Indeed, it is the responsibility of governments to ensure the broad and appropriate education of their citizens, and all International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Member Countries should demonstrate a clear public policy commitment to Holocaust education at a senior political level.

But it is not enough just to be committed to education about the Holocaust. In order to conceptualize and deliver effective education, we must recognize that teaching and learning about the Holocaust will be strengthened by evidence-based practice. We must know what has already been done and what is being done. We must deconstruct commonly held preconceptions. We must reflect on different approaches in different national contexts.

It was with this objective in mind that the Education Research Project was founded in 2012 within the framework of the IHRA Multi-Year Work Plan (MYWP) projects. The MYWP was conceived to enhance cooperation and coordination between all IHRA bodies and ensure continuity between successive chairmanships. These longer-term projects aimed to advance the goals outlined in the Stockholm Declaration by strengthening efforts to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust and encouraging closer cooperation between experts and governmental representatives.

While considering whether the IHRA might wish to undertake its own empirical research study, it became clear to IHRA experts that there were no international overviews of the empirical research into teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Educational research on this topic stopped at national borders. The IHRA seized the opportunity to make a much needed and unique contribution to the fields of education research and teaching and learning about the Holocaust.

The IHRA, the foremost international network of political leaders and professionals advancing and shaping Holocaust education, proved to be uniquely placed to undertake this cross-border, cross-language research project. A multilingual research team worked under the guidance of a Steering Committee, composed of experts from the IHRA's three Working

Groups, to collect existing research and undertake a scholarly, critical review of a selected number of studies carried out in the field of Holocaust education. The project crossed not only language and disciplinary borders, but also borders of experience, examining various historical contexts, such as former Axis powers, Allied countries, occupied countries and neutral countries.

But this is a forward-looking research project, and this publication is only the beginning. Fostering exchange and dialogue between researchers, educators, funders and policymakers, the Education Research Project aims to inform strategic decision making, but it also offers itself as a platform to build on. It is an open call to researchers and governments to further develop this research: to learn more, to reflect more and to teach better.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Monique Eckmann, Chair of the IHRA's Steering Committee on Education Research, who worked tirelessly on this project over that last four years. I also extend my warm thanks to all members of her Steering Committee for supporting this endeavor: Cecilie Stokholm Banke (Denmark), Debórah Dwork (United States), Wolf Kaiser (Germany), Eyal Kaminka (Israel) and Paul Salmons (United Kingdom). With this publication, you have brought the IHRA one step closer to honoring its commitment, enshrined in the Stockholm Declaration, to promote education about the Holocaust in our schools, universities and communities.

Ambassador Mihnea Constantinescu
IHRA Chair

Foreword by the Editorial Board

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Education Research Project aims to provide an overview of empirical research on teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) with a cross-cultural and multilingual perspective. The project has implications for government policy, educational practice and further academic research. The outcomes include transferring knowledge between various regions and countries, intensifying dialogue between scholars and educational decision makers and enhancing networking among researchers.

To fulfill these aims, in 2012 the IHRA established a Steering Committee (SC) composed of IHRA delegates from the Education (EWG), Memorials and Museums (MMWG) and Academic (AWG) Working Groups. The SC included Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs (Poland, former AWG member), Debórah Dwork (USA, AWG), Wolf Kaiser (Germany, EWG), Eyal Kaminka (Israel, MMWG since 2013), Dorit Novak (Israel, AWG until 2013), Paul Salmons (UK, EWG) and Cecilie Stokholm Banke (Denmark, AWG) and was chaired by Monique Eckmann (Switzerland, EWG).

The SC composed a call for researchers with skills in a large range of languages of IHRA Member Countries in order to build a Multilingual Expert Team (MET) to review the literature. After running an open application process, the SC hired Monique Eckmann and Doyle Stevick (USA) as Leaders and Senior Researchers of the project, and Magdalena Gross (USA), Marta Simó (Spain), Mikhail Tyaglyy (Ukraine) and Oscar Österberg (Sweden) as members of the MET. In order to extend the scope of examined languages, Zehavit Gross (Israel) and Inger Schaap (Netherlands) were mandated to contribute to the project by searching for empirical research and providing an overview for Hebrew, Dutch and Flemish, respectively.

The SC delegated the publication process to the Editorial Board, but the members of the SC remained involved in every step of the research. Also, the SC wrote an executive summary of the study with the support of Floriane Hohenberg (Director of the International Tracing Service in Bad Arolsen), which contains recommendations to the stakeholders. Readers can find the executive summary at the end of this volume.

The MET worked for more than two years on a scholarly, critical review of a selection of 640 studies in fifteen languages, producing the twelve chapters that constitute this book, all under the constant guidance of the SC.

The present book is one part of a larger project. The Education Research Project includes, in addition to this publication, a set of eight bibliographies covering the fifteen languages, enriched with abstracts. These eight lists will appear separately on the IHRA website. In addition, before finalizing the texts of this book, in February 2016 the SC, in addition, with the University of Teacher Education in Lucerne, organized an international conference with 150 participants from forty countries, including researchers, educators, policymakers and funders.

The diversity of cultural and professional backgrounds among participants and the lively discussions that took place throughout the conference created a better mutual understanding between researchers, educators and policymakers. This corresponds exactly to the aims of the Education Research Project, and we hope that this publication will contribute to further exchange, discussion and cooperation.

The Editorial Board

Monique Eckmann, Doyle Stevick, Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs

Monique Eckmann and Doyle Stevick

General Introduction

1. The Purpose of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's Education Research Project

In the fifteen years since the founding of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), the field of teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) has progressively expanded and been professionalized, institutionalized and globalized. Professionalization has a double meaning: first, educators, who during the starting phase are often volunteers, become professionals; second, the settings of teaching and learning become progressively professionalized and the subject is incorporated into formal school programs through inclusion in the curricula and increasingly also in teacher-training institutions or universities' faculties of education. In many countries, initiatives begun by NGOs have been completed through state involvement, and the Holocaust has been progressively included in official curricula.

This means that many countries have experienced a shift from bottom-up civil society efforts to state commitment, which can involve mainstreaming or top-down action. This change has created a paradigm shift for educators in most IHRA countries, because they are no longer educating against the mainstream and challenging the official narrative, but are rather presenting a mainstream, official discourse. These trends have been accompanied by a rapid expansion of educational research on TLH and empirical research in the didactics of history and the social and educational sciences. Also, these developments have provided a sufficient foundation for scholars to conduct systematic reviews of research, including the excellent one by Simone Schweber (2011). But, as Schweber herself acknowledges, her review is "limited to publications in English, which regrettably excludes the works in other languages and gives it an Anglo-centric bias" (2011, p. 462).

Despite these promising developments, few links existed between the field of educational research and the IHRA Working Groups and Committees that developed educational proposals: the IHRA did not know enough about educational research, and research milieus do not know enough

about the IHRA. To address this deficit and develop a picture of this emerging field, in 2013 the IHRA decided to carry out a systematic review of the existing empirical research on TLH across Member Countries, whenever possible, as part of a Multi-Year Work Plan (MYWP). Hence, this MYWP's Education Research project aims to provide an overview of the state of research and of the knowledge produced by empirical research studies concerning TLH. The goal is to reveal what has been established by empirical research about the current state of education concerning the Holocaust, taking us beyond anecdotal experiences, moral arguments and normative and prescriptive texts in order to identify the key challenges and opportunities facing the field. This effort provides the IHRA with not only greater insight into existing practices than has previously existed, but also important insights into effective research methodologies and useful conceptual categories for future research.

A Multilingual Expert Team (MET) collected empirical research on TLH in fifteen languages and conducted a scholarly, critical review of a selection of these studies. The multilingual nature of the project is crucial because it enables both cross-cultural discussions and the transfer of knowledge between various regions and countries.

The main goals of this study are:

- to create a collection of research studies that is as complete as possible, and to make the information about these studies available to researchers and educators and the wider public;
- to provide a cross-language and international mapping of research on TLH, i.e. to overcome the above-mentioned Anglo-centric bias and reach out across a wide range of countries to examine an additional fourteen languages;
- to provide an overview of the state of research and of the knowledge produced concerning TLH; and
- to foster dialogue between researchers, educators and educational policymakers.

This study is an innovative effort: a search and review of scholarship like this across fifteen languages and spanning the globe has, to the best of our knowledge, never been attempted before, and it is precisely the task of an organization such as the IHRA to undertake such a project, which is at the core of what the IHRA hopes to foster: transnational, trans-lingual and multicultural cooperation.

2. The Diversity of Empirical Research on Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

Because this project aims to produce a critical academic synthesis of what has been investigated through publicly available empirical research on TLH, it is actually a secondary analysis or meta-analysis of existing studies, not a new research study in itself. It was decided to take into consideration all empirical studies we could locate, with a focus on recent work (particularly since the founding of the IHRA). It was also decided not to include prescriptive or normative writings, even though they are highly important. In other words, we examine studies of what is happening, rather than moral arguments about what should be happening. We found it quite fruitful to leave for once the field of prescriptive writings and look at descriptive studies, analytical work and systematic observations across narrow and broad scales.

“Empirical research” refers to studies that collect and analyze original data. We relied on the following conception of empirical studies: they are based on an explicit theoretical and methodological background, and they include a systematic and transparent approach to collecting and analyzing original data. When we speak of empirical research, we mean qualitative and quantitative studies, large- and small-scale studies and studies based on data from interviews, observations, questionnaires, documents and so on. We have focused on deliberate educational efforts, and not on broader cultural phenomena that shape perceptions of the Holocaust. The selected studies therefore address students’ and teachers’ knowledge and attitudes about the Holocaust, their interactions in the classroom and in special encounters and study trips to museums and memorial sites.

Research studies are distinct from evaluations, and they serve a different purpose. A typical evaluation tries to assess whether a specific intervention is successful in achieving its own goals. Such evaluations differ from research partly because they often do not engage with other research in the field, they are not made public and their findings do not produce transferable or general knowledge. They indicate whether a specific approach works in a given context. They have value, but they are necessarily beyond the scope of this effort.

This study is focused directly on teaching and learning. While the content of documentaries, films, curricula and textbooks is important, the exclusion of these types of materials derived from three major considerations. First, the processes of teaching and learning fall within the

specific domain of educational research. Second, particularly for English-language publications, this decision has enabled us to focus on our core concern: deliberate efforts to educate about the Holocaust. Third, we felt largely liberated from the task of reviewing research on textbooks and curricula, thanks to the excellent global study just published through the joint effort of UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute (Carrier et al., 2015). Their study will stand for many years to come, and rather than duplicate efforts, we find our projects to be deeply complementary.

Researchers dealing with TLH draw upon a wide range of theoretical and disciplinary backgrounds. The predominant field, known as the didactics of history—or history education or social studies methods—addresses history teaching and historical thinking and learning. Educational research scholars address the processes of learning, and social psychologists deal with issues of history and identity; they research situations in which learning about a hurtful past might be threatening for learners' identities. Researchers conduct surveys in order to measure knowledge or attitudes, and they may engage in ethnographic participant observation when investigating field trips to museums or memorial sites. In sum, they draw upon social science and educational research methods, and not the kinds of historical research that generally guide Holocaust studies.

Among the researchers dealing with TLH, there is a split between those who emerge from social science disciplines—particularly history—and those trained specifically in educational research. Much influential writing on Holocaust education has come from Holocaust historians, who have produced powerful critiques of the historical accuracy of textbooks and curricula. Expertise in educational research is not essential for such historical critiques. Historians tend to focus on issues of content; analyses and critiques of textbooks and curricula are thus relatively common in the field, and they began appearing soon after TLH emerged as an area of emphasis in educational systems. Educational researchers study the processes of teaching and learning; they may conduct studies similar to those above, but they also enter the classroom, observe instruction and teacher-student exchanges and conduct interviews with students and teachers. The field is certainly richer for this dialogue between historical experts and experts in teaching and learning.

Despite the growing volume of research on TLH, there are relatively few scholars who focus primarily or exclusively on this subject. Instead, the field has many contributions from researchers whose primary focus is a

discipline or a related subject: they research TLH because it is a case study of some other phenomenon of interest, such as globalization, controversial issues in the classroom, history didactics or museum studies. These contributions benefit the field of TLH, but we seek to create dialogue across both different languages and different disciplines.

The significant expansion of TLH research, and the growing number of young scholars who are contributing to the field, suggests that research in this field is no longer “in its infancy” (Schweber, 2011, p. 475). It still displays characteristics of fields that are early in their development. There are large gaps in documenting what is known. There is still a heavy emphasis on normative or advocacy literature. In some contexts, there are not yet many TLH practices to document. Much documentation is personal and reflective, based on experience, or simply descriptive. It contains a preponderance of qualitative research in order to document what is occurring on the ground. The field has been carried a long way by the enduring commitment of a small number of dedicated scholars. It is diverse rather than standardized.

The rich variety of approaches has produced many useful insights, concepts and typologies, but the field remains largely under theorized, and many of the assumptions underlying studies remain implicit rather than stated explicitly and tested against data. More expensive and complex quantitative studies that can make statistically representative claims for large populations remain relatively rare. The field remains in quite different states of development in different linguistic communities of scholars, and it lacks mature exchanges between those language communities. Despite these challenges, the trends are moving forward. The number of studies and scholars is increasing ever more quickly, suggesting that our knowledge and research will continue to grow rapidly.

3. Project Methodology, Steps and Products

Overview of the Main Steps

The first step consisted in identifying and collecting publications to evaluate whether they met our criteria for empirical research about deliberate educational efforts concerning the Holocaust, particularly since 2000, and to develop bibliographies that included the research publication’s abstract

(or, if unavailable, a summary composed by members of the research team). These bibliographies with abstracts provided the basis for composing the language chapters; with the bibliographies completed and the language chapters drafted, the research team was able to begin analyzing critical themes across languages.

The first phase of selecting and reviewing research revealed dramatic differences across language contexts and made it clear that there were many possible approaches to organizing the empirical literature. One possibility was to distribute the literature into five broad “M” categories: Methods (how teaching is conducted), Materials (including textbooks, films and documentaries, etc.), Measures (quantitative studies of inputs and outcomes), Meaning and Morals (interpretive studies of how meaning is constructed and how our moral views take shape) and Memorials and Museums (sites of deliberate learning outside of schools). For several reasons discussed above, as well as the desire to go into greater depth on fewer topics, the decision was made to focus primarily on teaching and learning, the project’s core concern. The second phase was thus focused on four topics: Learning and Students; Teaching and Educators; Intergroup Encounters; and Visits to Memorial Sites and Museums Sites.

The bibliographies with abstracts provided the foundation for a grounded theory approach to the empirical research available in each language, language family or language region. On the basis of these lists, the team produced a series of language chapters, which are discussed in more detail below.

The project has three major products:

1. The individual language bibliographies with abstracts¹
2. The language reports (chapters of the first section)
3. The thematic reports (chapters of the second section)

The process that guided the project is described in more detail below.

Locating and Abstracting Empirical Research in Each Language

The research team devised nine strategies to locate empirical research related to Holocaust education. These strategies had quite different levels of success in each language context. In Anglophone contexts, a great deal of research is available online through electronic databases, in peer-reviewed

1 See IHRA website www.holocaustremembrance.com

journals and through databases of theses and dissertations. Tools such as Academia.edu and Google Scholar could be useful as well, because they are building some common frames of reference, keywords (for example, Holocaust education) and indexing that facilitate searches.

In Europe, books and chapters in books continue to play a major role in academic culture, and they are often not abstracted, making it quite time-intensive to find, assess and summarize them. Personal contacts with individual scholars and research networks were quite helpful for many contexts, and researchers' physical presence made a significant difference, particularly in Ukraine and its environs.

Another challenge was that of terminology. It was not sufficient to simply apply the same search terms in multiple contexts. "Holocaust" is common in some contexts, while "Shoah" is preferred in others, for example. In addition, because TLH is often a specific case study within other research topics, such as historical learning in general or the role of memory in education, search terms focused on the Holocaust sometimes missed relevant studies. Further, titles are not necessarily transparent about whether publications are empirical or normative. These search strategies were conducted by one person or a team of two persons working in each specific language or group of languages. Of course, English is a special case, as it is the most commonly shared language among researchers. Although many studies are published in English, we found a large number of studies in languages such as German, French, Norwegian and Spanish.

In addition to focusing upon empirical research, we adopted as a general cut-off point the year of the founding of the IHRA. Because most TLH does not begin before the fifth grade, a school generation of children—students between the fifth and twelfth grades—cycles through the subject every eight years. Putting aside the typical delay between the gathering of data and the publication of results, the period between 1999 and 2014 thus covers two full school generations of students. We made selective exceptions for notable or influential studies, but generally stayed with studies from this millennium.

Through this process, the team identified roughly 640 research publications corresponding to roughly 370 separate research studies from the following language regions (arranged according to the numbers of separate studies). Two special cases are the English list, as the *lingua franca* for TLH, and the Hebrew list, which relates to the country with the most direct personal connections to the Holocaust.

Overview: (Approximate) Numbers of Publications and Studies

Language/region	Research publications (articles, books)	Number of separate research studies
German language	102	84
Polish language	47	40
French language	53	34
Nordic languages	36	28
Romance languages	75	19
East-Slavic languages (Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian)	62	15
English language	200 (ca 1/3 on Anglo-phone contexts)	100 (ca 35)
Hebrew (without English publications)	59	50
Other	5	5
Total	639	375

The number of publications is larger than the number of studies, because some studies are addressed in multiple publications, and sometimes in multiple languages. Within these eight groupings, a variable number of studies was found. There were not as many studies in English as one might expect. In general, the numbers would increase considerably if studies of textbooks and curricula were included. In some contexts, the numbers of studies are attributable to a relatively small number of very active scholars in the field. Nevertheless, we see an emerging common discourse within each of these regions.

► The first product of this project is the set of eight bibliographies, with abstracts of summaries in English that provide a small window into studies in all fifteen languages reviewed. These bibliographies can be consulted on the IHRA website (www.holocaustremembrance.com).

The Language Chapters

Despite the fact that the Holocaust has a shared impact and legacy in Europe, it seemed evident that different cultures interpret that history differently, using different terms and different discourses, and that these differences extend to researchers in TLH. Our first examination and insights in the field suggested to us that the questions, concepts and methods differ even between German, French and English, and seemed certain to differ in other languages as well. Further, it seemed that most discussions of TLH take place within these language communities or regions, rather than between them. This possibility led to the decision to write chapters not on separate countries, but on specific languages, which are often shared across the national boundaries of countries with quite distinct experiences of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

Individually or in pairs, the research team members examined the lists produced and wrote language chapters in order to contextualize and to map the identified research. In some cases, the research mostly aligned with a single country, as with Polish, but even in such cases the language chapters are not country reports, nor are they comprehensive representations of a single country. Rather, we have often had to provide territorial context, because most research in a given language references a small number of specific places. German, for example, addressed activity in Germany, Austria and parts of Switzerland, while French is relevant not just in France, Switzerland and Belgium, but also in Quebec, Canada. Thus, for example, the French-language chapter does not represent a geographical region, but a space of exchange among researchers. Spanish and Portuguese, in turn, are closer to a language family that can be read and shared in both the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America. This broad linguistic range allows an exchange of ideas within a shared language community and yet across broad territories and historical and cultural differences. It is this kind of exchange that we hope to extend with these language chapters.

Indeed, the language chapters reveal great differences across the contexts in which research is embedded. Of course, their experiences of the Second World War, the National Socialist regime and the Holocaust differ deeply between countries. But their post-genocide history differs as well, particularly regarding the history of memorialization and the culture of memory, the way countries and regions deal with the difficult past and how they take responsibility. These dimensions influence the way the

Holocaust is transmitted and the ways that researchers address the activities of teaching, learning and transmitting, whether in schools, memorials or museums.

The extent of empirical research in each academic culture also varies widely and is often a product of recent history. Countries that were part of the Soviet Union, where historical inquiry was suppressed, foreign research and media were kept out, survivors were unfree to publish memoirs and Jewish Holocaust victims were labeled simply as Soviet victims, were not in the same position to address the Holocaust as countries that had been fully democratic since the war. Other countries experienced authoritarian governments after the war. And many countries had a self-image as victims, or perhaps as rescuers or saviors.

For scholars who publish in multiple languages, which is a great challenge and an important contribution, we tried to address their work in the language in which the initial research was published and in the context they are studying. Such scholars often introduce articles relating specific aspects of the same research studies into another language's research community (often into English, sometimes German or French and more rarely other languages). We considered that working from the primary languages of such studies would bring us closer to their original conceptualization and data.

The varied extent of research in each context had important implications. For an extensive literature as in English, the research team had more freedom to focus on its specific target: empirical research on TLH. In other language communities, such as Spanish, there is less focus on students and teachers, and more on educational materials such as textbooks, films and graphic novels, as well as conceptual lenses, particularly around issues of memory.

In countries where there has not yet been much TLH, the first descriptive accounts of what is happening often come from teachers who document their own practices. We thus identified what seem to be three phases accompanying the emergence of TLH in different language communities. The first consists of normative literature arguing that the Holocaust should be taught, why and often how, as well as personal accounts of one's own practice, often anecdotal, less frequently systematic. From there, we begin to see empirical studies that focus on printed materials like curricula and textbooks (which are easy to acquire and "sit still" for convenient analysis). Then we begin to see studies of classroom practices.

► The second product is a set of eight language chapters, contextualized in their regional and national backgrounds.

Thematic Analysis and Chapters

The team then undertook a transversal thematic analysis in order to work out the main trends in research, the methods employed and the conclusions of the studies. These studies are of course not always comparable, given the variety of methodological approaches and contexts. The research reviews do not produce generalizations about universally valid best practices or great surprises that contradict commonly held perceptions in the field. Rather, their insights come in the form of nuances, patterns of thought, implicit assumptions, descriptions of what is occurring that fill gaps in the research and windows into how diverse societies struggle with difficult histories. They provide the basis for constructing high-quality research, and their primary contribution may lie more in providing us with questions than answers: a vast set of insightful questions and hypotheses is timeless, while the answers often change. In order to develop the lists from which articles would be selected for review, each individual who had developed a language corpus listed and selected the pieces that were particularly relevant, insightful or important in regard to the chosen themes. These suggestions were compiled into a thematic list. Those who were conducting the thematic analyses reviewed these new lists, but also read through all of the language lists to see if there were other studies that struck them as important. This means that each thematic chapter includes a mix of research studies that the authors could read on their own—which made deep, direct analysis possible—and studies for which they depended on other team members. This circumstance certainly impacted the final form of the studies, though we did our best to ameliorate this inevitable limitation through written discussions, guided inquiries and Skype discussions.

► The third output is a set of thematic analyses shaped in four thematic fields:

- Teaching the Holocaust
- Students Learning about the Holocaust
- Visits and Study Trips to Holocaust Memorials and Museums
- Intergroup Encounters in the Context of TLH

4. What Can Empirical Research on Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust Tell Us?

Scholarship on TLH is concerned with both solving practical problems and answering academic questions. The former involves issues of practice—“Which teaching methods are effective in specific countries or classrooms?”—and the latter questions that require an explanation—for example, “How do we explain the spread of TLH around the world?” and “How do we understand the reasons that TLH remains controversial in many places?” The interdisciplinary TLH research into classroom, museum and educational studies is thus conducted within two dominant research paradigms or ways of seeing and thinking about TLH. The first (positivist) paradigm is concerned with establishing causes; it addresses effectiveness, what works and what outcomes or effects certain methods or materials have. This approach aims to develop generalizable truth claims and is common in program evaluations and research intended to resolve practical issues; it often relies on quantitative data, but not exclusively. The number of large-scale quantitative studies remains small, and so therefore does our ability to make broad conclusions, which is one important reason that our ability to make confident claims or assertions about TLH in general remains quite limited.

The other paradigm—which we will call an interpretive paradigm—focuses on the goal of understanding; it explores how meaning is negotiated and constructed between diverse actors in specific cultural contexts. Qualitative and anthropological or ethnographic approaches are more common in this paradigm. At this stage in the development of TLH research, most studies fall within this interpretive paradigm. While there are still many undocumented areas in TLH research, the language chapters show that we have an increasingly good sense of what the major issues and specific challenges are across many contexts. Because TLH is neither a topic out of history nor a question out of society, it must be understood in its historical, geographical and cultural contexts. The powerful role of context in TLH is the other primary reason that it is difficult, if not impossible, to provide universal answers to practical questions about TLH.

These two paradigms are distinct but often complementary. Qualitative research can document trends in specific contexts and contribute to the development of typologies that can later be investigated statistically. And these approaches can be applied to the same issues: a positivist frame-

work might be used to investigate the impact of gender, in terms of cause and effect, while an interpretive framework could be used to investigate how the social construction of gender influences the interpretation of the Holocaust, a way of thinking centered on the construction of meaning.

The few large-scale quantitative studies, particularly from England and Sweden, enable us to make generalizations at the national level but do not tell us about other countries. Still, they allow us to ask informed questions and develop hypotheses about what may be happening in similar contexts. This ability to learn from diverse cases and transfer insights from one context to another makes it valuable to consider examples beyond our own immediate concerns and justifies the broad approach to this project. The broad range of practices occurring around the world functions as a global laboratory for TLH.

The question of how to make reasonable inferences about the transferability of insights from one context to another is more complicated. Sweden, for example, may share dynamics with other Scandinavian countries for cultural reasons, or with other ostensibly neutral countries like Spain or Switzerland for political or structural reasons. This question of transferability is therefore the key epistemological question we face when considering qualitative studies. It involves not only the researchers' claims, but also the local knowledge and informed judgment of research consumers from other contexts. This question of what can be learned from other societies becomes even more complex for countries that have a unique relationship to the Holocaust, like Israel, Germany or Poland. What might other countries learn from these cases? Some outlier, unique or exemplary cases may still shed light on other cases, however. For example, Israel is an outlier in part because its students receive about 140 hours of instruction about the Holocaust. While teachers in many countries experience tensions between approaches that emphasize individual experience and traditional instruction about historical forces, and between experiential and cognitive learning, the time available to teachers in Israel often enables them to use all these approaches and thus to find them complementary and mutually supporting.

A consistent finding in our review is that teachers and students perceive and experience TLH to be qualitatively different from other subjects and take the subject quite seriously. TLH, for example, includes historical knowledge, thinking and understanding, but also emotions and dispositions, which are largely under-researched. For these reasons, the range of studies concerning TLH is particularly broad.

The many gaps that exist in the research mean that we cannot definitively say what constitutes TLH in all IHRA Member and Observer Countries. Even attempting to define TLH at the country level can be misleading because of the deep variation in how it is addressed by different teachers in different classrooms, even within the same school. It is generally clear that what constitutes TLH in teachers' practice is highly diverse and variable, with both teachers and students reporting a lack of clarity about its purposes; students and teachers alike generally express high levels of interest and engagement, as well as high expectations, yet often experience significant discomfort and tension around the subject. Taken together, there is much more consensus about the importance of addressing the Holocaust than about "why, what and how to teach" it (see the IHRA's educational guidelines),² and about how to know if those goals have been achieved.

Research related to education about the Holocaust has been strongest with respect to the content of curricula and textbooks. The recent work of Bromley and Russell (2010) and Carrier et al. (2015) have made great contributions to providing baseline knowledge about emerging trends around the world and the contemporary status and representation of the Holocaust in the world's textbooks and curricula. We know much less about the typical use of textbooks in classrooms, or about the fidelity of implementation of TLH curricula in contexts where it may be unpopular or controversial. Furthermore, for some European countries, there may be just one or two articles about some specific aspect of TLH in English. This dearth of general knowledge makes it much more difficult both for domestic actors to assess the adequacy of TLH and make a research-based case for reform, and for international organizations to support the needs of partners in specific contexts. In sum, straightforward descriptive data on TLH are lacking in many contexts, and in each case would mark a significant contribution.

Research into TLH is largely under-theorized. Most research begins with an underlying theory about the state of some phenomenon of interest, or how some dynamic works, though these theories are often not made explicit. One reason for this deficiency is that it is more difficult to conduct research that matches the sophistication of the models or theories in use. The question of knowledge is a good example. It is relatively straightforward to ascertain whether individuals retain an individual fact; it is

2 <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/educate/teaching-guidelines> (accessed 15 August 2016).

more difficult to analyze the understanding and interpretation of that fact. Studies such as those by Cohen (2013) and Foster et al. (2016) are examples of well-theorized studies in which conceptions of learning are sophisticated, clearly operationalized and closely linked to the data.

This project took a grounded theory approach to the literature. Grounded theory approaches seek to consider literature or data without preconceptions, allowing trends, concepts, typologies or theory to emerge. Hypothesis-driven—or theory-driven—approaches, in contrast, apply a theory or hypotheses to the data in order to test them, and theory functions as a lens through which to look at data. Both approaches to developing and testing theory make important contributions to our understanding.

Impact studies often approach TLH as if it were an inoculation, trying to assess its impact after a single exposure over a long period of time. We may be disappointed if we cannot measure the long-term impact of such a unit, but it is not clear that we should be. Alternative theories might consider such a unit a phase in a student's broader development, one in which they will encounter the Holocaust again, rather than a "one and done" phenomenon. Students may learn more in the future, may handle media representations more critically and may seek out further learning themselves. A more robust theory of lifelong exposure to the Holocaust could alleviate anxieties in the field by considering the shift in students' trajectories and openness to further learning after exposure to the subject. A shift from knowledge retention—do they know everything they should?—to a focus on critical engagement may be constructive as well.

Looking Ahead

The bibliographies, language chapters and thematic chapters teach us a great deal about TLH, but more importantly they point to productive directions for future research. Like any good research, this process has raised more questions than it has answered, and it has revealed not just what we have learned, but the gaps in our knowledge as well. The breadth and diversity of existing research is both inspiring and incomplete.

The existing research declines to give us easy answers, and instead challenges us to explore more deeply, with new tools, better questions and new contexts. It does not provide simple recipes to follow, but rather sensitizes us to meanings, distinctions, patterns and trends that advance research and practice.

Faculties of education, cultural studies and teacher-training institutions are increasingly involved in research on education about the Holocaust, and the Working Groups of the IHRA want to intensify dialogue with them. This study provides an opportunity not only to gain essential knowledge regarding a research-informed approach in our work, but also to bring together distinct circles, and for the IHRA to create stronger links with educational science departments and universities as well as with educational policymakers. When confronted with all the things we still do not know about TLH, it may be tempting to describe the glass as half empty, but that would be misleading. The glass, as it were, is not only half full, it is being filled, and more and more quickly. The quality and sophistication of thought in this field is excellent. Engaging with this research is a gratifying and intellectually stimulating experience. And it is becoming even richer as we bring the diverse scholars working across cultures and languages into deeper dialogue with one another.

In addition to cross-cultural and international contributions, TLH has many interdisciplinary contributions. Scholars contributing to TLH come from a wide range of conceptual and disciplinary backgrounds; although the didactics of history has a prominent place in TLH, it is one discipline among many. This diversity means that these contributors often use TLH as a case study to speak to colleagues in their specific disciplines rather than to scholars in other disciplines who address the same subject. The richness of different disciplinary contributions is thus accompanied by a structural challenge in that researchers who contribute to TLH are often not in dialogue with one another. The authors of this project hope that this book will enhance this dialogue, and that the research gathered and discussed in these pages will be helpful for researchers and educators worldwide.

SECTION I

Language-Region Studies on Research in Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

Introduction

The following chapters provide an overview of the empirical research and discourse on teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) by language. The decision to organize this review by language was made because researchers primarily cite publications in their own language—there is extensive communication within each language—and sometimes across diverse contexts that share those languages (such as Spain and Argentina, or France and Quebec). This productive sharing across national boundaries, even despite the often profound differences in historical experiences (for example, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland), is made possible by having a common language. A common disciplinary discourse develops in each language region, and scholarship in each language/region is rooted in specific academic cultures. This means that different discourses are developing in different parts of the world around TLH, and there are distinct theoretical and conceptual frames of educational reference in the various languages.

These differences make it both much more difficult to generalize about TLH across countries and regions, and critically important to understand the particular dynamics of TLH in different languages and in the specific contexts where those languages are spoken. Although there is a great deal of communication within a language/region, there is a lack of communication *across* language borders, confronting us with the necessity of bringing these different languages into dialogue with one another. Although many individual scholars participate in TLH across multiple language communities, this project provides an opportunity to deepen this engagement for scholars who cannot themselves access these many languages—and indeed, no single scholar can. The fact that English is the primary shared language of most scholars of TLH makes it the necessary medium, yet it also has critical limitations, including the relative exclusion of language communities that either lack access to or do not participate in English-language scholarship. The team hopes for and seeks multilingual participants to help us carry the insights of this project back into the many languages spoken in IHRA Member and Observer Countries, and beyond.

Because language and language barriers play such a critical role, the mapping of research within each language context constitutes one of the

central aims of this project. When examining the state of research on TLH, it is crucial to create trans-language communication and discourse. The language chapters thus reflect the research team's analysis of the material gathered in the given languages. Thus, language chapters sometimes align with the national borders of single or multiple countries, but sometimes also with regions within countries. For this reason, the chapters often include discussions of specific contexts, often country contexts; these are the contexts to which those languages primarily refer and are necessary to ground the discussion. But the purpose has not been to attempt a comprehensive report on individual countries or regions. It would have been another task to draw a complete picture of educational research within a given country.

The following language reports are grouped into chapters that examine German, the languages of the Nordic countries, French, Romance languages other than French (specifically Spanish, Portuguese and Italian), Polish, Slavic languages (specifically Belarussian, Russian and Ukrainian), English and Hebrew. This organization has some logic of common experience and reference, but is not the only possible organization: countries could have been grouped according to shared history or politics or academic cultures or the status of Holocaust education. But this organization reflects the specific language abilities of the Multilingual Expert Team (MET). Because of the particular configurations of languages, Northern Europe, Western Europe and the Mediterranean are, unfortunately, better represented than Central and Eastern Europe.

Research in German

This overview of empirical studies on Holocaust education brings together research done in Germany and Austria, and by Swiss scholars who publish in German. The logic behind grouping these countries together—despite their very different historical experiences during the Second World War—is above all their common language and the growing common disciplinary discourse among them. There is a noticeable tendency among German-language scholars to engage primarily with other research published in German. Because this project examines the state of research on teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH), this transnational phenomenon is of particular interest. However, it is not self-evident that scholarship in neutral Switzerland should be analyzed together with research conducted in the former “perpetrator nations” of Austria and Germany, nor is this grouping unproblematic. There is a much longer and larger tradition of research into the Holocaust in Germany, as well as stronger political expectations that the Nazi period be dealt with critically. In addition, public-memory discourses in these countries tend to be different. In Germany, for example, there is an ongoing debate about the country’s public memory in regards to both the Nazi period and the former East Germany (the German Democratic Republic, or GDR) (see, for example, Assmann, 2013; Giesecke & Welzer, 2012; Knigge, 2010, 2013; Meier, 2010; Morsch, 2010; Wippermann, 2009). Needless to say, this examination also concerns history education.

A second issue concerns the use of terminology. While “Holocaust” has been an established word in the German language for decades, it is difficult to conceive of a German educator focusing only on the Holocaust in the strict sense applied, for example, in the Stockholm Declaration (see p. 9). In an Austrian or German setting, the genocide of European Jewry must be located in the broader context of national history (see Eberle, 2008). Most of the German studies examined here focus on education regarding the crimes committed by the Nazi regime or under Nazi rule more generally. This tendency creates difficulties when searching for empirical studies, however, because it is far from certain that these studies will be classified

as works on “Holocaust education” or even have “Holocaust” in their titles. The search has been conducted in several ways. Academic search engines such as JSTOR, the Education Resources Education Center (ERIC) and Google Scholar have been consulted using different combinations of terms such as “Holocaust,” “Auschwitz,” “Erziehung,” and “Bildung.” Similar research was conducted using the search engine of the *Deutsche Nationalbibliothek*. The sites of some important publishing houses in this area, such as Metropol Verlag and LIT Verlag, have been consulted. Finally, the reference lists of reviewed studies have been scanned.

In German-speaking areas, in general, much of the empirical research we have found is conducted by scholars within the discipline of history didactics, many of whom are trained historians. There are, however, contributions from other disciplines, above all the educational sciences.

1. Austrian, German and German-Swiss Empirical Research on Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

In Germany, the discipline of history didactics dates to at least the 1970s, but it has gained momentum in recent decades, especially guided by the concept of *historical consciousness*, which can be understood as a mental framework for handling human existence in time. It is clear that this development has been driven, to a considerable degree, by the need to “handle” the Nazi past in the former West Germany and the often stormy public debates concerning this need.

Starting in the late 1970s, Bodo von Borries undertook empirical research into historical consciousness and thereby contributed a great deal to the establishment of history didactics as an empirical discipline. His empirical studies on historical thinking and learning use different methodologies. Initially, he employed qualitative methods such as classroom observations, interviews and experience reports, but later he also began using quantitative methods. He repeatedly demonstrated the existence of a gap between the officially declared goals of history teaching in schools and the actual outcomes. Furthermore, von Borries’ results made it clear that the historical thinking of youths was shaped not only by formal instruction, but also by influence from their families and the mass media. A major European survey carried out in the 1990s, *Youth and History*, addressed these aspects from an international, comparative perspective.

Before the 1990s, there were already some empirical studies of how (West) German students viewed the Nazi period, conducted by scholars such as Walter Jaide, Heinrich Roth, Ludwig von Friedeburg and Peter Hübner, Kurt Fackinger and Rudolf Raasch, Ursula Steudel and Peter von Wrangel, Werner Cahnmann, Karl Filser and von Borries (see Zülsdorf-Kersting 2007 for a discussion of these works). Most of these studies could best be classified as research on historical thinking. During this period, there were also some studies, such as those by Elbeling (1964), Harnischfeger (1972) and Geißler (1981), which more carefully examined the importance of different aspects of education for students' beliefs about the Nazi period and the persecution of Jews. After 1990, empirical studies on history education increased considerably. In what follows, some general features of the works identified so far are presented in subchapters, based on the categories of research into history education and typology suggested by Peter Gautschi. Gautschi distinguishes between phenomenon research, outcomes research, intervention research and research on historical thinking and learning (Gautschi, 2007). One should note that a single study can fall into several categories.

Phenomenon Research

Phenomenon research includes descriptive educational research. This category includes, for example, textbook studies. Given the public significance of the Holocaust in recent years, it is noteworthy that comparatively little empirical work in this field has been identified. Of the work found, most focuses on Germany (von Borries, 2000; Popp, 2004, 2010, 2012; Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2006; Stachwitz, 2006; Sandkühler, 2012; Wenzel, 2013), sometimes in comparison with Austria (Markova, 2013) or another country (Bilewicz, 2012; Kühberger, 2012). A few studies also deal with other countries; for example, Heidrun Dolezel (2013) focuses on the Czech Republic. Here, it is important to bear in mind the heterogeneous nature of the educational system in Germany. Germany is a federal state in which jurisdiction over education belongs to the individual states, not the federation. There is no federal ministry of education. Instead, each state's education ministry examines whether school textbooks meet the curriculum demands of the state in question. This means that publishers often have to produce different versions for different states. There are also a large number of different history textbooks, as well as other publications meant for school use.

For these reasons, it is comparatively cumbersome to conduct textbook research in Germany.

The same problem applies to the curricula requirements of the different German states, even if there is a “Standing Conference of Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs,” which should ensure that the requirements across states are comparable.

Lately, a shift in which German curricula focus on key skills rather than specific content also makes it quite difficult to analyze the importance attributed to different historical periods and phenomena by curriculum designers. Despite these difficulties, some authors have included curriculum analysis in their research. Ehmann (2005), for example, examines the curricula of states that had belonged to the GDR; Enzenbach (2011) focuses on Berlin; Schmidt-Denter and Stubig (2011) focus on Bavaria, Hessen, Saarland, Sachsen and Sachsen-Anhalt; and Becher (2009) offers an overview of the curriculum in Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen and Thüringen.

Other studies have examined how the Holocaust is addressed in different German teacher-training programs. Ehmann (2005) presents a critical overview of the developments in teacher training regarding the Nazi period and the Holocaust in former East German states after 1990, while Grenz (2013) discusses how the Holocaust has been made a theme in didactic seminars for future German-language teachers. Thyroff and Gautschi (2014), in turn, analyze a training program for future Swiss teachers, carried out in cooperation with Yad Vashem’s International School for Holocaust Studies in Jerusalem. The program focuses not only on pedagogical concepts for education about the Holocaust in Swiss secondary schools, but also on cultures of memory in Switzerland and Israel.

Other studies examine teachers’ experiences. Eckmann and Heimberg (2009) present the initial findings of a study, based on semi-structured interviews with Swiss secondary school teachers, that examines how the Holocaust is conveyed in history instruction and teachers’ perceptions of difficulties related to this. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, Enzenbach (2011) looks at whether teachers in Berlin bring up the Holocaust already in grades four to six, and if so, how. Priebe (2006) notes that Holocaust education might have to meet quite specific challenges in schools for students with special needs (*Förderschulen*). He therefore examines how teachers in these schools bring up the Holocaust and the difficulties they experience in the process.

One approach in recent years has been to conduct studies in classroom settings. Perhaps the most ambitious undertaking has been that by Wolfgang Meseth, Matthias Proske and Frank-Olaf Radtke, who are less interested in the established key concepts of German history didactics, such as historical consciousness, historical thinking and historical literacy, than in what they call “pedagogical communication.” The researchers in the project audio recorded thirty-two history lessons and, after transcribing them, analyzed ten of them. What the research team tried to understand was how discussions in the classroom are shaped by the specific setting created by formal education. The project has generated a number of publications (see, for example, Meseth, Proske, & Radtke, 2004).

An offspring of this undertaking is the analysis by Meseth and Haug (2013), which investigates the group dynamics that occur when school classes take part in educational activities at memorial sites. The fact that both students’ ordinary teachers and educational staff from the site are present creates a special social setting that has so far been neglected by educational research. Gudehus (2006) is interested in the pedagogical communication that takes place on the guided tours at memorial sites. He has studied tours in four German memorial sites connected to the Nazi period and analyzed the guides’ narratives and interpretations, as well as the sources they draw on.

Pedagogical activities at German memorial sites have been studied by other scholars as well. Annette Eberle (2008), for example, analyses pedagogical work at some Bavarian memorial sites connected to the Nazi period. She not only focuses on former concentration camps—including the often neglected satellite camps—but also includes a site connected to the resistance against the regime (*Die Weiße Rose*) as well as the documentation centers at the *Reichsparteitagsgelände* (Nazi Party Rally Grounds) and Obersalzberg.

In a similar vein, Lutz (2009) analyzes the pedagogical work conducted in more than twenty German museums, memorial sites and educational centers and also addresses the strained connection between commemoration and learning in the educational work of memorial museums for Nazi victims. Klenk (2006) focuses on general conditions and pedagogical activities in seven regional memorial sites.

All of the works mentioned so far have focused on German-speaking countries, but some studies also present an international outlook. A prominent example is Heyl’s (1997) comparative study of the development of

Holocaust education in the former West Germany, the Netherlands, Israel and the United States. In Heyl's analysis, the four cases represent four different approaches resulting from their different historical experiences, and they have different educational outcomes. In an ethnographic field study, Deckert-Peaceman (2002) analyzed classroom teaching about the Holocaust in US primary schools, and Hartmann (2012) examined educational material and programs for younger students at Yad Vashem. Israel has also been the locus for Eckmann's (2013, 2014) studies of dealing with the Holocaust in the context of Israeli-Palestinian encounters.

Outcomes Research

A major focus of outcome research is measuring students' learning outcomes. One area in which this approach has been fairly common regards visits to memorial sites. Using a quantitative survey, Fuchs (2003) has, for example, tried to measure the effect on German students of visiting Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum. In a similar vein, Klein (2012, 2013) has studied German students' strategies of appropriation of Berlin's Holocaust Memorial. Based on a number of interviews, Pampel (2007) analyzes how visitors experience memorial sites, their motives and expectations and how they handle their impressions, while Fechner (2000) points to the challenges of TLH in a multicultural setting based on the case of a German grade ten class visiting an exhibition about the Nazi period, which led to an intense conflict between ethnic-German students and students with an immigrant background after some ethnic-German students had written neo-Nazi slogans in the museum's guestbook. Zülsdorf-Kersting (2007) followed twenty-eight German students, monitoring how their views of Nazism and the Holocaust developed over the course of a school year.¹ Using both interviews and questionnaires, he concludes that history education seems—at least as it was conducted in this case—to have a limited ability to change students' beliefs and understanding. Weber (2010) compares the learning outcomes of a group of German educators who visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum in 1985 with those of a similar group who made the same visit in 2005. Hoffman (2011) looks into the use of literature and analyzes German and Polish students' reception of Mirjam Pressler's historical young-adult novel *Malka Mai*. The

1 This study is examined in more detail in Chapter 10.

novel tells the story of a Jewish family's escape from Poland to Hungary in 1943. Hoffman claims that literature offers interpretive patterns that lie beyond the bounds of family loyalty and institutional claims to national identity formation.

Intervention Research

The objective of some of these empirical studies is to develop new and better ways of teaching. This is true of the studies by Becher (2006, 2009, 2012, 2013), who aims to develop suitable methods for Holocaust education in German primary schools. A similar ambition governs Sternfeld's (2013) work, which tries to find ways to communicate the Holocaust in light of the fact that Austria today is a destination country for migrants and has been so for several decades. Her analysis focuses on perspectives that derive from the recognition that Austria is a country of immigration and the implications of this fact for the cultures of remembrance in a shared present. Terrahe (2008) follows a similar track when he tries to find a way to teach about the Holocaust in German primary-school courses, based on an empirical study using children's literature. Eser Davolio (2000, 2012), in turn, created experimental teaching modules about the Holocaust in Switzerland and evaluated them by testing attitudes before and after the intervention. She finds that the modules can have positive as well as negative effects, and notices the importance of peer influence. Fink (2009) analyzed the contribution of oral testimonies to the development of Swiss pupils' historical thinking. The vantage point was an exhibition, *L'histoire c'est moi* (I am History), which consisted of a mosaic of more than 500 oral testimonies regarding the period of Second World War in Switzerland. Katja Ganske's (2014) empirical study of German tenth graders' involvement in a human rights-oriented project at Buchenwald probably also belongs in this category, as does Ester H. Zumpe's (2012) analysis of the possible nexus between human rights education and *Gedenkstättenpädagogik* (memorial-site pedagogy) in an empirical study of German students taking part in workshops at the *Gedenkstätte KZ Osthofen* (Osthofen Concentration Camp Memorial), the *Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen* (Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen) and the *Dokumentationszentrum Reichsparteitagsgelände* in Nuremberg.

Research on Historical Thinking and Learning

Studies in this field focus on subject positions and ways of thinking regarding history and the formation of historical consciousness. Arguably, this is the oldest line of research in Germany, and there also seems to be a remarkable continuity in results (see discussion below, p. 46-47). Using questionnaires, Barlog-Scholz (1994) analyzed knowledge about concentration camps among upper-secondary school students in Nordrhein-Westfalen and Baden-Württemberg. Although she found that students possessed some knowledge about the topic, she found no strong correlation between knowledge and political engagement, and only a weak correlation between knowledge and visits to a memorial site. This was followed by Pohl's (1996) study of 2,156 grade nine and ten students, which noted that most students had great gaps in their knowledge about the Nazi past, and that they tended to focus on the leading historical actors. Ahlheim and Heger (2002) distributed a questionnaire to 2,167 students at the University of Essen and identified considerable gaps in factual knowledge about National Socialism and the Holocaust, although there seemed to be a weak correlation between a lack of knowledge and a desire to close the book on this chapter of history or tendencies to trivialize the Holocaust. While most respondents believed the topic to be important, many also admitted to feeling uneasy about this aspect of their country's past.

One of the most important studies within this field is arguably that by Welzer, Moller and Tschuggnall (2002), which examines the intergenerational communication of historical consciousness. This analysis of family discussions and individual interviews with family members from three generations demonstrates that German families transmit significantly different images of the Nazi past than schools do. In family memory, the focus rests above all on stories about the suffering of one's own relatives (see also the discussion in Behrens & Moller, 2004). Continuing this line of research, Flügel (2009, 2012) reconstructs primary-school pupils' relationships to the theme of Nazism. She demonstrates how interwoven these are with general German memory discourses about this issue, but also how, already by the age of nine or ten, children reflect upon their need to learn about this dark side of German history. Hanfland (2008) and Klätte (2012) reach similar conclusions.

A research interest that has arisen in recent decades is the relationship between students' backgrounds and differences in their historical think-

ing. One vector concerns the differences between Eastern and Western Germany. Using questionnaires, Brusten and Winkelmann (1994) asked 699 Western German and 643 Eastern German university students in Wuppertal, Halle, Magdeburg and East Berlin about the Holocaust. The results showed that at least 81 percent possessed medium or high levels of factual knowledge about the Holocaust. Most respondents claimed to feel distressed about the event and 25 percent also claimed to have feelings of guilt and shame. Only 25 percent of the Western German and 12 percent of the Eastern German students wanted to turn a page on the past. There were on average no great differences between former West and East Germans. There was, however, a strong correlation between students' political orientation and their knowledge, emotions and attitudes. However, based on open interviews in Eastern and Western Germany with representatives of the generation born between 1951 and 1967, Kohlstruck (1997) notes that there are noticeable differences between "East" and "West" in the way respondents relate to the Nazi past. Similar analyses have been conducted by Leonard (2002) and Moller (2002, 2003).

A second vector deals with historical thinking about the Nazi period and the Holocaust in contemporary Germany's multicultural society. Here, we find studies such as that by Kölb (2008), which analyzes the expectations of a group of German students with an immigrant family background who were about to participate in a class trip to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum. Another important study by Georgi (2003), based on fifty-five interviews with young Germans with an immigrant family background between the ages of fifteen and twenty, constructs a typology of "immigrant" positions to the German Nazi past (see below). With a slightly different take, Köster (2013) studied the understanding of historical texts about the Nazi period among German tenth grade students with a view to finding out more about potential differences between those with a "German" background and those who come from immigrant families. Kühner (2008) analyzes the several ways in which students and teachers position themselves towards Nazi Germany and how the attribution of guilt, shame or responsibility to different groups of "Others" serves as a pattern of interaction in a migration society. Migration can therefore offer a tool to project one's own fears or emotions, but it can also offer opportunities for dialogue about and a higher degree of reflexivity regarding the past and the present.

The issue of historical thinking in contemporary society has also been investigated by Swiss scholars. In the specific field of historical thinking

about the Holocaust, Peter and Bürgermeister (2012), for example, carried out group interviews about the Second World War and the role of the Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland—Second World War (ICE) in various Swiss locations with individuals from different generations. These interviews revealed three main understandings of Switzerland’s role and politics during the Second World War: Switzerland was surrounded by Nazi forces and threatened, but it had nevertheless engaged in humanitarian action; the Holocaust is recognized as a crucial event, but it was something “German” rather than Swiss; and there is an ambivalent attitude towards the memory of the Holocaust in Switzerland.

2. Issues in Recent Research

As this overview demonstrates, there has been empirical research on a large variety of topics regarding TLH in the German language. Nonetheless, in recent years German researchers have focused on a few issues of contemporary concern. What follows only aims to highlight the main concerns of these studies.

Effects

Not surprisingly, one question that has long haunted German educators and decision makers is whether school education about the Nazi period and the Holocaust has the desired effects. Here, for example, the findings of the Frankfurt-based research team around Wolfgang Meseth and Matthias Proske (Hollstein et al., 2002; Meseth, Proske, & Radtke, 2004) have provoked reactions from historians and educators. Whereas the Frankfurt team claims that one should not expect too much in regard to the transformative power of history education, and that instruction about the Holocaust at best can train students to use socially acceptable ways of speaking about the past, others have pointed out that the purpose of history education is not to reproduce historical narratives, but rather to engage with these narratives critically (see, for example, Henke-Bockschatz, 2004). Zülsdorf-Kersting’s analysis of how German ninth and tenth grade students appropriate history education about the Holocaust, however, demonstrates that the outcomes often fall very short of politicians’ and/or educators’ expectations. Ethnic-German students still tend to construct narratives that excul-

pate the great majority of the German population, and they tend to use the same simplified images of history and interpretations that had already been identified by German studies scholars several decades ago. Driven by their own interests, students tend to construct history based on explanatory patterns that they bring with them to class, and subsequent formal instruction seems unable to challenge these modes of thinking (Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2007). Instead, the communication in the family and representations in mass media seem to play an important role in the formation of students' construction of history (*ibid.*).

At what Age Should Instruction Begin?

The fact that students develop impressions of the Holocaust and the Nazi period from their families and peers and the media leads to the question of the age at which to begin teaching about the Holocaust. In his programmatic radio talk about education after Auschwitz, Theodor W. Adorno argued that it was important to begin educational efforts at an early age (Adorno, 1977).

Yet in Germany, as in many other countries, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust are normally addressed in school curricula around the age of fifteen. In the late 1990s, this fact led to a debate between Gertrud Beck and Matthias Heyl about the desirability of beginning teaching about the Holocaust at an earlier age. Beck argued that primary-school children already possessed knowledge about Nazism and the Holocaust. These matters were furthermore a “taboo” for adults rather than for children, but this might create diffuse anxieties and prejudices in children, something that could be prevented by early education. The purpose of the instruction should furthermore be to promote human dignity, tolerance and open-mindedness among students (Beck, 1998). Heyl countered by arguing that young children might be overwhelmed or even traumatized by the topic, and that they should therefore be sheltered from this complex and unsettling aspect of German history. He further argued that the Holocaust should not be used instrumentally to address present problems concerning multiculturalism or tolerance (Moysich & Heyl, 1998). Over the last decade, several empirical studies have addressed this question and argued, based on their findings, that the issue could be raised at an earlier age—and that, in fact, this has already happened in German primary schools (Becher, 2009; Enzenbach, 2011; Flügel, 2009; Hanfland, 2008).

The Multicultural Setting

Another concern has been to assess how education about Nazi Germany and the Holocaust play out in the multicultural society that is current-day Germany (see also above, p. 45). As mentioned, several studies seem to confirm that ethnic-German students tend to construct history in ways that exculpate Germans from the crimes of Nazi Germany. On the one hand, this phenomenon indicates that these students indeed find these crimes condemnable, and some even invent resistance fighters in their own family. On the other hand, it also demonstrates the difficulties this way of understanding the Nazi era creates for students in terms of historical orientation and identity formation (Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2007, p. 456; see also the discussion in Giesecke & Welzer, 2012). The dilemma of course raises the question of whether similar tendencies can be observed among young Germans with an immigrant background. Viola Georgi (2003) identified several orientations regarding the Holocaust among her respondents. Some identified with the victims of Nazi persecution and often made analogies to their lives as immigrants in present-day Germany. Others instead connected to the “German” discourses and often reproduced simplifications and evasions similar to those of ethnic-German students. Georgi explains this voluntary participation in “German communicative memory” as resulting from the need to be part of German society. Other students focused exclusively on their “own” ethnic community and its history. A variation of this orientation could be found among those who “instrumentalize” the Holocaust in order to highlight the sufferings of their “own” ethnic group. Some students, finally, adopted a universalist position, viewed the Holocaust from a non-partisan perspective and discussed how humans under certain historical, political and social circumstances can become victims, perpetrators or bystanders.

Georgi’s findings have received support in subsequent research. Kölb (2008), for example, establishes the presence of several different ways of representing the Nazi past in ethnic-minority students’ historical consciousness, and Köster (2013) finds that students from immigrant families are not inclined to a particular interpretation of the Holocaust, and that they even sometimes exculpate the Germans of the Nazi period more than German students do. This, however, does not necessarily mean that interests stemming from family history are less important to these students than they are to ethnic-German students in influencing their historical construction of

the Holocaust and Nazi Germany. Elke Gryglewski (2013) demonstrates that different constructions of history depend not only on origin, but also on social position and experiences of discrimination.

Gedenkstättenpädagogik

A specific field of empirical research has emerged in the last decades that focuses on visits to *Gedenkstätten* (memorial sites).² This body of research has developed in connection with the expansion, professionalization and conceptualization of educational activities at such sites (Thimm, Koessler, & Ulrich, 2010; Gryglewski, Haug, Kößler, Lutz, & Schikorra, 2015), and covers different areas such as analyses of the exhibitions and educational activities at the sites; studies of peoples' expectations before a visit and/or experiences or recollections of visits; attempts to measure the effects of visits; and analyses of visitors' socio-demographic composition. Lutz (2009) focuses, above all, on the first aspect, and he demonstrates that newer exhibitions embrace a much more comprehensive use of material than was previously the case, and that they also display a more reflective and sensitive handling of texts, photographs and artifacts. Eberle (2008), in turn, is interested in the pedagogical activities at memorial sites connected to Nazi crimes. Summing up the practices in Bavarian memorial sites/educational projects, she identifies three different interrelated elements: documentation of the historical-authentic place, commemoration of the victims and pedagogically guided attempts to "learn from history." Different sites,

- 2 A *Gedenkstätte* is generally a memorial site located in a place with a strong connection to a horrible or catastrophic event. The term is strongly associated with memorials dedicated to the Nazi era, but it is nowadays also used in connection to Communist oppression. Sometimes the term is used not only for "original sites," such as former concentration camps, but also for memorials constructed after the fact. Volkhard Knigge has described *Gedenkstätten* as having seven specific characteristics: they are crime sites; they are sites of *martyrium*, elevated places of suffering; they are often graveyards, both symbolically and objectively; they are political monuments; they are places for learning; when located on the site of a historical event, they are palimpsests and, as such, ambiguous; and they are, especially in contemporary media-dominated society, places for individual and collective projections (see Knigge, 2004). It is important to note, however, that not all memorials and museums related to the crimes of the Nazi regime are called *Gedenkstätten*, nor are all such institutions related to the Holocaust.

however, tend put their emphasis on different elements. Sites such as *KZ-Gedenkstätte Dachau* (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site) and *KZ-Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg* (Flossenbürg Concentration Camp Memorial Site), with their documentation centers, for example, place comparatively significant weight on the first element. At all the studied sites, there are attempts to help visitors “learn from history.” However, there seem to be few systematic attempts to evaluate the fulfilment of this objective. A special challenge for educational efforts is posed by the commemoration of victims, many of whom must be perceived as “strangers” to the visitors. In this respect, Eberle argues that memorial sites compensate for a “deficit” in society’s memorialization, as neither German schools nor families tend to commemorate victims of Nazism in ways that reflect the “victim-perpetrator conflict [*Opfer-Täter-Konflikt*]” (ibid., p. 240).

In another study, Christian Gudehus (2006) analyzed sixteen guided tours at German memorial sites in order to better understand what is actually transmitted on such occasions. He identifies three core narratives that are (re)produced by the guides. The first consists of the story about what happened at the camp, with a focus on the suffering of the prisoners, even if it also often brings up questions about what local people knew about what was going on. The second is an explanatory narrative about the Holocaust and Nazism. The explanation unfolds on two levels. On the first level, the Holocaust is presented as the culmination of a longer process. The story is teleological-chronological. On the second level, the focus rests on individual action. The third core narrative is centered on the postwar representation of what happened. Common to all three narratives is a marked distance from the perpetrators and their deeds. The perspective of the perpetrators is generally excluded. Gudehus finds many similarities, both in content and form, between the stories told at different German memorial sites, a dynamic that suggests that there is a tendency to legitimate specific (re)constructions of the past as authoritative, producing a narrative that does not encourage discussion or questioning. Meseth and Haug (2013) study the special social setting, so far neglected by educational research, that is created when school classes take part in educational activities at memorial sites.

The fact that both their ordinary teachers and the educational staff from the site are present can, for example, create tensions and influence pedagogical communication. This line of investigation is further developed by Haug (2015).

Other scholars have been more interested in trying to measure the effects of such visits. Barlog-Scholz (1994), for example, found that students' visits to memorial sites hardly left any impression on them, in terms of either knowledge or attitudes. In his study of German university students' visits to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum, however, Fuchs (2003) finds clear effects in terms of how they explained the Holocaust, how they viewed the question about closing the book on this chapter of German history and how they viewed contemporary society's need to protect minorities. Pampel (2007), in turn, claims that the learning that takes place at memorial sites is mainly a result of looking at artifacts and buildings and non-cognitive experiences. The importance of visits to memorial sites does not rest so much upon the acquisition of new information, and students seldom refer to changes in their historical or political beliefs. Rather, the value of the visits rests on the impressions that visitors take with them, impressions that can also serve as an impetus for further engagement with the topic. In a later study, Pampel (2011) returns to the topic of school classes' reception and interpretation of history when visiting memorial sites, and he argues that such visits must above all be seen as moments for reflection and non-cognitive learning (Pampel, 2011).

3. Conclusion

Comparatively speaking, a great deal of empirical research on Holocaust education has been conducted over the last few decades in the German language in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Although nothing distinctly sets these studies apart from research conducted in other languages and other countries, there are some noteworthy features about German-language scholarship in this area. To begin with, the number of researchers writing in German is large enough that there is a specifically German-language "communicative loop" regarding research into education about Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. There are, for example, academic discussions and debates that will not reach an audience outside the German-speaking world, and there are theoretical and methodological developments in this area in the German-speaking literature that are independent of developments elsewhere.

A second feature, mainly valid for the Federal Republic of Germany, is that there has never been any public doubt about the need to devote time

to education about the National Socialist regime of 1933–1945 and the crimes and oppression connected with it. This trend preceded all tendencies towards the globalization or universalization of Holocaust memory by decades. In fact, the obligation to deal with this part of its history has been part of Germany's postwar civic identity, and German educators have frequently quoted Adorno's famous 1966 statement that the first requirement of education is that Auschwitz not happen again (Adorno, 1977, p. 674; see also Meseth, 2000). One should note, however, that there has been a tendency to give a certain "ethnic" character to this aspect of German identity, as this obligation has to a considerable degree been connected to descent rather than citizenship. The—at least officially accepted—concept of a special German responsibility with a corresponding obligation to "handle" the past has been strongly linked to an "ethnic" understanding of what it means to be German; this framing poses the risk of excluding German citizens whose families immigrated to the country after 1945. This risk is demonstrated by the German discussion in this context regarding different generations in the postwar population, where the concept of "generation" is defined not only by a person's year of birth, but also their genealogical position within a family. In other words, some Germans have grandparents who lived in Nazi Germany, while others do not. Do they all have an equal obligation to deal with the history of the Nazi period? (Kohlstruck, 1997; Welzer et al., 2002). Arguably, this tendency has strongly contributed to making the transformation of Germany into a multicultural society a special challenge for German educators.

A third feature of German-language research is the existence of a field of research focused specifically on memorial-sites pedagogy. This is most likely a reflection of not only the public importance given to the 1933–1945 period, but also the simple fact that there are a large number of "authentic" memorial sites from that era in Germany and Austria.

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Research in Polish

1. Country Background: Holocaust-Related Debates in the Public Sphere in Poland

Wedged between Germany and Russia, Poland was the first victim of Hitler and Stalin's joint aggression in 1939. The suffering of Polish citizens under Soviet rule would remain taboo in Polish schools until 1989, when the Communist Party finally yielded power.¹ The violence of the German occupation, in contrast, was widely publicized and taught in schools. Communist authorities promoted a heroic interpretation of wartime resistance, downplaying the role of a patriotic, anti-Nazi and simultaneously anti-Soviet underground—the mainstay of which was the *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army, AK)—including the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, in which 250,000 Polish civilians and resistance fighters were killed. The regime's educational program also made the Holocaust seem less central in the war, although over three million Polish Jews were murdered or died of war-related causes (Steinlauf, 1996).²

After Poland transitioned to democracy in 1989, education about the Holocaust came to the fore, along with debates over how some members of the Polish-Catholic population had behaved towards their Jewish compatriots during the German occupation. In 2000, Gross's *Neighbors*:

- 1 Soviet forces occupied eastern Poland from September 1939 through June 1941. They confiscated property from the local population, arrested 400,000 Poles and deported them to the Soviet interior and executed more than 20,000 Polish officers, policemen, professionals, civil servants and community leaders. Some of the mass graves of these victims are located in the Katyn Forest in Russia, which is why this series of mass killings is known as the Katyn massacre.
- 2 Postwar Poland was a difficult place for Jews who had survived the Holocaust. Historians have documented Polish-civilian-led postwar pogroms, such as the Kielce Pogrom in 1946 (Szaynok, 1992; Gross, 2012), the pogrom in Rzeszów (1945) and the pogrom in Kraków (1945). Polish postwar antisemitism was also perhaps a cause of the reluctance to discuss the Holocaust in school materials until the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne was published in Poland. In this book, Gross describes a wartime episode that took place in the summer of 1941 when some Poles murdered their Jewish neighbors in the town of Jedwabne. In 2003, after a thorough investigation by the Institute of National Memory (IPN), the prosecutor, Radosław Igniateg, wrote that “*nie mniej niż 340 obywateli polskich narodowości żydowskiej* [no fewer than 340 Polish citizens of Jewish descent]” were killed by their Polish neighbors.³

A public debate followed the publication of Gross’s book. The topic reintroduced the subject of the Holocaust into Polish society with an unexpected twist, emphasizing the complicity of some Poles in killing Jews during the war. Since then, the historiography of the Holocaust and education about it in Poland have continued to expand. A research center dedicated to investigating the history of the Holocaust in Poland was opened in the Polish Academy of Sciences in 2003. In the oldest Polish university, the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, the Center for Holocaust Studies was established in 2008,⁴ which offers a master’s program for students and summer institutes for high-school teachers interested in the subject.

In 2005, the United Nations General Assembly Resolution on Holocaust Remembrance stipulated that 27 January would be celebrated as the International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust. Poland also commemorates 19 April as the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising against the Nazis in 1943. Finally, in 2014 the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews was opened in Warsaw to wide acclaim, and it includes in its main exhibition an important section dedicated to the Holocaust.

Given all these factors, we can assume that Holocaust education has expanded in Poland over the last two decades. And indeed, young Poles and education officials have now been exposed to alternative narratives about the war, not only through historical studies, but also through a whole spectrum of media and artistic genres. These recent developments and debates have had an impact on education about the Holocaust in Poland, especially in the last five years.

3 http://www.djvu.com.pl/djvu/IPN/Sledztwa/source_pdf/jedwabne_postanowienie.pdf (accessed 23 August 2016).

4 http://www.holocaust.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/centrum (accessed 23 August 2016).

2. Overview and Methods for Searching

This chapter analyzes forty-one Polish-language and Poland-focused empirical studies on Holocaust education. Many of the studies were conducted and written by five researchers and their affiliates (students, associates, coworkers) in both English and Polish. The broader discourse surrounding Holocaust education in Poland includes many other important voices, particularly the members and directors of important organizations that promote peace and tolerance, historians and public intellectuals, filmmakers and museum curators. They are not included in this chapter only because of our decision to focus strictly on empirical research.

3. Poland and Holocaust-Education Research

Textbooks

The first attempt at a systematic analysis of Polish school materials about Jews and the Holocaust was conducted in 1987 under the auspices of the Jewish Historical Institute (JHI). A group of Polish researchers, coordinated by the director of JHI, Feliks Tych, analyzed coverage of the subject in Polish textbooks. Researchers found that individual Jews and the general Jewish population were stereotyped and/or “Polonized” in these textbooks, while the Holocaust was cited as part of an overall Nazi policy to destroy the Poles. Thus, Jewish victims were by and large folded into the story of Polish victimhood (Cała, Tomaszewski, & Tych, 1997).

More recently, Szuchta (2008a, 2008b) has written about Polish textbooks and curricular material. He has found that the political transition of 1989 allowed for great changes in national history and civics education. Until the late 1990s, Holocaust education was included only marginally in high-school textbooks and was characterized by stereotypes and omissions. After the war (but before the end of Communism), the Polish Ministry of Education approved all history textbooks. After 1990, Polish historians were selected to anonymously approve books and send recommendations to the Ministry of Education (Gross, 2010). Still, the state of the Holocaust curriculum changed significantly in the early 2000s, when Szuchta and Trojański began writing curriculum about the Holocaust and the history of Polish Jews for middle schools (Szuchta & Trojański, 2000, 2003).

Szuchta and Trojański (2000) claim that there is much more in Polish textbooks about the Holocaust today than there was before 1990, and while most of the historical information is presented correctly, some of the textbooks are biased in making claims concerning assistance provided to Jews by individual Poles. Szuchta and Trojański have written their own textbook for teachers (previously available as a free download through the Ministry of Education's website) and numerous volumes of additional research and supporting materials for teachers to use in high-school classrooms.⁵

According to subsequent research on textbooks (Gross, 2010, a longitudinal analysis of Polish textbooks published between 1977 and 2006), there was striking continuity in the Second World War narrative well after the 1990s, despite political changes in the country. The experiences of Poland's ethnic Jews remained largely absent from textbooks, with no more than a few paragraphs (in some cases a few pages) dedicated to the Holocaust. By the early 2000s, Poles and Jews were presented as having distinct histories and experiences; the emphasis was on Poles saving Jews and resisting German aggressors. The cultural trope of "Poland, Martyr of Nations" remained: Poles were presented as being victimized by history, especially by Stalin and Hitler, the great enemies of Poland (Gross, 2010).

Ambrosewicz-Jacobs and Szuchta (2014) have recently conducted a new analysis of textbooks written after 2008, subsequent to new educational reforms in Poland. They reviewed textbooks for Knowledge of Society (KoS) classes (the US equivalent would be civics classes) and history classes at the middle- to high-school levels. All books analyzed were published after 2008, when, following educational reforms, modern history was removed from the curriculum of middle schools. In examining KoS textbooks, Szuchta and Ambrosewicz-Jacobs found that the

presentation of the Holocaust in textbooks used for "Knowledge about Society" associated with the curriculum in middle schools, used since 2010, has been deemed problematic (Szuchta, 2010). The majority of authors largely omit the topic of the Holocaust and if it appears at all, it is not placed in the appropriate historical context. Much information contains factual mistakes or inaccuracies. The Jedwabne crimes [a widely publicized wartime event in which Poles killed their Jewish neighbors by burning them in a barn] are not mentioned in any of the

5 For more recent teaching material, see Engelking et al. (2010).

textbooks. Four out of five textbooks include just one phrase that Poles (not some individuals, but just Poles) helped Jews and many years after the end of the WWII were recognized as the Righteous among the Nations. (Ambrosewicz Jacobs & Szuchta, 2014, p. 289)

In analyzing history textbooks published after 2008 covering modern history, the researchers found that all of them mention the Holocaust (from 0.8% to 2.8% of the content of the entire book), and that “the representation of the Holocaust in history textbooks is accurate and is in line with the current state of academic knowledge” (p. 289). One textbook published by Nowa Era (a not-for-profit independent publisher) even included a chapter on German extermination policies towards Jews and Roma. All textbooks depict a historically accurate portrait of the Shoah in Europe, starting with antisemitic policies, covering the movement of Jews to the ghettos and describing concentration and death camps and civilian perpetrators during the Holocaust. The researchers acknowledge that this is a huge improvement from previous textbooks, but they nonetheless remain critical: “While the authors of the textbooks present the history of the Holocaust according to up-to-date scholarship, they distance themselves from controversial topics, such as the attitudes of Poles towards Jews during the Holocaust, locals who betrayed Jews and the real context of rescues by the Polish Righteous” (p. 289). The authors also point out a few historical inaccuracies and the fact that many of the books still highlight Polish (non-Jewish) help to Jews during this period, implying that the books may indeed overemphasize this aspect of the war.

Teachers

According to Szuchta (2008a; Szuchta & Trojański, 2000), Polish teachers have the opportunity to use outside sources and bolster teaching about the Holocaust in their classrooms, but their main obstacle is students’ misunderstandings about Jews, which stem from a lack of general historical information about Jews or from family stories or socially tolerated antisemitism. Still, some empirical studies have begun to shed light on teachers’ attitudes towards Holocaust education in Poland.

In cooperation with Buettner at the Center for Holocaust Studies at the Jagiellonian University, Ambrosewicz-Jacobs has begun to investigate teachers’ motivations for teaching about and attitudes towards the

Holocaust through interviews with 105 students, teachers, educators and leaders. All the people interviewed showed some degree of support for Holocaust education. Their motivations were manifold: some teachers wanted to focus on reviving local histories, others on teaching multiculturalism through Holocaust education, and still others cited their moral obligation (to teach about Jews) and their personal interest in the subject (Ambrosewicz-Jacobs & Buettner, 2014). The authors argue that extracurricular activities where students are not graded on Holocaust knowledge may be the best place to teach about the painful Polish-Jewish past.

Many of Buettner and Ambrosewicz-Jacobs' findings are similar to those in a study with Polish teachers conducted in 2010 and published in 2012 by Gross. Gross's study illuminates patterns based on field observations, emails and surveys of sixty teachers who participated in a Holocaust teacher-preparation program at the Jagiellonian University during the summer of 2010. The teachers surveyed were motivated to teach the Holocaust out of a personal or familial need, a sense of personal duty and a desire to understand themselves and their histories. They were also concerned that their students lacked knowledge of the Holocaust in Poland. The findings seem to indicate that Poland-based Holocaust-education programs must be tailored to individual needs.

Students

In Poland, new and interesting research is being conducted about students' attitudes towards Jews, as well as students' historical knowledge about Jews. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs from the Jagiellonian University has been administering large-scale surveys to thousands of children in schools throughout Poland (1998, 2000, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014a, 2014b). In a survey of 1,002 Polish teenagers in 1998, she found that "the majority of answers indicat[ed] a lack of knowledge, confusion or the use of defense mechanisms" in response to questions about the Holocaust. Notably, 12.8 percent of all respondents agreed with the statement that "many of the crimes in Auschwitz ... did not in fact happen" (2008, p. 277). In a panel study in 2008, the researcher found that Polish students' attitudes towards Jews and the history of the Holocaust had slightly changed, but not necessarily for the better. For example, while the percentage of students who believed that "Poles could have done more for the Jews" during the Holocaust remained the same, the percentage of youth who believed that "Poles did as much

as they could” rose by 6 percent. She concluded that students were more defensive in their responses.

Another of Ambrosewicz-Jacobs’ studies focused on materials published or imported by NGOs, international organizations and the Ministry of Education. At the conclusion of a 2008 article published in English in *POLIN. Studies in Polish Jewry*, a volume of scholarly papers, Ambrosewicz-Jacobs found that “the Holocaust is taught in Poland ... to a limited extent ... in schools. The content, quantity, and quality of teaching still depend on the individual motivation and involvement of teachers” (p. 301). Her more recent work (2014) tackles the attitudes of educators and participants in special NGO programs that foster intercultural dialogue in Poland.

Building on Ambrosewicz-Jacobs’ studies, Gross (2010) sought to understand what students in Poland knew about the Second World War. Do popular representations of the Holocaust in Polish media have an effect on Polish students’ understanding of the past? One hundred and twenty-six Polish students responded to iconic Second World War-era photographs, and their written surveys and essay narratives revealed students’ shared cultural narratives about the war. Most students glossed over the complexity of the wartime past, seemingly impervious to the influence of the media and international attention on Polish-Jewish relations and the Holocaust. Still, a small but important subset of students demonstrated knowledge of the Holocaust and the Jewish-Polish experience in the form of budding “counter-narratives,” or interpretations that deviate from what is commonly believed in Polish society.

Bilewicz (2008, 2013) and other researchers in the psychology department at the University of Warsaw focus their research on Holocaust education on relations between Polish and Israeli students and between American Jewish and Polish students. They observed students’ interactions during structured conversations with Poles and Israeli Jews and meetings between Polish and American Jewish high-school students who were in Poland as part of the March of the Living tours (tours where Israeli Americans, Jewish Canadians and sometimes also Jewish Australians visit former Nazi death camps in Poland. (Relatedly, Romi and Lev (2007) have conducted a study on Israeli Jewish participants who went to Poland without ever meeting Polish youth). They observed in-group discussions, out-group attitudes and inter-group discussions. They investigated whether there were differences in how students interacted when they discussed historical versus contemporary issues. In short, they found that positive attitudes towards

each another increased most when the two groups discussed contemporary issues rather than historical ones and concluded that discussing contemporary issues allowed participants to view each other as more similar (less “us” versus “them”).

In another qualitative interview and participant observation study, Bilewicz asked approximately 1,000 Polish and Jewish high-school students to propose some questions they would like to ask one another. Polish students, according to this study, most often wanted to know why (they thought) Jewish students still accused Poles of participation in the Holocaust with questions such as “Why do Jews think that we allowed and helped Germans to build Auschwitz?” or, more explicitly, “Why do you still blame Poles for the Holocaust?” (Bilewicz, 2008; Wójcik, 2008).

In 2013, Bilewicz and Jaworska attempted an intervention that “was [meant] to reconcile young Poles and Israelis by presenting narratives that could change stereotypical thinking about the past” (Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013). They “hypothesized that life-stories of heroic helpers could play an important role in restoring the moral image of current Poles. ... This could then enable descendants of the bystander group to restore their moral image and make them feel accepted by the descendants of victims.”

The aim of their study, then, was to help Polish youth acknowledge the diversity of their ancestors’ behavior during the Holocaust. This study was conducted with the help of Dialogue Among Nations, a non-profit NGO that, among other things, focuses, on bringing Israeli and Polish youth together to talk about the past in Poland. Bilewicz observed 259 high-school students, of whom 122 were Israeli and 137 were Polish. The students read descriptions of those who helped Jews during the Second World War and also met a “heroic helper” in person during the encounter. The study showed that Polish students came away feeling much more positive and much more similar to the Israeli youth after the activity, while Israeli youths’ attitudes towards Poles did not change as significantly.

In a recent article, Bilewicz, Stefaniak and Witkowska (2015) conducted a literature review of the few studies that attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of Holocaust teaching on Polish students’ attitudes towards Jews. This study was also published as a book chapter (2014). They found that Holocaust education seems to be ineffective, if not counterproductive or even unproductive. They attempt to explain why, and put forth some alternative explanations. In addition, they surveyed 1,250 Warsaw residents between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five to test their knowledge of

the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the Holocaust, as well as their attitudes towards Jews (on the eve of the Uprising's seventieth anniversary). They found overwhelmingly negative results: young people did not know dates or facts about the Holocaust or the Uprising, did not want to have Jewish neighbors and so forth. The researchers also found no difference in knowledge between those students who had more intense Holocaust education (more hours devoted to this topic during their school education) and those who had only scarce or no Holocaust education. What is more, the more hours that were devoted to Holocaust education, the more biased that students' vision of the Holocaust was. Based on this body of work, the authors put forth a model of intergroup education that emphasizes similarity with as well as empathy towards Jews.⁶

In another study (2014), the same group of researchers surveyed young people who lived in small towns about their knowledge and attitudes towards Jews. The survey of 700 high-school students from fifteen towns found that, in order of significance, the students self-reported that they learned about Jews from television, school and their grandparents. The authors argue that Polish education focused on bringing together Poles and Jews through non-profit groups that specialize in intergroup education constitute the most important "pathway towards reconciliation," as compared to regular classroom activities, which do not seem to significantly improve students' knowledge or attitudes.

Museum, Film, Art Education

Although textbook research, teacher education and student attitudes encompass most of the empirical research on Holocaust education in Poland today, there is some interest in other areas. Museum education is one of them. Though the empirical scholarship in this area is very thin and often based on non-systematic observations and experience, some authors and ideas deserve mention. Kranz, Director of the Majdanek Museum in Lublin, is an advocate for school-aged children's visits to his museum. He writes extensively on why he advocates this position and has produced textbooks and teaching materials for Holocaust education (2012, 2013). One article examined a special exhibition at Majdanek in Lublin called

6 For a critique of the survey, see <http://www.tabletmag.com/author/magdalena-gross> (accessed 18 August 2016).

Elementarz (Primer). The Grodzka Gate Theater NN used a barracks at Majdanek to recreate a child's experience in a death camp for school-aged children (Mitrega, Z, date unknown).⁷

Also, Kucia deals with Polish-Jewish issues, including issues of Polish-Jewish memory. His work does not currently focus on school-aged children, or on education in particular, but some of his early work focused on experiences of visits to sites of death camps, and his students' work continues this trajectory. For example, Stec's dissertation (2014) focused on how young people perceived their visit to museums and memorials such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek and Treblinka, as well as the post-visit outcomes, particularly how the visits were remembered. She found that students' immediate reactions included the uses of the words "sadness," "fear" and "helplessness." The young Poles also said they had learned more specific historical facts and knowledge, although she did not mention which facts, nor what particular knowledge. Stec's contribution is her treatment of how the "modern Pole" interacts with the museum site, through phone photos, texting, selfies and so on.

More recently, a new book edited by Krzeminski (2015) deals with the perceived instrumentalization of the history and perception of past Polish-Jewish relations. It includes empirical data on student responses, as researched by Wiśniewska (2015). These data indicate that the considerable success of the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising overshadows the heroism of the Warsaw Ghetto heroes, and that the influence of historical politics in Poland has a bigger impact on students' attitudes than does new historiography. These two dynamics may conflict with efforts in teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH).

4. Conclusion

The late twentieth century has proved to be a challenge for positive patriotism. As we know, the last seventy years have brought mass violence, extermination, forced labor and totalitarian rule to citizens on the European continent. The aim of this review has been to outline some of the empirical research being done on education on the Holocaust—a hallmark of the

7 http://biblioteka.teatrnn.pl/dlibra/Content/43323/Mitrega_Trudna_historia.pdf (accessed 27 August 2016).

incomprehensible destruction that can result when technology and ideology are merged. What we see in the Polish case, and indeed across many of the cases in these language chapters, is that advances in educational practices in response to these tragedies, such as critical pedagogy or the spread of human rights curricula, have often clashed with neatly packaged national narratives. In Poland, the history of the Holocaust conflicts with previously accepted versions of the Second World War (Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, 2003). Some researchers have found that when Polish students are faced with the Holocaust past, they seem to develop further negative attitudes towards Jews (Bilewicz, et al, 2007). These researchers argue that Polish students should have more “positive” examples of Polish heroism.

What we see in this chapter as well is that even as recently as twenty years ago, it was unlikely that a group of Polish high schoolers would have included Jews or the Holocaust in their Second World War narratives, for two reasons. First, the Communist Party, which governed Poland between 1945 and 1989, had removed these topics from educational materials. And second, in textbooks published between 1989 and the early 2000s (reviewed at the beginning of this chapter), the Holocaust was barely mentioned and Jewish victims were absorbed into a narrative of Nazi aggression against the Polish people.

The new (European) discussion regarding the role played by civilians in the destruction of European Jewry seems to be at the center of some TLH research. This is not the case only in Poland: Kaiser, an educational researcher in Germany, recently wrote that “Mass crimes are not simply a result of the viciousness of powerful people. ... [The Holocaust] did not happen out of the blue” (2014). He emphasized that students must learn the deeds of “regular society” in order to comprehend how the Holocaust happened. Indeed, in the Polish context the lines demarcating victims, perpetrators and bystanders is more blurred than ever. We see that researchers such as Ambrosewicz-Jacobs and Bilewicz are attempting to understand how this phenomenon affects TLH in Poland today. Others, such as Kucia, are attempting to understand how museums and media influence students’ understanding of the Holocaust. Most researchers are coming to a similar conclusion: despite decades of attention on the participation of local Poles in the plunder of their Jewish neighbors during the Second World War, students and teachers are holding on to nationalist narratives of the past, some are actively resisting new narratives and in some cases antisemitism is on the rise; yet more and more students at the very least know about the Holocaust to some degree.

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Research in Francophone Regions

1. General Aspects on Context and Discourses

This chapter deals with research in French-speaking regions and countries; we identified studies from France and the French-speaking parts of Belgium (*Région wallone*), Switzerland (*Suisse romande*) and Canada (*Québec*). Even though these countries experienced different fates during the Second World War, they share similar traditions in their research into and debates regarding educational topics. In addition, researchers from these contexts exchange concepts, data and experiences in a shared academic space. Dealing with Francophone research involves dealing with concepts and representations that differ substantially from those in use in the Anglo-Saxon world and are linked to the history and scholarly tradition of these countries. Nevertheless, in countries where French is a minority language and culture, researchers are also exchanging and cooperating with colleagues in the majority regions of their respective countries: Quebec has been influenced by the Anglo-Saxon as well as the French tradition, Swiss researchers engage also with the German discourse and Belgians with the Dutch or German discourse.

Questions Regarding Terminology

Translating Francophone debates and terms into English, and the use of English or German terminology in French, poses a major challenge, because it requires a transposition of concepts across contexts. The most obvious difficulty is that the word “Holocaust” is no longer in use in French; in France, where the event has successively been named, first sometimes “Churban,” then “Destruction of the Jews” and finally “Shoah,” a term that has been solidly established since Claude Lanzmann’s famous documentary (1985). This film forms an important turning point in the Francophone world and represents an unavoidable reference point in representations of the Shoah, including its very name. Indeed, Lanzmann claims that the word comes from the language of the people who were destroyed, and it lacks a clear

meaning. The expression has also been criticized for its ahistorical (some would even say sacralizing) meaning and insider connotation. It has nevertheless become the official designation in Francophone discourse. A recent controversy (see in particular Lanzmann, 2011, an article that followed on other polemical reactions by journalists) arose regarding whether to delete the word “Shoah” from French textbooks and replace it with “the genocide of the Jews,” “the genocide of the Nazis” (sic) or “the destruction of European Jews.” In fact, the word “Shoah” is currently employed in French public discourse and textbooks, but not in French curriculum, which uses “genocide of the Jews.” In Francophone Quebec, in contrast, under the influence of Anglo-Saxon Canadian terminology, the word “Holocaust” is generally still in use.

Other semantic transpositions are problematic, such as the words *perpetrator* in English, *Täter* in German and *bourreau* in French, which are not equivalent; even the use of *actor* (English) is problematic. The words used to refer to “perpetrator” differ between these languages and carry significantly different moral connotations. Indeed, the word “*Täter*” (actor) has no equivalent in French, where the more common “*bourreau*” (torturer) has a very specific negative connotation, with a highly normative component, as shown by the French researcher Alexandra Oeser (2013).¹

One more example of diverging meanings is the word *citoyenneté*, which differs from *citizenship*. Whereas *citizenship* refers to the rights and duties of an individual vis-à-vis the state, *citoyenneté* has a broader mean-

1 “In German, the term *Täter* designates those who commit a crime, *Tat* literally designating the act (not necessarily criminal); the verb *tun* means ‘to do, to act’ [faire, agir]. No equivalent exists in French. The French term *bourreau* [torturer] has a negative and highly normative connotation that is absent in *Täter*, but it has the advantage of being the antonym of victim, as in the German *Täter*. The French term *responsable* [responsible, as a noun] carries a theoretical connotation—one can be responsible without having personally committed a crime—that conflicts with the practical dimension contained in *Tat*. Translating *Täter* as *auteur* [actor] is imprecise, as the term *Akteur* exists in German and contains a theoretical and theatrical dimension that is absent from *Täter*. The term *exécuteur* [executor] (in the legal sense), which is, from a literal point of view, closest to the term *Täter*, is also problematic in this context, as it is deprived of the connotation of responsibility (the person who executes a crime is not the person who orders or plans it), which has been used by Nazi criminals in their defense during the postwar trials” (Oeser, 2013, p. 191).

ing encompassing symbolic belonging, rights and effective participation in a given society. *Education à la citoyenneté* has thus been a leitmotiv in French educational philosophies.²

The Discourse in French-Speaking Regions about the Transmission of the History and Memory of the Shoah

Several key concepts mark the French discussion and shape public discourse and research preoccupations. Research on memory and identity was largely developed by Pierre Nora's *Lieux de mémoire*³ (Nora, 1984–1992), which has had a significant influence on subsequent research in this area, and which pointed out the importance of memory for nation-building, and the invention of the national “We” through the construction of memory and memorials. Processes of memorialization show a tendency towards including nationals and excluding non-national minorities, and they mobilize history for the purpose of building identity. This is especially striking in the context of the French republican model, which does not deal with the question of minorities. A similar approach can be found in Canada, as argued by Moisan and Licop (2013), who analyze how the Canadian government uses the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa to introduce moral connotations by praising national values, expressing solidarity with the state and encouraging the remembrance of victims, civilians and soldiers.

The distinction between *history* and *memory* has thus become an important focus in French-language scholarship, as has the link between the two; the imperative of *devoir de mémoire* (duty of memory), much criticized, has been progressively supplanted by the concept of *travail de mémoire* (work of memory), that insists on the importance of studying history and remembering rather than commemorating, especially because, as Sophie Ernst (2011) has argued, commemorating involves “negative commemoration,” in the sense that it deals with suffering, loss, destruction and the transgression of moral standards, and not positive experiences.

French-language teachers and researchers, inspired by German debates, increasingly deal with the idea of multiple memories, or even divergent memories, and the need for multi-perspectivity.

2 Similar issues also appear in Chapter 5.

3 In English “Realms of Memory”, but the French “Lieux de mémoire” is used in other languages as well.

In analyzing the evolution of the figure of the witness in *The Era of the Witness* (1998), Annette Wieviorka discerns three phases in the roles and images of the Holocaust witness. In the first phase, testimonies were left by those who did not survive the Holocaust but nonetheless managed to record their experiences; the second phase centered around the Eichmann trial, when survivors' stories formed the image of the witness as the "bearer of history"; and the third phase—"the era of the witness"—emerged when the witness became an important figure in the public space. Education is heavily concerned with the third phase, as survivor testimonies have become an integral part of learning about the Shoah.

Another important contribution to the debate on postwar figures was the—rather provocative—book by Jean-Michel Chaumont (1997), which showed how in the previous three decades the status of the victim had been transformed and the values of moral merit reversed: while in the past it was the figure of the hero that was typically "heroized," it is now victims who are "heroized," and valuing what people have achieved has been replaced by valuing what they have suffered—a reversal that has had a great impact on claims for material and symbolic recognition. These debates on the figure and status of victims have been extended to other groups that are victims of crimes against humanity and other historical events, such as colonization/decolonization processes, particularly for France in relation to the Algerian War of Independence and—in the field of education—call for a new approach when teaching about these events.

2. Teaching about the Shoah and Educational Research

Teaching about the Shoah and Related Research

The Second World War appeared as a topic in French school curricula in the 1960s, but until the end of the 1980s the Shoah (a term that was not in use at that time) was not mentioned as such (Falaize, 2011). This does not mean that the manuals were silent about the camps, but the victims were somewhat undetermined, and the condition of the Jews was not mentioned (*idem*). A change of paradigm appeared in French-speaking countries with the French translation of Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1988) and the historicization of the Shoah in history teaching, which was consolidated in the late 1990s (*idem*). A similar evolution

can be observed in the other countries covered in this chapter. Once the historical dimension and historical research were established more solidly, a common feature emerged in French-speaking contexts. The struggle did not revolve around addressing the past crimes of National Socialism, but around the specific difficulty of facing these countries' own contribution to or complicity with those crimes. There was a tendency to consider the Shoah a German issue, rather than also a French issue (the Vichy regime), a Swiss issue (asylum policy, economic collaboration and looted art), a Belgian issue (politics under the occupation), or a Canadian issue (refugee and war policies). In sum, every region has undergone a process of exporting, or somewhat *othering*, the topic of the Shoah to the "perpetrator nations."

However, the commitment of these countries to the Stockholm Declaration, the fact that they joined the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research (ITF, renamed the International Holocaust Remembrance Association, IHRA, in 2012) between 2000 and 2009 and continue to strengthen their efforts to include the Holocaust as a subject in curricula shows a high degree of institutionalization of the topic. Yet the same effort cannot be observed in educational research in this field.

In general, it is only recently that empirical research in the educational sciences and the didactics of history has grown; as a result, research specifically into teaching and learning about the Shoah is even less developed. However, interest has grown in the last ten to fifteen years, as is reflected in the empirical studies found. This trend can also be noted in some significant journals of didactics of history in this field, *Cartable de Clio*,⁴ published in Switzerland, and the *Revue interdisciplinaire de la Fondation Auschwitz* and *Témoigner. Entre histoire et mémoire*,⁵ both published in Belgium.

Who are the main players in this field? All of the researchers mentioned above are located in universities, whether in educational science departments or in teacher-training institutions; research is mostly supported by their universities or by national research funds, and in some cases by European research funds. Some studies are also supported or co-funded

4 2001–2013, edited by Charles Heimberg (published by Editions LEP from 2001 to 2007 and by Editions Antipodes from 2008 to 2013).

5 Formerly Bulletin de la Fondation Auschwitz, edited by Yannis Thanassekos; *Témoigner. Entre Histoire et mémoire*, edited by Philippe Mesnard.

by the *Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah* in Paris and the *Fondation Auschwitz* in Brussels.

Key Concepts in Educational Research and Didactics of History

Research on teaching the history of the Shoah in French-speaking contexts is conducted primarily in the fields of the didactics of history and educational sciences, but also in sociology, social psychology and ethnology. In general, educational research has some tradition, but research in the didactics of history is a recent development in France, which has a tradition of rather top-down teaching, in the form of “lecture with dialogue” (*cours magistral dialogué*) (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2014). Even though the philosophical approach dominates the scholarly tradition, empirical research in the didactics of history has been expanding recently, and it has evolved under the leadership of scholars such as François Audigier and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon. Still, French researchers have already participated in the major study *Youth and History* (Angvik & Borries, 1997), a comparative European survey on historical consciousness and political attitudes among adolescents. Since then, French-speaking researchers have also addressed the question of *historical consciousness* (Mousseau & Tutiaux-Guillon, 1998). However, educational research also has strong links to social psychology, especially in its use of *social representations theory* (developed by scholars such as Serge Moscovici, Henri Tajfel, Gabriel Mugny and others) and its focus on the social representations of students and teachers. Denise Jodelet (2012) has examined historical memory as one form of social representation of the historical past, and argues that it is closely linked to the particular legal and social context in which it exists, and that it is shaped by the conflicting claims of memorial groups and historians.

A challenging new issue is the concept of *Questions socialement vives/controversées* (QSVs, controversial or sensitive issues, based on the Anglo-Saxon concept of *controversial questions*). It has been discussed since the 1990s in the didactics of history and has been formalized in French by Legardez and Simonneaux (2006). A QSV can be defined as “a question that confronts competing values and interests, is emotionally charged and often politically sensitive and has a significant impact on the shared present and the common future (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2011, p. 225), and which challenges the authority and truth of school-based knowledge (*idem*, p. 226). QSVs include current political issues such as migration, environmen-

tal protection and sensitive history, such as colonial slavery, colonization and decolonization. Since the 1990s, this concept has inspired empirical research in the didactics of history, which shows the frequent gap between teaching prescriptions and the reality of learning, especially when the prescriptions favor consensual answers to QSVs in an attempt to avoid controversy. The Shoah can be seen as a QSV when teachers seek to evoke emotion and empathy without making explicit references to history, and when their legitimacy is questioned.

Another key issue is the focus on teaching about the Shoah: should moral issues or historical facts be the foremost concern? Several authors point out the danger in focusing too much on moralizing and not enough on history, or in emphasizing the lessons of history over the knowledge of history itself (for example, Eckmann, 2010; Ernst, 2011). These dangers may be partly responsible for creating student opposition to teachers.

Empirical Studies

Since the 1990s, some pioneers—historians and educators—have conducted several surveys and assessments regarding teaching about the Shoah: Henry Rousso and Eric Conan investigated high-school teachers in France in the early nineties (see Conan & Rousso, 1993); Jean François Forges explored visits to the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum (1999); and Yannis Thanassekos and Anne Van Landschoot conducted a survey regarding the level of training on the subject of the Nazi genocides and crimes among French-speaking history teachers in Belgium (Thanassekos & Van Landschoot, 1998). The authors concluded that, despite their weak training in this field, teachers are fairly interested, use written testimonies and movies, invite witnesses and organize visits to exhibitions and memorial sites. Despite these important early efforts, empirical research on teaching and learning about the Shoah has only emerged since 2000. In the following section, we detail some important aspects of the topics, methods and results of recent research.

Studies Focusing on Teachers' Perceptions, Knowledge and Practices

The first large survey in this field was carried out in France by Laurence Corbel and Benoît Falaize (2003, 2004) at the *Institut national de la recherche pédagogique* (National Institute for Education Research, INRP). It addresses

teachers' and students' perceptions of sensitive subjects related to the memory and history of the twentieth century, mainly the Destruction of the Jews, the Genocide of the Roma and the wars of decolonization. The survey, based on semi-structured interviews, reveals that the Shoah is always experienced as a very special topic, different from any other topic a teacher has to deal with. In addition, the authors note the importance of civic education to the teachers. The specific difficulty of the topic resides in the tension between emotion and reason, and between memory and historical knowledge, and creates some disenchantment. The authors note three types of reactions to education about the Shoah: sacralization and moralization; the effect of saturation; and the challenge of dealing with aggressive student reactions. They also highlight an "*impensé colonial et postcolonial qui sous-tend les représentations mutuelles, sources de malentendus*" (unconsciously thought colonial and postcolonial view that underlies mutual representations and results in misunderstandings) (2003, p. 71). This *impensé* of colonial history and decolonization underlines the mutual representations between students and teachers and is a source of misunderstandings concerning not only Vichy, but also the Algerian War of Independence.

Similar results have been found in other studies focusing on teachers. In their study based on twenty-five in-depth interviews with Swiss teachers, Monique Eckmann and Charles Heimberg (2011) also note the importance of this topic for teachers, their thoughtful preparation and the mostly positive response from students, even despite some critical incidents. The study indicates that teachers adopt three basic positions: empathy for the victims, genocides as a general theme and the "lessons" to be learned from the past. The teachers' main difficulties seem to be related to their very high expectations for the subject and the high degree of empathy for the victims they expect their students to display. The interviews also show how teachers shape various re-interpretations of their own personal background and family history, whether they are of Swiss heritage or have a migration background. The authors recommend that this personal dimension—i.e. reflexive work on teachers' own family history and its reinterpretation—should be included in the training of history teachers.

Sivane Hirsch's (2012) study examines the difficulties Québécois teachers have in speaking to young people about the Holocaust. This difficulty results in a reluctance to address this difficult topic, although it is included in the curriculum in the subjects of history, ethics, religious culture and *éducation à la citoyenneté*, four topics that all offer motivating

opportunities for TLH. Hirsch identifies the three tools teachers prefer to use when teaching the subject: graphic novels, movies and the testimonies of survivors.

A case study carried out by Sabrina Moisan, Sivane Hirsch and Geneviève Audet (2015) focuses on three high-school history teachers and explores their educational aims and related practices in teaching the Holocaust, including a field trip to the *Musée commémoratif de l'Holocauste à Montréal* (MCHM, Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre). This study is part of a broader research project on the perspectives of students and teachers, and combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. The data regarding the teachers are based on interviews with teachers and class observations. The results show that all three teachers demonstrated strong interest in the subject and considered the Holocaust a critical part of twentieth-century history and a catalyst for dealing with the values of pluralism and diversity. Seen through the lens of a typology of educational approaches, their educational aims primarily fall under historical and intercultural/antiracist theoretical approaches, but their practices appeared to be highly discordant, and the authors note a discrepancy between the goals announced by the teachers and their practices. However, they do not consider the teachers' practices and aims to be fixed, but in a constant state of evolution.

Studies Focusing on Students' Perceptions, Knowledge and Attitudes

Several studies focus on students. Alexandra Oeser (2011), from France, analyzes the pedagogy on Nazism in four German high schools, located in Hamburg (former West Germany) and Leipzig (former German Democratic Republic, GDR). The methods used are ethnographic observation, examination of archives and semi-structured interviews. Analyzing the representations and practices of the students, following their social origins, their school career and trajectory and examining their migration history, the author shows the meaning that adolescents give to the National Socialist past at a crucial moment of change in their own lives, when they are progressively constructing political meaning for themselves. It is also one of the few studies that deal with gender (Oeser, 2007) and the differentiated appropriation of the pedagogical framework between girls and boys: the girls tend to be most interested in the victims of Nazism, while the boys tend to be most interested in the "actors." Professors grade the boys less favorably, thus contributing to a reorientation of their interests towards

the victims. This study shows the consistency of gendered stereotypes, according to which “emotionality” is attributed to girls and “rationality” to boys; these stereotypes are more or less reinforced depending upon class origins.

Dealing with the outcomes of teaching and learning, Nadine Fink (2009; 2014) analyzed the effects of school visits to the multimedia exhibition “*L’histoire c’est moi*” (I Am History) on students in Geneva, both at the time of the visit and subsequently. The exhibition included various memories of and narratives regarding the period of the Second World War in Switzerland. The films presented in the exhibition showed a broad variety of representations, experiences and points of view; these films were recorded at the end of the 1990s, when there were highly polemical arguments regarding the role of Switzerland during the Second World War. The exhibition was seen by over 20,000 Swiss students. The study combines participant observation and interviews. Students adopted three types of positions in regard to the testimonies: students who were “believing” believed that history and memory are congruent; students who were “rationalists” maintained a surprising distance to the past; and “scientist students” believed that history is an objective science that cannot be related through testimonies. However, all types of students showed a high degree of interest in the topic, as well as a high degree of historical consciousness and consciousness of their own role as historical actors. The study also questions the status of testimonies and the intergenerational understanding they can provide.

Geoffrey Grandjean’s (2011; 2014) study, conducted in Belgium, deals with the transmission of memory and how it affects the development of attitudes and political behavior among students, comparing those of Francophone-Belgian origin, on the one hand, with those with an immigrant background or foreign students, on the other. The study employed focus-group discussions, and it analyzed and compared the two groups in order to examine how adolescents address the question of genocidal events. The first hypothesis, that students with an immigrant background and foreign students would relativize the Shoah more frequently by comparing it with other mass atrocities, was not confirmed by the evidence, because students in both groups did so. The second hypothesis, that students with an immigrant background and foreign students would mobilize painful memories in their interpretation of the Shoah, was confirmed. Indeed, these students more frequently related the Shoah to recent events, especially to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Grandjean called for prudence regarding these results,

because the schools of the two groups of students were very different in terms of academic standards, the social and class origin of the students and whether they led to higher education or not, and the impact of the type of school on the results could not be verified.

The research by Stanislas Hommet (2012; 2014) is still ongoing, and it is being conducted within the framework of the Teaching History for a Europe in Common (THIEC) project, which he leads together with Jan Löffström (2014), and which involves researchers and educators in six countries: Finland, France, Hungary, Poland, Portugal and Russia. The project is based on the study of historical consciousness among adolescents in these countries and aims to develop pedagogical instruments to deal with the issue of the painful past in history teaching and teacher education. The project's two parts consist of, first, a comparative qualitative study of what adolescents in the six participating European countries think of the question of the painful past, historical moral responsibility and reparations for historical injustices, based on focus-group discussions with adolescents, ages sixteen to nineteen; and second, the development of and experimentation with pedagogical tools to be applied when teaching issues of the painful past. The French study focuses on the possible, somewhat contradictory ways in which the Vel' d'Hiv Roundup can be understood and interpreted, including historians' focus on contextualizing the precise event, asking for remembrance and focusing on recognition of the errors committed and official excuses; these issues are considered necessary to the reconstruction of mutual understanding and the ability to live together.

Students' Visits to Museums and Trips to Historical Sites

Sabrina Moisan (2011), individually and together with Audrey Licop (2013), analyzed the meaning and pedagogical use of museums by comparing two Canadian museums, both of which are crucial for historical education in the country, the MCHM in Montreal and the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa. Whereas the Canadian War Museum presents a view of history that reinforces Canada as a great nation, the MCHM presents the dark side of Canadian policy during the Second World War. The two museums contain precise information and factual details and teach factual history to the visitors, but they present different perspectives. The MCHM combines memory and history and offers detailed information on the historical facts; but, because of its modest size, it cannot tell the overall story in sufficient

detail. The War Museum gives a detailed historical account, but it does not focus on memory.

Other studies offer analyses of field trips and visits to former concentration or extermination camps in a comparative perspective, especially the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum. One of these studies, carried out by the late Erik Cohen, a French-Israeli researcher, analyzes the impact of a trip to Poland on Israeli high-school students (Cohen, 2013). In an article published in the same volume, Jackie Feldman (2013) examines the study trips of young Israeli students to Poland, and the effects on their identity. Also in a comparative perspective, Nitza Davidovich et al. (2013) compare educational programs about the Shoah in Israel and France. More broadly, the issue of field trips and educational trips continues to receive attention, and it is especially debated in France and Belgium. Upcoming studies will soon be able to provide a better understanding of the pedagogical benefits of such trips.⁶

The above-cited studies mostly deal with students from the same national or regional contexts as the researchers. However, transnational dimensions are becoming increasingly important, as with the THIEC project, a European network, which compares historical consciousness in six countries. Oeser's (2013) study is similar in this respect: it examines the German situation from France and at the same time brings German educational culture and debate back to France. These international, or rather transnational, studies form an interesting contribution to a global debate, which nevertheless refers to locally anchored research.

The study conducted by Eckmann (2009) is similar to those discussed above, dealing with encounters, conflict and dialogue. It also involves research on students, but the participants in this project are actually adults: community workers, educators, teachers, school principals, trainers and so. The research was conducted in conjunction with an experimental encounter program between Israeli Jews and Palestinians from Israel, who together dealt with the history and memory of the Holocaust, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Nakba. The methodology, key concepts and content of the program were located at the crossing of two educational traditions: peace education and Holocaust education. The program lasted for

6 The Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah in Paris has a program supporting pedagogical study trips; it has commissioned a research study on these trips, which is currently ongoing.

over a year and ended with a study trip to Berlin. The data are based on three series of interviews with the participants and participant observation. The findings point to questions of identity-building, mutual recognition of victims' experiences without equating historical facts of a different nature, processes of inclusion and distancing within their own groups and with others and the dilemmas faced when dealing with the Holocaust together. One reason mutual recognition appears to have been successful is that the program dealt extensively with perpetrators and bystanders, rather than only victims, a perspective that can make it easier for the two sides to come to a common understanding.

Textbooks, Study programs and Curricula

Textbooks form another field of studies that has existed for several years. A large study was undertaken by Bernard Lécurieux (2010; 2012) in the framework of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, comparing how the Nazi period and the Shoah have been presented in secondary school history textbooks since 1950 in Germany, the United Kingdom, French-speaking Belgium and France. Whereas German textbooks have provided a significant amount of information since the 1950s, French and British textbooks deal with this topic much less extensively. Walloon textbooks were rare from the 1970s to the 2000s.

Hirsch (2011), individually and with Marie McAndrew (2014), analyzed the treatment of the Holocaust in Quebec's history textbooks and curriculum. The study is part of a broader project examining the role of education in maintaining and developing interethnic relations in Quebec, and in particular between the Jewish community and the other Québécois. The textbooks contain clear information on, for example, the rise of National Socialism, Nazism and the life of Jewish communities in Europe before the war, as well as on postwar memory. At the same time, however, no definition of the Holocaust can be found in either the curriculum or the textbooks, and the expression "Holocaust" is hardly ever used. The most prevalent perspective in the textbooks is that of the perpetrators, leaving little room for victims', bystanders' or spectators' experiences. The study concludes that the treatment of the Holocaust is often superficial and partial and prevents Quebec's students from fully grasping the impact of this historical event on contemporary society. In addition, the authors conclude that the subject is highly relevant in its potential and actual contribution to

human rights education, as Quebec's curriculum includes citizenship education in its history program.

QSVs are also receiving increasing interest from researchers who analyze programs, textbooks and policies. In a comparative perspective, Ethier, Lantheaume, Lefrançois and Zanzanian (2008) examine the tensions between the policy of the past and the policy of recognition in teaching controversial historical questions in Quebec and France. Despite differences between France and Quebec, striking similarities exist in both regions, including that the Shoah is a controversial issue linked to the question of (an unstable) national identity. In both contexts, history teaching today, after having helped to construct national identity, tends to help students develop critical thinking as a feature of citizenship. And both places reconsider their founding narratives by integrating current memory claims. But at the same time, there is mistrust in both contexts of a strong affirmation of communitarianism, which is seen as a potential threat to the cohesion of the (national) group.

Benoît Falaize (2011) has analyzed the place of the Shoah in the evolution of French programs, and he too emphasizes the importance of QSVs. Referring to interviews carried out with teachers, he stresses that the Shoah has even become the paradigmatic example of QSVs, given the difficulty the teachers have in addressing competing memory claims and identity requests. While the Shoah has been solidly established in French programs, the educational system is nonetheless faced with a significant difficulty, as Falaize points out: how should some 40,000 history teachers be trained to deal with the Shoah in a historically and pedagogically adequate way? According to Falaize, the issue is complicated further by three major challenges: emotions, sacralization and relativism. Another specific issue is the difficulty of dealing with personal testimonies in the classroom: these testimonies are both valuable, as well as full of pitfalls.

And what is the role of history textbooks in regard to competing memories? In their analysis of recent textbooks, Benoît Falaize and Françoise Lantheaume (2008) argue that they try to balance between pacification and recognition, and that these textbooks, as important tools for bringing historical knowledge into schools, can have a pacifying effect on memory struggles if they avoid the pitfall of communitarianism, i.e. the instrumentalization of particular narratives, and if they offer the perspective that the future is *bien commun* (common good).

3. Concluding Remarks: Common and Divergent Aspects in the Francophone Academic Space

Victims and Testimonies as a Privileged Teaching and Research Focus?

The strong focus on victims and testimonies in the field of the didactics of history has been discussed extensively in France. Lantheaume (2009) has even warned of the risk that history will be depoliticized, as mere compassion with victims in segmented categories is not sufficient to allow for the construction of common civic categories and a common political framework for political action and social cohesion. Moreover, the importance of giving space to the experiences and perspectives of perpetrators and bystanders, and their frequent invisibility in history teaching, has been noted (Falaize, 2011; Eckmann & Heimberg, 2011). But this observation contrasts with the findings of Hirsch and MacAndrew (2011; 2014) in the Francophone Canadian context, where the privileged attention is on the perpetrators, leaving little room for the victims, spectators, bystanders and collaborators.

Is there Resistance or Reluctance to the Topic of the Shoah among Students of Arab or Islamic Origin?

It has often been remarked, in both the media and scholarly debates, that Muslim students seem to be unwilling to learn about or even listen to the history of the Holocaust. This issue has been raised widely throughout Europe, but in a variety of contexts. In France, teaching history means primarily teaching it in a context of post-colonialism, which differs from the situation in other countries. In the German context, for example, teaching takes place primarily in the context of post-National Socialism. In addition, “immigrants” in France are for the most part actually colonial and post-colonial emigrants who found themselves dispossessed in the colonies and underwent a process of proletarianization in the metropolis (Falaize, 2010, p. 286).

In France, the issue of Muslim students’ attitudes towards learning about the Shoah received wide attention when Georges Bensoussan, under the pseudonym of Emmanuel Brenner, edited *Les territoires perdus de la République. Antisémitisme, racisme et sexisme en milieu scolaire* (*The Lost Territories of the Republic: Antisemitism, Racism and Sexism in Schools*) in 2002, followed two years later by a second volume (Brenner, 2004).

Although the two volumes do not constitute empirical research in the strict sense, they nevertheless bring together the observations and testimonies of teachers and school principals that question the role of schools in dealing with these attitudes among Muslim students. They had a significant impact and influenced the perception and debate in France and elsewhere. The books describe incidents of antisemitism, racism and sexism within schools and portray antisemitism as finding its most fertile ground among youths with a Muslim immigrant background. This book has also been endorsed and sometimes instrumentalized by politicians and community leaders and provoked a debate that is still not resolved.

To what extent have researchers investigated this issue? We have not found any research in French explicitly addressing this debate, which has been formulated polemically and narrowly and risks being biased. Nevertheless, many studies have addressed the question indirectly, through the lens of QSVs or the perceptions of teachers and students. Although incidents of the kind are sometimes reported, the dominant picture reported in the studies is one of a strong interest in and serious engagement with the topic of the Shoah among both teachers and students. These findings seem to be common across Francophone research.

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Research in Nordic Countries

1. General Features

In the last few decades, much has been written about the demise and uncertain future of the Nordic welfare state. While it is questionable whether there ever was a “Nordic” model of education, the school systems of all Nordic countries¹ display clear similarities, not least that the school curricula emphasize democracy as an educational objective along with knowledge and professional skills. Education about the Holocaust (or aspects of it) is explicitly mandatory only in Finland and Sweden. In Denmark, a national “canon” of historical topics also highlights the need for history teachers to bring up the Holocaust.

In Norway, the curriculum does not mention the Holocaust, but it is clear that many Norwegian teachers raise the topic in class. In all countries but Finland, there also exist special state-funded institutions for education about the Holocaust, for example the *Dansk Institut for Internationale Studier* (Danish Institute for International Studies, Denmark), *HL-senteret* (Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities, Norway) and *Forum för Levande Historia* (Living History Forum, Sweden). Nordic teachers nowadays also have many guides and handbooks to consult as well as access to different internet resources and educational materials that can help them in different ways (see, for example, Bjerg et al., 2014; Lenz & Nilsen, 2011; Mattsson & Hermanson Adler, 2012).

1 In what follows, the focus lies on Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Iceland is excluded from the discussion as no Icelandic research on Holocaust education has been identified, and teaching about the Holocaust is not compulsory there (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture: The Icelandic National Curriculum guide for Compulsory Schools—with Subjects Areas 2014).

2. Nordic Empirical Research about Holocaust Education

Relevant studies have been searched for through academic search engines as well as the search engines of *Det Kongelige Bibliotek* in Copenhagen, *Kungliga Biblioteket* in Stockholm, *Nasjonalbiblioteket* in Oslo and *Nationallbiblioteket* in Helsinki. In addition, the reference lists of reviewed studies have been consulted. The search has included different combinations of terms such as “*Förintelsen*,” “Holocaust,” “*folkemord*,” “*folkmord*,” “*folkedrab*,” “*undervisning*,” “*utbildning*,” and “*utdanning*.”

In general, empirical research about Holocaust education represents only a small part of Nordic research on education, and only thirty-five empirical studies on the subject have been identified. These studies adopt a variety of methodological approaches and have a variety of research interests, but they nonetheless have some features in common. To begin with, apart from some quantitative surveys aimed at measuring knowledge about and attitudes towards the Holocaust, and a few others stemming from museology, most research is done from the perspective of history didactics. While there are some studies that focus on Holocaust education in a more strict sense (Kverndokk, 2007; Wibaeus, 2010), others use elements from education about the Holocaust as cases, often together with empirical findings from other educational settings, in order to answer overarching pedagogical questions (Persson, 2011; Syse, 2011, 2014).

We also find theoretical commonalities across these studies, with many researchers drawing, above all, on German theorists such as Jörn Rüsen and Andreas Körber, but also on Nordic theorists such as Bernard Eric Jensen and Klas-Göran Karlsson. The works of some Anglo-Saxon scholars, for example Denis Shemilt and Peter Lee, are also referred to in the discussions.

Nordic researchers are furthermore well informed about research in other Nordic countries, often attend the same conferences and cooperate in various ways. One important example is the Danish-German-Norwegian project *Developing Competence-Orientated Teaching on Historical Memories (TeacMem)*, funded by the European Union’s COMENIUS programme. It would thus make little sense to try to distinguish “national” approaches to educational research in this region. Differences in research on Holocaust education are therefore better understood as an outcome of other factors, above all social memories of the Second World War. Another commonality is that most of the research focuses on the Nordic countries

themselves. There are, however, a few exceptions, such as Johan Dietsch's study of Ukrainian history textbooks' treatment of the Holocaust and the Holodomor (Dietsch, 2006, 2012), Trond Risto Nilssen's analysis of memorial sites in Austria, Germany and Poland (Nilssen, 2011, 2012), Anamaria Dutceac Segesten's (2008) article on Holocaust education in Romania, Pär Frohnert's (2006) analysis of German history textbooks and Steffi de Jong's (2012) study of the museumization of video testimonies in a number of international institutions.

Following Simone Schweber's lead, one can note that there is little trace of the philosophical divide among Holocaust educators between those advocating the Holocaust's uniqueness and others who advocate a universalistic Holocaust education (Schweber, 2011). If anything, most Nordic studies tend to lean towards the latter position. What can be found—not so much among the researchers *per se* as in their empirical findings—are hints that teachers can be more or less historicist when teaching history, something that is also reflected in the way they teach about the Holocaust. Furthermore, teachers can find different ways to balance the curriculum's demands on them to simultaneously promote democratic values, transmit a scholarly historical understanding and develop critical capabilities among their students.

A Swedish study thus establishes that some teachers view the Holocaust as a singular event in European history and for that reason consider it a more important subject than most other historical topics of the period. Other teachers, however, emphasize instead the need for a comparative approach to teaching about genocides, whereas yet others offer instrumental reasons for teaching about the Holocaust, such as developing critical capabilities, creating an understanding of psychological mechanisms or promoting universal respect for democracy and human rights (Wibaeus, 2010). These findings are consistent with those of other studies. Whereas most Swedish teachers seem to favor thematic approaches when teaching about genocides and most often also focus on ethical questions and democratic values, some teachers instead bring up oppression, atrocities and genocide in the general history course when dealing with the historical contexts in which they occurred (Ammert, 2011).

The different approaches do not necessarily reflect different philosophical attitudes to the Holocaust, as similar divisions have been identified by studies of how Swedish history teachers view the purpose of history education in general.

Textbooks and Educational Literature

Instead, studies could be more easily clustered according to research interest. One interest concerns textbooks and educational literature. Some older Swedish studies (Bruchfeld, 1996; Löwengart, 2004) contain information of limited contemporary interest, partly because the material analyzed has been replaced and partly because Swedish history teachers today tend to base their courses on materials other than textbooks. More recent research has demonstrated that contemporary Norwegian history textbooks not only cover the Holocaust, but also tend to go against the grain of the traditional postwar narrative, in that, for example, they take a critical view of Norwegians' involvement in the Holocaust and of the harsh postwar treatment of Norwegian women who had been romantically involved with German soldiers (Eikeland, 2011; Hellstrand, 2009).

Teachers' Knowledge, Goals, Methods and Experiences

Another topic concerns teachers' knowledge, goals, methods and experiences. A Swedish study tries to measure teachers' factual knowledge and education using a quantitative approach (Lange, 2008). Other studies use qualitative methods to find out how teachers go about raising the subject of the Holocaust in class, what their goals are and how they perceive students' responses. Interviewing Swedish history teachers, Ylva Wibaeus identifies five different approaches to teaching about the Holocaust. The first emphasizes above all the extent of the atrocities, and a great part of the educational material is made up of photographs and/or narratives that in different ways highlight human vulnerability, Nazi violence and especially the genocide of European Jewry in concentration and extermination camps. Material is selected according to criteria of authenticity and possible identification, and the main characters in the narrative are the perpetrators and the victims. The second theme is characterized by a broader focus on totalitarian ideologies and regimes in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, where teachers use a comparative approach that is also more analytical than the first. The focuses of the third theme are propaganda and the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany. The fourth theme is above all about exploring the psychological mechanisms that made the Holocaust possible. The goal here is to have students realize that the genocide was carried out through the actions of ordinary people. The final approach focuses on democracy,

its meaning and the consequences of a lack of democracy. The Holocaust is brought up and analyzed as one of many examples of what dictatorships and the lack of human rights have meant to people and societies throughout history (Wibaeus, 2010).

Niklas Ammert reaches similar conclusions in his study of how Swedish history teachers teach about the Holocaust and other genocides. While there is a significant degree of variety in terms of methods and educational material, he identifies four basic approaches to teaching the subject. The first emphasizes contextualization and intellectual analysis. The teachers present the historical context in detail and try to explain events. The second type of teaching stresses intimacy, classroom discussions and the writing of personal reflections and letters. The teaching is often part of a larger theme about democracy and is often integrated into teaching about other subjects. The third approach is comparative, and its purpose is to demonstrate and analyze how genocides have a very long history and have occurred in different times in different cultures. The final approach is different. Teachers who fall into this category do not seem to have any clear approach to the subject, but instead complain about the lack of time and resources and imprecise criteria for grading (Ammert, 2011). From a slightly different angle, a Danish study analyses teachers' experiences of Holocaust education. It turns out that most perceive students as interested in the topic, and that there are seldom difficulties in bringing up the Holocaust, including in multicultural classrooms with Muslim students (Stokholm Banke, 2006).

Studies Focusing on Students

There are also some studies that focus on *students*. To begin with, there are quantitative studies measuring knowledge about the Holocaust and/or attitudes towards Holocaust education and public discourses about the Holocaust. These studies are of limited relevance because they transmit little knowledge about education as such, even if they might meet a public/political demand for information about the level of "Holocaust knowledge." A 2006 Swedish study accordingly revealed that among some 1,700 students in grade nine, 90 percent responded that they did not doubt that the Holocaust had taken place, and only 2 percent claimed to have serious doubts about it (Berggren & Johansson, 2006). In another study of Swedish upper-secondary school students, conducted in 2009–10, only 5 percent of the respondents answered that they had received no school instruction about

the Holocaust, whereas 30 percent responded that they had received “quite a lot” and 45 percent “a lot” (Forum for Levande Historia, 2010). The difficulties of interpreting such results, however, were demonstrated by a Norwegian survey conducted in 2009 among almost 3,000 grade nine students, in which as many as 43 percent of the respondents claimed that they did not know anything about the Holocaust. However, other questions in the same study also demonstrated that many of these students actually did possess some factual knowledge about the Holocaust (Mikkelsen et al., 2010).

Others have used qualitative methods. In Wibaeus’s analysis of interviews with Swedish students and classroom observation, it becomes clear that most students perceive an instrumental intention behind education about the Holocaust: they seem to know beforehand that they are expected to learn that this must “never happen again.” Another *a priori* assumption seems to be that basic democratic and human values are considered universally valid and a “natural” vantage point for historical reflection. Few students seem to grasp the fact that social values might change over time; instead, they assume that historical actors should have had the same values and ideals as they do. Even though their teachers had devoted a comparatively significant amount of time to the Holocaust, the students still did not feel that they could answer the question about how the Holocaust had been possible. Furthermore, many of them could not see how the education they had received could help them answer that question. In conclusion, Wibaeus notes that open communication between the teachers and students about the purpose of Holocaust education seems to be missing (Wibaeus, 2010).

Niklas Ammert interviewed two groups of Swedish students, one from the ninth grade, in secondary school, and one from an upper-secondary school, who had received formal instruction about the Holocaust. When asked for explanations of genocides, students in the upper-secondary school mostly referred to dictatorship, totalitarian regimes and strong and insane leaders, but they also brought up economic reasons and religion as underlying structural factors. The students in the secondary school put more emphasis on the power apparatus. These students also placed significant importance on Nazi propaganda and ideology. Contrary to what might be expected, most of the interviewed students ranked Stalin’s crimes as equally bad or even worse than those committed by Nazi Germany, although they acknowledged that the violence served different purposes. In conclusion, the students argued that the crimes in the Soviet Union were wider in scope, but that the Nazi genocide was more inhuman (Ammert,

2011). After reading an excerpt from Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men*, a group of Swedish students in the secondary school were asked a series of questions to assess whether they believed that the study of history should raise ethical questions, and whether it is possible to learn about values and ethics by studying history. It turns out that most students tended to answer both questions in the affirmative (Ammert, 2012).

Focus on Methods and Ways of Teaching

Several studies focus on methods and ways of teaching, sometimes including students' learning outcomes. Today, the curricula for history in most Nordic countries emphasize developing students' ability to deconstruct and reconstruct historical narratives. In several articles, Claudia Lenz has analyzed the use of what is called the "mini-exhibition method," where students are asked to take four or five pictures of exhibits, images, texts and so on in an exhibition at a memorial site or a museum. They should use these images to produce a visual narrative that is presented to the other groups at the end of the session. This method has been tested on different types of students with seemingly positive results (Lenz, 2011a; Lenz, 2011b; Lenz & Syse, 2014). In a similar vein, Erik Thorstensen has analyzed how students experienced a teaching structure, based on ideas of reflective historical consciousness, which was tried out in connection with a 2008 exhibition about Leni Riefenstahl. He finds that the students demonstrated the ability to relate the content of a narrative to its form, but also that there might be more suitable topics than the Holocaust for opening up historical experiences and creating a space for historical orientation (Thorstensen, 2011).

In another Norwegian study, Harald Syse asked 150 nineteen-year-old students who had had some initial instruction on the Holocaust to read two newspaper articles—one from 1950 and one from 2006—about the Norwegian police officer Knut Rød, who was acquitted of treason despite leading the arrest and deportation of the Jews in Oslo. The students then had to analyze and compare the content of the two articles. The purpose was to assess what kinds of answers would demonstrate that the students had managed to make meaningful and plausible connections between the past and present, and whether this way of working with historical sources is suitable in upper-secondary schools. Syse finds that the method gives students an opportunity to develop their reconstructive skills, but also notes that students are not used to thinking about history in this way (Syse, 2012).

In another article, Syse analyzes the use of educational materials called Responsibility Cards, which have been developed and are used by the *HL-senteret* in Oslo. Using the case of responsibility for and perpetrators behind the Holocaust, the purpose is to move from pure knowledge-based teaching to skills-based teaching. Syse argues that this method makes students use basic theoretical concepts of the present when they approach the past, and that it can easily be used to teach memory culture (Syse, 2014). Ulrike Jensen in turn has analyzed Dilemma Perspective, a Danish-German-Norwegian educational project about the rescue of prisoners from German concentration camps by Red Cross “White Buses” in the spring of 1945 (Jensen, 2014). Knut Vesterdal’s analysis of an educational project, using an authentic biographical case to teach Norwegian students about the Holocaust, belongs to the same group of studies (Vesterdal, 2011). These studies focus on education in connection with visits to museums and memorial sites. Bo Persson’s (2011) study examines what happens when students are taught about the Holocaust in three different ways in a Swedish history class. He demonstrates that the choice of educational approach will have a distinct effect on not only students’ beliefs about the Holocaust, but also which skills they develop (Persson, 2011).

Memorial Sites and Museums

Memorial sites and museums have been the focus of other Nordic studies. Trond Risto Nilssen has analyzed uses of history at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Dachau, Mauthausen and Sachsenhausen after 1945. Nilssen analyzes how the present design and place of these camps in the post-Holocaust memory landscape have been influenced by their design, function and status in the 1933–45 period, but also by local events after 1945. He also discusses how local developments at the memorial sites can be connected to more general currents in the memory culture centered on the Holocaust (Nilssen, 2011, 2012). In Denmark, Anne Wæhrens analyzes the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum from the perspective of dark tourism studies. She finds that all the interviewed Danish visitors had strong emotional experiences characterized by ambivalence to the place in that they felt simultaneously attracted to and repelled by it. Regarding the educational benefits, she also concludes that there is much room for improvement, as younger visitors are unable to grasp the history of the place, whereas older visitors claim to have learned nothing new (Wæhrens, 2007). In another Danish study, the

memory work of the Danish Jewish Museum in Copenhagen is found to be strongly connected to the established postwar narrative about the rescue of Danish Jews in October 1943. However, interviews reveal that visitors tend to question this master narrative in ways that enable them to take a critical view of contemporary Danish society (Thuge et al., 2005).

Tina Ølberg has analyzed the permanent exhibition as well as educational activities at the Norwegian *HL-senteret*. She finds clear differences between the narrative of the exhibition and what is said by the institution's educators, in terms of both how the Holocaust is defined and how it is narrated (Ølberg, 2009). From a different angle, Kyrre Kverndokk analyzes Norwegian school journeys to former Nazi German extermination and concentration camps. The explicit aim of the journeys and visits to the camps is to teach Norwegian teenagers democratic values, human rights and tolerance of other cultures and religions. In Kverndokk's analysis, Holocaust memory is viewed as a dialogical discourse in which different voices negotiate the meaning of the past. The results indicate that the strong ritualization of these journeys forces a specific Norwegian narrative about the Holocaust and the Second World War upon the students, who are left with little room for developing individual reflections or interpretations (Kverndokk, 2007). Kverndokk has also explored the expectations on students visiting concentration camps to display "ritual" emotional distress when confronted with the "authentic site" (Kverndokk, 2009). Berit Ljung has analyzed Swedish students' receptions of a workshop, *Gränser* (Borders), developed by the *Forum för Levande Historia* using, among other things, events from the Holocaust in order to make students reflect on the social construction of "us" and "them." She finds that elements that allow students to take active part in the communication have the most impact, whereas "lectures" from the museum pedagogue have little effect (Ljung, 2009). Steffi de Jong (2012), finally, has analyzed the ways Holocaust and Second World War museums collect and use video testimonies.

3. National Differences

Despite the many similarities in the research in Nordic countries, there are some national differences as well. Above all, there is somewhat less research done in Denmark, a fact that, given the small number of researchers in Norway and Sweden with an interest in the field as well, may be explained

by pure chance, and no studies of Holocaust education have been identified in Finland or Iceland. In Finland, however, one should note that pedagogical questions concerning other traumatic historical experiences have been studied by scholars using basically the same theoretical apparatuses as the studies mentioned above, and the reason that Holocaust education has not attracted interest must therefore be found elsewhere (see, for example, Löfström, 2012; Torsti, 2003). In the Finnish curriculum, the Holocaust—a mandatory topic in the school curriculum since 2010—is strongly connected to promoting values. Furthermore, it is found in two different school subjects. To begin with, it is part of the curriculum for religion and beliefs (grades six to nine) under the heading “ethics and the good life”: “human rights ethics, *crimes against humanity such as holocaust* [sic; italics in original].” In history (grades seven to nine), the Holocaust is part of a new block about “Human rights questions and international cooperation”: “Human rights, *human rights violations such as the genocide*, holocaust and other persecutions of people [sic; italics in original]” (Opetushallitus/Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2010). School curricula therefore cannot explain the lack of empirical research on Holocaust education. It has been noted, however, that Finnish public discourses about the Holocaust have followed a slightly different path over the last few decades than those in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (for an overview, see Gullberg, 2011). In the words of the Finnish historian Henrik Meinander,

The Finnish Holocaust discourse has so far differed markedly from the Nordic pattern, partly perhaps there is traditionally a delay in the Finnish reception of international ideas and views. However, a more obvious reason seems to be that Finnish wartime experiences are in some crucial respects more like those in Eastern Europe than in the western parts of German-occupied Europe. (Meinander, 2011)

Meinander highlights the fact that different historical experiences of the Second World War have produced somewhat divergent national narratives of what took place at home and abroad between 1939 and 1945. In other words, some differences might be understood in terms of historical culture. In Finland, the common understanding is that the nation fought its own separate defensive wars (1939–1940, 1941–1944, 1944–1945) in the midst of the global conflict, and that the Holocaust had no place in this, although books published as early as the late 1970s have demonstrated that the Finn-

ish government had refused exile to Jewish refugees and instead delivered them into the hands of the Germans (Gullberg, 2011, Meinander, 2001).

In Denmark, the dominant master narrative for many decades was that almost the entire Danish population resisted the German occupation, such that the resistance movement was the nation's "sword" and cooperating politicians its "shield." In this narrative, there was some room for the rescue of the great majority of Danish Jews in October 1943, but the Holocaust as such was hardly important (Bryld, 1999; Østergård, 2011). In Norway, a similar story was told that distinguished sharply between—on one side—the large majority of "real Norwegians," symbolized by King Haakon VII, the exile government in London and resistance movements such as *Hjemmefronten* and *Milorg*, and—on the other—the German occupiers and the minority of Norwegian Quislings (including Quisling). In this narrative, written from the perspective of the nation-state, there was little room for Jews as a separate group of Norwegian victims (Fure, 1999; Corell, 2011). In Sweden, finally, until the 1990s the Second World War was viewed above all as something that had happened elsewhere, beyond the nation-state's borders, something that Sweden, through good fortune and skilled diplomacy, had managed to avoid (Johansson, 1997, Östling, 2011).

In recent decades, however, these postwar master narratives have come under fierce critique in all three countries. In Sweden, one of the leading historians of the Second World War has recently claimed that something has gone wrong in the Swedish view of the Second World War because public discourse today seems to be dominated by a one-sided, moralizing counter-narrative to the former master narrative (Johansson, 2014). The fact that the Holocaust has been given a prominent place in these counter-narratives might lend some support to Meinander's interpretation that Finland seems different because the other Nordic countries have abandoned earlier postwar narratives.

It might also be that differences in national historical culture still have a certain influence on the way the Holocaust is treated in the schools' history courses. Unfortunately, there is still not enough empirical research to answer this question. However, looking at school curricula and the hints given by present research, a few remarks are possible. Denmark is unique among the Nordic countries in that it has a national "canon" of mandatory topics that can take up as much as 25 percent of an entire history course. It is this "canon" that signals a public interest that the history of the Holocaust is taught in Danish schools, but it should be observed that

this teaching occurs in a specifically Danish way under the headline—or “canon point”—“August Rising and Jew Action 1943” in the curriculum for grades seven to nine. This is meant to serve as a gateway for teachers to bring up the following “perspectives”: the Nazis’ route to power and the Second World War; the German new order in Europe and conditions in other occupied countries; antisemitism in Europe, including Denmark, and Jewish refugees in the 1930s; the Holocaust—its preconditions, unfolding and consequences—occupation and policies of collaboration; other genocides; and the international community’s efforts to prevent crimes against humanity (Undervisningsministeriet, 2009). In other words, the events in October 1943 are used as a metonym for not only the Holocaust, but also the Second World War as such. It is interesting to note that a similar “Holocaust lens” on the Second World War was also identified by Helle Bjerg when interviewing young Danes about the memory of the Second World War and the German occupation of Denmark (Bjerg, 2011). Without further studies, however, we cannot know what part formal education has in this phenomenon.

In Sweden, the situation is different. Although the Holocaust is integrated into the history curriculum for grades seven through nine, as in Denmark, the curriculum is designed differently: it is made up of different units, and the Holocaust falls into “Imperialism and world wars, about 1800–1950.” In this unit, students are taught about the darker aspects of history, such as imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, dictatorships, the world wars, oppression, ethnic cleansing, the Holocaust and the Gulag. Here there is no explicit mention of national history. The same is not true of another block within the same history course, “Democratization, the postwar period and globalization, about 1900 to the present.” In this unit, teachers are, for example, supposed to bring up the democratization process in Sweden, the formation of political parties, popular movements such as the women’s movement and the struggle for equal suffrage for men and women and the birth and development of the Swedish welfare state (Skolverket, 2011). Even in this block, there is, however, a possibility to connect the Holocaust to national history and to bring up the more oppressive aspects of the Swedish welfare state, namely in the paragraph referring to “Historical perspectives on the situation of the indigenous Sami people and of the other national minorities in Sweden.” We do not know to what extent teachers make use of this possibility, however. Wibaeus’s (2010) research indicates that at least some Swedish teachers do indeed try to integrate

Swedish national history with their teaching about the Holocaust, but it is impossible to determine how common this is, and more research is needed to establish the answer. In any case, the overall impression left by the curriculum is that there are tendencies to continue with the traditional master narrative—in other words, to externalize the Second World War and the Holocaust. Here one could note a difference with the Finnish curriculum, discussed above, which instead tends to universalize it.

In Norway, finally, the curriculum does not explicitly require history teachers to bring up the Holocaust *per se*. Instead, it is stipulated that after grade seven, students should be able to “give an account of the national minorities that exist in Norway, and describe the main features of their rights, history and living conditions” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2013). As Syse has pointed out, this requirement indicates that Norwegian school children are already supposed to learn about the Holocaust at the upper-primary level (Syse, 2011). In this context, the Holocaust is certainly part of Norwegian national history. At the secondary level, it is easy to see how a teacher can bring up the Holocaust as part of the requirement that, after grade ten, students should be able to “discuss ideals about human value, discrimination and the development of racism in a historical and contemporary perspective” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2013). In this context, the Holocaust would be part of a transnational theme rather than connected to national history. The question is how Norwegian teachers execute these guidelines in educational practice. A study about teacher-training students in the final years of their program demonstrated that, while the vast majority of the students believed the Norwegian part of the Holocaust to be a central and relevant topic for schools, as many as 76 percent claimed to have no or very limited ability to teach the topic (Kristensen, 2009). However, recent research has demonstrated that contemporary Norwegian textbooks in fact devote a great deal of space to the Holocaust in Norway. Earlier textbooks tended to separate the Norwegian Holocaust from the Holocaust in the rest of Europe, but the most recent textbooks employ a more integrated approach that places Norwegian developments in their European context (Eikeland, 2011; Hellstrand, 2009). An open question remains, however: to what extent does this transnational view reflect a broader trend in Norwegian discourses regarding the Holocaust? In her analysis of the permanent exhibition at the *HL-senteret*, Ølberg finds that both the exhibition and the educational approaches focus on Norwegian events. Unlike the narrative about Norway, the unfolding of the Holocaust in other countries is

presented in a more aggregated way, with fewer nuances and fewer narratives about individuals (Ølberg, 2009).

In conclusion, one can note that, apart from certain national differences, there is a great deal of unity in the Nordic countries in terms of education about the Holocaust. As already discussed, this unity is also found in research about this education. One common feature of special interest for the study at hand is that the Holocaust is basically never framed as a special problem for education as such, in the way that Adorno once framed it (Adorno, 1977), but is rather treated as one of many important topics that should be part of formal education. Because teaching about the Holocaust occurs mostly in history courses, it is mainly scholars working in the field of history didactics who have investigated the issue. A second feature is that many Nordic history didactics scholars draw on both Anglo-Saxon and German research and theory-building, sometimes trying to unite these two approaches in their analyses of the teaching and learning about history.

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Research in Romance Languages: Latin America, Spain, Portugal and Italy

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the state of empirical research on Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust (TLH) in most Romance languages apart from French, which has its own chapter. These languages include Catalan, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. The literature located and reviewed in these languages covers Spain, Portugal, Italy and four Latin American countries, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil. In places, related literature in English was used to complement literature in the domestic languages. Seeking empirical work on Latin American contexts from Europe leaves open the possibility that materials located only in hard copy or in libraries that have not been catalogued digitally have been missed. To address this possibility, we conferred with relevant scholars in Latin American countries, such as Chile and Mexico, who confirmed that they too were unaware of other empirical research studies in these countries. The chapter is organized into three sections: Spain and Portugal; Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil; and Italy.

Although each country has its own unique characteristics, the classification is based on the following shared characteristics. Spain and Portugal were presumably neutral during the Holocaust, their dictatorships endured after the Second World War and neither had a large Jewish community. Therefore, the impulse to embrace a broader European memory only emerged during the 1980s, as a result of their aspirations to join the European Union. Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil—all countries in the Americas—have substantial Jewish communities and a legacy of dictatorship. They also received a significant number of Nazi immigrants and had collaborated with Nazi Germany. Italy is a unique case. During the Holocaust, it was an Axis ally until 1943, so it can be considered a perpetrator, but also an occupied country after that date. Of the almost 40,000 members of Italy's Jewish community, approximately 8,000 perished. Unlike the

other countries discussed here, Italy has had traditional democratic governments since the end of the Second World War.

The decision to organize the countries regionally instead of according to their languages reflects the distance between them and the relative ease of communication across the language barrier. While Brazil and Portugal share a common tongue, as do Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, the particular discourses within the shared language are shaped less by their shared language than by geography.

A total of eighty-three publications or papers related to TLH were identified, but only twenty-four of them involve empirical research. This latter group includes three bachelor's theses, one master's thesis and two PhD dissertations.

Search Methods

To find empirical studies on TLH, we first relied on Google Scholar, JSTOR and WorldCat. In addition, the Collective Catalogue of the Universities of Catalonia (CCUC) and Dialnet (an open-access database of empirical research in Spain, Argentina and Chile) were used. As in other regions, identifying the most helpful terminology and search terms has been a challenge. Translating each term is not always a straightforward task, and in order to locate as many titles as possible several likely terms were searched in each language, namely "Holocaust," "genocide," "Holocaust commemoration," "memory," "totalitarianism," "Nazism," "Jewish," "Shoah," "Auschwitz," "concentration universe,"¹ "National Socialism" and "fascism." These were combined with terms such as "education," "learning," "didactics," "school," "secondary school" and "university" for each of the languages. Finally, personal contacts with some prominent TLH scholars—and also with some of the organizations working in this area—allowed us to increase the number of papers we identified and considered.

1 This is a French term for concentration camp in any location, country and era. In Spain, and mainly in Catalonia, there is a strong interest in any experience related to life in a concentration camp, and particularly in the vast amount of literature written by individuals after they had been liberated. An example is the well-known novel *K.L. Reich* by Amat-Piniella (1963). Moreover, there are also specific research groups on this subject in different universities in Barcelona.

The number of empirical studies on education about the Holocaust turned out to be relatively small overall, and in some of the countries almost non-existent. As a result, we expanded the criteria and considered any article or work related to the topic written by scholars. In addition to offering an overview of the empirical work in this chapter, we investigate how particular publications have contributed to an overview of TLH or assessed its effectiveness in each region or country.

The Discourse in Romance-Language Regions Regarding the Transmission of History and Memory

As in French-speaking countries, the discourse about the transmission of history and memory in general and the memory of the Holocaust in particular has shaped public discourse and research. This section addresses the emergence of memory in practice and as an academic concept across the Romance-language regions.

In Romance countries, the concept of memory is a central issue in both the academy and other cultural fields. This ubiquity is relatively new, however: during the 1960s and 1970s, memory had not yet emerged as a focus of intellectual debate. Later, memory penetrated deep into the world of historiography to become a “memory obsession,” as Traverso (2006) has called it, and it has come to dominate accounts of the past at the expense of history.

There are three feasible explanations for the new centrality accorded to the concept of memory. The first entails a broader shift regarding the past. Wars and genocides have called into question the assumption that modernity inevitably entails human progress, and interest has shifted towards a recovery and preservation of the past for the future. The second involves the linguistic turn in the social sciences and humanities, linked to the crisis of structural-functionalist and Marxist frameworks, which has called grand narratives and global approaches into question. Against a history of great interpretative models, this linguistic turn has encouraged a history that is more sensitive to details and closer to political events and the historiographical profession. There has been a return to writing history as a narrative. And the third explanation involves a turn towards subjectivity: historical accounts have made room for actors and their experiences, witnesses and their memories, which had been erased by structural and *longue durée* approaches to history. Thus, historians began to look at shorter periods of

time (some of them traumatic) through the voices of their protagonists and witnesses. Oral history made it possible to include subjective accounts in the reconstruction of the past.

However, memory and history influence each other. On the one hand, history is influenced by the struggle for memory, which is central to the public agenda. On the other hand, memory is influenced by history: there is no literal, original memory that has not been “contaminated” by elements that are not derived from experience. Memories are reworked from social frameworks that are influenced by both academic approaches and collective thinking.

Another important distinction is between what Traverso (2006) has called weak memory and strong memory, which means that memories of different strengths and visibility, far from being fixed properties, change over time. The memory of the Holocaust in some Romance-language contexts was not widely discussed for many years, and it is an example of a weak memory becoming a strong memory: today, that memory has become a kind of “civil religion of the Western world.”

In cases of the absence abuse, or excessive duty of memory, Ricœur (2003) proposes a policy of “just memory” that addresses memory as an aspect of history and rescues the critical function of the latter. But characteristic of almost all the Romance regions, a new openness, resulting from policy changes, liberalization and democratic transitions, has enabled a new public sphere that may incorporate narratives and stories that had hitherto been absent or censored (Jelin, 2002). As a result, a competition over memories and a struggle over how the past is understood have developed, involving actors with diverse and plural demands and claims.

Actors involved in the construction of memory/ies demand truth, justice and memory, trying to keep memories of repression and political violence alive. This is the case in the transitions to democracy in Latin America during the 1980s and 1990s, when human rights movements were at the center of memorial policies (Jelin, 2002). These actors not only seek claims, but also want reparations or recognition. They also create rituals and commemorations, and build or appropriate symbolic markers in public places and various forms of political action are resolutely involved in the construction of memory.

In Italy, Ivo Mattozzi (2009) analyzes the conceptual changes associated with passing from oral history works to new proposals that emphasize the construction of memory between 1970 and 2007. To this end, he

reconstructs transformations that have occurred in historiography and the didactics of history and the emergence of the concept of memory in both schools and academic fields. Mattozzi argues that oral sources and witnesses should not be used merely to create a more human and attractive reconstruction of the past, and that memory as a school subject cannot be separated from more comprehensive and complex reconstructions of history. With the tendency to substitute memory for historiographical knowledge, the fashion to build “memory museums” has also emerged. Earlier, there were history museums, and now there are memory museums. Finally, the cult of memory is exalted in “remembrance days,” compulsory, commemorative events that are organized but not guided by the didactics of history. Examples include the Holocaust and the *Foibe*, the massacre of Italians by the Yugoslav army between 1943 and 1945. As these days approach, teachers begin to mobilize to address the issue, as required by law. Legal obligations can be met with activities that relate to history, but they are more often met through evocative literary activities, theatre performances or films. At the end, students can learn about the Holocaust or graves in historical texts, but also or only through stories: we can draw their attention to the phenomenon and convey knowledge and the emotions generated by official commemorations and artistic performances. In this case, history is overrun by the emotional evocation of facts.

2. Spain and Portugal

Spain and Portugal have a specific history related to the Holocaust. They were both officially neutral² during the Second World War, neither country had a substantial Jewish community and their authoritarian regimes endured into the 1970s. Their Jewish communities grew primarily during the 1980s, thanks to immigration from Argentina.³ Spain joined the

2 Although Spain and Portugal have traditionally been defined as neutral countries, there is still a debate as to whether they actually were so. For more details, see the conclusions of the International Colloquium organized by the IHRA, “Bystanders, rescuers or perpetrators? The neutral countries and the Shoah” (Madrid, 24–26 November, 2014), published by the IHRA (see IHRA, Guttstadt et al., 2016).

3 These immigrants were mainly of Ashkenazi origin and highly educated. Many were survivors of the Holocaust. This community was quite distinct from the

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2008, and Portugal became an Observer Country in 2009. TLH is a relatively recent phenomenon in these countries. Neither Spain nor Portugal has university programs dedicated to Holocaust studies. The limited amount of empirical research on Holocaust education is therefore not unexpected.

The transition model adopted for the shift from dictatorship to democracy in both countries was based on the “don’t open wounds” principle, according to which they wanted to close the book on those painful chapters in their history rather than examine what had happened. This decision had more to do with the atrocities committed in their countries than with those committed in occupied Europe; nonetheless, studying the Holocaust could raise difficult and painful memories and issues that many preferred to suppress. In Spain, for example, facing these histories could evoke the specific case of the Spanish Republicans who were considered stateless because Franco did not recognize them and who perished in Nazi concentration camps.

A recent dissertation by Russel (2016) claims that the Holocaust is fundamental in the Spanish context because it provides a refined analytical framework for thinking about many of the most important questions in the Spanish context. The author argues that the dialogue between the Holocaust and the Spanish Civil War, which has resulted from new historical discoveries and connections, will help to recover Spanish memory, break the silence and heal the damage done by the Franco dictatorship. This work makes clear that the continuing meaning of the Holocaust is tightly interconnected with the political history of the context.

Empirical Research

Thirty-five works were selected for Spain and Portugal: twenty-one in Spanish, eight in Catalan, four in Portuguese and two in English. Ten of these pieces consist of empirical research on TLH. Most of the works can be

Sephardic community, which was established in Spain after arriving from the Spanish protectorate in Morocco. These immigrants learned to survive in Franco’s Spain, some through conversion to Catholicism, and they remember themselves as “children of silence.” This term is used to explain the situation during the Franco regime, when parents did not want to talk to their children about what had happened to them during the Civil War or the Second World War.

classified into four broad topics. The first consists of arts and humanities-based education, particularly how cinema, graphic novels (mainly *Maus*⁴), theatre and literature can be used to teach about the Holocaust. The second concerns formal education: analyses of textbooks, students' level of knowledge and curriculum and methodologies used in secondary schools. On this topic, three relevant works need to be mentioned.

Simó (2005) and Grupo Eleuterio Quintanilla (2006) have both analyzed knowledge of the Holocaust among secondary school students using quantitative and qualitative research. The former study was conducted in Catalonia with 196 students, and the latter in Asturias with 862. Both studies included a content analysis of the curriculum and textbooks and a survey of knowledge and attitudes. Although they were completely different studies, the results were similar. They showed that students had low to limited historical (fact-based) knowledge of the Holocaust. Their knowledge of history derived primarily from film and literature. Some students in both studies expressed overt or implicit antisemitism or denied the Holocaust in their answers. Some also displayed classical stereotypes of Jews. Recent research by Jedwab (2015) asked people in Canada, the USA, Germany and Spain to assess the strength of their knowledge of the Holocaust. The survey results revealed that self-reported knowledge of the Holocaust among the Spanish population was the lowest of the group, at 57.4 percent. The younger population in Spain, aged sixteen to twenty-four, registered much lower than their elders, at 47.8 percent, while those aged forty-five to fifty-four had good knowledge, at 72.9 percent. Concerning antisemitism in Canada, the USA and Spain, people with stronger self-assessed knowledge of the Holocaust were more likely to agree that antisemitism was a problem in their society, while Germany was an exception in this respect.

The third topic takes a more philosophical or normative approach to TLH, in that it examines the rationales for teaching about the Holocaust. How might knowledge of the Holocaust contribute to fighting against racism and exclusion? How does the Holocaust relate to human rights? And how could it be used to help other societies face their own problematic histories?

4 The reasons that *Maus* is the only graphic novel mentioned and used are probably that, prior to this work, there was no tradition in dealing with the Holocaust through graphic novels, and that *Maus*, as a Pulitzer Prize winner, is the only one translated into Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese.

The fourth major topic relates to how the Holocaust is treated in Spanish historical and collective memory and how it relates to knowledge and memory regarding the Franco regime and the Republicans who were sent to Nazi camps.

Although the Holocaust today may be considered universally important, and its relevance to extend beyond the specific communities that were victimized, it is important to note that Jewish communities have played a key role in developing TLH in Spain. The few Jews who remained in Spain after the Second World War were effectively silent (or silenced). Many of them decided to convert in order to protect their families from discrimination.⁵ Consequently, subsequent generations with Jewish ancestors were often not aware of their heritage or their connection to the Holocaust and the victims of Nazism.

For these reasons, the increased attention to the Holocaust must be understood within a broader context, including how those trends intersect with the historical memory of Spain. As Baer (2011) has written,

Only in recent years have discussions about the Holocaust gained a more significant presence in Spain's public life. This eruption of the Holocaust in the spheres of politics, education and culture can be explained as resulting from a consequence of political and institutional convergence with Europe, as well as of the growing debate over the memory of the crimes of the Franco dictatorship.⁶

Indeed, the only attempt to open this memory was the Historical Memory Law, passed by the Spanish Congress of Deputies in December 2007. The law principally recognizes victims on both sides of the Spanish Civil War, gives rights to the victims and the descendants of victims of the Civil War

5 On this topic, see, for example, the European Project "Perseguits i Salvats," www.perseguits.cat (accessed 23 June 2016), the book by Sontheimer, *Las siete cajas* (Seven Boxes) (2014) and www.hoenigsfeld.com (accessed 8 February 2016). These sources provide examples of descendants of Jews who crossed the Spanish border or were in Spain during the Nazi period. Sontheimer was raised Catholic and did not know about her Jewish heritage or the fate of her Jewish family until her mother died and she discovered seven boxes containing information about the whole family, which had been collected by her father, in the attic.

6 Cited from the abstract of Baer's article.

and the subsequent Franco regime, and formally condemns that regime, but efforts to implement the law have been almost non-existent since 2011.

There is a structural obstacle to TLH in Spain: the educational system is not a natural home for dealing with the Holocaust, in either its Spanish dimensions or European history more broadly. This obstacle is mirrored by Spanish society, which has generally not acknowledged or understood the Spanish dimensions of the Holocaust.

3. Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil

Twenty-three works were found for this group, fifteen in Spanish, six in Portuguese and one in English. Five consist of empirical research.

Argentina, in the words of Daniel Rafecas,⁷ has a triple commitment to preserving the memory of the Shoah. The first stems from the role played by Argentina before, during and after the Second World War, which was a result of the sympathy towards and commitment to European fascist regimes among many of its elites (including members of its political, economic, military, religious and judicial elites). The second stems from Argentina's refusal to accept Jewish refugees during and after the war. As a result of secret orders from the Argentine state, borders were closed to Jewish refugees, even when they were Holocaust survivors or had relatives in the country. All survivors who came to Argentina during those years had to deny their Jewishness, posing as Catholics, or enter with transit visas for neighboring countries such as Paraguay or Bolivia and remain in the country illegally. During the same period, hundreds of Nazi war criminals and perpetrators of genocide entered Argentina. In addition, political and judicial actions blocked all extradition requests against Nazi perpetrators and their allies (Croatians, Belgians, French and so on), who fled conviction in their countries of origin. The third stems from the state terrorism suffered by Argentinians beginning on 24 March 1976, a result of policies implemented between the 1930s and 1950s. This terrorism included the existence of more than 400 clandestine detention centers in Argentina. Further, the Jewish community was largely over-represented among the captives and missing. The rampant antisemitic cruelty in these clandestine detention

7 Rafecas is an Argentinian judge and adviser to the Fundación de la Memoria del Holocausto in Buenos Aires.

centers, in addition to the speeches, myths, slogans and other aspects of Nazism at all levels among Argentine oppressors, has since been demonstrated through judicial inquiries. With the restoration of democracy in 1983 began the reversal of this legacy and the return of Argentina to the international community.

For these reasons, Argentina is the only full member of the IHRA in this group, and it has been a full member since 2003. The country has the most substantial Jewish community in Latin America. Though it currently consists of fewer than 200,000 members, it exceeded 300,000 during the 1960s. Argentina started to publicly address the topic of the Holocaust in the 1990s (Kovacic, 2010), commemorating victims of the Holocaust and including the issue in the state agenda. In parallel, there was an initiative to create a space for Holocaust survivors, and this is how the *Fundación Memoria del Holocausto* (Foundation for the Memory of the Holocaust) was founded in 1993 in Buenos Aires. Later on, in 2000, on land donated by the national government, the foundation opened the *Museo del Holocausto* (Holocaust Museum). Today, this museum, which also houses the *Centro Ana Frank Argentina* (Anne Frank Center) is the main institution supporting TLH in Buenos Aires. Argentina has made an effort to examine and reconcile its Nazi past (Comisión para el esclarecimiento de las actividades Nazis en la Argentina [CEANA] 1997; Barbieri, 2006).

Uruguay became an official IHRA Observer Country in 2013. Unlike in Argentina, in Uruguay the Holocaust is not yet officially included in national educational policy. Only Jewish schools systematically teach the Holocaust, along with some isolated teachers with a personal interest in the topic (Telias, 2012). Telias discusses how important it could be to use stories and art for TLH.

While TLH could be of interest to scholars, teachers, the mass media and students, Telias considers whether Holocaust education is also a political priority for governments. They might have to choose between, on the one hand, strengthening education in sensitizing students to democracy, respect and acceptance of “the Other” or the value of life and human dignity, among other many values and, on the other, maintaining the best possible relations with countries with which they have political and economic relations but that still do not recognize what history has clearly shown. The author considers that Holocaust education has an implicit moral dimension, and that teachers have to deal with it, transmitting it at a subjective level (Telias, 2012).

In Chile, only recently has an agreement been made between the organization *Memoria Viva* (Living Memory)⁸ and the *Centro de Estudios Judaicos* (Center for Jewish Studies) at the University of Chile. The center is the depository of the interviews conducted by the *Memoria Viva* and the home of a cooperative effort to develop TLH at all levels. The center has also established a chair in TLH and human rights, and also treats the Holocaust as part of the subject “Judaism: religion or culture?”

Although Brazil is not part of the IHRA, Brazilian authors have conducted extensive and substantial work on the topic of TLH. An interesting article analyzing textbooks has concluded that only 10 percent had sufficient information on the topic (Lewin, 2008). Lewin considers textbooks to provide sufficient information if they include extensive coverage of the Holocaust, beginning with the First World War and its consequences, and including the interwar period, the emergence of dictatorships and totalitarianism and antisemitism. Other authors consider different didactic tools for TLH. One argues for the importance of having students develop games or simulations, such as “To survive in the Second World War” (Krul, 2012). Another explores how films about the Holocaust are frequently used to teach about the Holocaust and examines the goals these films seek to achieve, whether they are to represent facts or memory, or even to deny the Holocaust itself (Quinsani, 2012). Another discusses how journalism could help in recovering the memories of victims or survivors of the Holocaust, which could be used later in class (Schryver, 2009).

In this group of countries, research into TLH through formal education is significantly greater than in Spain and Portugal. Textbooks, curriculum, didactics and teachers are some of the primary topics treated in research papers. In Brazil, as in Spain and Portugal, research focuses on the arts or humanities through comics (*Maus* again), cinema and the internet. In Argentina and Uruguay, there is also research into testimonies and memorials.

8 This is an NGO initially established by Chilean refugees and human rights activists in London to work for the Human Rights International Project, which aims to gather archives and make available all information concerning human rights violations during Chile’s military dictatorship; to support the prosecution of human rights violators; to develop awareness about human rights; and to work to rescue the historical memory of and remember the victims.

Though to a lesser extent than in Spain and Portugal, the philosophical questions of why the Holocaust should be taught and the relationship of the Holocaust to other disciplines like psychology, journalism and human rights are also explored in these countries. Finally, memory is also discussed in some works, particularly Montealegre (2013), a highly unusual work that examines the Holocaust imaginary in the testimony of political prisoners in South America.

Two other important considerations in these countries are denial, including how essential it is to treat it in the classroom (Umansky, 2007), and the possible gap between historians and teachers. This last topic was also discussed at the Conference on Neutral Countries in Madrid (see IHRA, Guttstadt et al. 2016), which also discussed the need to establish a real dialogue among these countries in order to provide the necessary tools for teachers and students to understand the matter, be able to build a bridge between the past and the present and establish a link between modernization and civilization, genocide and horror.

Unlike Spain and Portugal, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay all feature specific courses about the Holocaust in the Judaic studies departments of various universities.

Common Features in these Countries

The debate about education and the didactics of history appears related to the importance of what history transmits and how. Many of the non-empirical publications make a normative case for why the Holocaust should be taught, mainly on the basis of its link to human rights and the duty not to forget. There is also discussion about whether it is better to teach facts or emotions, although the two are not mutually exclusive.

In Spain and Catalonia, Reyes Mate, Joan Carles Mèlich and Alex Baer are prominent TLH scholars, and in Latin America, especially Argentina, many different scholars are active in the area. Among them are Graciela Ben Dror, Yossi Goldstein, Avraham Milgram, Daniel Rafecas and Leonardo Senkman, who provide their recommendations and ideas through *Nuestra Memoria (Our Memory)*, a publication produced by the *Fundación Memoria del Holocausto* in Buenos Aires, based mainly on the IHRA's recommendations and emphasizing the importance of approaching the Holocaust through local history; using lessons drawn from analyzing Holocaust denial and transmitting the lessons of the Holocaust to society as a whole.

Another common dilemma, especially among former dictatorial countries, is how the state uses history education for its own ends. The use of curriculum and textbooks as means to transmit specific political ideas depends on the government of the time. In Spain, for instance, new laws on education and curriculum have appeared with each new government. TLH is intended to be a tool for the socialization of students in related topics like human rights, democracy and respect for diversity, but so far we lack an empirical basis to demonstrate that it functions effectively in this manner in these countries.

4. Italy

Italy is an IHRA member, and it was one of the first countries to join after the organization's founders, Sweden, the UK and the USA. Although Italy was an Axis ally, a large percentage of its Jewish community perished in the Holocaust, about 20 percent. It now has a long democratic tradition. The Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) is required by law to be committed to disseminating accurate knowledge about the Holocaust in both schools and universities. Studying the Holocaust is compulsory in all Italian schools. A specific master's degree on "Didactics of the Shoah" at Roma Tre University offers a chance for interdisciplinary, in-depth analysis of the didactics of the Holocaust and the transmission of memory; it is the only master's degree on this subject in the countries where these Romance languages are spoken.

Related to recovering the memory of the Holocaust, the Italian Ministry of Justice allows access to the Italian Prefectures' archives in order to reexamine alleged crimes committed by Jews and trials against Jews during the fascist regime and the Nazi occupation.

The Union of Italian Jewish Communities (UCEI) is a non-profit body representing the twenty-one largest Jewish communities in Italy. As the highest authority representing Jews in Italy, UCEI plays a crucial role in TLH, working together with MIUR through a bilateral agreement. In December 2014, together with Yad Vashem, it organized a European symposium entitled "Establishing a European Teaching Network on Shoah Education," with the goal of creating a common platform accessible to teachers and institutions in order to share their best practices related to TLH.

In addition, Italy benefits from a broadly published survivor/author, Primo Levi (1919–1987), who is known worldwide and an icon in Holocaust studies, particularly in Italy and countries where Romance languages are spoken. Levi's work is preserved, researched and disseminated by the International Primo Levi Studies Center in Turin. Gordon Robert (2006) considers Primo Levi the prime mediator of discussions and understanding of the Holocaust in postwar Italian culture.

Finally, a new IHRA-funded project, carried out by the Center for Research on Intercultural Relations at the Sacred Heart Catholic University in Italy, in cooperation with the USC Shoah Foundation in the United States, has produced an online bilingual educational resource, "Giving Memory a Future." The website provides information on Sinti and Roma culture and history and is aimed at political decision makers and the educational field, addressing the need to develop new strategies to combat discrimination against the Sinti and Roma today.

The Use of Memory in Teaching History

The relationship between memory and the teaching of history, discussed above, has become an important topic in many Romance and Francophone countries. Italy began dealing with the subject in the 1970s, and the understanding of that relationship has evolved since then. At first, memory was represented as "oral sources" and "oral history," while today it is preferable to use "memory" and "memory sources." In the beginning, this type of knowledge claimed legitimacy and originality as "oral history," while today there is a stronger contrast between "memory" and "history," which can almost suggest that "memory" is an alternative to "history," in tension with it rather than a core aspect of it. As this way of thinking has shifted, memory museums and remembrance days have emerged as ways to teach about the Holocaust, although they do not receive sufficient attention in the teaching of contemporary history (Matozzi, 2009).

There has been a decline in the teaching of contemporary history in Italy, which necessarily diminishes opportunities to address the Holocaust. This trend is in tension with the increasing attention paid to the memory of the genocide of the Jews. Between 2004 and 2010, ten "memory trains" left Italy to take more than fifteen thousand students to Poland (Fontana, 2010), and since then another fifteen thousand students have participated in these trips, which has helped make Italy the country with the third-highest

number of visitors to Holocaust sites in Poland in the world. Under the “duty of memory” and an approach to the Shoah that is increasingly focused on human rights and moral education, most teachers prefer to focus on visits to memorial sites and the testimonies of survivors than on a historical and political reconstruction of the historical context and the facts. However, with no solid historical teaching, their narration elicits only emotive participation among students, giving them the impression that they have fulfilled a moral duty, but without comprehending the events themselves (Fontana, 2010).

Empirical Research

Twenty-four works were selected for Italy, including seventeen in Italian, five in English, one in Spanish and one in Romanian. Ten of the twenty-four are empirical research, the highest proportion of the areas analyzed here. The search process for Italy was more complicated because there is no unified search tool for Italian universities; for this reason, it is possible that some relevant works were not identified through searches or networking.

Of the countries examined in this chapter, only Italy is home to a prominent empirical researcher in Holocaust education: Milena Santerini, professor of general pedagogy at the *Università Cattolica di Milan*. Her works include *Memory and the Shoah* (1999), *Holocaust Education in Italy* (2003), *Anti-Semitism without Memory: Teaching the Holocaust in a Multicultural Society* (2005) and *Shoah and Didactics* (2010). She considers TLH a tool that allows students to consider current topics like racism, new forms of antisemitism, Islamophobia and *antigitanismo* (anti-Roma prejudice). The well-known historian Enzo Traverso, a specialist in the Holocaust and totalitarianism, must also be mentioned. His book *Insegnare Auschwitz (Teaching Auschwitz)* contains various articles on historiography, memory and transmission, along with another group of articles about the didactics of the Holocaust.

Research in Italy focuses on both formal and informal education. The main topics researched are graphic novels, cinema and memorials. Concerning graphic novels, the main question is whether they are effective tools through which to transmit information about the Holocaust (Affuso, 2011). With respect to cinema, the studies inquire into the role films play in TLH. One of the earliest studies was about the impact *Holocaust*, the American TV miniseries, had in Italy. A survey carried out by the Italian Broadcasting

Company's department of public opinion revealed that the miniseries was very positively received (Carminati, 1981). More recently, two works regarding cinema, the Holocaust and memory have been published. The first focuses on how films about the Holocaust have been appropriated by different political and cultural factions, thus creating conflictual memories (Perra, 2010), and the other shows how films on the Holocaust have turned into a paradigm of memory itself (Minuz, 2010; Hassan, 2012). Research has also sought to understand the role cinema plays in the construction of public and collective memory, while respecting the timing of collective grief-work (Hassan, 2012). Bellino et al. (2005) have studied how memorials were built and how they use memory, as well as the danger of forgetting.

Collective and national memory, as well as conflicting memories, are prominent topics for scholars. Finally, many publications address more philosophical or normative questions, like psychology and resilience (Ius, 2009; La Terza, 2005) or the eternal question of whether "Auschwitz still speaks to us" (Mantegazza, 2013).

5. Concluding Remarks

Although TLH is on the agenda in these countries, both in school curricula and through commemoration days, the lack of empirical work means that we have a limited picture of the impact of TLH on teachers, students and other social groups. The absence of university-level Holocaust studies in most of these countries makes it difficult to produce empirical research.

Furthermore, in general it appears that the international community is making more of an effort than locals to put TLH on the agenda. The academic culture and historical experiences of these countries, during the Holocaust and afterwards, play important roles in how this topic is approached. One of the reasons for the relatively weak interest in the Holocaust in these countries could be that it is still not considered a central concern for them or a part of their history. At the same time, however, except for Italy these countries are in the early stages of implementing TLH. As a result, these countries are still more concerned with convincing teachers and policymakers that the Holocaust should be taught than with how it should be taught.

Another important aspect of TLH in these countries is that the approach to the Holocaust does not focus only on the destruction of Euro-

pean Jewry, but also on Nazi crimes against other groups. The attention paid to perpetrators and their ideology shows that TLH is conceived as an important tool for citizenship and democratic-values education. TLH is thus understood as a way to help these countries deal with other terrible episodes in their histories that have often been neglected or shrouded in silence.

To conclude, we can apply Peter Gautschi's (2007) typology of research—phenomena, outcomes, intervention and research on historical thinking and learning, which is well described in Chapter 1—to TLH in these countries. The Romance-speaking regions are mostly at the first stage of research, which is focused on phenomena, although there are a few examples of research at the second stage, which addresses outcomes. No research on developing new or better ways of teaching were identified. Although the history and formation of historical consciousness is critical for these regions' own identity and knowledge of their past, the last category of research—historical thinking and learning—is still absent.

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Research in the East-Slavic Linguistic Region

Teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) is a relatively new phenomenon in post-Soviet states like Belarus, Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. In this chapter, we will refer to these four neighboring countries as “East-Slavic.”¹ One reason for considering them together is that, historically, this region was the very space in which the “Holocaust by bullets” was carried out: here, the Holocaust did not involve industrial killing, as at Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940–1945) and other extermination camps. The other reason is that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the trajectories of these post-Soviet states were closely aligned for a long time due to political, cultural and linguistic factors. TLH has emerged over the last few decades, during a time of profound change in both these countries more broadly and their educational systems more specifically. For these reasons, both the practice of TLH and research about it are at an early phase of development in this region. The presentation and interpretation of the Holocaust is strongly influenced by both the Soviet legacy, which downplayed and obscured the Holocaust, and the new post-Soviet states’ efforts to construct a national historical grand narrative to supersede the Soviet version. The Holocaust often sits uneasily with these new narratives, which center on the nation and its suffering.

The first section explains how publications related to TLH were located and selected, and it briefly characterizes them; it also addresses TLH in the East-Slavic region and the role of efforts to construct new national histories

- 1 From the point of view of linguistic classification, the Republic of Moldova does not belong to the East-Slavic region because its official language is Romanian. However, Moldova was included in this chapter for three reasons: up to 16 percent of population (2004 census) considers Russian to be their first language; part of the educational system, including textbooks, is in Russian; and some TLH-related publications are known to have been published there in Russian. Romanian-language publications were not considered. This chapter does not cover the entire former Soviet Union, which spanned twelve time zones and included fifteen quite diverse countries.

or grand narratives. The second section discusses the politics of memory and public discourse about the Holocaust in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. The final section discusses the organization of TLH in these countries.

1. Search Methods and Brief Survey of the Literature on Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

The first collection phase produced approximately 150 publications on TLH in the Belarussian, Russian and Ukrainian languages for Belarus, Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. Many methods and sources were used, including online catalogues of university and public libraries. In addition, international online social networks (like Academia.edu) were good sources. Many publications were found by writing to scholars and contacting relevant institutions. The most fruitful sources for these further references were Jewish communities working in the domain of education and culture or NGOs focused on educational activities. Many of these 150 pieces consist of reflections by schoolteachers who participated in a particular workshop, or educators' recommendations for teaching a Holocaust-related lesson. Sixty-two titles were selected for this project, though not all of them meet the criteria for systematic empirical research. Most publications are normative ones, full of advocacy, and may contain some limited amount of empirical data that is based on the authors' experiences, but their data are more often anecdotal than systematically gathered and analyzed.

The limited number of research studies can be explained by several factors, partially rooted in the general state of the social sciences and humanities in the post-Soviet space, and partially in the state of research in this particular field. Generally speaking, the social sciences in the Former Soviet Union (FSU) are experiencing a crisis because of insufficient funding, low academic standards and, most importantly, poorly written work.

Scholarly output in the FSU is not measured on the basis of content, but on the basis of the number of publications, which leads both to shorter publications in regional academic journals (the average publication is five to ten pages long, sometimes shorter) and to the duplication of content.²

2 For these reasons, an urgent need for reforms in the academic and educational spheres is being actively discussed in some post-Soviet countries, especially Ukraine.

The majority of scholars still feel that they are isolated from the Western scholarly space, its research agenda and approaches (and some of them prefer to remain disconnected). For that reason, searching catalogues and publications issued by the universities and academic research institutions under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences in post-Soviet countries was generally unproductive. There are, however, additional reasons for the fact that established, state-sponsored academic institutions and universities are ignoring TLH.

Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust in the East-Slavic Region since the Soviet Collapse: Origins and Grand Narratives

According to the politics of memory that existed in the Soviet Union, the Second World War (or more precisely, the part of it that took place in 1941–1945 and was referred to as the Great Patriotic War, certainly not the 1939–1940 Soviet invasion of Finland or Winter War) was considered to be among the greatest moments in the history of the USSR. As many scholars have noted,³ this victory functioned almost as a cult for the USSR, and it was seen as the best tool for legitimizing the Stalinist regime and Communist Party power generally. This ideology promoted the view that all Soviet people disregarded their ethnic or national background and together heroically defended their socialist Motherland. Thus, the Holocaust was downplayed, the special fate of Jewish victims was neglected and Jewish victims were enumerated instead as among the Soviet martyrs of the struggle against fascism. The mass killing of Jews by the Nazi regime was officially considered by authorities to be part of the broader (perceived) Nazi plan to eliminate and to enslave the entire population of the USSR. Any attempts by Jewish individuals as well as informal Jewish communities to commemorate their relatives killed by the Nazis were repressed.

In the final years of the USSR, the so-called “Perestroika” period, and afterwards, many Jewish organizations were established, and they became the first—and for a long time the only—advocates promoting Holocaust memory in the wider society. Some of them declared themselves to be part of the Jewish communities, while others claimed their non-communal

3 For further reading regarding the role of the “Great Patriotic War” in postwar Soviet ideology and the place of the Holocaust in it, see, for example, Weiner (2001).

status, insisting instead on the public, cultural and/or educational focus of their activities. For example, the Russian Holocaust Research and Educational Center, an NGO, has been the most prominent player in TLH in the Russian Federation (RF) since its founding in 1992. In Kiev, similar institutions were formed at the same time; all were NGOs acting with the support of private or international donors to promote projects related to Holocaust education in particular. They were active in initiating scholarly conferences, teacher workshops and commemoration ceremonies, and in identifying mass killing sites at both the national and regional level. The majority of publications devoted to TLH in the FSU were produced by these NGOs.

TLH activities in the East-Slavic region are usually not documented systematically, because they are initiated and developed mostly by NGOs, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, with limited resources. It is very rare that the organizers of workshops, teacher conferences or other educational events use their limited resources to obtain and make available a qualitative or quantitative picture of the participants involved and the results achieved. To a great extent, this decision can be explained by the specific nature of NGO projects, which are generally more interested in their activities (and in securing funding for them from donors) than in documenting the results thereof. They may also lack both the research capacity to methodologically examine the sociological and pedagogical outcomes of their activities and access to foreign scholarly research so they can participate directly in the broader international research community. In addition, they may not recognize the potential value or importance of conducting evaluations of their projects. For these reasons, while one can find much information about TLH-related lessons, courses, workshops, trainings and so on, both in print and online, only a very small portion of these publications can be regarded as empirical research.

Attempts to promote TLH in post-Soviet countries have taken place against a background of general uneasiness that could be described as “nationalizing history.” Because of the collapse of the Soviet Union, historians and politicians in the fifteen new nation-states faced the task of crafting new national historical grand narratives, which political elites perceived as a tool for shaping new identities loyal to the new nation-states. Holocaust commemoration efforts by Jewish minorities did not fit easily within these processes, which could eclipse the suffering of the nation and implicate members of the nation as collaborators.

In 1991, most states were in more or less the same situation when it came to introducing TLH into the new nation-states' grand narratives. Since then, the situation has evolved in these countries and their societies. Nonetheless, currently none of the above-mentioned countries have suitable conditions for TLH. The general absence of TLH is, of course, another reason for the small number of publications on the subject. More than twenty years after the independent states emerged and democratic transformations were announced in these four countries, TLH still remains the product of civil society efforts rather than state policy. Overall, TLH remains on the margins of the social sciences and humanities in these countries.

2. Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust and Public Discourse about the Holocaust: National Narratives and Memory Politics in Russia, Moldova, Belarus and Ukraine

Russian Federation

Public discourse and memory politics about the Holocaust in post-Soviet Russia can be divided into two periods. The first, roughly 1991–2000, can be described as a time of active efforts by Jewish communities and a small portion of liberal intellectuals to propagate TLH and integrate it into the government-sponsored curriculum for public schools. There were also numerous requests by these communities to have the government establish an official Holocaust Remembrance Day, fund a Holocaust museum in Moscow and develop a government-supported program to preserve the killing sites of Jews on Russian territory (Altman, 2000, p. 57; Altman, 2005). Efforts were made to dedicate time in the official school curriculum to explanations that the Holocaust had a racial/ideological motive and because of that differed from the Nazi approach to the rest of the Soviet population (Altman, 2000, p. 57; Poltorak, 2000, p. 69).

Wider Russian society often considers the Holocaust to be merely a part of Jewish history, and not part of the common national historical narrative (Klokova, 2000, p. 62). Although the Holocaust was mentioned briefly during the first period in lessons about the Great Patriotic War, it was presented in a fragmentary way. Discussions of the German occupation emphasized Hitler's wish to enslave the Slavic peoples, with no mention of the specific policies targeting Jews (Poltorak & Leshchiner, 2000, p. 118). We were unable

to find any research about the politics of the past and the culture of memory about the Second World War in Russian society and its relationship to TLH from the first period, with the exception of one opinion piece (Stolov, 2002) that advocated for the “humanization” of history education, particularly about the Second World War. It sought to reject the old ideological clichés about mass heroism and so on, and to concentrate instead on the everyday life and suffering of ordinary people and the inhuman nature of Nazism and the Holocaust. In the context of the pluralistic atmosphere of the 1990s in Russia, it seemed certain that educators’ efforts to incorporate TLH into the state-supported educational agenda would be successful.

In the second period (roughly 2000-present), there has been a considerable transformation in governmental politics of memory generally and visions of the Second World War in particular. This shift is seen by various researchers as a gradual return to the Soviet model (some call it post-Soviet, others neo-Soviet). In particular, the symbolic interpretation of the Second World War as a central part of Soviet history marks a return to imperial values and promotes a sense of unity and readiness to sacrifice one’s life for the needs of the collective or the state.

Within this ideological conception, the Holocaust has no place in the Russian popular consciousness (Dubin, 2013). Instead, the Great Patriotic War—and Russia as the successor to the USSR, which was the main victor of that war—is central to the broad historical picture. This “victorious” memory is connected to “our” unprecedented “heroism,” and the war thus functions as a significant demarcation border between “us” and “others” and strengthens contemporary Russian identity. The Holocaust as a universal symbol is not needed in this context, according to sociologist Boris Dubin, because official Russian ideology today does not need—or want—anything to unite the Russian cultural space with the rest of Europe.

This reconfiguration of social memory keeps TLH on the margins of mass education. Indeed, TLH-related reflections by educators in Russia have basically remained unchanged over the last fifteen to twenty years. Although the number of teachers involved in TLH has grown, this fact can be explained entirely by the vigorous activities of NGOs. Although the Holocaust was introduced in 2004 into the Russian school curriculum and textbooks, numerous appeals to the government to make 27 January Holocaust Remembrance Day failed. Russian teachers and methodologists say that Holocaust history is absent in questions included in the State Attestation Exam (the mandatory secondary school exam for Russian pupils

in grade nine). Few teachers are sufficiently prepared to teach about the Holocaust (Kamenchuk, 2014, p. 18). In history courses, political history prevails over social and everyday history. In many Russian textbooks, the Holocaust is portrayed, if at all, in an abstract and depersonalized manner, sometimes with no explanation of the racial nature of Nazi politics, and with the implication that the Slavic population faced the same fate (Kamenchuk & Listvina, 2012). The term “Holocaust” appears in teaching plans and textbooks, but only briefly, and without explaining its nature or the inner logic of events (Pasman, 2014, pp. 47–48). The Holocaust is generally unknown in contemporary Russian society (Gorskih, 2012).

Republic of Moldova

Since Moldova achieved independence in 1991, Holocaust recognition in general and TLH in particular have been complicated by a number of factors, including the absence of a clear and coherent national identity shared by most of Moldovan society. Because there is no consensus among Moldovan citizens about this identity, no common vision of the past has emerged since independence. While many are sympathetic to the “pro-Romanian” orientation of their identity and vision of the past, others want to maintain independence as Moldovan people, while a third pro-Russian segment embraces the vision of history borrowed to a great extent from Russian TV channels that are shown in Moldova. Holocaust history in this context appears to be a marker of borders between different strata in society and is highly politicized.

In regard to the evolution of TLH in Moldova, the post-Soviet period can be divided into three periods.

1. 1991–2001. During this period, TLH was mostly the result of Jewish organizations’ initiatives without a significant response from the wider society, and thus remained on the margins of the public space. This situation may have been a result of the early political leadership’s opportunistic use of the politics of memory, with the ultimate aim of keeping old elites in power by using new nationalistic rhetoric (Portnov, 2009, pp. 210–212), which sometimes bordered upon the historical rehabilitation of the Antonescu regime.
2. 2001–2009. When the Communist Party came to power, the Romanian Holocaust provoked heated debates among Moldovan historians.

A confrontation took place between historians and the government. This dispute centered on their different visions of the national identity of the people of Moldova. The fight between these opposing visions was transplanted into the school system. The subject of the Holocaust was consciously co-opted and instrumentalized by the administration to impress European audiences and marginalize the pro-Romanian identity that had dominated the pre-2001 period. The majority of Moldovan historians chose to challenge the interests of the Communist government and deliberately avoided TLH. Schoolteachers demonstrated passive resistance to the authorities' instructions to promote TLH in secondary schools. They thought TLH would "damage the national cause" of creating a shared national identity between Romanians and Moldovans. They saw the solution to excessive politicization to lie in avoiding rather than depoliticizing the Holocaust (Dumitru, 2008, p. 35).

3. 2009-present. After the Communist leadership was replaced by the liberal alliance, the situation reverted to a certain extent to the one that had prevailed in pre-Communist times, but because a new pro-European vector had entered the equation the whole identity spectrum has become even more complicated, including the coexistence of Soviet, pan-Slavic and Moldovan patterns with the dominant pan-Romanian one. The current competition among identities and visions of the past creates a paradoxical situation for those who advocate a "Romanian" identity: despite the fact that the state-supported Institute for Holocaust Research in Romania has been created, most of the Moldavian public ignores it. The type of Holocaust denial that prevails in Moldova can be considered a "selective" one: most agree that the Holocaust took place somewhere else, but not in Moldova. Moldovan elites lack the political and cultural will to discuss this subject publicly. The few public initiatives to launch this discussion have generally been ignored (Siniaeva-Pankovska, 2013).

Republic of Belarus

Very few publications about TLH or related matters in Belarus were identified. After the collapse of the USSR, when Belarus obtained independence, Jewish communities (as elsewhere) were the primary memory agents

acting in the field of Holocaust commemoration and TLH. As in other FSU countries, Holocaust memory in Belarus depends on the image and perceptions of the Second World War. In the first years after 1991, the “Great Patriotic War” was reconceptualized to some extent, including by changing its name to the “Second World War.” The phrases “nation-wide heroic fight” and “leading role of the Communist Party” disappeared, and some efforts were made to humanize Second World War narratives. However, Lukashenko became president in 1994 and soon became an authoritarian leader, precipitating considerable changes, namely the restoration to a certain extent of Soviet principles and ideological attitudes in the economic, political and cultural fields, including Second World War-related presentations. The term “Great Patriotic War” was reintroduced into the national narrative as a “notional point in our [Belarussian] history.” In 2006, the view that the Communist Party played a leading role in the Great Patriotic War was restored in textbooks and official speeches, but the emphasis was kept on the victory of the Belarussian people (not the Soviet people as before). Because Lukashenko lacked an alternative ideological basis on which to legitimize his regime, the powerful symbolic potential of the Great Patriotic War was modified by the authorities to fill this gap (Portnov, 2009, pp. 207–210).

This trend left little place for TLH within the official narratives that dominate in Belarus because of the tight state control over civil society and strong censorship. As one Belarussian researcher notes, Lukashenko, in his official speeches, describes victims and war veterans using the phrases “Soviet people,” “workers in the rear,” “citizens,” “our people,” etc. “This creates and broadcasts an image of the Second World War that is generalized and full of Soviet clichés, though ‘Belarus-centric.’ Commemorative practices are all ... intended to ‘perpetuate’ this image of the war, and in these practices Holocaust issues are not central” (Bratochkin, 2013, p. 67). Holocaust memory is allowed to exist in the public space if it does not contradict the state-sponsored vision of the past, which emphasizes the unity of the Belarussian people and excludes pluralistic and dictatorship-challenging interpretations of history. As one researcher noted, “if Belarussian memory about the victims of the war and about victory is grandiose and still rooted in the huge wave of state-sponsored memorialization that took place in the 1970s–1980s, then the memory of victims of another ethnicities still remains the domain of contemporary ethnic organizations and foreign institutions” (Tikhomirov, 2013).

Some organizations and individuals are promoting Holocaust memory, but they are situated on the margins of popular attention, produce literature with low circulation and organize small-scale events. One observer recently noted that most of the population of Belarus has no idea about the Holocaust, or about the fact that, while wartime fatalities of Belarussians amounted to 20 percent of the prewar population, those of Jews in Belarus amounted to over 80 percent (Basin, 2008). Exploring the state of Holocaust-related affairs in Belarussian scholarship and the education system, the same author concludes that Belarussian authorities—in both academic and educational spheres—are reluctant to introduce the Holocaust and devote efforts to research and commemoration, which manifests in their refusal to include Holocaust-related materials in reference literature and encyclopedic publications; their refusal to recognize unique (i.e. racially and ideologically motivated) aspects of the Holocaust; their refusal to single out the Holocaust as a particular subject worthy of consideration, which results in reducing the Holocaust to the Nazi terror against the civilian population as a whole; and their refusal to incorporate Holocaust-related topics into school curricula in secondary schools and universities (Basin, 2010).

Another author suggests that the contemporary Belarussian approach to memory politics can be described as “deflective negationism,” which means that the Holocaust is recognized, but the blame for it is shifted to “the Other” (in this case Germans) (Katliarchuk, 2013, p. 193). As Swedish scholar Rudling concludes in a piece published in Belarussian, in the contemporary historical narrative promoted by the Belarussian regime, the Holocaust is downplayed and the narrative of the Great Patriotic War, slightly modified from Soviet times and adjusted to the political needs of the authorities, still dominates in Belarus. The current regime uses it as a source of legitimacy and leaves Holocaust history on the margins of the official grand narrative (Rudling, 2013, p. 139).

Ukraine

After gaining independence in 1991, Ukraine was not a monolithic society; pro-European (mostly in the western part of the country) and pro-Russian (mostly in the eastern areas) sentiments competed with each other, and perceptions of the past differed accordingly. When Communist rule failed and the process of constructing a national narrative began, most politicians and historians adopted a moderate nationalistic rhetoric and tended

to present the Ukrainian past as a pattern of suffering inflicted by external powers (for example, the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, Communism) (Portnov, 2009, p. 212). The majority of historians easily abandoned the Marxist-Leninist understanding of historical development, adopting instead one that emphasized nation-building and state-building as the most important tasks and the core of the historical process. Within these frames, most historians believed the ethnic Ukrainian nation to be the heart of that process and the only subject deserving mention in the emerging grand narrative (for analysis of the conceptual and historiographical developments in Ukrainian academic scholarship after the collapse of the USSR, see von Hagen, 1995, pp. 658–673; for a more recent analysis, see Kasianov, 2014, pp. 491–519).

Holocaust commemoration and TLH were initiated by civil society and especially Jewish cultural organizations in the early 1990s. The subject received some attention from the government. In September 1991, for example, the head of the Ukrainian parliament, Kravchuk, publicly offered an official apology to Jews for the Holocaust and the participation of some Ukrainians in it during the fiftieth anniversary of the mass killings at Babi Yar. But for many years, the government's participation in efforts to foster TLH was limited to declarations and occasional attendance by officials at commemoration ceremonies. Memory politics in Ukraine was distinct for its "regionalization." Unable to formulate a united national vision of the past that would satisfy all regions of Ukraine, the authorities allowed local models of the past to prevail in their regions. If it was impossible to avoid clashes between contradictory visions at the national scale, these questions were simply concealed or silenced by the central government (Portnov, 2009, p. 215). In addition, Ukrainian perceptions of the Second World War underwent some "humanization," which shifted the focus of educators and memory agents from the "mass heroism of the Soviet people" to the life and suffering of ordinary people under occupation (Portnov, 2012, p. 315), which assisted the integration of traumatic memories like the Holocaust into a general narrative of the Second World War.

However, amidst the competition between—and, sometimes, opposition to—alternative memories, there was little room for the Holocaust. Both memories—the post-Soviet and the nationalistic—tended to subjugate or marginalize the Holocaust. For those committed to the post-Soviet vision of the past, Jews did not constitute a separate group targeted by the Nazis for total extermination; they were regarded and commemorated only as

an active part of the all-Soviet resistance to the “German-fascist invaders.” Supporters of the nationalistic vision provided as much evidence as possible that Jews were active supporters of Communism in Ukraine and even active Kremlin agents who facilitated the Great Famine in Ukraine (the Holodomor) in 1932–33, or that the Jews were allegedly part of the Ukrainian nationalist movement that struggled against the Nazis in Ukraine in 1943–44. The latter tendency was implicit during the presidency of Yushchenko (2005–2010), when the implementation of the nationalistic agenda was intensified in both the humanitarian and educational fields. From 2010 until the beginning of 2014, when key positions in cultural and educational institutions were given to officials professing a pro-Russian orientation, there was a return to the former vision of the past.

TLH originally appeared at the margins of the educational system and has remained there, with occasional, symbolic attention from the government; however, some important developments have taken place in Ukraine, compared to the Russian and Belarussian cases, for four reasons: the more effective activities of the NGO sector; the “humanized” image of the Second World War; the fact that regional memories prevail over national ones; and the fact that some European integrationist rhetoric and practices are used to varying degrees by all Ukrainian presidential administrations. In 2000, following the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, the Ministry of Education recommended that universities provide courses on Holocaust history (Podolskyi, 2008, p. 3). In 2006, Holocaust history was introduced into school curricula (though very briefly), and into the list of questions for examination in state secondary schools (Podolskyi, 2009, p. 53). Most writers find these developments formalistic and insufficient, reaching a small number of students.

Ukraine’s recognition of International Holocaust Remembrance Day (established under UN Resolution № 60/7 in 2005) is illustrative. On 5 July 2011, parliament adopted resolution No. 3560-VI, which listed a number of activities to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the Babi Yar tragedy. The resolution sought to create an organizing committee to guide several organizational, educational, financial and logistical issues related to that event. However, § 2 of the Ukrainian resolution reads, “To mark annually the Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January.” One can see that the issue, which required individual legislation by parliament and complex regulatory instructions from the executive branch, was reduced to one line in a document that dealt with quite another event, with no tools for

its implementation. International Holocaust Remembrance Day exists in Ukraine as an official date, but no official events connected to Holocaust commemoration have occurred in subsequent years.

The possibilities for formal education in TLH are still very narrow. Schoolteachers lack time and are unable to present even a brief picture of the Holocaust within the current teaching plans (Kabanchik, 2003, p. 20). Even pupils who learn about the Holocaust remain puzzled about who Jews were because they have never learned any history of the Jews (or other minorities) in the ethnocentric Ukrainian narrative (Mirskyi, 2002, pp. 4–5). The Holocaust appears in history courses in a depersonalized version without details on the personal feelings and experiences of those persecuted (Galiona, 2010, p. 23). As Portnova (2013) concludes, in the context of inconsistent and ambiguous politics of memory, and in the situation of a constant struggle between “post-Soviet” and “nationalistic” discourses of history, Holocaust education is becoming more common in schools, but this is mainly as a result of “informal” education developed by NGOs, and the wider Ukrainian society “is not ready to discuss sensitive and painful questions related to involvement into the Holocaust.”

The Organization of Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust: Actors and their Motivations

In the post-Soviet countries discussed here, TLH remains a domain of civil society initiatives and non-governmental institutions. In 1992, the Russian Holocaust and Fund Center in Moscow was created, it is the central institution promoting TLH in Russia. For more than two decades, the center has published a quarterly newspaper, a series of memoirs, conference proceedings, textbooks, pupils’ papers and scholarly publications. The center is sponsored mostly by the Claims Conference as well as other international and private institutions. Generally, the same pattern of funding and activities can be seen in the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies⁴ (UCHS) in Kiev, the Tkuma Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies⁵ in Dnipropetrovsk and Moldova’s International Center of Training and Professional Development in Chisinau.⁶ The last two originated within the

4 See <http://holocaust.kiev.ua/> (accessed 10 February 2016).

5 See <http://tkuma.dp.ua/> (accessed 10 February 2016).

6 See <http://trainingcenter.md/> (accessed 10 February 2016).

Jewish communities and initially operated with the support of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and local Jewish philanthropists. In Belarus, TLH initially became part of the activities of the Association of the Jews—Former Prisoners of the Ghettos and the Nazi Camps, which was registered in Minsk in 1992; ten years later, the association established the Museum of Jewish History and Culture in Belarus. In 1999, the Republic Holocaust Foundation, also an NGO, was registered there. Other organizations dedicate part of their efforts to TLH, including the Jewish Studies Institute⁷ and the Center for Jewish Education at the Association of Jewish Organizations of Ukraine,⁸ both in Kiev; the “Holocaust Memory” program and the Memorial Synagogue at Poklonnaya Hill by the Russian Jewish Congress⁹ in Moscow; and the Euro-Asian Jewish Congress’s program “Tolerance—Lessons of the Holocaust.”¹⁰

According to preliminary estimates, these institutions have had between several dozen and more than a thousand secondary school teachers become involved in their activities at various stages, as well as a number of pupils, university students and university teachers. These lists often overlap. More exact numbers of participants or events cannot be presented because these institutions do not include statistics of this kind on their official websites and have published few annual reports. However, many thousands of teachers and students have participated in various teaching and training events organized in the FSU and abroad.

Government support for TLH can vary from passive observation to passive support. In the first case, government officials can attend events organized by an NGO to endorse the cause. In some cases, the schoolteachers or pupils who wish to attend an event must obtain permission from their school administration; sometimes teachers prefer to obtain a false sick note from a physician to be able to attend. Passive support from the state can take the form of giving official approval for a particular textbook prepared by the educators on the Holocaust to be used in classrooms (without such approval, a book cannot be admitted for use in classrooms). In many cases, only personal relationships between school teachers/educators and officials can guarantee a positive result. Recently, there has been a

7 See <http://www.judaica.kiev.ua/> (accessed 10 February 2016).

8 See <http://www.vaadua.org/> (accessed 10 February 2016).

9 See http://www.rjc.ru/files/RJC_in_English.pdf (accessed 10 February 2016).

10 See <http://ejc.org/page337> (accessed 10 February 2016).

growing interest in TLH among administrators. For instance, despite the fact that Holocaust history is still only present to a small extent in official curricula and teaching plans, and that ministries of education show a lack of will to expand it, middle-level officials in some regions¹¹ provide space and participants for NGO representatives to deliver lectures and trainings about the Holocaust. Local autonomy creates space for committed officials or teachers to make extra efforts in support of Holocaust education, but because these are opportunities rather than policy, they are not systematic, and it is difficult to generalize about them.

Another important issue is the motivation of participants involved in TLH. The reasons for which teachers and students take part in the TLH activities offered by NGOs have evolved. Some are motivated by the subject (the content of the history of the Holocaust and the social, moral, learning and pedagogical aims of teaching it), and others by career opportunities, professional and personal development and so on. For many school-teachers, trainings offer a unique opportunity to participate in extended two- to four-day workshops with new methods; travel and accommodation are often covered. These teachers appreciate the genuine interest in their feedback and opinions, and literature is distributed for free. Some NGOs include international travel with all the expenses paid. (For a long time, an average teacher's salary in FSU countries was not sufficient to even maintain a teacher herself/himself, let alone trips abroad). Between 2006 and 2010, most participants had to obtain a foreign passport for the first time. This positive context made visiting Yad Vashem or other institutions a true revelation. In the 2000s, when the material situation of educators in the FSU improved and stabilized a little, the reasons mentioned above gradually became of secondary importance, while the content of TLH was brought to the forefront. The publications of TLH advocates, teachers and educational methodologists contain reflections on "Why should we teach about the Holocaust?" There is a wide spectrum of motivations, including the necessity to teach Holocaust *per se*; the desire to uncover the historical truth in regard to the racial-ideological nature of Nazi anti-Jewish policies (Altman, 2000, p. 57; Basin, 2010); the need to recognize the complex and multicultural nature of the historical past (Kabanchik, 2003, p.21; Podolskyi, 2009, p. 58); the opportunity to teach Holocaust history

11 In FSU countries, every region has its own institute responsible for raising the level of teachers' professional skills.

paradigmatically as a model for teaching about and reflecting upon other genocides (Klokova, 2000, p. 62; Podolskyi, 2008, p. 2); appreciating the universal aspects of the Holocaust and the potential lessons for avoiding the same tragic fate in the future (Mirskij, 2002, p. 5); as a lens for educating students and society on the “dangerous” tendencies inherent in various individuals/societies in a historical perspective (Klokova, 2000, p. 61–62); and “instrumental” reasons like using Holocaust history to understand more clearly the issues of contemporary social processes and combat racism and xenophobia (Poltorak, 2000, p. 69; Vetrov & Ladychenko, 2010, p. 165).

Many believe that TLH could help prevent genocide (Gorskih, 2012). TLH can demonstrate where hatred can lead us, and it can reduce xenophobia today (Kamenchuk & Listvina, 2012). It is possible to promote tolerance by studying the events of the Holocaust (Kamenchuk, 2013); in society, xenophobia and antisemitism are still present, and Holocaust teaching is a tool to prevent their dissemination (Podolskyi, 2008, p. 2). Without including such events in history courses, it is impossible to meet the goals established by the RF’s Ministry of Education in 2010 vis-à-vis the study of the social sciences—namely, preparing individuals for Russian civic identity, social responsibility, legal thinking, multiculturalism and tolerance (Pasma, 2014, p. 46). Holocaust teaching and human rights teaching are fundamentally connected. When teaching human rights, it is necessary to appeal to historical events and facts about the Holocaust (Burov, 2011, p. 2).

Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust in Curricula and Teaching Plans

Every country has its own State Educational Standard for Secondary Education (Concept of Education) which describes the key principles, values, norms and skills to be developed through education in various disciplines, including those in the humanities (history, ethics, jurisprudence, the social sciences, the arts and so on).

Republic of Belarus

The most recent Educational Standard, “General Secondary Education,” was passed in 2008, and in 2009 the Concept of Education “World History. History of Belarus” discipline was approved by the Ministry of Education. It defines the aims and content of secondary school history education. Based on this document, a new Educational Standard was elaborated and

affirmed at the same time, which contains a detailed number of key subjects on world history and the history of Belarus, including the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War and the phrase “nation-wide heroic struggle against the German-Fascist invaders”; the Holocaust is neither mentioned nor implied in this standard. The curriculum for the courses “History of Belarus” and “World History” was elaborated and published in 2008 and 2012. In the 2008 program, the Holocaust was present in the course on World History (1918–1945). In the History of Belarus, the key term “genocide” is present, but it is used in the context of the threat of extermination of the Belarussian people. In the program introduced in 2012, the term “Holocaust” (together with “genocide”) is present in the World History curriculum in the section concerning the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union; in the History of Belarus curriculum, only “genocide” is included in the chapter on the Great Patriotic War.

Republic of Moldova

Moldova’s twentieth-century history, particularly the history of the Second World War, is taught twice: in grade nine at the “gymnasium” level, and in grade twelve at the “baccalaureate” level. The most recent history curriculum for both levels was accepted by the Ministry of Education in 2010. The curriculum for gymnasium education contains the subject “Second World War; Crimes against humanity; Romania, Bessarabia and Transylvania 1941–1944; Specific features of the Holocaust in Romanian territory.” The curriculum for the baccalaureate level allocates some attention to the Second World War, particularly in the context of “Democratic, authoritarian and totalitarian regimes in the interwar and postwar periods,” and gives some space to ethnic groups in Romania and Bessarabia in the interwar period, but the Holocaust is absent. The state exam at the baccalaureate level asks no questions about the Holocaust or Jewish history, or about the genocide of the Roma.

Russian Federation

In 2012, the new Federal State Educational Standard was approved by the Ministry of Education. A separate chapter is devoted to “Social Sciences,” including “History,” but no particular historical terms or topics are specified. A project for a new “Historical-Cultural Standard” was offered for public

discussion; it contains seven chronological chapters on the history of Russia. Chapter 5 is called “The Formation and evolution of the Soviet system. The Great Patriotic War” and contains four subchapters, the last of which is devoted to the war and includes the Holocaust among eighteen terms. In the RF, the history of the twentieth century is taught to high-school pupils through two courses: “History of Russia” and “World History.” Pupils can choose from two levels of teaching, one, called “approximate,” with the basic amount of historical information offered; and an advanced option, called “standard.” A survey of the “approximate” educational standards and programs shows that the Holocaust is absent in the majority of programs; only one “standard on the basic general education in history,” and one “approximate program on the basic general education in history” contain the term “Holocaust,” and it is present only in the course on World History. In the course on Russian History, the term is absent; instead, the term “genocide” is used, with no specification of the implied victims. The course emphasizes “the great feat of the nation in the Patriotic War.” In the questionnaire for the Joint State Exams on history, questions about the Holocaust are absent. This state of affairs has been critiqued by some Russian educators: “Without having such events included in history courses, it is impossible to meet the goals of study of the social sciences, the goals that were established by the directives of the Ministry of Education” (Pasma, 2014, p. 46).

Ukraine

A comparison of TLH in these four FSU countries shows that Ukraine has engaged with the subject most deeply. In Ukraine, the standard for high-school pupils accepted in 2004 lacked the term “Holocaust,” but the subsequent standard, approved in 2012, includes it (along with another thirty historical terms). Teaching programs are to be developed by the Ministry of Education based on this document. In Ukraine, history teaching is divided into two major courses, “History of Ukraine” and “World History.”

The History of Ukraine course exists in three versions for different levels of specialization. The World History course has two versions. The Holocaust is also present in the State Concluding Attestation exam’s questions for both history courses. While these are positive steps, a critic has noted that

All these measures are rather formal. The Holocaust is mentioned in the programs, but requirements [for teaching] are not defined, there is not enough time to study the Second World War and much of that time is allotted to teaching the military aspects of the war. Thus, a teacher lacks time to teach the Holocaust. And the program on the History of Ukraine is reminiscent of Soviet-era programs, which never mentioned the genocide of the Jews, telling instead about the mass killings of the Soviet people. (Komarov, 2008, p. 4)

Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust in Formal Schooling (Textbooks and Classes) and Informal Learning (Museums, Films, Traveling Exhibitions, Media)

Textbooks

Since textbook analysis is one of the few aspects of TLH that has received more empirical scholarly attention, this section is based on studies rather than on the textbooks themselves. Post-Soviet countries do not use a single textbook for schoolchildren; instead, every year the ministry of education in each of these countries approves a selection of textbooks from the wider number proposed by individual authors or publishers. This situation creates the possibility that textbooks will vary in their presentation of the past; however, this variety is constrained by the educational standards and concepts required by each country.

While some authors focus narrowly on how Holocaust history is presented in textbooks, others explore wider issues, such as the representation of ethnic minorities, particularly Jews, in the historical narratives of post-Soviet states, or how extensively Holocaust history is treated within the wider spectrum of the Second World War. Early publications (the earliest one identified dates from 2000) demonstrated that, since the term “Holocaust” (as well as “genocide,” “Catastrophe,” and so on) was absent at that time in governmental educational standards, it was also absent in all textbooks excluding one. One study at that time comparing Russian and Ukrainian textbooks found that all the Russian textbooks, when describing the German occupation, emphasized Hitler’s intent to enslave all the Slavic people, with no mention of the Nazis’ special Jewish policy. The analysis of fourteen textbooks showed that the Holocaust was ignored or, at

best, insufficiently presented and shown one-sidedly or taken out of context (Poltorak & Leshchiner, 2000, p. 118). One early study of Ukrainian textbooks found that they contained scant information on the ethnic minorities that had lived in Ukrainian territory for centuries, though some positive exceptions were identified, leading the author to express hope for further developments along these lines (Kabanchyk, 2003, p. 21).

In recent years, textbook research has become more intensive, at least partially because researchers have wanted to analyze how the Second World War and other disputed and controversial twentieth-century events are presented in post-Soviet national narratives. One study shows that the Second World War remains central to the politics of memory, and still carries the highest potential for social mobilization, in all four countries. The trajectories of Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine, the study argues, may be described as a movement away from single national schemes, through re-Sovietization of varying intensities, to a search for models of a political nation and civic identity (Portnov, 2009, p. 218). Yet one can add that this process does not necessarily mean that the history of the Holocaust has been incorporated into the narratives that have emerged, because the new nationalistic narratives tend to be selective in their presentation of writing and reluctant to admit even partially the participation of “titular nations” in the Holocaust.

For the last ten to fifteen years, the situation has changed little. One educator noted in 2012 that many Russian textbooks discuss the Holocaust, if at all, in abstract and depersonalized terms, sometimes with no explicit explanation of the racial nature of Nazi policies and with an implication that the Nazis intended the same fate for the Slavic population as the Jews (Kamenchuk & Listvina, 2012).

An updated review in 2014 showed that contemporary textbooks discuss the Holocaust briefly, if at all, and that its racial nature is still absent (Kamenchuk, 2014, p. 18). Another author concurred that the term “Holocaust” is present in teaching plans and textbooks, but briefly and without explaining the inner logic of events or the nature of the phenomenon to the pupils (Pasman, 2014, p. 47). Ten years after Poltorak published his first survey of Russian textbooks, he wrote that the Holocaust today is still underrepresented in Russian textbooks: the unprecedented nature of the persecutions of Jews is not explained, the role of local collaborators in the “Final Solution” is omitted, even the Righteous Among the Nations are not mentioned. Jewish resistance is absent, and the role of antisemitism in Nazi ideology is not emphasized. Teaching about the Holocaust is almost absent

in the former USSR, with just some general information presented in textbooks (Poltorak, 2010, p. 17).

These few small-scale studies based on the Russian case coincide with the findings of a larger research project. At the initiative of the Russian Jewish Congress, an analysis of contemporary Russian textbooks for secondary schools was conducted in 2008 in order to identify how the history of the Jewish people was covered. The study was conducted by a group of academic experts, headed by Alexander Lokshin, senior researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow. All of the editions that were published after 1991 and admitted or recommended by the Ministry of Education for secondary schools were analyzed. Three categories of textbooks emerged, depending on how they cover Jewish-related issues: (1) those in which Jewish history is completely absent; (2) those in which Jewish history is presented in a fragmentary way, only as a separate subject; (3) those in which Jewish themes are presented in a more or less comprehensive way.

The authors conclude that, in comparison with Soviet times and the early 1990s, there has been great progress in the coverage of Jewish historical topics. However, the authors also conclude that no single textbook covers the history of Russian Jewry adequately, in a way that reflects the latest academic research. "Every textbook needs serious editing, corrections and additions in regard to almost all topics in Jewish history. In many cases, these textbooks are based on outdated sources and do not correspond to the current historiography." As for the methods of presenting Holocaust history, the authors note that "none of the textbooks present the Holocaust as the only case in history in which a state attempted to completely destroy a single people, regardless of gender, age, location, profession or religion" (Lokshin et al., 2008).

Belarusian textbooks use dated Soviet ideological clichés, and though the term "Holocaust" is often present in the textbooks, it is used without proper context, making it impossible for pupils to understand the difference between terror and total extermination and creating the impression that the Nazis pursued a policy of total extermination against the Belarusians (Nikitenkov, 2008; Basin, 2010).

Holocaust representations in Ukrainian textbooks have been studied more extensively. Here, the contemporary culture of memory and the evolution of memory politics have influenced textbooks as well, although the way the Holocaust is presented has been criticized by educators. A brief comparative study of Holocaust representations in Ukrainian, German and

British textbooks revealed that Ukrainian textbooks remain behind those of other countries and do not use the European experience. In some Ukrainian textbooks, the Holocaust is depicted as a Nazi effort to eliminate “inferior people,” including Slavs; the genocide of the Roma is rarely mentioned. The Holocaust is portrayed as having taken place somewhere else, not on Ukrainian territory, which makes it abstract for pupils (Komarov, 2008, p. 6). In a recent analysis, a textbook writer and Holocaust-history promoter examined three Polish, five Russian and five Ukrainian textbooks. In his judgment, in comparison to Polish textbooks, all Russian textbooks obscure the racial nature of the Holocaust (Shchupak, 2012). The special fate of the Jews, compared to the fate of other ethnic groups, is not specified; the lessons of the Holocaust and its significance for the present are not explored. The author notes some conceptual and factual mistakes in Ukrainian textbooks, but generally evaluates them positively, concluding that “contemporary European tendencies in Ukrainian historiography and textbook writing are present” (Shchupak, 2012, p. 207).

The most detailed research on Ukrainian textbooks was performed by a Russian researcher who explored eight Ukrainian textbooks published between 2008 and 2011 and the ways they cover the Holocaust and other highly controversial events. All of the textbooks address this subject, but in different ways: while most include the term “Holocaust,” two of them do not. Some textbooks present it with numbers, dates and statistics, while others apply an emotional layer, providing excerpts from testimonies. Some textbooks allocate three sentences to the Holocaust, while others include up to three pages. All of them mention Babi Yar as a symbol of the Holocaust, marking the Holocaust as an event of local history, and all of the textbooks stress the special nature of Nazi policies towards Jews (Poliakova, 2013). The latter statement contradicts the research of others. Remarkably, despite the textbooks’ diversity when presenting other events, the Holocaust is covered similarly by all the textbooks.

Textbook studies remain problematic. Because every researcher has his or her own specific angle of analysis, the literature shows different opinions and conclusions about the same textbooks. For example, a Russian historian explores Ukrainian textbooks and generally evaluates the inclusion of Holocaust history (and, more broadly, the human dimension of the Second World War) positively; he also concludes that these textbooks are new and effective tools through which to shape Ukrainian national pride and patriotism, a conclusion that is more revealing of the author’s own expect-

tations and biases than about the textbooks themselves (Ermakov, 2012, p. 78). Another textbook survey states that the Holocaust has been covered adequately in most Ukrainian textbooks since the beginning of 1990s, even though the examples provided clearly show that the term “Holocaust” is mostly presented as part of the Nazi persecution of all Soviet peoples (Bakhanova, 2005, pp. 137–138).

A textbook study about the representation of the Holocaust in Moldovan textbooks by a Moldovan historian is also problematic (Nazariia, 2013). The author presents a simplistic confrontation between those who consider Moldova an independent modern nation and state and those who call for joining, or “returning,” Moldova to Romania (the actual political situation in this regard is more complex; see above, pp. 127–128). The author, an adherent of the former position, analyzes six textbooks written by supporters of the latter position, focusing on how ethnic minorities, particularly Jews, are represented in those narratives, and concludes that all of these textbooks praise Romanian nationalism and present Antonescu as a national hero and Jews as aliens harmful to the Romanian nation, and thus deny (or justify) the Holocaust. Yet the author exaggerates the views expressed by the “unionists” and selects only quotations from far-right nationalists in order to attribute these views to all unionists, while his own position is sympathetic to Soviet (and, implicitly, Russian) views; the “research” is an excuse to write a polemical pamphlet.

Regarding the general history of Jews in textbooks, only one study has appeared after Kabanchyk’s (2003) survey. Grinberg (2012) has examined twenty-six Ukrainian textbooks. He states that, in contrast to the situation twenty years earlier, contemporary textbooks do contain references to or aspects of Jewish history, a positive development. However, many of these references focus upon the suffering of Jews and include many mistakes regarding Jewish history. Only two attempt to explain the nature of antisemitism. All the textbooks except one lack an explanation of the contribution of Jews to world culture in general and Ukrainian culture in particular. Some still employ latent stereotypes of Jews, which can produce new ones among students and foster a one-sided image of Jews in Ukrainian history.

A small number of studies analyze international textbooks. One has explored how the Holocaust is presented in contemporary German textbooks (Ermakov, 2010), and another in Swiss textbooks (Bakhanov, 2005). Both authors stress that the Holocaust occupies considerable room in these

textbooks, and that a variety of tools is used to present Holocaust history and engage youth in learning.

Finally, virtually no textbook studies examine separately the role of bystanders, and particularly local participation, in the persecution of Jews. Rarely, authors acknowledge the Righteous Among the Nations, who risked their lives during the Holocaust. There is no criticism in textbooks of how either independent local actors (nationalistic guerillas), or local bodies which were directly incorporated into the occupation apparatus (municipalities, auxiliary police and so on) behaved towards persecuted Jews. Nor is there any discussion of how individual civilians did. While Holocaust history is gradually finding its way into textbooks, it is still, at best, presented two-dimensionally as “perpetrators versus victims.” These textbooks thus imply that local people were not at all involved, and therefore avoid discussing the multifaceted reality of the Holocaust and historical responsibility for its memory.

Informal (Museums, Films, Traveling Exhibitions, Media)

Though informal activities are important in these countries, no research has yet appeared about them. The following examples of informal activities merit study by researchers. In recent decades, there have been several large and informal projects in TLH. All were initiated by NGOs with the support of international institutions or donors. While some were focused on Holocaust history, others treated Holocaust history as part of a wider educational concept (teaching about genocide, human rights, tolerance and so on). Some activities were built around exhibitions: the travelling exhibition “Anne Frank: Lessons for Today” was shown in more than twenty Ukrainian cities by the UCHS,¹² and the same project was carried out in Russia.¹³ The mobile exhibition “Holocaust by Bullets in Ukraine,” run by the same center, travelled to four Ukrainian cities. The exhibition “Holocaust, Holodomor, GULAG: Three Tragedies in Ukrainian Lands”¹⁴ was shown in several cities and prepared by the Jewish Studies Institute.

12 See http://www.holocaust.kiev.ua/bulletin/vip8/vip8_1.htm (accessed 10 February 2016).

13 See <http://old.sakharov-center.ru/museum/exhibitionhall/anna-frank/> (accessed 10 February 2016).

14 See <http://judaica.kiev.ua/news/Vistavka.htm> (accessed 10 February 2016).

Other projects promoted documentaries or manuals in which Holocaust history was part of the teaching concept. Examples include *Encountering Memory*, a textbook made to accompany *Spell Your Name*, a film made by Ukrainian filmmaker Bukovsky¹⁵ based on the collection of testimonies of the Shoah Foundation Institute at the University of Southern California (USC SFI); and *Where do Human Rights Begin*,¹⁶ a manual published in Ukraine by the USC SFI. Each of these projects was carried out on a national scale and included workshops for teachers, training for pupils, the dissemination of books and other kinds of informal teaching activities.

Content and Qualitative Parameters

Evaluation: Student Outcomes and the Effectiveness of Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

Little is known today about the outcomes and effectiveness of TLH in these countries. Almost no research measuring students' knowledge has been carried out in the FSU.

The only example of such a survey we have found was done by sociologist and psychologist Ivanova between 2003 and 2007. She explored contemporary Ukrainian students' collective memory about the Holocaust. Empirical data were collected from written essays about the Holocaust and focus groups in order to get information about their sources of knowledge and attitudes about the Holocaust. The three main regions in Ukraine—the Eastern, Central and Western regions—differ in their history, culture, religion, mentality, economic situation and so on: a city from each of these regions was chosen for the study. University students from the sciences and humanities (excluding history) in these cities participated in this study. They were sixteen to twenty-three years of age, almost equally male and female. Two hundred and thirty-seven essays were analyzed. Discourse analysis, narrative analysis and qualitative content analysis were used to analyze the data. Students know about the Holocaust, but their knowledge

15 See <http://www.novadoba.org.ua/ukr/towards-the-memory> (accessed 10 February 2016).

16 See http://sfi.usc.edu/teach_and_learn/for_educators/resources/lessons/human-rightsbegin (accessed 10 February 2016).

is limited and abstract (they do not see the Holocaust as part of local history); they perceive it to be an event of the past, disconnected from contemporary life; and the source of their knowledge is not textbooks, but rather teachers' extracurricular activities, the media and so on.

Instrumental (comparison to national suffering and competition)

How TLH is perceived by various groups in post-Soviet society is shaped by the ongoing process of "nationalizing history." The Holocaust is sometimes introduced into the teaching process for purposes beyond TLH.

Evgeny Finkel has argued that many post-1989 elites in Eastern European countries view historical and political narratives of suffering and victimhood as an important component of the state-building process. Taken to its extreme, the logic of victimhood led to a "search for a lost genocide" throughout the region (Finkel, 2011). In other words, for Eastern European countries, particularly in the FSU, the "politics of history" aims to create the notion of past victimhood and suffering, therefore shaping the image of each country's "own Holocaust" to achieve international legitimacy for the current regimes and tools to influence international politics. The term "Holocaust" is often used in this discourse.

This argument, though provocative, can be confirmed with research by other authors, especially in regard to memory politics in Ukraine. While some observers have established that Ukrainian President Yushchenko actively introduced both the terms "Holodomor" and "Holocaust" into official discourse (Sereda, 2006), others have argued that his (failed) attempts to pass a law criminalizing both Holodomor and Holocaust denial were intended to make domestic and international audiences recognize the Holodomor as an act of genocide equivalent to the Holocaust (Kasianov, 2012). This vision of the Holodomor percolated through the bureaucracy and reached its peak in local authorities' attempts to show loyalty to their superiors by promoting educational and commemorative activities, forcing local teachers to work extensively on the commemoration of this subject. This process created grounds for competing memories in society to appear. Although the Holodomor is an important part of Ukrainian history, by 2010 it had become part of the country's national mythology. Attempts to introduce the Holocaust in secondary and upper-secondary schools were often met with aversion and questions such as "Why should we study their tragedy when our own is still insufficiently studied?" (Gon,

2008, p. 8). Some educators who planned to teach the Holocaust changed their courses to include the Holodomor as well (Gon, 2008, pp. 8–9). Some NGOs modified their approach to TLH. For example, the Tkuma Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Research and Teaching changed the official title of its annual competition to “Lessons of the Holocaust and Holodomor: Lessons of Tolerance,” in order to continue receiving formal support from the Ministry of Education. In 2010, during the Yanukovych presidency, the competition was renamed “Lessons of Wars and the Holocaust: Lessons of Tolerance.”

This situation caused one observer to pronounce skeptically that it would be better for TLH to remain unsupported by the state, because otherwise (as the Holodomor case shows) TLH would be formalized and resisted (Pedan-Slepuhina, 2010, pp. 11–12).

Teachers and Teaching Methods: Achievements and Challenges

Secondary School Education and University Education

No statistical data is available on the scale and scope of Holocaust education in secondary schools or universities in the post-Soviet space. Questionnaires were sent to four organizations in Ukraine, one in Russia, one in Moldova and one in Belarus. Three Ukrainian organizations and one from Moldova responded, providing the number of workshops they provided by target group (pupils, schoolteachers, university students and university teachers) and the main subjects of the workshops carried out. For example, in 2014 the Tkuma Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies ran ten to twenty regional educational workshops and one to two national workshops or conferences per month. Of the 258 events carried out by this institution in 2014, 103 were workshops for schoolteachers, ninety-five were museum lessons and mobile displays and sixty were lectures for university students. No separate events were run for university teachers, though they were as a rule included in the above-mentioned activities. Similar activities were conducted by the UCHS in Kiev, though they were fewer in number. Tkuma counts 500 pupils, 648 schoolteachers, 297 university students and 128 university teachers as having participated in its events, and the UCHS counts 1,150 pupils, 3,500 schoolteachers, 150 university students and 70 university teachers as having participated in its events. The outcome of these activities remains unclear.

Opportunities for Teacher Training and their Significance

In their educational activities, NGOs constantly reach out to teachers who are new to Holocaust history. In Tkuma's activities, some workshops involved only the Holocaust, though most were thematically about genocide, tolerance, totalitarianism and so on, the opposite of UCHS's activities. NGO activities are mostly targeted at secondary school students and teachers, while the university level is not engaged systematically. Some teachers, university professors and university students take part in the educational events as well, though mixing them can lead to a negative result due to their different approaches and expectations. NGOs often receive support from the Ministry of Education and its local bodies, which provide rooms for workshops and send representatives to open the workshop, but it is rare for the ministry to provide more meaningful support. In recent years, however, a greater number of regional educational institutions (like regional institutes for improving teacher-training skills) have shown interest and invited NGO educators to acquaint teachers with the Holocaust more adequately.

Experiences of Educators from the Former Soviet Union in International Educational Trips and Learning from Western Colleagues, and Vice Versa

Recently, with the support of some international organizations, leading TLH actors in the FSU select groups of teachers (who have already participated at the domestic level) to visit foreign Holocaust-related educational institutions every year in order to become acquainted with Western approaches to TLH. Between 2004 and 2014, more than 160 Ukrainian educators visited Yad Vashem, 130 visited the Majdanek State Museum, 90 visited the *Mémorial de la Shoah* and 60 visited the House of the Wannsee Conference. These trips are perceived quite positively, and some participants write reflections upon returning that detail the new approaches they have learned and skills they have developed (see, for example, Kostiuik, 2009). But no systematic evaluation has explored how (or whether) these trips have influenced TLH in their home country. Further, no studies have explored whether the Ukrainian educators influence their international colleagues. One exception was the joint reflections of Dutch and Ukrainian educators, published in 2010, after participating in a project by the Anne Frank House. In addition to particular and practical aspects of

TLH, Galiona (2010) compared the ethical basis for TLH in both countries. The author compared Holocaust commemoration in Ukraine and the Netherlands and concluded that the reasons usually given for the poor state of commemoration in Ukraine—a lack of researchers, financing and state support—are rather superficial and inadequate. He believes the real reason is a “reluctance to take responsibility.” There might exist two levels of responsibility. Dutch responsibility is built on “sorrow,” while in Ukraine, where mass killings took place, responsibility is more complex and includes issues of “shame.” In order to feel “sorrow,” Galiona argues, we first need to overcome “shame.”

In this context, Galiona believes that, language and narrative become the only possible tools with which to create a common space for Ukrainian teachers at these events. In turn, this narrative should be personalized and describe not just statistics and dates, but the personal experiences of those persecuted, and this is what Ukrainian participants can learn from the Dutch experience (p. 23). A similar philosophical approach in the same collection of articles was adopted by Oleksandr Filonenko, who argued that to introduce the Holocaust into the commemorative sphere in Ukraine, we need to develop a philosophy of “the Other” that would allow us to understand the Holocaust as a universal event with violence and xenophobia at its core. The key idea of this kind of responsibility is tolerance, trust and hope in “the Other.” That is why it is not enough for Holocaust education to be treated through the paradigms of “educating pedagogy” or “cultivating pedagogy”; the most suitable approach is the “pedagogy of reverence,” in which teachers and pupils engage in reverent remembering as equals (Filonenko, 2010, p. 17). Ukrainian teachers and students do have certain possibilities to learn more about the Holocaust and ways to teach it (the same could also be said, with less confidence, about other FSU states).

Conclusions on the State of Research into Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust in the Former Soviet Union: Blank Spots, Topics to Cover and Questions to Answer

The analysis of the THL literature in the East-Slavic part of the of the post-Soviet region shows that TLH there has undergone some evolution over the last two decades, but also that it is still only at the initial stage. While some literature does contain some analysis (for instance, the extent to which the

Holocaust can be integrated into national historical narratives, the place of the Holocaust in the collective memory of post-Soviet societies or the way the Holocaust is presented in the textbooks), other aspects remain understudied, and we have only the initial reflections of the actors in this field—on things such as the outcomes and effectiveness of TLH, students' awareness of the Holocaust, the challenges facing teachers and the tools available for overcoming problems in Holocaust education.

The most researched aspects are, first, the place of the Holocaust in the collective and official memory of these specific post-Soviet societies, and second, textbook analyses. In both cases, the primary empirical source material (politicians' speeches or textbooks) have been published and are easily accessible to researchers, while other subjects—such as the effectiveness of TLH, the impact of TLH on teachers and students and the teaching strategies and tools used by educators—would demand laborious and time-consuming data collection and interpretation, as well as funding. While some scholars reflect on the difficulty in carrying out TLH in this part of the post-Soviet region, little is known about the results when it does happen.

TLH remains subject to political instrumentalization, because new post-Soviet states have been constructing their own national visions of history. But the vectors of this development are different in each country. While Belarus and the RF are moving towards a restoration of past Soviet narratives (the RF has remained closer to the Soviet narrative, while Belarus has reconceptualized it in “national dress”), Ukraine and Moldova have adopted distinct approaches, conditioned by more active decolonization processes and the ongoing struggle between nationalistic, liberal and Soviet understandings of history. In all cases, however, there is little room to integrate memory about the Holocaust and particularly TLH into the public space.

Of the sixty-two titles, a few consist of empirical research, while the majority consist of advocacy texts that do not analyze the results of some process, but call for the implementation of specific things. The authors often rely on their initial experiences during their professional activities. These reflections tend to shape their suggestions for further research.

The publications that offer the most explicit analysis of the subject are authored by either foreign scholars (for example, Rudling, Katliarchuk and Winkler) or domestic researchers who are actively involved in international academic exchange, scholarship grant programs and so on (for

example, Dumitru, Ivanova and Portnov). As a rule, their research first appears in Western scholarly periodicals, and only then is it accepted by a local audience. The originals of many texts in this chapter can be found in English or German publications. These circumstances reflect the current environment for the humanities in general and TLH in particular in the post-Soviet space. They also demonstrate the crucial role of foreign partners in supporting and facilitating TLH research.

Only very few TLH-related fields have been adequately investigated, mostly thanks to systematic efforts by NGOs, which are the main promoters of TLH in the East-Slavic part of the FSU. Even a permanent periodical publication, a journal that could serve as a platform for TLH, does not exist in this region. Establishing such a journal would undoubtedly stimulate the development of TLH. The most suitable country to establish such a periodical would be Ukraine, where, for a variety of reasons, TLH seems to be relevant to and demanded by a considerable segment of society and has the highest chance of developing in the future.

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Research in English

1. Introduction

English functions as the *lingua franca* for research into teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH). The TLH research published in English falls into three categories: the work of Anglophone scholars who study their own domestic contexts; Anglophone scholars who—with the help of interpreters or through their own multilingualism—research TLH in other language contexts; and bilingual and multilingual scholars from non-anglophone contexts who also write in English or have their work translated into English, thereby engaging in this English-language, international scholarly community of inquiry. English-language research into TLH is thus distinctly international, and yet constrained by the discourses particular to the English language. This chapter makes some observations about the research literature in English in general, and some trends in the literature regarding the US and UK; fewer studies address Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Anglophone Canada.

Many Anglophone countries, as Allied Powers opposed to the Axis Powers in the Second World War, often hold themselves in a relatively heroic or at least unproblematic position with respect to the war and the Holocaust. Shared historical patterns of antisemitism, or cross-fertilization of racial ideologies, racial “science” or racial thinking, are scarcely discussed. More difficult and complicated questions about the decision not to bomb Auschwitz or even the rail lines leading to camps, the strict immigration quotas that prevented so many from receiving safe harbor and governments’ silence during the war about the atrocities inflicted upon Jewish communities may be raised by well-informed educators but are not addressed systematically in most schools. Countries not directly impacted by camps or deportations and places without substantial historic Jewish communities, may find meaning less in the specificity of the Holocaust than in its perceived universals, seeking or creating meaning for their own contexts (for example, Scotland, in Cowan & Maitles, 2015).

Scholars writing primarily or exclusively in English on TLH tend to be trained either in the social sciences or humanities—particularly history—or in educational research.¹ Historians, aptly, tend to focus on issues of content; analyses and critiques of textbooks and curricula are thus relatively common in the field, and they began appearing soon after TLH emerged as an area of emphasis in educational systems. Educational researchers conduct similar studies, but also consider teaching and learning, entering the classroom, observing instruction and teacher-student exchanges and conducting interviews with students and teachers. Because TLH sits at the nexus of historical content and educational processes, its key strengths include its multidisciplinary character and rich dialogue between experts in Holocaust and in education.

Despite the growing volume of research on TLH, there are relatively few scholars whose primary or exclusive focus is TLH. Instead, the field has many contributions from researchers whose primary focus is on another subject, or whose intellectual community is primarily based not in TLH but in a specific discipline. For these scholars, TLH constitutes a case study of some other phenomenon of interest—for example, globalization, controversial issues in the classroom or museum studies. The field thus seems disproportionately rich with contributions from scholars who are not broadly engaged with other research on TLH. These contributions benefit the field, but also suggest that research into TLH has yet to enter full maturity in its own right, as a coherent and unified intellectual community. The significant expansion of TLH research, and the growing number of early career scholars who are contributing to the field and whose primary point of reference is other TLH scholarship, suggests that this field is no longer “in its infancy” (Schweber, 2011, p. 475).

TLH scholarship is concerned both with practical issues and academic questions. Practical issues include investigating which practices are effective in specific countries or classrooms. Somewhat surprisingly, the field

1 For scholars who publish in multiple languages, we attempt to address their work in the language of the context they are studying or in their primary language. Such scholars often introduce the same research studies into more than one language’s research community (whether German and English, Hebrew and English and so forth.) Starting with the primary language of such studies will, we hope and believe, bring us closer to their original conceptualization and the data presented.

does not have a great deal of research about the effectiveness of different approaches to TLH, though studies that convincingly link specific methods with clear outcomes are often difficult to conduct. Academic questions include explanatory problems—for example, why has teaching about the Holocaust remained controversial in so many places, and why has it spread around the world in recent decades? A field requires a certain critical mass of data and research studies to enable the development of well-supported theory, and TLH is not yet in that position. It remains undertheorized, though hopefully that will soon change.

Classroom, museum or educational studies are conducted within two dominant research paradigms. The first is a causal paradigm that is concerned with effectiveness, what works and what outcomes or effects are produced by certain methods or materials. This approach is common in program evaluations and research intended to resolve practical issues; it often relies on quantitative data, but not exclusively. Other research relies on interpretive paradigms that explore how meaning is negotiated and constructed between diverse actors in specific cultural contexts. Qualitative and anthropological or ethnographic approaches are more common in this paradigm.

The categories described above—social science and educational research, domestic and international contexts, English-language and non-Anglophone scholarship, causal and interpretive paradigms—are not necessarily mutually exclusive and often overlap, particularly in the field of comparative and international education. This field, which brings together researchers, practitioners and policymakers, comprises explicitly comparative research, which spans many contexts (most recently, for example, Carrier et al., 2015), and case studies of individual “international” contexts beyond the researcher’s domestic case. These “international” studies are often implicitly but intrinsically comparative, both for the researcher and for the audience. The field, which seeks to provide a global perspective even on national cases, has a special contribution to make for TLH because the global nature of the field is not yet well researched. Considering the broad reach of organizations that promote TLH, whether from Anglophone contexts like the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Imperial War Museum, or others, such as the *Mémorial de la Shoah* and Yad Vashem, the international dynamics of TLH merit study in their own right. The global dynamics of the field are in turn shaped by geopolitical pressures that may guide national approaches to TLH (or a backlash against

them; see, for example, Stevick, 2007), particularly in the former Soviet Bloc. Both comparative and international studies ask what we can learn by comparing different cases, what insights or practices might be transferable from one context to another and under which conditions.

Broadly comparative studies (like this one) often exceed the language abilities of a single scholar, and are thus contingent on cooperation, teamwork or interpreters. They can also be quite expensive to conduct, and thus remain relatively uncommon. International studies, while more common, can explore different types of questions and have more flexibility to follow leads, adapt to discoveries and be attentive to the particular aspects of TLH in a given context.

Between the prevalence of TLH in Anglophone contexts and the broad participation of multilingual scholars from around the world in English-language scholarship, English-language research about TLH is quite extensive. Indeed, many reviews of the literature, including both empirical and non-empirical pieces, have been published about different portions or subsets of this broad literature, often by long-established pioneers in the field who have tracked new contributions assiduously, such as Totten and Schweber. A comprehensive overview of this literature is beyond the scope of this project, and likely any one scholar. After briefly discussing some insights from earlier reviews of the English-language literature, this chapter will indicate the broad contours of the field. Here we focus upon inquiry, research paradigms, questions and methods rather than outcomes or findings, which are discussed in more detail in the thematic chapters.

2. Select Literature Reviews of English-Language Research into Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

Prior reviews of research in TLH provide a sense of the contours of the research literature across time and some of the main themes that have emerged in that literature. Schweber's chapter (2011), Davis and Rubinstein-Avila's article (2013) and Gray's book (2014)² serve different purposes

- 2 Other surveys of recent English-language Holocaust-education research include Gross and Stevick (2010), Stevick and Gross (2010) and Stevick and Michaels (2012, 2013), while Totten (2014) and Short (2015) provide valuable retrospective views of their own research contributions in the field over several decades.

and apply different filters: Schweber is primarily interested in empirical research, while Gray's book attends to several thematic and emerging issues without systematically addressing such mainstays as curriculum or textbooks, while Davis and Rubinstein-Avila (2013) confine their focus to peer-reviewed publications from a specific set of academic databases that speak to the emergence of TLH around the world, its relationship to memory and value in combatting discrimination and the various obstacles that limit its adoption.

Schweber (2011) noted that Holocaust-education literature is particularly rich with normative work about what should be taught and how. While empirical research cannot resolve normative questions, it can inform those discussions and ground them in the concrete realities and challenges of classrooms and learning sites around the world. Schweber's own empirical work is an example: while debates have raged about the age at which the Holocaust can be introduced and the appropriate use of simulations and role-play, her documentation of both effective simulations (Schweber, 2004) and the percentage of young children experiencing Holocaust-related nightmares (Schweber, 2008) bring advocacy and research into dialogue (for a discussion of this point, see Stevick & Michaels, 2013).

Schweber (2011) proposed a research agenda that had been relatively neglected until 2008, including higher education; trips for American Jewish youth to Holocaust sites; students' reception generally of site visits; memorial days and teaching materials; how teachers make use of these materials in class; and emerging trends, such as the increase in graphic novels about the Holocaust, the role of the internet and the shift from in-person survivor testimonies to video of such testimonies. Gray (2014) drew upon approximately five additional years of primarily English-language research on TLH to teaching the Holocaust after survivors are no longer able to testify, and to the "digital era" of Holocaust education. Of course, the two areas strongly relate, as videotaped testimonies of survivors become increasingly navigable on the internet. Gray's (2014) useful discussion of the limitations of testimony, particularly with respect to the dynamics of memory and the possibility of using perpetrator testimony, aligns well with Hondius's (2015) discussion of the historical evolution of eyewitness testimony, especially its changing purposes and functions, in the Netherlands.

Gray's book-length literature review (2014) contains chapters on, first, perceptions, knowledge and attitudes, and second, responses to Holocaust education. Rather than separating teachers and students, he examines the

knowledge levels of both teachers and students concurrently. He finds a persistent correlation between prejudice and ignorance—though the strength of that relationship can vary—and fears that unprepared teachers are more likely to transmit prejudice than historical understanding (p. 14). Between the publication of Schweber’s and Gray’s reviews, international research into TLH expanded dramatically, and Gray’s detailed discussions of how national context and consciousness shape the policy and practice of TLH supports Schweber’s observation that TLH is “inevitably connected to national ideas about the state, citizenship, morality, and history” (p. 462).

Gray also critiques the quality of research in the field. While Schweber calls for further research into neglected aspects of TLH, Gray is concerned with scale and rigor. By emphasizing methodological issues, such as the construction of samples, sample size, objectivity and generalizability, Gray aligns with positivist traditions, with a strong preference for quantitative methodologies (though he acknowledges the potential value of ethnographic studies). His critique of anecdotal and experiential evidence holds, though it is perhaps more applicable to a longer-established field. Gray (2014) finds that the most neglected area is the role of cultural influences, something he tries to address by researching the impact of *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (p. 55).

Gray provides a valuable critique of various methodologies, down to the construction of individual survey items, and productively calls for more work in such areas as longitudinal effects and attempts to moralize students through Holocaust education. Notably, Gray (2014) argues that “practitioners are more informed by the research [on the Holocaust] than in most other areas of education” (p. 53), a trend that, if true, may be attributable to the close working relationships between Holocaust research organizations and educators.

Davis and Rubinstein-Avila (2013) reviewed forty-six articles, both empirical research and others, that concern the emergence of Holocaust education in school systems around the world. In addition to addressing common challenges, the authors are concerned with the connection between Holocaust education and memorialization, on the one hand, and its potential for pursuing other goals such as promoting human rights and combatting prejudice, similar to what Gray (2014) called moralizing students, on the other. Both they and Gray note the intersection of Holocaust education with each country’s contemporary attitudes towards Israel, and Davis and Rubinstein-Avila further explore the role of historical antisemi-

tism, national governance after the Holocaust, tensions around the purposes of Holocaust education and, directly after the war, the collective desire to forget and “return to ... normalcy” (p. 149).

Research Studies in English

The English-language list of bibliographic references concerning research into TLH was generated through several means. An original bibliographic list was gathered by the University College London Centre for Holocaust Education, and sorted by interest level, using the search terms “Holocaust” and “education.” We updated the search, reviewed bibliographies and Google Scholar’s “cited by” feature to identify additional sources. Electronic academic databases were used to extend the search with complementary search terms. We concentrated on empirical studies that involve deliberate educational efforts.

After applying the criteria discussed above, particularly for empirical research, some 200 references remained. These references concerned many countries, with two or fewer studies focusing on Australia, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Italy, Morocco, the Netherlands, Palestinian Territories, Rwanda, Slovakia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland and Ukraine. The studies in Estonia, France, Morocco, Palestinian Territories, Rwanda, Slovakia and (one of the two in) Ukraine appear to have been conducted by non-nationals. Larger numbers of studies appeared for Canada, Germany, Israel, Latvia, Poland, Romania, the United Kingdom and the United States. In these various contexts, studies of educational media are common. (Some studies, such as those of Israeli students visiting camps in Poland, fall into several categories.) Media studies include textbooks, curricula, children’s literature, film, graphic novels and internet resources.

Studies of major TLH institutions, including programs by Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO) and the March of Remembrance and Hope (MRH), seem generally underrepresented, given their prominence in the field, though Foster (2013) notes that FHAO is the subject of more than 100 publications. Because organizations and museums, from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Anne Frank House to Yad Vashem, conduct a great deal of teacher training and host millions of visitors, they merit much more research attention than they have thus far received. Twelve studies of museums join this list, and museums and other Holocaust-related sites are discussed in Chapter 11. Commemoration or memory is a

common focus. Other topics or contexts that appeared frequently include religion or religious education, higher education and travelling programs where students or adults visit sites in other countries. Antiracism broadly, including challenges to antisemitism, join studies that explore citizenship and moral development. One or two studies address diverse topics such as emotions, empathy, leadership, multiculturalism, justice, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Roma and comparative genocide.

3. Research into Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust in Anglophone Countries

Anglophone countries are relatively well represented in TLH research, particularly the United Kingdom, including intensive work in Scotland, and the United States. Holocaust-education research, like Holocaust education itself, may be heavily influenced by the impact of a small number of dedicated professionals. The depth of research in a given context may thus not correlate highly with the extent of TLH practiced in that context. Scotland, for example, is strongly represented in the literature thanks to the indefatigable efforts of Cowan and Maitles. The United Kingdom has a strong presence, thanks to the dedicated Centre for Holocaust Education at University College London (UCL), which includes Foster, Pettigrew, Hale, Pearce and Salmons. Short has a long career of contributions to the field, in several English-speaking contexts; in Australia, Rutland leads the field, while South Africa is represented by Peterson and Nates.

United States

American scholars such as Totten, Schweber and Fallace have been leaders in research about the Holocaust in American education. In the US, it is difficult to generalize nationally because states that benefit from the presence of robust Jewish communities are more likely to have deeper educational support (for example, in requiring Holocaust-education instruction in state law; see Zembrzycki & Hall, 2012) and access to survivors who can share their experiences in classrooms.

As a result, research in Holocaust education often reflects increased activity (several studies are based in Florida) or simply the residence of dedicated researchers.

The emergence and expansion of education about the Holocaust in the United States has been explored by Fallace (2008) and related in other places (for example, Totten, 2012; Cohen, 2013). In Jewish communities seeking positive sources for Jewish identity in the US and Canada, heroic examples dominate education about the Shoah, and these stories are “interpreted according to the classic American theme of rugged individualism” instead of “illustrating a collectivist Zionist narrative” (Cohen, 2003, p. 64). The American Association for Jewish Education held a conference in 1964 where the issue of discussing the Holocaust as a unique phenomenon or in tandem with other cases of genocide and racism was debated (Cohen, 2003, p. 65). It was determined there that Jewish youth had little knowledge of the Holocaust, and that few good materials existed in English, beyond those developed by Yad Vashem (Cohen, 2003, p. 65).

In public schools, beyond the initiative of individual teachers, the 1970s witnessed the development of formal programs, academic conferences to explore the possibilities for Holocaust education, the first formal curricula in some cities and the publication of *Facing History and Ourselves* (Totten, 2012, p. 224). The growing attention to the Holocaust was reflected in popular media as well, including the four-part television miniseries *Holocaust* in 1978 (Totten, 2012, p. 225), an event that generated one of the first special issues related to Holocaust education in the *International Journal of Political Education* in 1981. The 1980s and 1990s saw ongoing expansion, as more cities and states formally adopted guidelines or curricula about the Holocaust; some established state commissions and teacher training on the subject (Totten, 2012, p. 226).

The appearance of curricula and textbook materials invited critique, which came from experts of both content and process: historians and Holocaust scholars—including Dawidowicz, Lipstadt and Friedlander—and curriculum specialists such as Totten identified many problematic aspects of the treatment of the Holocaust. Dawidowicz observed that most curricula downplay the history of Christian antisemitism and treat it as little more than general prejudice, failing both to make clear that it existed before Hitler and to account for “why the Jews, rather than dervishes, for instance, are consistently chosen as the scapegoat” (Dawidowicz, 1992, p. 73, as cited by Totten, 2012, p. 228).

Totten and Parsons (1992) observed shallow, problematic curricula and teacher guidelines with inappropriate exercises, and Riley and Totten (2002) and Totten and Riley (2005) critiqued the curricula and the types of

instruction these materials recommended. A persistent challenge for TLH is the tendency of education materials to privilege description over explanation, conveying what happened but not why (Totten, 2012, p. 226–227). This trend echoes the findings of more global examinations of curricula and textbooks, which too often find narratives focused on Hitler and his individual hatred for Jews (Carrier et al., 2015).

The scholarship on TLH in the United States seems to be dominated by social studies methods or historical pedagogy, even though Harbaugh's (2015) research suggests that it is teachers of English language and literature who have the most flexibility within the public school system to dedicate whole units of study to the Holocaust. Compared to the relatively extensive research in historical pedagogy in general (if not specifically about TLH) that examines how students think historically and how they analyze original documents, research into students' approaches to and understanding of memoirs or literature about the Holocaust is quite limited. The strong emphasis on providing a sound historical footing for any treatment of the Holocaust creates pressures and expectations for teachers of the English language and literature to provide deeper than usual historical context or to teach history themselves, a task they are seldom systematically prepared to undertake.

In the United States, history is the dominant field in social studies education at the school level; this category encompasses fields such as civic education and geography as well. One prominent theme in historical pedagogy is the value of teaching controversial or sensitive issues both for engaging students and for helping them discuss their differences, critical skills in a democracy. Misco (2007) in particular applies this paradigm to his research in Latvia and Romania, where the Holocaust is often still a controversial subject.

Though TLH occurs predominantly in history and literature courses, a variety of other fields address the subject as well, from art to geography (for example, Hartmann, 2002; Hatt, 2011). Higher education and professional schools offer more flexibility to engage the Holocaust in different settings, including sociology (Abowitz, 2002) and psychology (for example, Lazar, et al., 2009; Simpson, 2012). Schweber has conducted the most extensive and influential classroom studies of TLH in the United States, exploring the reactions of young children, the use of a simulation and the impact of religious perspectives, including those at a Yeshiva and a fundamentalist Christian school.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom's four countries—England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland—each has its own distinct educational system and curricula. Only England mandates teaching of the Holocaust in the National Curriculum (NC) in history by the age of 14. The number of “free schools” and “academies,” which are exempt from the national curriculum, is increasing, making it obligatory for fewer students to study this subject, and a proposal to make all state schools into academies would, if passed, exempt them all from the NC (and thus from studying the Holocaust). In public examinations, the Holocaust has been reduced from dedicated papers to a couple of bullet points in German history, which may impact the quality of teaching and learning. These trends are offset somewhat because many teachers choose to teach about the Holocaust in a range of other subjects where it is not mandatory, as research by the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education has shown. Many students also report learning about the Holocaust earlier in their school careers (including in primary school). TLH may be sufficiently institutionalized that its mandatory status is not the only factor determining the extent to which it forms part of students' education.

England's UCL Centre for Holocaust Education provides professional development for teachers that is rooted in empirical research. In 2008–2009, a national study examined teachers' existing practices in secondary schools by surveying more than 2,000 secondary school teachers, and conducting follow-up interviews and focus groups with sixty-eight of them. Among its key findings, the 2009 study reported widespread commitment and interest in teaching about the Holocaust among teachers of various subjects; limited time in the curriculum and, as a consequence, struggles deciding what content to include; and high levels of confidence in teaching the Holocaust, which was unexpected because few had received any form of specialized training and most described themselves as self-taught. There are suggestions that teachers are likely to lean on popular representations of the Holocaust, rather than upon academically grounded and historically sound materials. In some instances, this seemed likely to lead to the reproduction of certain common myths and misconceptions in schools. Relatedly, an overwhelming majority of teachers from all subject backgrounds appeared to prioritize over-arching, trans-disciplinary teaching rationales—which emphasize the universal “meaning” or “lessons” of the Holocaust—over subject-specific disciplinary aims.

Perhaps in part because these countries experienced less direct connection to the roles of victim and perpetrator, the general political and societal discourse in the UK, as in the US, often focuses at the specific level more upon perpetrators and liberators, and more generally upon questions of racism, discrimination and citizenship, which in turn may affect teachers' aims and, subsequently, areas of research interests. In 1991, Short's interview with twenty-eight students demonstrated that they had little if any understanding of what a Jew was; Short argued that without such basic knowledge, students could not obtain a meaningful understanding of the Holocaust. Cowan and Maitles (2002), who did a series of studies with young children, found that children aged ten to twelve in Scotland were typically exposed to the Holocaust and gained a better understanding of concepts such as "justice, stereotyping and discrimination" (Cowan & Maitles, 2015, citing Cowan & Maitles, 2007 and Maitles & Cowan, 1999). Perhaps such general aims can be achieved with scant attention to the specificity of the Holocaust. Maitles et al. (2006) found significant improvements in primary-school students' attitudes towards many minority groups, but a lack of understanding of antisemitism, or at least unfamiliarity with the term.

In 1995, Short published results for a survey of thirty-four teachers in the UK, finding that most spent between two and four hours on the subject. Few among these teachers perceived any sense of antisemitism in their students or did much to address that topic specifically, nor did they engage with students' implicit images or stereotypes of Jews, hoping that such views had been addressed in other subjects such as religious education. At this time, teachers were making links to current events, particularly Rwanda, the tragedy unfolding in the Balkans and the wave of extreme right-wing politics that was flourishing in Europe. As Cohen noted about perpetrators and victims, even the heroic status of rescuers attracted little attention from teachers (Oscar Schindler was the most frequently mentioned example at the time, according to Short, 1995).

Hector's (1999, as cited in Hector, 2000) survey of teachers found several benefits to a cross-curricular approach to TLH, which increased the total time dedicated to the subject, enabled teachers to coordinate what they wanted to teach about and have students learn from the Holocaust, which in turn clarified their purposes helpfully and sent an implicit message about the subject's importance by addressing it in multiple subjects. Hector also found benefits from using a mixture of primary and secondary

sources, which provided multiple perspectives and a multifaceted view of a complex history.

Short also examined textbooks in the course of his studies and found problematic content that could mislead students. In one study, Short found religious education textbooks that implied both that all victims identified by Nazis as Jews were in fact dedicated to Judaism and that they were persecuted for religious reasons (Short, 2001), a trend that Goldberg (1996) documented in youth fiction about the Holocaust. In another study, Short found history textbooks that linked the infamous “night of broken glass” pogrom to the killing of diplomat Ernst vom Rath without explanation, potentially leaving “the impression that Kristallnacht was a justified response to an unprovoked attack” (Short, 2015, p. 464).

In 2016 the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education published its mixed methods study that surveyed 8,000 secondary school students in England and interviewed almost 250 more (Foster et al., 2016). Building on UCL’s teacher research, the study suggests that TLH in England to a large extent is closely related to wider popular (and political) framings of the Holocaust and is not always successful in unpacking, challenging or transforming these framings. Common myths and misconceptions unsurprisingly circulate among teachers, who then reproduce them among students. These misunderstandings include confusion over the particular histories of different Nazi victims, a tendency to see the Holocaust as the sole responsibility of Hitler and his “Nazi henchmen,” the belief that most people were unaware of what was happening, a failure to see the wider complicity and culpability of broader German and European peoples and society and Auschwitz-centric narratives. However, the study also demonstrated very high levels of interest and enthusiasm among all students towards learning about the Holocaust in schools.

While much remains to be done in research into TLH, the ongoing expansion of the field suggests that it may soon be entering a more mature stage, where more studies conduct broad national quantitative surveys and large international comparisons become more feasible. The ongoing efforts to incorporate more international, cross-cultural and cross-lingual work should facilitate this effort.

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Research in Hebrew

1. Hebrew-Language Research and the Context and Discourses Surrounding Holocaust Education in Israeli Society

This chapter reviews research studies on Holocaust education written in Hebrew and carried out in Israel. The shaping of consciousness and Holocaust memory faces a significant intergenerational change: the time is coming when no survivors will remain and memory will chiefly be shaped by the second and third generations, by education in schools and by the rich documentation as well as historical research that the first generation left behind.

One of the major debates in Israeli society is whether to address the Holocaust as a discrete Jewish phenomenon, unparalleled in history, or whether it should be called “genocide,” or “Jewish genocide”—thus viewing it as one genocide among many genocides. There is a practical aspect to this issue in educational terms, since the question is whether—in the framework of teaching about the Holocaust and designing Holocaust-memory ceremonies—we should deal with and teach only what happened to the Jewish people in the Second World War, or in other periods as well (the Armenian massacres, for example). Should teaching and official ceremonies also relate to other peoples’ annihilation (the Poles, Roma and Sinti and so on)? It should be noted that there is quite a difference between addressing mass crimes that were committed by the Nazis and are thus connected with the Holocaust and those that happened in other historical contexts. The Armenian Genocide, for example, is a special case, since there is an Armenian minority in Jerusalem. Yet all this is mixed up in the Israeli debate.

The Israeli leadership and most of the public initially ignored the Holocaust, whether through actual silence, a collective inability to acknowledge anything concerning this issue or a selective approach that referred only to heroic resistance during the Holocaust. The passive victims of the Holocaust were viewed as having gone to the gas chambers like “lambs to the slaughter” (for example, Shapira, 1997, p. 97). Only the partisans and those active in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising were considered heroes. As well, those who survived the camps were often unable to talk about their trauma;

commemoration ceremonies were private and held only by those who were directly connected to the Holocaust. It should be noted that there are different opinions concerning this issue, as Shapira (1990), Balf (1998), Yablonka (1994, 2001) and Ofer (2004) have discussed. Gross (2010) argues that the attitude to the Holocaust and Holocaust Education can be seen as a chronological development from ontology to epistemology. Hence, four distinct periods can be delineated: 1943-1961 – Public rejection; 1961-1980 – Public recognition; 1980-2000 – Construction; and 2000-to date – Deconstruction. These stages illustrate the way a state can cope with a national trauma.

Although scholars see different distinct periods in the history of Holocaust education (Liebman & Don-Yehiya, 1983; Dror, 2002; Dror, 1996; Porat, 2004; Gross, 2010), this silent period (roughly 1943–1961) was followed by a period of public recognition (1961–1980), principally after the Eichmann trial, in which survivors' personal accounts and evidence were heard, and a demand emerged to teach the subject of the Holocaust within the school system.

In 1963, following the passage of the Holocaust Day Law (1959) and the Eichmann trial (1961), schools were required to hold a ceremony to commemorate the Holocaust. Schools were required to follow a designated format for these ceremonies as mandated by the Ministry of Education (Ben-Amos, Bet-El & Tamim, 1999, p. 269). Though changing attitudes toward the Holocaust in Israeli society have affected the way Holocaust education is constructed; to this day, it continues to evolve.

The major change came after Likud came to power in 1977 (Porat, 2004; Kimmerling, 2004), bringing about a cultural change in the perception and symbols of identity, from secular to more traditional religious symbols in which the Holocaust played a major role. In 1980, the Knesset amended the State Education Law to include as one of its goals “awareness of the memory of the Holocaust and the heroes.” In addition, the Ministry of Education decided that the Holocaust would be a topic on the high-school matriculation examination in history (Segev, 2000), and Holocaust education was included in the literature curriculum. Classes in history would introduce students to the Holocaust cognitively, and by studying it through literature they could address it emotionally. In the two decades after 1980, Holocaust education became a separate, compulsory subject. Once a very emotional topic, it began to be taught and analyzed more analytically.

In their 1983 textbook, *The Holocaust and its Significance*, Gutman and Schatzker analyzed the Holocaust as a unique chapter in Jewish and world

history. The book exposed students to more documents, gave a richer and more balanced picture of Jewish resistance and emphasized the spiritual revolt and the struggle to preserve human dignity; meanwhile it reduced the emphasis on armed resistance and included the complications of and obstacles to the revolt. Research on the Holocaust and Holocaust education involved a process of redefining the terms “heroism” and “survival” (Ofer, 2004a, p. 400). The stories and testimonies of ordinary Jews—not national heroes, but rather the simple persons who struggled to preserve human dignity and survived—became more legitimized.

In 1999, two new textbooks were introduced, written by Yisrael Gutman (1999) and Nili Keren (1999). These texts emphasized the importance of combining individual memory and thorough historical knowledge. The books analyzed the Holocaust from the personal perspective of individual Jews alongside a description of the genocide the Nazis committed against others, including Poles and the Roma. Ofer (2004a) views these two books as landmarks in Holocaust education, especially because they locate the Holocaust within both Jewish and universal modern history. Using the inquiry-based approach to develop students’ analytical capacity, these books gave students both primary and secondary historical sources and asked them to interpret them and create their own narratives.

Following the public criticism and development of the post-Zionist discourse (Michman, 1997), Danny Ya’akobi (1999) published a new history textbook entitled *A World of Changes*. Because it de-emphasized the Holocaust, Zionism and the State of Israel, it aroused a huge public debate and was the subject of a discussion in the Knesset. The textbook was rejected “because it didn’t draw the appropriate historical lessons from the Holocaust” (Porat, 2004, p. 619). Most schools hold extracurricular activities related to the topic, especially around Holocaust Remembrance Day. For many years, the educational system was deeply committed to transmitting the heritage of the Holocaust to the next generation, to ensure that the memory of it would not disappear after the survivors had died, but educators were concerned about the potential emotional damage to adolescents exposed to stories of such traumatic events. Despite this fear, Cohen (2009) found that 95 percent of students participated in ceremonies and 82 percent watched shows and visited exhibitions or commemoration sites.

2. Evidence Concerning the Multiple Purposes of Holocaust Education in Israeli Society

Although the Holocaust is a major constituent in Israeli discourse and in the formation of Jewish and Israeli Identity, there is relatively little empirical research on Holocaust education, and the field has not been conceptualized in a systematic way (Blatman, 1995; Feldman, 1995; Ofer, 2004b; Schatzker, 1982).

Most of the research to date deals with attitudes, the analysis of history textbooks, Holocaust education curriculum and research on the March of the Living, concentrating on its short-term impact (cognitive and emotional). Longitudinal studies to evaluate the long-term impact of the March of the Living have largely not been undertaken. Most of the research focuses on high-school students, and there is a paucity of material focusing on the earlier school years of kindergarten and elementary school. While this is understandable, since most of the organized programs and curricula are aimed at high-school students, younger students are still exposed to the topic of the Holocaust in Israel, and studies need to be undertaken in this area as well.

Most Hebrew-language publications about Holocaust education are not based on empirical data. Although these non-empirical writings are often important for the construction of Holocaust remembrance from a national perspective, they do not deal with the main challenges confronting educators who are coping with this sensitive issue in classrooms. Generally speaking, most writings deal with the issue of remembrance in a general manner and concentrate less on what is actually happening in classrooms.

The extent of writing about Holocaust education is itself evidence about the competing goals and purposes for which Holocaust education is advocated and used.

In order to contextualize the Hebrew-language research on Holocaust education, it is important to understand the purposes underlying the policy and practice of Holocaust education in Israel. For the Israeli educational system, Holocaust education has six main goals: forming Jewish identity, enhancing Zionist identity, teaching values, transmitting historical knowledge, providing civic education and emphasizing religious aspects. The following sections briefly describe these goals, together with related evidence about students', teachers' and principals' perspectives on these goals, particularly through data gathered by Cohen (2009).

The Formation of Jewish Identity

The Holocaust is considered an “epoch-making” event (Fackenheim, 1987) that has a strong impact on the construction of Jewish-Israeli identity (Ackerman, 2003; Gross, 2000) and on personal identity (Fisherman & Kaniel, 2004; Novick, 1999). Holocaust education fosters the feeling of belonging to the Jewish nation (Romi & Lev, 2007). Surveys have found that the Holocaust holds a central place for students, teachers and principals (Cohen, 2009; Farago, 1989; Herman, 1977). Cohen (2009) found that for 99 percent of the principals and 93 percent of the teachers in Israeli high schools, the feeling of a common fate with the entire Jewish nation is an important goal of Holocaust education. Of the 2,540 students that Cohen surveyed, 88 percent identify with the goal of Jewish solidarity, 94 percent are committed to preserving the memory of the Holocaust, 83 percent want to learn more about it, 85 percent say the contents of Holocaust education are inspiring and 80 percent view it as relevant to their lives. Cohen found no differences among the students’ responses in terms of their gender, religiosity or ethnic origin (Ashkenazi or Sephardi (Western or Oriental)).

Zionist Education

Ruth Firer (1987), who analyzed Holocaust education curricula, claimed that Holocaust education was initially perceived as a means to enhance Zionist identity and transmit a Zionist message. The Holocaust was considered proof of the need for a Jewish state. According to this approach, the emphasis was not on the suffering of the Jewish people, but on identifying with the heroic acts of those who stood up against Nazism and the German army, and with those who survived. Therefore, it emphasized the Jewish resistance rather than the experience of going like “lambs to the slaughter.” Resnik (1999, p. 488) also perceived Holocaust education in Israel as an integral part of enhancing the national image of a state for a persecuted people, thus connecting the Holocaust to the establishment of the State of Israel. Recent surveys show that the Zionist goal remains prevalent. Cohen (2009) found that for 100 percent of the principals and 92 percent of the teachers surveyed, strengthening students’ commitment to the existence of an independent Israel is an important goal. Among the adolescents that Farago (2007) surveyed, more feel that the main lesson of the Holocaust is

“the need for a strong Jewish state and immigration to Israel” than the need for Jewish solidarity or the need to fight antisemitism.

Values Education

Carmon (1979) perceived education about values as the main goal of Holocaust education. The events of the Holocaust are seen as a means to shape a student’s character as a human being and as a Jew. Studying the Holocaust should be an intellectual and emotional challenge that serves the individual both in searching for identity (Ofer, 2004a, p. 409) and in reflecting on the meaning of his or her life as a human being. The Holocaust is proof of “the failure to inculcate human and humanistic values” (Don-Yehiya, 1993, p. 156, citing *Divrei haknesset* [Records of the Knesset], 5742).

Those who strive to teach values through the Holocaust seek to confront students with human atrocities, on the one hand, and inculcate the sanctity of life, on the other. The Holocaust was a situation in which, in Frankl’s (1963) conception, human beings searched for meaning, or found humanistic manifestations in terrible circumstances, “represented by the everyday struggle of Jews in the ghettos and concentration camps to subsist and maintain human dignity in unimaginable conditions” (Don-Yehiya, 1993, p. 148). According to Friedlander, Holocaust remembrance “imposes upon us the duty of moral vigilance,” and “there is no higher duty than the respect of human dignity, of human freedom and of human life” (as cited in Don-Yehiya, 1993, p. 148). Indeed, Cohen (2009) found that 80 percent of the students interviewed perceived the Holocaust as a calamity for humanity and not only for the Jewish people. Almost all principals and teachers believe that strengthening humanistic-universal values through Holocaust education is an important educational goal. In secular schools, 89 percent of principals said they emphasize values such as fighting racism and strengthening democracy. Students who have participated in trips to Poland tend to see the Holocaust as a disaster for all humankind, more than those who did not participate in the trips (Cohen, 2009).

Acquisition of Historical Knowledge

Gutman and Schatzker (1984) believed that the main aim of Holocaust education is to expose students to knowledge. According to Ofer (2004a), Holocaust education should utilize “knowledge for the sake of knowledge,”

and it should do so through “a systematic historical analysis” of the Holocaust, raising “the major issues through readings of primary documents and a comprehensive comparative study” (p. 409). Ofer stresses that the major change in textbooks over time has been in perspective: from their initial emphasis on presenting the national perspective of the Jewish nation, texts have moved towards presenting the perspective of the individual who lived during the time of the Holocaust, by stressing a critical reading of memoirs and documents.

Civic Education

Holocaust education is often justified by the need to teach students about their role in society as effective citizens. This knowledge might help secure the future against further violations of human rights, whether they are conducted on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or disability. Auron (2005), Naveh and Yogev (2002) and Keren (2004) found that the study of the Holocaust can help students develop pro-social civic dispositions. For this reason, they argue that teachers should not only concentrate on the Holocaust, but instead should expand the scope of their teaching to the general context of genocide and enhancing global citizenship. In fact, several scholars have found that Holocaust education increases Jewish students' empathy for the Palestinians (Gross, 2000; Romi & Lev, 2007; Shechter, 2002). Naveh's (2009) textbook is an attempt to contextualize Holocaust memory in national-civic and global memory by analyzing the mechanism that enabled the Nazis to come to power and its implications for civic education.

Religious Considerations

The earliest research found that, for religious schools, the main goal of Holocaust education was to have students identify with the heroism of religious survivors during the Holocaust and with the heroic acts of those who continued their religious practices and faith in God even in difficult circumstances. When religious students went on educational trips to Poland, they first visited religious sites, the graves of major rabbis and sites of destroyed religious centers. Dorshav and Yaoz (1983) found that students in religious schools showed a higher degree of empathy toward Jewish suffering, especially toward Holocaust survivors, than students in secular schools did.

These findings preceded the large-scale student trips to Poland that developed later.

Although Cohen found no differences between religious and secular students, Fisherman and Kaniel (2004) have found differences in the long-term impact that trips to Poland have on religious boys compared to secular boys and religious and secular girls. However, this finding needs further investigation. Horowitz (1999) found that in religious schools, teachers of literature emphasize national religious messages when dealing with the Holocaust; meanwhile, in secular schools, teachers emphasize moral messages. This view supports Rauner's (2003) assertion that in Holocaust education, each teacher uses a "mental model" that reflects his or her cultural context and values. It seems that a particularistic Jewish agenda for Holocaust education tends to emphasize Zionist education, the formation of Jewish identity and religious considerations; in contrast, an educational program that stresses a universalistic agenda tends to emphasize values, the acquisition of knowledge and civic education. These varying emphases on the different goals reflect the dilemmas that have accompanied Holocaust education for over forty years.

3. Empirical Research in Hebrew

Research has shown the Holocaust to be the primary component of Jewish identity (Farago, 1989; Gross, 2000; Herman, 1977; Levy, Levinsohn, & Katz, 1993; Ofer, 2004a) and to contribute significantly to Jewish Israelis' sense of belonging to the Jewish people. The current identification of the Holocaust as an important historical event indicates that more importance is attributed to it even compared to events such as the establishment of the State of Israel (Auron, 1993; Herman, 1977). Farago (1989) noted that in 1985, the Holocaust was the first event that Israeli youth mentioned spontaneously as an influence on their Jewish identity. Among traditional and secular Jews, the Holocaust ranked second, after the Zionist-Israeli component, as the most influential component in their Jewish identity, whereas among the first generation of Ashkenazi Israelis the Holocaust ranked as high as the Israeli experience (Levy et al., 2004).

Herman (1977) found a similar pattern: when youth were asked to indicate what historical event influenced them the most, the majority mentioned the establishment of Israel together with the Holocaust. Among

those in the Diaspora, the Holocaust remains the major factor in Jewish identity (Herman, 1977; Levy et al., 2004).

Recent surveys show that a majority of Israeli students rate the Holocaust as the most influential historical event—even more than the establishment of the state—and identify with the victims (Cohen, 2009; Farago, 2007). Liebman and Don-Yehiya (1983) view the Holocaust as the main component of civic religion in Israel.

Research on educating about the Holocaust principally addresses four themes: pupils, teachers, the curriculum and the journeys to Poland.

Students

The chief finding of Cohen's research (2009), a quantitative and qualitative study conducted among Jewish participants in state-supported schools (307 principals, 519 teachers and 2,540 pupils), is that the Holocaust is a central theme in the curriculum and is aimed at shaping Jewish and Israeli identity. School is perceived as a major socialization agent for imparting the memory of the Holocaust, more so than youth movements, other non-formal frameworks or even the family. The Holocaust is perceived as a common denominator for pupils from different demographic backgrounds, Ashkenazi (Western) or Sephardi (Oriental). Seventy-six percent of pupils (94 pupils) are committed to preserving the memory of the Holocaust; 83 percent are interested in learning more about the Holocaust; 81 percent see the Holocaust as a tragedy for the whole of humanity, not only for the Jewish people; 88 percent feel a sense of identification with the Jewish people; 86 percent stated commitment to the existence of an independent Jewish state; 80 percent identify with universal values; 94 percent stated commitment to remembering the Holocaust (Cohen, 2009).

Teachers and Principals

School teachers and principals perceive Holocaust teaching as a central theme for imparting values and shaping Jewish identity: 96 percent of the teachers reported that the Holocaust impacts on their own worldview (Cohen, 2009). There is broad consensus among principals and teachers concerning the basic values and educational implications of Holocaust studies. In research by Cohen (2009), more than half of the teachers had been trained in teaching the Holocaust in the framework of professional-

enrichment courses they attended over the previous two years. Eighty-two percent of the teachers see the Holocaust as a tragedy for humanity as a whole, not only for the Jewish people. Principals and teachers define the Jewish, Zionist and universal implications of the Holocaust as important: 100 percent of the principals and 92 percent of the teachers see strengthening commitment to the State of Israel's independent existence as a major objective in teaching the Holocaust. Ninety-seven percent of principals and 81 percent of teachers see strengthening humanist universal values as an important aim in teaching the Holocaust. Ninety-nine percent of the principals and 93 percent of teachers see instilling affinity to the fate of the Jewish people as a major goal in teaching the Holocaust.

Principals and teachers in state schools strongly emphasize universal values and the strengthening of pupils' commitment to fighting racism and strengthening democracy.

There are two principal themes and dilemmas for teachers regarding Holocaust teaching. Some teachers emphasize the need for experiential learning, while others indicate the need for cognitive learning. Some underscore the need for including universal values, while others maintain that particularistic Jewish values should be highlighted. Cohen (2009) has shown that there is no dichotomy between these dilemmas, and that many teachers use a multifaceted pedagogy. According to research by Gross (2010), teaching is perceived as more significant in non-formal education, which makes possible a profound coping with questions of identity.

Curricula

Holocaust studies in Israeli schools are set principally in history classes and non-formal education, which includes participation in ceremonies and field trips to commemoration sites. The number of hours allocated to Holocaust studies increases substantially in grade eleven, when pupils prepare for their matriculation exams. Out of the eighteen textbooks dealing with the Holocaust that are used in schools, two were particularly notable in Cohen's (2009) research—one was used by 65 percent of the teachers, and the second by 11 percent. According to Lumskey-Feder (2003), school ceremonies are enlisted for national needs and for nation-building, and they carry significant political messages. In addition to compulsory classes, according to Cohen (2009) pupils attend ceremonies (95%), see dramas and plays (82%) and visit institutions commemorating the Holocaust (85%).

According to Cohen's research (2009), the different communities are satisfied with the contents of Holocaust studies in schools. Eighty-five percent of the pupils said that the topics taught in Holocaust studies lessons are thought-provoking, and 80 percent of them said that the themes taught in classes are relevant to their lives.

Eighty-three percent of school principals are satisfied with the general quality of Holocaust studies in their schools. The majority of the teachers expressed satisfaction with their general training (84%) and enrichment courses (73%) in teaching the Holocaust. History teachers feel better qualified to teach the Holocaust. Ninety-two percent of history teachers feel qualified, in comparison to 72 percent of other teachers (89% of those who teach history are also homeroom educators, or teach another subject). Regarding the teaching of the Holocaust in Israel in general, the majority of the teachers are satisfied (67%) but think that more hours should be allocated to it in the school system.

Gross (2010a) found that a possible secret of success when teaching the Holocaust in schools is when teaching is performed in a non-formal manner, which creates symmetry between teacher and pupil, multifaceted teaching that creates a special educational atmosphere enabling discussion and honing sensitive and complex issues that arise. Yaoz (1992, 1994, 2002) and Horowitz (2006) found that teaching literature is a helpful means for teaching the theme of the Holocaust in a powerful and experiential way. They found that teaching the Holocaust through literature both allows education for values and raises complex moral dilemmas.

Holocaust education is a fundamental element in the state education curriculum. The topic is considered by students and teachers to be inspiring, and teachers report fewer discipline problems than during other lessons. In addition, high-school pupils consider school to be the most meaningful agent for exposing them to information on the Holocaust, more than youth movements or their families (Cohen, 2009).

Following an extensive report by Israel's State Comptroller (2010), the Ministry of Education and Yad Vashem set up a joint committee that published a national curriculum on the theme of the Holocaust in 2014 entitled *Paths of Memory*¹. It is a spiral curriculum to be taught from nursery school through grade twelve. It was the first time that the ministry has proposed an

1 http://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report_292/c0fdf8a5-a824-47a5-bd4f-0c8437a1ee6a/part232-shoaa.pdf.

official curriculum for teaching the Holocaust across the entire schooling system. The program includes a theoretical rationale, principles, methodological proposals and various contents adapted to the changing needs of pupils at different ages. However, teachers in the field maintain that the program is not at this time being fully implemented in the school system because no teaching hours have been allocated for it and schools lack the coordinators who would be responsible for guiding its implementation.

Since 2015, pupils have not been examined on the Holocaust unit in an external matriculation exam; instead, alternative assessments, which are optional and include research projects, are conducted by the school's teaching staff. In state religious schools, however, the subject of the Holocaust remains part of students' compulsory studies, which require the students to learn specific bodies of knowledge, although to a lesser extent than previously.

The new program's innovation is that—instead of frontal learning, which requires acquiring knowledge whose effectiveness in the world of available information is doubtful—students structure the knowledge for themselves through alternative learning processes in a constructivist and interdisciplinary manner that suits their cognitive abilities and emotional traits. The effectiveness of this program has not yet been studied.

Trips to Poland

There is an ongoing public debate in Israel's mass media over the question of continuing school trips to Poland, largely because they are costly and pupils from less prosperous socio-economic backgrounds cannot take part in them. Thus trips to Poland can contribute to discrimination and social inequality. At the same time, however, research results indicate that these trips are highly effective and contribute to shaping pupils' values (Romi & Lev, 2007; Cohen, 2009). Though the authors do not explicitly define "effectiveness," they argue that the trips are effective because students remember basic information (cognitive effectiveness) and answer questions in a way that can be interpreted as meaningful for the construction of Jewish identity. Cohen (2009) asked students directly to estimate the effectiveness of different educational instruments like films, ceremonies, testimonies and so on. (Cohen, 2009, p. 50). Yet this issue is still uncharted water, especially because the research of Romi and Lev was conducted shortly after the trips concluded. This issue merits further investigation.

All the researchers (Romi & Lev, 2007; Cohen, 2009; Gross, 2010) maintain that the trips to Poland are perceived as a highly effective means for teaching the Holocaust. In the pupils' opinions, listening to testimonies from survivors was considered one of the most meaningful activities (according to Cohen, 91% of the pupils ranked both the journey and the testimonies as effective). Cohen maintains that 44 percent of grade twelve students who were invited to do so participated in a journey to Poland. Of those who went on this trip, 89 percent of teachers and 96 percent of students were satisfied. Ninety-nine percent of the pupils who joined a trip to Poland described it as an effective means of teaching about the Holocaust, and 80 percent of grade nine pupils intend to go on a trip to Poland in the future.

The principal impacts of the journey (according to Romi & Bar-Lev, 2007 and Cohen, 2009) are increasing pupils' knowledge about the Holocaust and strengthening their commitment to Holocaust memory: a higher percentage of pupils who travelled to Poland said they had obtained knowledge about the Holocaust (74%, in comparison to 62% of those who did not go to Poland).

Regarding the trips to Poland, their supporters maintain that they are a central means of strengthening Jewish and religious identity, as well as an affinity and identification with and commitment to the State of Israel. Lev (2009) found that the journey makes possible significant experiential learning and can also effect a change in attitude. Cohen (1999) found that the journey had a positive impact on pupils' knowledge levels and on strengthening their awareness of the memory of the Holocaust. In comparison, those opposed to the journey see it chiefly as an emotional experience that is transient and has no long-term significance. Blatman (1995) and Auron (1993) found that the journey to Poland aroused nationalistic emotions in young people and reinforced values that clash with humanist, universal values. Arguably, the most significant finding in the discussion over this issue is that all the research (Romi & Bar-Lev, 2007; Fisherman & Kaniel 2004; Cohen, 2009) found no significant differences in terms of awareness of the Holocaust between those who went to Poland and those who did not. This result is apparently due to the fact that awareness of the Holocaust is generally high in Israel, and students are widely exposed to the theme through education at school, ceremonies at school and elsewhere and the media. Wiesenfeld (2014) did not find changes among graduates of high-school yeshivas in the degree of identification with and commitment to religion and religious belief, but did find a significant strengthening in

the degree of commitment to and identification with the State of Israel among students who went to Poland. The journey evokes the understanding that if the Israeli state had existed at the time, the appalling event of the Holocaust would not have happened; and the strengthened commitment to the state stems from this understanding. Despite their criticism of the trip, the respondents indicated that the experience of the journey would remain with them for many years.

Studies have shown that the journeys to Poland are one of the factors with the most influence on the creation and shaping of memory and awareness of the Holocaust in Israel (see Cohen, 2009 p. 49). These journeys are one of the foundations of the debate over the place of the Holocaust and its role in the country's schooling system. Feldman (2000), who focused on the March of the Living, sees the trips to Poland as a type of ritual and pilgrimage in the civic-religious framework, aimed at transforming Holocaust memory, attributing holiness to it and rendering it the central memory in constituting civil religion in Israel.

4. Conclusions and Critical Reflections

Since the 1950s, the Holocaust has been transformed from a marginal issue to a central one, and Holocaust education in Israel has changed significantly, because of various sociological, political and historical changes. The major change has been from a highly structured, uniform approach to a more pluralistic one that acknowledges diverse voices and interpretations. In Ofer's (2004b) terminology, Holocaust education has moved from "memory," with its emphasis on heroism, to history, which involves critical thinking, requires "mastery of disciplinary knowledge" and follows "the rules of scholarship" (p. 105). Overall, the consensus in the field is that the approach has changed from a collective orientation to an individual one, from a more particularistic view to a more universalistic one and from a more structured educational agenda to a more personalized one.

There is a fundamental difference between the articles written until the 1980s and more recent articles. Although the main aim of the writers is usually educational, namely to foster remembrance and attempt to elicit meaning and conclusions from this traumatic event, earlier authors tended to write more intuitively rather than use the more professional approaches that have been developed in educational methodology and research. Nevertheless,

this material is very valuable from a research point of view because the writers offered meaningful insights that can be conceptualized and, in the long run, provide a good basis for qualitative and quantitative research. The changes beginning in the 1980s have involved not only a gradual transition away from that earlier, more intuitive approach, which was based on personal knowledge, to a more research-based approach, but also a transition from a more philosophical form of writing, based mainly on the author's thought and perceptions, to a greater reliance on research. This transition has included a move from a broader approach in developing education programs, which were based on the hegemonic national narrative and its selection of historical facts, to a more particularistic approach, which is based on personal accounts of specific individuals and their experiences.

It should be noted that, over time, leading scholars in the educational arena have produced some very meaningful ideas in official educational circulars. These have been included in the bibliography, as they enable us to understand more clearly the *zeitgeist*, what happened in their specific era and how the Holocaust was conceptualized while confronting other contemporary events. Writers such as Ron (1971) Lorberboim (1991) and Fien-gold (1992), for example, were very influential in the Ministry of Education and had a strong impact on the way Holocaust remembrance has been constructed and reconstructed in Israel's secular and religious educational systems.

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SECTION II

Thematic Studies on Research in Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

Introduction

The range of research related to education and the Holocaust is quite vast, and it can be organized in many different ways. For the thematic chapters, the Multilingual Expert Team (MET) decided to focus primarily on research that is explicitly educational, that is, research that directly addresses the processes of teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH). These chapters therefore do not include examinations of critical topics such as textbooks and curricula, which have fortunately received their own extensive examination in the recent work of Carrier et al. (2015). As a result, the MET has focused upon: 1) Teachers and Teaching; 2) Students and Learning; 3) Trips and Visits to Holocaust Memorials and Museums; 4) Intergroup Encounters in the Context of TLH.

Teaching the Holocaust

1. Introduction

Though research about teachers and how they teach the Holocaust offers glimpses rather than a comprehensive picture, it is nevertheless instructive. The existing research suggests that teaching the Holocaust remains a highly diverse enterprise, both between countries and within them. This diversity of practice has many sources, including the different cultures of memory and national contexts in which teachers work, the different knowledge levels teachers bring to the classroom, the complexity of the topic, the diverse subjects within which the Holocaust is taught, the influence of popular media representations, the varying emphases of the curricula, policies and institutions that train and guide teachers on how to teach the Holocaust and the relative isolation of teachers in their classrooms.

Ultimately, in the absence of strong homogenizing forces, teaching is likely to remain as diverse as the teachers themselves. The research supports Schweber's (2004) observation that "teachers bring to class with them personal predilections, ideological convictions, and historical conceptions forged by their experiences of race, class, gender, family, education, circumstance and religion" (p. 146), and Cohen's (2013) view that teachers "necessarily bring their own opinions and beliefs into the presentation of the subject, and often touch on fundamental issues such as national identity, religious belief, democracy, human rights, relations between Jews and non-Jews, and more" (p. 35).

Broader trends across educational systems may reduce that diversity of practice in the near to medium term. Increasing standardization, testing and accountability may constrict the time teachers are able to dedicate to teaching the Holocaust. The growing attention the Holocaust receives in textbooks and education systems around the world (Bromley & Russell, 2010) may lead to some convergence regarding core knowledge, best practices and universal lessons about the Holocaust.

Notably, however, even a group of exemplary teachers demonstrated remarkable diversity in their use of materials and methods (Mitchell, 2004), a finding that calls into question the notion that there may be universal "best

practices.” While there may be many paths towards excellent teaching of the Holocaust, this diversity may have organizational roots. Although teachers could learn a great deal from their exemplary or highly trained peers, it is difficult to overcome “the isolation of professionals built into the structure of public schools” (Schweber, 2004, p. 161). Professionals have scant opportunity to cooperate across units (Brown & Davies, 1998).

Because diversity remains the most notable feature of TLH, it is difficult to generalize meaningfully about the teaching of the Holocaust within or across contexts. Although broad truth claims about the teaching of the Holocaust are elusive, it is possible to identify emerging trends or patterns, and to use these insights to build instructive typologies of teachers and teaching methods. But where are these trends evident? Often, we lack the evidence to know for certain.

2. Research on Teachers and their Teaching of the Holocaust

This section reviews research into the preparation of teachers to teach the Holocaust and then explores their knowledge, motivations, attitudes and experiences. Trends and patterns emerge from these studies, and scholars have used their findings to build typologies of teachers and teaching. The research on teacher preparation outside of Israel and Germany suggests that few teachers receive specialized training about the Holocaust or how to teach it during their initial certification programs. However, several studies show that teachers perceive and experience units on the Holocaust as qualitatively different from other topics in the same subjects, typically history or literature courses. This combination of teachers’ needs and the lack of specialized training means both that teachers in many contexts are predominantly self-taught and that professional development (PD) plays a critical role. We thus include a discussion of the many institutions that provide in-service training for teachers of the Holocaust.

Two areas of special focus in the research literature on teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) include the emotional—indeed, emotionally fraught—nature of teaching the Holocaust, and a focus on the practices of exemplary, award-winning or highly-trained teachers of the Holocaust. In addition, many of the researchers working in the field use their findings to develop typologies, or systems of classification, for different types of teachers or approaches to teaching. While such classifica-

tions help us to see important distinctions in the teaching of the Holocaust, we seldom have statistics about the frequency of these categories. Still, such typologies provide promising hypotheses with which to shape future quantitative research.

How are Teachers Prepared to Teach the Holocaust?

Research into how teachers are prepared to teach about the Holocaust is quite limited and leaves us with more questions than answers. Large-scale national quantitative studies of teachers have been conducted in England, the United States, Sweden and Israel.

The results from England, the United States and Sweden suggest that teachers generally feel underprepared to teach the Holocaust, and most are self-taught. In England, for example, Foster (2013) found that more than 80 percent of teachers lack formal instruction about the Holocaust and declare themselves to be self-taught. Donnelly (2004), in a survey of American social studies and language and literature teachers for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, similarly found that 85 percent of teachers learned about the Holocaust primarily through informal means, echoing Ellison's (2002) findings.

The Lange Report for the Living History Forum, which in 2007 surveyed 10,000 Swedish teachers of all subjects—not just subjects that traditionally address the Holocaust—found that 40 percent had received no instruction about the Holocaust, and only 5 percent had received more than 10 hours of instruction. In addition, it concluded that teacher-training colleges had no notable effect on Swedish teachers' knowledge levels about the Holocaust.

While the Holocaust received little attention across the former Soviet Bloc, the extent to which changes have occurred over the last quarter-century is still mostly undocumented. The European Union's Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA, the EU's independent expert body on fundamental rights) produced a report titled *Discover the Past for the Future*, which learned from a focus group of teachers in Krakow that they felt that they had "inadequate preparation in terms of content and emotion" (2011, p. 58). In contrast, 80 percent of Israel's teachers who are involved in some aspect of Shoah education have formal preparation for teaching about the Shoah, and 95 percent of history teachers had a university-level course in its history or in how to teach it (Cohen, 2013, p. 97).

The general lack of specific instruction in the Holocaust is not surprising, because specific historical events do not typically receive such dedicated attention in general teacher preparation. But it does have three important implications for the field. First, without formal training, teachers' views are likely to reflect the broader national narratives and cultural understandings in which teachers grew up. Second, self-taught teachers seem more likely to rely upon widely available media and films about the Holocaust, and hence to use emotionally evocative materials from popular culture. Third, the PD offered by the wide array of specialized Holocaust organizations plays a critically important role in preparing teachers for this topic. This chapter focuses upon deliberate educational efforts, and so does not examine research into how popular culture shapes public views of the Holocaust, but this area has clearly emerged as one of critical importance for further work and research in TLH. Here, we explore the issue of self-taught teachers and the role of PD.

What it means for teachers to be "self-taught" about the Holocaust, or what constitutes their informal learning, requires further research. While teachers often educate themselves about historical content, the profusion of films and the fact that many teachers and students experience TLH as qualitatively different from other subjects makes this issue an important one. It seems reasonable to suppose that much of their exposure to the Holocaust comes not from academic books or articles, but from movies, which often seek to evoke emotions, an issue taken up in more depth below.¹ Mitchell (2004) studied how seventeen award-winning teachers of the Holocaust in Tennessee independently taught themselves about the Holocaust directly, revealing that they relied upon readings and research, but their status as award-winning teachers suggests that their academic approach may not be the norm.

Without specific preparation in this subject, teachers are likely to reflect broader societal attitudes towards the Holocaust and towards Jews or other minorities in general. Cultural memory and national narratives of the Holocaust clearly influence the development of teachers' attitudes and perspectives. Baseline surveys of knowledge and attitudes, such as Jedwab's (2010, 2015), while not explicitly about education, can shed light on the particular challenges and obstacles to teaching the Holocaust in different

1 It will help future scholarship into the role of film in TLH to distinguish clearly between documentaries and fictional portrayals/historical fiction.

societies, but few such studies exist.² In addition, Jedwab calls into question the common assumption that there is a positive relationship between Holocaust knowledge and positive attitudes towards diversity, and the nature of the relationship between knowledge and attitudes is discussed in greater depth below.

Qualitative studies such as Kelso's (2013) can document the specific ways in which teachers reflect national narratives. She encountered strong resistance from many Romanian teachers during PD seminars that focused on the Nazi persecution of the Roma. Teachers frequently shifted the subject to the contemporary Roma community and offered highly negative and stereotypical assessments of their culture and character.

Teachers who lack specialized PD on the Holocaust may be particularly influenced by emotionally compelling film accounts and seek to reproduce this emotional experience in the classroom. A few studies suggest a link between less confident and less trained teachers and their greater reliance on emotionally-laden efforts to engage students with the subject (for example, Cohen, 2013; Ross, 2004). The prevalence and familiarity of these materials as potential classroom resources surely plays a role. (The relationship between emotions and pedagogy is explored below.)

For aspiring educators, visits to memorial sites and museums can also be influential. The March of Remembrance and Hope (MRH), for example, while not designed specifically to prepare educators of the Holocaust, might nevertheless have a significant impact on future teachers. Spalding, Savage and Garcia (2007) conducted three case studies from among twelve future educators who participated in the MRH, concluding that "MRH had a significant effect on the thinking and actions of students related to diversity and social justice" (p. 1424). With reference to the purpose of "facilitat[ing] changes in future education professionals' knowledge, beliefs, and actions," the authors concluded both that "the effects of the MRH took time to process and ... appear not to have faded over time;" further, "the authentic experience of the MRH had the greatest impact on these students' thinking about diversity and their willingness to take action against social injustice" (Spalding, Savage, & Garcia, 2007, p. 1424). The participants' authentic experiences built upon their prior academic preparation (memorial sites and museums are discussed in Chapter 11).

2 The language chapters in this volume refer to many of these issues.

However, sites and museums do not always link the Holocaust and human rights. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights explored how memorial sites connect the history of the Holocaust to human rights. It turned out that memorial sites seldom include education about human rights in their pedagogical practice. While the link between education about the Holocaust and human rights education is obvious to politicians and educational policymakers, it seems remote from their conceptualization and, with few exceptions, distant from their practice. The reason that the link is not made in practice, as revealed in the FRA study, can be attributed to the content and structure of the education of future teachers. Facts about the Holocaust are taught predominantly by teachers of history, who do not have enough training in the field of human rights. Human rights are mostly taught within civic/citizenship education and/or within curricula on social studies or knowledge about society by teachers graduating in social or political studies, who do not have a satisfactory training in history, particularly concerning the Holocaust. Courses related to the Holocaust are seldom part of the training that higher-education institutions provide to teachers. The above thesis also applies to guides at museum and memorial sites, whose pre-service and in-service training relates predominantly to the history of the sites or the museums' exhibitions.

Professional Development for Teachers: Diverse Institutions and Purposes

TLH is an extraordinary field in part because of the many international, national and local institutions that are dedicated to educating about the Holocaust. Some of the most prominent organizations are active internationally and seek to address the relative lack of formal teacher training on the Holocaust in many countries. These institutions include Yad Vashem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Council of Europe, the Anne Frank House, *Mémorial de la Shoah* and others. Many countries also have an array of prominent national and more local institutions—typically museums and memorial sites—that are destinations for field trips and offer PD for teachers of the Holocaust. Because many teachers lack easy access to memorial sites or museums and the PD provided there, some organizations attempt to bridge the gap with traveling exhibitions for students and online PD opportunities, such as those offered in the United States by Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO). Although

PD is critical for in-service teachers, few studies have examined the design and practice of Holocaust-related PD with reference to the extensive scholarship on what makes PD effective in general, though Lange's (2008) conclusion that there was "a clear correlation between the amount of additional education about the Holocaust that teachers participated in subsequent to their time in teacher training and their knowledge of the subject" (p. 90) shows its potential impact. Shah's (2012) study of 148 participants in a Holocaust and Human Rights Education Program (HEP) does precisely that. Generally speaking, the duration of PD programs and collective participation in them are essential for successful PD; so is an active learning approach that both focuses on academic content and coheres with the daily life of schools (Shah, 2012, p. 39). A critical and multicultural approach to PD uses both inquiry with a focus on the underrepresented and diverse perspectives of oppressed or marginalized groups (Shah, 2012, p. 42), an approach that aligns well with TLH.

The goals of these organizations are diverse, and often much broader than the didactics of history. The Living History Forum, (LHF), for example, seeks to "promote democracy and tolerance on the basis of the fundamental value that all people are of equal worth" (Lange, 2008, p. 7). Harbaugh (2015) details the focus of three major US-based TLH organizations: USHMM focuses "teachers on understanding and presenting accurate historical context and clear rationale in their teaching practices"; the University of Southern California Shoah Foundation focuses "on the use of survivor testimony"; and the Memorial Library provides teachers with "best practices in literacy pedagogy, including strategies in reading, writing, dialogue, and inquiry" (p. 379). Additional goals may range from preventing genocide (see, for example, Annan, 2010 and the discussion in Stevick & Michaels, 2013) and challenging prejudice to cultivating human rights activists (see, for example, Chyrikins & Vierya, 2010).

With the exception of FHAO (especially Barr et al., 2015), these organizations typically do not publish their specific goals in tandem with the techniques they use to promote them, nor do they publish data about the extent to which they are accomplishing those particular goals. As a result, our overall view of teacher PD in TLH is impoverished. These organizations miss the opportunity to learn from one another and to instruct others by documenting their successes and obstacles. Further, without research, debates about the multiple purposes of Holocaust education are confined to normative arguments about what advocates think should be done rather than

empirical documentation of what works. The PD offered by these organizations is among the most urgent areas for future research to address. Formative and summative evaluations could help both the organization in question and others, and documented impact can sway funders and committees reading competitive grants, upon which much work in the field depends.

Researching these institutions can be particularly valuable precisely because of their diverse purposes, because “[s]uch ambitious and diverse goals as promoting tolerance, upholding democracy, commemoration of victims, instilling Jewish identity (in Jewish schools), and collective atonement (in countries where the Shoah was perpetrated) cannot be achieved if the subject is approached in a purely academic manner” (Cohen, 2013, p. 146). “The operational clarity of the educational objectives and aims pursued by the teacher” are key factors in producing significant and lasting outcomes (as quoted in Moisan, Hirsch, & Audet, 2015, p. 248). Formative and summative evaluations compel institutions to articulate both their purposes (in the form of intended outcomes) and how they think those outcomes can be achieved (methods). That contribution alone is important, because research demonstrates that teachers who lack clarity about the purpose of TLH feel particularly pressed for time, even in contexts where relatively extensive attention is given to the subject (Cohen, 2013, p. 233). If institutions are clear about their goals and craft a coherent path from purposes through means to outcomes, they can help to foster that clarity for teachers as well.

And teachers want more PD in TLH. Foster (2013) found that most teachers surveyed in the United Kingdom were open to PD on the Holocaust: “77.5% (n765) of teachers said that they would welcome an opportunity to attend professional development programmes to help them teach about the Holocaust more effectively” (p. 136). Harbaugh (2015) found that even teachers with extensive training (they had completed an average of 2.5 trainings, p. 379) were highly likely to want further training in the subject: 94.1 percent of the educators in his survey indicated that they are studying or planning to study the Holocaust further (p. 389).

Is Teaching the Holocaust Different from Teaching Other Topics?

Teachers find that teaching the Holocaust is a qualitatively different experience than teaching other topics in the same subjects. Though the Holocaust poses challenges for the classroom, teachers believe that the subject also presents special opportunities. For example, 83.7 percent of Swedish teach-

ers reported that they find the Holocaust more effective than other topics for raising moral and ethical issues (Lange, 2008, p. 93). The teachers thus often bring heightened expectations into the classroom, which can elevate tensions around an already fraught subject. These expectations are often implicit and unknown to students, whose sometimes uncomfortable, awkward or inappropriate responses can draw unexpectedly strong rebukes. The perceived special character of the topic can lead teachers to explore pedagogical approaches beyond the traditional approach to the subject matter, or lead them to deviate from those approaches. Teachers often find students to be more engaged with the subject matter—though strong responses of disgust, outrage or sadness may or may not be constructive and illuminating—and take those responses as positive indicators of higher levels of student engagement. Further, teachers may employ shocking imagery or emotionally evocative approaches to stimulate such responses.

Teachers may themselves be adversely affected by their own high expectations. Eckmann and Heimberg (2011), in interviews with French- and Italian-speaking Swiss history teachers, noticed the high expectations that teachers have for themselves. They hold strong beliefs about the subject and are concerned that students might not share these views. A highly charged atmosphere results. The extreme nature of the subject and the teachers' concerns are exacerbated by the difficulty in matching effective teaching strategies to their strong convictions.

The particular challenges and tensions surrounding the teaching of the Holocaust take various forms. The survey and interviews with French teachers conducted by Corbel and Falaize (2003) revealed a set of tensions between emotion and reason and between memory and historical knowledge. These tensions produce a climate in which three types of problematic reactions prevail: sacralization and moralization (which echoes the overmoralization found by Proske & Meseth, 2010); a feeling of saturation (similar to the oft-discussed "Holocaust fatigue"); and the challenge of dealing with aggressive or challenging responses from students.

Falaize (2011) continues research in this tradition, later conducting observations of classroom practice and holding interviews with 70 teachers. As a result of this ongoing research, the author has expanded this list with additional challenges, including the possibility of victimizing Jews by failing to provide any alternative representations of them beyond the status of victim. He also points to the possibility of overloading students with the subject, because it is addressed in multiple subjects (here, history,

philosophy and literature). The relativizing effect of competing memories emerged as a concern in this study, as did demands for recognition and controversial discourse from some students.

Some teachers avoid the subject because they fear adverse reactions or anticipate hostile responses, particularly from Muslim students or students with a migration background. Although there are clear accounts of strong antisemitic responses (see especially Rutland, 2010, 2015), other studies, including the 2016 report from the Centre for Holocaust Education at University College London, which comprised more than 1,000 answers from Muslim students, demonstrate that in general these students have a high level of interest in the subject. The anxiety may stem less from the actual likelihood of a strong negative response to the subject than from teachers' lack of confidence that they could handle one appropriately if it occurred. The extent to which such anxieties are further inflamed by increasing anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiment or from fear generated by recent attacks in Europe is not clear.

Whatever the causes of teachers' avoidance of the subject, it exists. Hirsch (2012) found that teachers in Quebec were often reluctant to teach the subject. Focus groups of teachers in Krakow and Prague acknowledged their "fear of the subject and desire to avoid it" (FRA, 2011, p. 58). Rutland (2015) distills the various antisemitic stereotypes that teachers encountered among the primarily Australian-born, Arabic-speaking Muslim children of Southeast Sidney, Australia, with this question, reportedly asked of a Jewish professional by a student: "Yes, Miss: why do you Jews hate us, want to take over our land, and take over the world?" (p. 232). Rutland's participants reported that some students expressed admiration for Hitler, held conspiracy theories about Zionist collusion in the Holocaust (to justify taking Palestine), made drawings of swastikas and shared images of "dead babies supposedly killed by Israeli soldiers" (Rutland, 2015, p. 232). Troubled by the antisemitism they encountered, six of the seven teachers in her study sought training from Yad Vashem. One teacher was compelled to seek a transfer after ongoing harassment, and another was counseled not to reveal the fact that she was Jewish.

Conflict and contentious politics certainly pose challenges for teachers. In Israel, Shiloah, Shoham and Kalisman (2003) investigated whether there was a change in attitude among Arab teachers towards teaching about the Holocaust after a PD intervention. They found that these teachers had a greater historical understanding of the events of the Holocaust after the

training, and that their willingness to know about Jews increased. Still, these teachers faced difficulty knowing how to teach the Holocaust because of the state of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict at the time.

What Should Teachers Know About the Holocaust, and What Do They Know?

The challenge of assessing others' knowledge levels is shared by teachers who need to assess students' learning, and by researchers who investigate teachers' knowledge levels. While robust conceptualizations of knowledge and understanding do exist, they are often difficult to apply, while simple information-retrieval questions are more common. Further, specialists and researchers may have heightened (or esoteric) expectations for what teachers should know, often applying their own criteria to assess teachers' knowledge, rather than using the expectations established in policy or curricula. These challenges may contribute to overly negative judgments about teachers' knowledge levels.

Assessing teachers' knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust is not a simple matter. It is rarely done well. Such assessments may include not only core facts about which there is a broad consensus, but more esoteric items that are deemed important by the researcher. It is critical to know whose expectations are being applied to teachers. Do the criteria derive from established standards or policy, or from researchers' perspectives?

We can make a distinction between information and knowledge. Information consists of data, individual facts that can be retrieved precisely or not. Knowledge involves perspective, an understanding of what those individual facts mean and why they are important. The fact that students can repeat certain individual pieces of information or data may not be a reliable indicator that they have broader knowledge and understanding of the topic.

Few researchers are explicit about their conceptions of knowledge, but Cohen (2013) takes a step in this direction. He applies Bloom's taxonomy to differentiate cognitive learning, which encompasses knowledge and information, from affective and instrumental learning:

The cognitive domain spans a spectrum of categories, from simple and concrete through complex and abstract: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation. Cognitive learning indicates "knowing about" a subject... accumulating and processing of information, primarily through classic classroom types of lessons (lectures, books, documentaries, etc.) (Cohen, 2013, pp. 120–121).

This richer and more appropriate understanding of the cognitive domain for TLH necessarily requires more sophisticated approaches to research, approaches not yet evident in the research literature on teacher knowledge. There is no clear consensus internationally about what knowledge is necessary and sufficient to teach the Holocaust, and countries directly affected by the Holocaust (or its aftermath) generally have specific and challenging aspects to consider at the national and local levels. Even if there were a consensus about essential knowledge, information retrieval is an imperfect proxy for broader knowledge.

Because these normative questions of what should be known divide researchers, studies of teacher knowledge tend to be conducted from the specific point of view of the researcher and what she feels is essential knowledge about the Holocaust. Such studies can thus judge teachers' knowledge as inadequate or their teaching as unsuccessful because they did not attempt to teach what the researcher thought they should. The danger in this approach is that teachers will be deemed failures and, by extension, TLH judged to be faulty or insufficient, because teachers did not accomplish specific things that they never even attempted to do, or because students do not know things that they were never taught or expected to learn. Such studies best aid judgment when they are clear about whose expectations are examined: Boix-Mansila's (2000) fascinating study about how students used their understanding of the Holocaust to hypothesize about Rwanda, for example, evaluated students on a task they were never explicitly taught how to do (see also Chapter 10). The result may be an exaggerated or misleadingly negative perspective on teachers' knowledge levels or the effectiveness of TLH.

Schweber (2004), for example, surveyed students in California before and after Holocaust units on eight items of their Holocaust knowledge, many of which were not named, though the Nuremberg Laws and Kristallnacht are specified (p. 57).

One teacher, implementing his adapted version of the FHAO curriculum, problematically left the students feeling knowledgeable about the Holocaust, despite the fact that specific historical knowledge was largely neglected in the class. Despite impressive achievements in other respects, particularly in moral-education terms, the teacher himself was surprised to learn how little students knew about Holocaust history. Had the researcher tried to examine the extent to which the teacher had achieved his own goals, the study might have looked much different: he introduced many

psychological concepts, for example, though these received little attention in the study. Schweber (2004) acknowledged the dilemma, asking: “Would I rather live beside someone who could define Kristallnacht on a survey or someone who would knock down my door if I were screaming for help?” (p. 164).

Instead of applying *a priori* externally generated criteria to teachers’ pedagogy, researchers can also begin by trying to understand from the teachers’ perspectives what they are trying to accomplish. Immanent critiques begin by attempting to understand the teachers’ goals, and then seek to evaluate how well teachers achieve their own goals (or the goals of the policies or standards within which they operate). Moisan, Hirsch and Audet (2015), for example, solicited three Quebec teachers’ broader goals and examined their pedagogy in light of those goals, particularly their approaches to incorporating museum visits meaningfully, and concluded that their actual practice was inconsistent with or disconnected from their own stated aims.

This case points to a broader challenge for teachers of all kinds, from moral education to citizenship education: few teachers—and indeed, few experts—have the tools to know whether they are successfully linking specific content and teaching methods with their own higher-order goals, particularly related to attitudes, dispositions and behaviors. Without tools to evaluate their own success in regard to these lofty goals of tolerance and global and democratic citizenship, teachers remain unsure of their effectiveness and often resort to assessments based on simple information retrieval. This situation has two important implications for researchers: first, it is critically important to be clear about whose criteria are being used to research and critique practice; and second, teachers require considerable support to be able to evaluate for themselves whether they are achieving their own purposes.

Lange’s (2008) survey of Swedish teachers illustrates several of the challenges of evaluating knowledge levels. In addition to judging teachers based on external criteria, research can produce overly negative impressions of educators by not distinguishing between the depth of knowledge we would expect of lay citizens and expert specialists. The Swedish survey not only did both, it also included highly specific and counterintuitive (“gotcha”) questions, questions that privileged terminology over the understanding of process, and evaluated specialists in unrelated fields according to these standards. The results of Lange’s survey of teachers’ knowledge initially

appear quite discouraging, but he included teachers of every subject, not just those teaching the Holocaust:

Only two out of 5,081 respondents answered all of these knowledge questions correctly, and a further fourteen gave the correct answer to all but one. Slightly over 70 percent of the teachers gave the wrong answer to at least eight of the eleven knowledge questions included in the questionnaire. (Lange, 2008, p. 94)

Although historians had endorsed the questions, many respondents objected that they were too difficult or specialized. Question design can also be problematic. Teachers were asked to identify death camps from a list that included both concentration camps and death camps. The teachers were not alerted to be attentive to the distinction between concentration camps and death camps, and thus often indicated any familiar concentration or death camp. For example, 73.6 percent incorrectly identified Dachau (which was indeed a concentration camp but not a death camp), while 87.8 percent named Treblinka, and only 16.8 percent knew Chelmno (Lange, 2007, p. 101). Have citizens in general reached a sufficient understanding of the Holocaust if seven of eight know about Treblinka? Or is essential that they also recognize and properly categorize Chelmno?

The survey also asked about the percentage of Jews in Germany before the war (less than 1%) and the percentage of Jewish children in Europe killed (more than 80%), as well as the Roma name for its community's suffering (*Porrajmos*)—none of these questions received correct responses from even 10 percent of the respondents. Such questions can paint an unduly pessimistic portrait of the knowledge levels of Holocaust educators. The low percentage of Jews in Germany is without question important historically, but its importance is linked to its meaning: what difference does it make to our understanding of the Holocaust if we do or do not know this specific fact?

Certainly, a teacher might be highly competent in teaching the Holocaust, understanding historical religious antisemitism and Nazi racial antisemitism, the role of the medical killing program directed at the disabled (the so-called T4 Program), the Nazi rise to power, the emerging technologies of murder, the policy shifts as the war unfolded and much else, but mistakenly believe that Jews constituted roughly 5 percent of the German population.

Such highly specific, often counterintuitive questions raise the complicated issue of what “degree of precision” is necessary. And is it essential knowledge? Is this precise percentage essential knowledge, without which it is impossible to understand the Holocaust, or is it merely helpful and illuminating? Any empirical question about knowledge invites a larger normative question, in this case what teachers should know in order to teach the subject responsibly. Other questions are issues of labeling. In South Africa, Peterson (2014) found that most students completing a visit to the Cape Town Holocaust Center (CTHC) could not answer a question about antisemitism during an exit survey, despite the CTHC’s focus on the persecution of Jews. They found that the students understood the persecution of Jews, but the term itself had not been used. Students may understand a process while lacking a specific label for it. Perhaps the same dynamic was present when Schweber (2004) found that only two students could explain altruism a week after the term was explained in class: did they forget the label, or misunderstand the concept (p. 58)? Perhaps Swedish teachers’ unfamiliarity with the name Hadamar falsely has us judge them ignorant of the T4 Program and the Nazi ideology of racial hygiene. Finally, this particular survey of knowledge ostensibly on the Holocaust included Katyn and the Gulag, which could only be answered correctly with specific knowledge of areas beyond the Holocaust.

These concerns notwithstanding, Lange (2008) found that age and additional training were two strong indicators of Holocaust knowledge levels among teachers (p. 94). The youngest teachers, aged twenty-five to thirty-four, knew the least, while those born between 1947 and 1952 were the most knowledgeable (Lange, 2008, pp. 44–45). After a drop off among those born between 1953 and 1962, those born in the following decade knew more than those born before or after (Lange, 2008, pp. 44–45). Interestingly, international elements included the persecution of the Roma, a subject that teachers felt was important but knew little about. The history of racial biology and related ideologies in Sweden itself before and during the war were mostly unfamiliar to teachers there (Lange, 2008, p. 95).

Cohen’s (2013) questionnaire contains another perspective on what Israeli students (and hence citizens) should know. The relative emphasis on victims and perpetrators may be illustrated by the number of individuals from each group who are known by name. Grade twelve students who had roughly 140 hours of instruction about the Holocaust were asked about Auschwitz-Birkenau, Schnellbrief, Eichmann, Anne Frank, Aktzia, Babi

Yar, Goebbels, ghettos, the General Government, the *Anschluss*, Heydrich, Himmler, the Munich Conference, the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the Final Solution, the Wannsee Conference, the Sanctification of Life, Nuremberg Laws, Hannah Senesh, the Righteous Among the Nations, Janusz Korczak, *Judenräte*, *Kristallnacht*, Operation Barbarossa, concentration camps, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Mordechai Anielewicz, *Einsatzgruppen*, Emmanuel Ringelblum, the Partisans, Raoul Wallenberg and the Rabbi of Piaseczno. (Cohen must take for granted an awareness of Hitler.) Notably, this and other lists may include items that speak more to contemporary cultural literacy about and memory of the Holocaust than to core historical knowledge about the Holocaust itself.

Researchers must continue to think more broadly about knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust, and how to research them. If assessing knowledge, or the cognitive domain more broadly, is challenging, the affective domain is that much more elusive.

Cohen (2013) explains this realm of emotion and disposition this way: “The affective domain refers to education designed to impact students’ feelings, values and attitudes. This domain spans a spectrum of awareness, response, valuation, prioritization, synthesis, and internationalization” (p. 121). The measurement of such affective dimensions is often based upon self-reporting, which is clearly problematic if the views sought are contentious, unpopular or dangerous to disclose, like antisemitism. What Schweber posited about students’ experiences applies equally well to teachers: sometimes student learning “was experiential and emotional ... [and it was] something uneasily put into words or captured in interviews” (Schweber, 2004, p. 100). Finally, for teachers of the Holocaust, we might expand our concern with knowledge to include TLH itself, including suitable teaching methods and knowledge of age-appropriate considerations for students (Shah, 2012).

What Motivates Teachers?

Teachers display a high level of engagement with the Holocaust and perceive students to be similarly engaged by the subject. In his study of highly trained teachers, for example, Harbaugh (2015) discovered that 94.1 percent of the teachers participating in the study indicated that they were still motivated to learn more about the Holocaust and its pedagogy (p. 389). Cohen’s survey found that 83 percent of Israeli teachers still desired to learn

more about the Holocaust. Indeed, it appears that teachers find the subject not easily exhausted.

Research about teachers' motivations and goals demonstrates the wide range of meanings attributed to Holocaust education across Europe and beyond. When Harbaugh (2015) asked teachers to identify from a larger list the three top influences on their instructional practice, 17.1 percent named personal objectives/commitment, 12.6 percent content area and 11.3 percent student needs (pp. 385–386). Shah (2012), who surveyed 148 participants in an HEP, identified “HEP’s collaboration after professional development, school and community support, and [the] teachers’ own dispositions towards Holocaust and human rights education as additional contextual factors that influenced teachers’ practices” (p. vii).

Ammert’s (2011) investigation of genocide education in Sweden found three primary motivations for teachers: the dominant motive is to teach the national curriculum, with an emphasis on historical knowledge; the second is to help students develop skills such as critical thinking; and the third is to enhance students’ respect for the sanctity of human life.

Ambrosewicz-Jacobs and Büttner (2014) interviewed Polish teachers and found that they teach the Holocaust in order to connect to the painful past, to fill an emptiness, to teach about Jewish contributions to culture and to teach empathy and awareness about Jewish history and culture in Poland. Wibaeus’s (2010) interviews with seven Swedish teachers revealed five main teacher goals, which she captures vividly in these expressions: “Never again!”, “Not only the Holocaust!”, “Think critically!”, “Understand the psychology of man!” and “Realize the value of democracy!” The first two focus upon the Holocaust, while the rest address the question of what made the Holocaust possible in the first place; in a sense, the first two are specific and the last three more universal.

Israeli teachers’ specific areas of focus with respect to the subject, in order, are the atrocity of the annihilation, the life of the survivors, the power and brutality of the Nazi regime, physical resistance, how individuals cope with difficulties, the impact of the Shoah on Jews and Israel, general historical knowledge and questions of faith/religion (Cohen, 2013, p. 179). For Arab teachers who chose to enroll in a course on the Holocaust in Israel, their motivations included enhanced knowledge of the subject, personal curiosity, the “desire to know about the Holocaust as compared to the *Nakba*” and “to know the Jews better and achieve relations of coexistence and good neighborliness” (Shiloah, Shoham, & Kalisman, 2003, p. 616). As

with research on any self-selected group, these outcomes do not claim to be representative.

In Israel, where Holocaust education is a given today, Cohen found that teachers want more time for the subject and more training, while they advocate experiential and informal learning (2013, pp. 233, 238). In countries like Lithuania and Poland, where the teaching of the Holocaust is more controversial or contentious, teachers may want more administrative support to deal with peer pressure from their colleagues (Beresniova, 2015). While the Jewish, universal and national aspects of Holocaust education in Israel overlap, the degree of emphasis on each may continue to shift. Overall, Israeli teachers and principals desire more emphasis on a Zionist message, while religious schools and particularly teachers under 30 years of age (by a margin of 56% to 6%) emphasize specifically Jewish aspects of the Holocaust over more universal concerns (Cohen, 2013, pp. 230, 236).

3. Pedagogy

The decisions teachers make in Holocaust education must be considered within their particular contexts, that is, between the choices teachers have (given the structures in place, their competing demands, the curriculum and regulations) and the choices teachers make within those parameters. Harbaugh's (2015) research with highly trained teachers in the United States, for example, suggests that language and literature teachers have considerably greater freedom to dedicate extensive time to the Holocaust than history teachers, who are obliged to cover a wide range of historical topics in a short period of time. This finding is consistent with the results of Donnelly (2004), who located 61 percent of Holocaust instruction within English classrooms, and 39 percent in social studies, a broad category that includes history (p. 17). These contexts shape the approaches these teachers take.

Among the many approaches to teaching the Holocaust, different literatures can offer us various insights. The study of exemplary or highly trained teachers can provide role models or new visions of successful teaching. Other studies search for patterns or categories into which different methods or teachers fit; once such useful typologies are constructed, they can be studied quantitatively and used to inform policy. Thematic approaches can also reveal trends, such as the use of emotion and comparison in teaching, or different societies' attitudes towards heroes.

Exemplary Teachers

Some researchers seek to conduct studies of exemplary cases, which provide positive models to emulate, point towards potential best practices and expand our conceptions of what is possible. The methods of identifying such ostensibly exemplary cases vary. Harbaugh (2015) surveyed American educators who had received training from leading Holocaust organizations that provide PD. Mitchell (2004) interviewed seventeen teachers in Tennessee who had won awards for their teaching about the Holocaust. Schweber (2004) sought out four teachers in California with a strong reputation for teaching the Holocaust.

Schweber's studies were particularly rich because she regularly attended and observed classes throughout these instructors' units. Their approaches were diverse, variously incorporating strong emphases on traditional lectures, storytelling, drama and a simulation, but never on classroom discussion, despite its potential richness. The teachers all operated in the shared context of California in the late 1990s, a state that framed the goals for learning about the Holocaust in these terms:

Students should learn about Kristallnacht; about the death camps; and about the Nazi persecution of Gypsies, homosexuals, and others who failed to meet the Aryan ideal. They should analyze the failure of Western governments to offer refuge to those fleeing Nazism. They should discuss abortive revolts such as that which occurred in the Warsaw Ghetto, and they should discuss the moral courage of Christians such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who risked their lives to save Jews. (As cited by Schweber, 2004, p. 147)

Schweber (2004) did not impose an idealized approach, though she had clear expectations for what quality teaching about the Holocaust should look like. Instead, she emphasized that each approach has trade-offs. An expert in transmitting content may not convey understanding or engage the moral issues intrinsic to the study of the Holocaust, while a focus on moral issues can deprive students of a historical foundation in what occurred and why.

In Schweber's case study of a course based on the FHAO curriculum, she found that the class was notable for the students' high level of engagement, the broad range of topics introduced and its tackling of complex

moral issues, which influenced students' morality and understanding of human behavior. Its heavily individualist approach, however, misled students about the dynamics of the Holocaust and revealed an Americanization of the subject. In this view, Americans tend to "believe that we shape our own destinies, that we act as individuals, that we can overcome any limitations" (Schweber, 2004, p. 56), a position that can perversely blame the victim for being overly passive when they might have saved themselves: a student with such an outlook commented that "I still don't understand how y'all let yourself be gassed like that" (Schweber, 2004, p. 56).³ This particular view sits at the nexus of negative stereotypes of Jewish passivity and romantic notions of American individualism:

American cultural traditions define personality, achievement and the purpose of human life in ways that leave the individual suspended in glorious but terrifying isolation. These are limitations of our culture, of the categories and ways of thinking we have inherited, not limitations of individuals... who inhabit this culture. (Bellah, et al., 1985, p. 6, as quoted in Schweber, 2004, p. 56)

This American "naïveté of students who thought themselves immune from social forces" (Schweber, 2004, p. 11) may have been unsettling for students who participated in a simulation, a controversial practice, in part because so many of the students' figures in the simulation were killed before it ended. Approaching the unit as an open-minded skeptic, Schweber nevertheless detected a greater understanding of what victims suffered, an ability to imagine the perspective of persecuted Jews and even a willingness to associate and adopt the first-person perspective.

This approach included an ability to recognize the diversity of Jews of the time, rather than considering them one undifferentiated mass, and to see appropriate connections between past and present. The logic of the simulation meant that, "as with many who need to make pedagogical choices ... [the teacher] had little time to reflect, because she was making split-second decisions" (Schweber, 2004, p. 77). The author felt that "the momentum of

3 Abowitz (2002) provides a detailed account of how she disabuses stereotypes of Holocaust victims as excessively passive in university-level sociology courses, an approach potentially adaptable to the school level for teachers who encounter this pattern of thought.

the simulation itself did not allow the class to stop and discuss the moral complexities” of the issues the teacher was raising (p.88), which illustrates that some highly engaging teaching methods can come at the cost of shared reflection. Still, the teacher “skillfully balance[ed] individual stories with collective experience, such that these students . . . understood both the larger historical context and its impact on real people’s lives” (p. 101).

This simulation is just one possible example of experiential learning, which Cohen (2013) characterizes as learning “in which knowledge and abstract concepts are developed through overlapping processes of observing, reflecting, and experimenting. Learners apprehend the subject through direct experience” (p. 121). Schweber’s study of the simulation found that “the experiential and intellectual [or in Cohen’s terminology, cognitive] components were reinforcing” (p. 107).

Because this simulation focused upon victims and perpetrators, the critical category of bystander was absent, and non-Jewish victims were excluded as well (Schweber, 2004, p. 104). While omissions or confusion are concerning, students may have future opportunities to learn more about the Holocaust or to address gaps in their knowledge and understanding, and effective instruction may incline them to seek out such learning. These are important topics for longitudinal research.

Schweber observed a dynamic teacher who incorporated theater and held views that aligned strongly with the orthodoxy of the field. The performances he arranged were powerful and emotionally engaging. The characters included rabid antisemites (arguably more comfortable to tell than the ‘ordinary men’ view that Christopher Browning (1993) puts forth). Teachers may simultaneously de-emphasize the distinctiveness of Europe’s Jewish communities to encourage students to identify with the Jews and yet promote Goldhagen’s (1996) “willing executioners” view of radical anti-semitism that allows students to distance themselves from the perpetrators. Doing so may make it more difficult for students to understand both why the perpetrators acted as they did and how the Holocaust could have happened.

Teaching with Emotion?

There is a thread, if not a trend, in some TLH literature, to denigrate emotional engagement with the subject, as if it were possible or desirable not to engage emotionally. From a research perspective, we would be well-served

to focus instead upon the ways in which emotions are either elicited or allowed to emerge, and to study which emotions are constructive, spurring engagement, learning and even action, and which are destructive, shutting children down, horrifying them with shocking images or inflicting nightmares. To this mix, we might add the disjuncture between the emotional maturity and expectations of teachers, on the one hand, and the range of emotional development within a given group of students, on the other.

It is important to distinguish between initial reactions, which are pre-cognitive, and emotional responses, which can be guided through reflection. Jennings (2010, 2015) demonstrated how a teacher helped bilingual American fifth grade children helped them to express their emotional reactions and then guide those responses, a process that helps to distinguish between anger-driven reactions that incline towards vengeance and the civic power of moral outrage, with its constructive applications.

Brockhaus (2008) notes that teaching the Holocaust can be an emotionally demanding enterprise. The teachers have high implicit expectations for the emotional climate and for the boundaries of what can be expressed in the classroom, expectations that complicate teacher-student relations. She suggests that both teachers and students can feel overwhelmed by the emotional burden of being heirs to the legacy of the Holocaust. Notably, this very feeling can itself undermine the positive contributions of diversity to classroom examinations of the Holocaust in Germany. Hinderliter-Ortloff (2015), for example, found that some Bavarian teachers felt their students with a migration background could never truly be German because they could not relate to this feeling, the burden and weight of being an heir to the perpetrator nation. Brockhaus is not alone in emphasizing the role of emotions from teachers' perspectives. The teachers in Wibaeus's (2010) study felt that emotional engagement was critical for students.

In Israel, Cohen (2013) found that the least confident teachers of the Shoah—more often, they were teachers of subjects other than history (and thus less likely to have specific preparation on how to teach the subject)—emphasized experiential learning, an approach in which “students apprehend the subject through direct experience,” although “the subject can never be ‘experienced’ directly” (p. 121). The possible link between self-taught teachers and emotionally evocative approaches to teaching the Holocaust also requires further investigation. The literature certainly documents problematic cases of emotional appeal without academic substance. For example, one teacher described her approach to Russell (2004)

as showing “the part in *Schindler’s List* where people are going into the gas chambers without any volume but with Enrique Iglesias’ Hero playing very, very loudly” (p. 101). But for well-prepared teachers, as Cohen’s research demonstrates, there need not necessarily be a conflict between emotional engagement and academic instruction.

The specific relationship of historical understanding and emotional engagement in Holocaust education remains unclear. In Germany, it resulted in the *Beutelsbacher Konsens* in 1976.⁴ For example, what makes a more effective introduction to the subject of the Holocaust, the personal testimony of a survivor, in person or on video, or historical background on, most typically, the rise of the Nazis? Many scholars and advocates, particularly among historians or specialists in the didactics of history, argue that any engagement with the topic of the Holocaust should be built upon a foundation of historical knowledge (a normative position); it is often suggested, whether implicitly or explicitly, that emotional approaches to the subject are inappropriate (another normative position) or interfere with this historical understanding (an empirical claim). In any case, scholars agree that “Emotion is not enough” (Eckmann, 2013). If we believe, however, that student motivation is a key element in a successful program, the opposite perspective may be warranted: personal stories and emotional appeals, or, for some, even the “shock value” of graphic imagery, may foster a unique level of student interest, attention and engagement. This engagement creates a “need to know,” a desire to understand, that helps students grapple with the question of how the Holocaust was possible.

While such debates are often conducted on a normative basis, these questions are ripe for empirical investigation. Although Totten (1998) emphasized the significance of a strong opening to units concerning the Holocaust and Schweber (2004) addressed the importance of how the history of the Holocaust is introduced, with specific examples, in the context of its broader “emplotment,” we do not have comparative studies on the effectiveness of beginning with more general historical approaches or with personal or individual experiences (Totten, 1998). Random assignment experiments with different approaches could teach us a great deal, and help us move beyond simplistic dichotomies of emotion versus understanding in TLH.

4 This agreement is outlined here, with an English translation as well: <http://www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html> (accessed 15 August 2016).

How is Comparison Used in Teaching about the Holocaust?

While a controversial topic overall in TLH, comparison can be used in educative or deceptive ways. These ways align with the two connotations of the word “compare.” One is analytic, and the other implies similarity or equality. Analytic comparison is open-ended, while dogmatic comparison is contrived to push the learner towards a predetermined conclusion. This distinction is not always clear, and the politics behind the selection of what to compare may be problematic. However, learning entails connecting new knowledge with what is already known; learners of all kinds therefore implicitly and inevitably compare new material to what they have learned previously (such as the history of one’s nation) or communal experience (which may include victimization). Such comparisons may be simultaneously enlightening and problematic, particularly when they involve moral judgments. Still, comparison remains a common phenomenon, whether that comparison is implicit or explicit, and the key empirical questions involve how teachers compare the Holocaust and what they compare it to. However, one of the key questions in relation to them is *why* teachers or students compare; indeed, there can be a broad range of motivations, from a desire to gain an analytical understanding to a competition over victimhood (see a typology of comparisons developed by Eckmann, 2014).

In the challenging context Rutland described, teachers struggle to find effective approaches to the topic of the Holocaust, but in-depth knowledge of not just the Holocaust but other genocides can help, as can having strong relationships with students. For example, one teacher in Australia was able to disrupt “wipe Israel off the map” discourse by linking that rhetoric to the propaganda regarding Muslims in Bosnia, an indication that comparative genocide can be an effective tool for teaching about the Holocaust and disrupting antisemitic discourses (Rutland, 2015, p. 238).

The Eckmann and Heimberg (2008) study also addresses the complex role of comparisons in constructing meanings about the Holocaust. Unlike the Australian case, where comparisons can help students rupture cultural prejudices in order to understand similarities between other atrocities and the Holocaust, for these Swiss teachers, teaching genocide comparatively helps the uniqueness of the Holocaust to emerge. These cases suggest that comparative genocide pedagogies can make different contributions to understanding the Shoah in different contexts. In Israel, for example, Arab teachers who chose to sign up for training about the Holocaust became more

willing to identify with Jewish suffering during the Holocaust, but they did so in relation to the Nakba, which led participants to say that they were “suffering great pain, like the Jews, and so the Jews should understand them just as they are required to understand the Jews” (Shiloah et al., 2003, p. 618).

Kühner and colleagues (Kühner, Langer, & Sigel, 2008; Langer, Cisneros, & Kühner, 2008) examined how twelve German teachers from diverse areas (large cities, towns and rural areas) experienced Holocaust education. The teachers found the subject tremendously challenging, in part because they implicitly pursued many different aims at the same time, and found it difficult to know if they were successful. As Clements (2005) expressed it in her study of five American teachers and five teachers from the United Kingdom, “classroom assessment concentrates predominantly on subject skills or knowledge; the teachers had little evidence to help them gauge the social or moral objectives attained” (p. 42). Notably, though the German teachers in these studies navigated diverse classrooms, they found that the diversity adds considerably to the subject, both because students from conflict zones could more easily relate to their own experience, and because students whose families had come from areas within the Soviet Bloc helped to make clear the broader European dimensions of the war for German students. In such contexts, the comparisons produced by diverse experiences are clearly enlightening.

In some cases, patterns appear in the comparisons that suggest that there may be broader cultural contributors to the conclusions reached. In Sweden, for example, Ammert (2011) investigated genocide education with twenty-seven teachers of grades seven to nine, and found that they all taught the Holocaust in conjunction with Rwanda, Communism and the former Yugoslavia. They generally judged the Holocaust and Communist crimes to be equally severe. Pearson’s (2013) study of comparative genocide instruction with eight social studies teachers in southeast Ohio found that six of the eight did not regard the conduct of Europeans towards Native American peoples as genocide, a perspective inconsistent with that of genocide scholars.

From Patterns to Typologies

Scholars use insights and distinctions that emerge through their research in order to construct paradigms. Harbaugh (2015, p. 385), for example, distilled approaches to teaching the Holocaust into ten broad methods, which

he termed timeline/chronological, historical events, catalyst/causal, literary/text-based, thematic, cathartic, phase, narrative, experiential and inquiry/research/project. The teacher sample, which seemed to solicit more language than history teachers, is nevertheless interesting for showing that the primary method of instruction named was the literary or text-based approach, followed by, first, inquiry/research/projects and, second, teaching historical events (Harbaugh, 2015, p. 386). The first two also appeared as the most common approaches for secondary teachers, while in third place, 15 percent of teachers used a thematic approach.

While Harbaugh examines specific methods that could be used in a variety of classrooms (and thus for a variety of purposes), Ammert (2011) proposes a typology that attempts to capture the coherence of teachers' purposes for teaching about genocides and the methods they use to pursue those aims. Ammert's (2011) four-part typology of teaching consists of contextualization/reflection, with detailed historical context about the motivations and implementation of genocide; intimate encounters, with an emphasis on writing within a broader and cross-disciplinary focus on democracy; the comparative approach, which draws upon timelines; and the lack of a coherent approach or aims.

Timelines were used by roughly 25 percent of highly trained American teachers (Harbaugh, 2015), but that specific method may be more helpful for the sociological goal of identifying common patterns across different cases in genocide education. The other teachers seemed to lack a clear conception of the subject and complained of a lack of time for the subject as well as imprecise criteria for evaluation.

Eckmann and Heimberg (2011) found three general positions adopted by French-Swiss teachers: empathy for the victims, genocide as a general theme and lessons to be learned from the past. Some of these teachers, who felt a high level of identification with the victims (which can itself produce high expectations and trigger some resistance), tried to build links between their diverse histories, family backgrounds and the Holocaust.

Persson's (2011) comparative study detailed three pedagogical approaches employed by teachers. The first focused on what happened in the past at the macro level and emphasized chronology, processes and cause-and-effect explanations. The second used chronology but focused on individual actors and narratives. The third placed historical sources and their meaning at the center of the course, and the teacher presented and discussed human rights. The students then had to address questions con-

cerning guilt and responsibility using different kinds of source material. Seeing different benefits and risks in the learning outcomes, Persson recommended trying to blend these three, but insisted that a study would be needed to confirm its effectiveness.

Clements, who studied both American and UK teachers in the early 2000s, noticed a change in the classroom as teachers and students engaged together with “difficult knowledge.” This shift had two components: first, teachers abandoned the ready-made and prefabricated answers to which students were accustomed; second, there was a unique level of emotional engagement. These two factors together changed the typical hierarchical power relationship into one of a “working partnership” (p. 40) between the teachers and pupils. On this basis, she wrote that

In a sea of confusion, emotion and exploration, both pupils and teacher appear to flounder together. ... In abandoning a position of “knowledge,” the teacher initiates a change in the pedagogical relationship, specifically in terms of “power.” I would want to suggest that the positive responses to Holocaust Education ... from pupils, evident in the interview materials gathered in the study, for which neither they, nor their teachers can satisfactorily account, may perhaps come from an experience of empowerment. (p. 46)

Moisan, Hirsch and Audet (2015) apply a theoretical typology of four approaches to teaching aims and methods. The four categories are historical, intercultural/antiracist, ethical and human rights education perspectives. They posit that all four perspectives share a core of knowledge about the historical and ideological context, as well as perspectives of the familiar categories used to label those who were present: perpetrators, victims, saviors and witnesses. The historical approach seeks a deep understanding, an ability to explain how the Holocaust occurred and an ancillary understanding of the nature of power; students are to be proficient with causes, consequences and historical sources. The ethical approach asks students to consider the moral dilemmas of different actors in the Holocaust. The human rights approach reflects upon the many human rights violations that led up to the genocide, and the importance of rights, legislation and human dignity. The concept of genocide is transferable more broadly to consider and compare other cases. This approach has a more activist stance, requiring the learner to stand up to prevent atrocities. Intercultural and

antiracist approaches focus upon the role of racism in the Holocaust, with an approach to learning that seeks to transform students. This approach considers the political implications or morals of the Holocaust, spanning identity, democracy and diversity.

Three teachers with at least fifteen years of experience who both chose to teach the Holocaust and incorporated a visit to the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre participated in the study. Their stated purposes did not align with what researchers observed in their teaching. They effectively favored both a top-down model of transmitting information and an objective approach to knowledge at the museum, rather than one that works on constructing meaning. These approaches did not fit the teachers' broader goals of building better citizens, dealing with morality or developing autonomy and critical thinking. The researchers found that the three extensively experienced teachers' efforts to integrate the museum visits meaningfully were conducted with little coherence or ability to match means and ends. While the researchers' conclusions are highly critical, even harsh, they acknowledge a distinction between larger purposes that may unfold over time and those that are more immediate ends of particular lessons.

Critiques of the coherence of teachers' methods and goals may gloss over the distinction between undesirable confusion or ambiguity and an open-ended approach without prescribed conclusions. Moisan, Hirsch and Audet (2015) note two conflicting epistemological approaches to museums:

The museum is perceived according to two dominant but epistemologically opposed viewpoints: the "interpretation-based" museum and the "fact-based" museum. "Interpretation-based" museums may indeed contribute meaning to objects by telling their stories or by using them as historical sources ... [and in] doing so, they may engage students in historical interpretation and critical discussion. ... On the other hand, the museum can also be seen as a place of "actual history" and objective knowledge. (p. 251)

While advocating for reflective and interpretive approaches to instruction or museums, approaches that are often open-ended, researchers may nevertheless apply instrumental, means-ends criteria to assess the coherence of teachers' approaches. An alternative or "rhizomatic" approach (Davis &

Rubinstein-Avila, 2013) may apply equally well to both curriculum and instruction, on the one hand, and research paradigms, on the other.

Based on his survey of Israeli teachers, Cohen (2013) was able to develop a typology of approaches to teaching the Holocaust. He investigated whether teachers took primarily a cognitive or experiential approach (which yields four possible combinations). Roughly one-fifth of teachers embraced one method but not the other; 38 percent embraced neither path, while 22 percent embraced both. Nevertheless, as late as 2009, when he finished collecting data, the lecture remained the predominant form of instruction, while the use of the internet remained limited (pp. 123 ff.). Notably, teachers actively encouraged both ethical and theological questions related to the Shoah.

Wibaeus (2010) argues that compulsory Holocaust teaching may be realized in quite different ways in classrooms. Cohen notes the continuing importance of lectures in Israel, and Ammert (2011) found that Swedish teachers nearly all use film depictions of genocide. Despite the broad acclaim for hearing testimony from survivors—an opportunity that is fading—most contexts are unable to offer such an experience to students systematically.

4. The Case of Israel

One insight from Israel with potentially broader applicability is that well-prepared teachers can effectively balance seemingly competing objectives, or serve multiple goals through Holocaust education. A review of research about Israel's teachers and their teaching practices challenges some unproductive dichotomies in the field that persist in other countries. Cohen (2013) found that most teachers find no dichotomy between cognitive and experiential learning, and “virtually all said they emphasize both” (p. 121). It is true that Israel allots more time to exploring these different approaches to the Shoah than most countries. Since Israeli students receive roughly 140 hours of instruction in the Holocaust (Cohen, 2013, p. 108), their teachers have a greater opportunity to develop their own expertise (often building on their personal connections to the event), to explore the subject in depth and to explore various dimensions of the topic (historical, ethical, theological and so forth) using different methods and interdisciplinary approaches.

Other prominent dichotomies that are challenged by the case of Israeli teachers include that of the universal and the particular, because Israeli

teachers are accustomed to addressing not just Jewish and universal, but also national/nationalist (or Zionist, in Cohen's terms, a usage found already in Auron, 1994) messages about the Shoah. This sentiment of moving beyond simplistic dichotomies was captured effectively by an interview subject who told Cohen (2013) that "I think we need to find an interpretation of the Shoah which will make us better Jews, better Zionists, better citizens, and better human beings" (p. 132). In addition, Cohen (2013) found that Israeli teachers overwhelmingly believe that the Shoah could not be taught without moral lessons; they felt that the content could not be separated from the process of imparting values (p. 126).

In Israel, where teachers have the most extensive opportunities to teach about the Shoah, Cohen (2013) investigated the relative emphasis that teachers place on different aspects of the Shoah: Nazi ideology; the destruction process; the influence of the Shoah on the Jewish world and Israel; the struggle of Jews against the Nazis; historical background; and the place of the individual in the Shoah. The subjects they emphasized "to a very great extent" were Nazi ideology and the destruction process (58%) and historical background (50%); 46 percent focused on individual experience. Only 23 percent emphasized Jewish community life before the Shoah, and 33 percent emphasized Jewish community life during it (Cohen, 2013, p. 114).

5. Conclusion

The most striking characteristic of teachers and their teaching of the Holocaust is their diversity. Teachers vary dramatically both across and within countries in their knowledge, preparation, motivations, goals and instructional methods. Despite their overall diversity, however, there are important commonalities and trends. There is generally a high level of interest and engagement with the Holocaust. Teachers desire both more PD and more time to deal with the subject, even in places that devote a great deal of time to the topic. Those who do participate in PD often participate in several workshops or trainings related to the Holocaust.

They experience their teaching of the Holocaust as a subject distinct from others that they cover in the same courses. There is a strong emotional component, sometimes actively promoted by teachers, and less confident teachers of the Holocaust seem to gravitate to more emotive approaches to the subject. Good teachers often feel comfortable pursuing cognitive, affec-

tive and experiential approaches to the subject, rather than seeing those approaches as in competition or conflict. TLH seems particularly rich in the methods available to teachers, from powerful documentaries and dramatic movies, through personal testimonies of survivors and witnesses, to site visits and the use of primary sources. The abundance of resources runs up against the tight time constraints most teachers confront.

Teachers largely feel untrained and unprepared to teach the subject, and in most places indicate that they are self-taught, though it is unclear how much self-taught teachers depend on popular media representations of the Holocaust or upon more academic material. Because teachers are relatively isolated from one another, they are often unable to cooperate with peers or benefit from exemplary teachers, even when they work in the same building. Many experience anxiety about teaching the subject. There can be a tension between emotion and reason, and between memory and history. In addition, teachers are often unclear about the purposes they should be serving by teaching the subject. Even when they are clear, few have been taught the skills to assess students' performance in a sophisticated way, and their assessments often test information retrieval rather than higher-order thinking or moral reasoning.

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Students Learning about the Holocaust

1. Overview

The following analysis of research on students and learning about the Holocaust around the world draws on a vast body of research. While this review can be neither comprehensive nor exhaustive, it does reveal key trends in the field. The research included here has been conducted primarily by sociologists, social psychologists and educational researchers. This research attempts to understand how students interact with and understand Holocaust history and memory. Researchers, however, conceptualize “understanding” and “knowledge” in different ways, and they do not always make their specific understanding of these terms explicit. Some researchers attempt to measure students’ knowledge about the Holocaust with surveys and questionnaires; others investigate students’ understanding with interviews and open-ended activities. While some scholars examine students’ knowledge as a cultural phenomenon or as a result of mass-media influence (particularly films like *Schindler’s List*, or more recently, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*), we focus on studies that describe and analyze teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) in schools, museums, memorial sites, heritage tours and so on—in any setting where deliberate education takes place. We found no consensus on what constitutes the “best” TLH, but rather a diversity of practices and outcomes. Research on study tours, museum visits and intergroup encounters is discussed in the next two chapters of this volume.

2. The Challenges of Researching Students’ Knowledge and Attitudes about the Holocaust

Research about students’ historical knowledge and about their emotions and attitudes towards the Holocaust is relatively new. Systematic research in this area has been conducted primarily since 2000, with some earlier exceptions, for example in Germany. The methodology in these studies

is mainly quantitative. These studies investigate knowledge levels and explore whether knowledge levels are connected to attitudes (such as antisemitism). These studies do not show a consistently positive correlation between higher levels of Holocaust knowledge and higher levels of tolerance or better attitudes towards minorities. When a positive relationship does exist, the possibility that selection bias influenced the results is often neglected: TLH may generate better attitudes (causation), but students who are already civic-minded may be more open to Holocaust education in the first place (correlation).

What constitutes adequate or ideal knowledge about the Holocaust varies among researchers (and is discussed in more depth in Chapter 9). The field lacks consensus about a single, shared idea of “good” or “complete” knowledge of the Holocaust (whether such a consensus is desirable or even possible are separate questions). Even when researchers apply some template of ideal knowledge, whether an official standard or their own, they often neglect the broader issue of whether students lack adequate historical knowledge in general, or solely in relation to the Holocaust. The issue of students’ knowledge levels about the Holocaust is particularly complex because what they know reflects not just what they learned in school, but also a general exposure to media and their cultural context(s) (for an excellent discussion of this issue, see Foster et al., 2016). In conducting research, information retrieval is relatively straightforward to assess, but understanding how students interpret these facts and what meanings they attribute to them is more complicated. Individual facts are held together by theories or narratives, and students who know the same set of facts about the Holocaust may have vastly different conceptions of why it occurred and what it means for us today.

Two additional challenges complicate the ability to evaluate students’ Holocaust knowledge. First, researchers are not always fully explicit or transparent about what knowledge they seek to assess, or what threshold they use to distinguish between low, high or sufficient levels of knowledge (a necessarily normative judgment). Second, the questions asked to assess knowledge may reflect experts’ esoteric, personal conceptions of what students should know, even if the school system and individual teachers never attempted to teach the specific items that were tested for. It is important for researchers to distinguish between studies that seek to assess an official standard from policy or practice—whether students are learning what curricula prescribe, or what is contained in the textbooks, or what the teachers have selected

to teach—or from an external perspective about what should be known. Together, these two challenges lend to confusing and often contradictory assertions about students' knowledge about the Holocaust and may lead to overly negative and critical assessments of students' knowledge levels.

What do Students Know about the Holocaust?

The earliest research in this field was conducted in Germany (see also the detailed discussion in Chapter 1, on German language research into TLH). Brusten and Winkelmann (1994), Barlog-Schulz (1994), Pohl (1996) and Ahlheim and Heger (2002) conducted quantitative studies measuring knowledge about the Holocaust and/or attitudes about the Holocaust and Holocaust education. They also looked for correlations between knowledge and political engagement or visits to memorial sites, and between ignorance and a desire to close the book on this chapter of history or other ways of trivializing the Holocaust. Ultimately, because these studies do not differentiate the sources of students' knowledge and attitudes, they do not shed light directly on the state of TLH (and are hence beyond the bounds of this study), though they raise important questions and meet a public and political demand for information about students' general level of knowledge about the Holocaust.

Researchers' assessments of German students' knowledge vary considerably. Brusten and Winkelmann (1994) surveyed 699 Western German and 643 Eastern German students about the Holocaust and judged that at least 81 percent possessed medium or high levels of factual knowledge about the topic. Barlog-Scholz (1994) used questionnaires to ask high-school students what they knew about the Holocaust. She found that students had "some" knowledge, though it was not correlated with their level of political engagement or visits to a memorial site. Pohl (1996) interviewed and observed nearly 2,000 students in class and outside of school. He found that National Socialism played a great part in the school curriculum, but students still had vast gaps in knowledge about this era. And Ahlheim and Heger (2002) conducted a questionnaire with 2,167 students at the university level to understand attitudes towards the Holocaust and National Socialism. Their concern was less with general historical knowledge than with cultural understandings about the meaning of the Nazi past. The authors also found that students had gaps in knowledge and a desire to move beyond this period of history (often called Holocaust fatigue).

Similar research was conducted in Sweden and Norway. Berggren and Johansson (2006) looked for any sign of denial, finding that 90 percent of the students did not doubt that the Holocaust actually happened and only 2 percent admitted to serious doubts. Another study, done by *Forum för Levande Historia* (Living History Forum) (2010), found that 5 percent of Swedish students in upper-secondary school during the 2009–2010 school-year claimed to have no formal school instruction about the Holocaust; but 75 percent responded that they had either “quite a lot” or “a lot.” It is important to remember here that self-reported answers and self-assessments are inherently problematic: researchers in Norway, for example, found that 43 percent of their 3,000 ninth grade respondents claimed to know nothing about the Holocaust, even though their answers to other questions demonstrated factual knowledge about the Holocaust (Mikkelsen et al., 2010). Surveys, multiple-choice exams and self-reports are imperfect instruments for capturing student knowledge, and qualitative approaches are required for a more comprehensive understanding of the matter.

In Spain, Simó (2005) and Grupo Eleuterio Quintanilla (2005–2006) conducted two studies to measure students’ level of knowledge and identify any antisemitic and racist attitudes. These studies analyzed knowledge of the Holocaust among secondary students using quantitative and qualitative methods. The first was carried out in Catalonia with 196 students and the second in Asturias with 862 students. Both were based upon a content analysis of curricula and textbooks and a survey on knowledge and attitudes. The research sought to determine students’ level of knowledge of the Holocaust, to determine the sources of their knowledge and to identify their ethical and moral positions with respect to Nazism and Judaism. Although the studies were not related, the results showed that students had low or limited historical (fact-based) knowledge of the Holocaust, and that some students displayed antisemitic attitudes (whether overt or camouflaged, with some explicit denial).

In Holland, Boersema and Schimmel (2008) argued that Dutch students lack basic knowledge about the Holocaust. However, these authors did not ask students directly what they knew. Instead, the authors examined textbooks and interviewed teachers and administrators on the state of Holocaust education in Holland. They found that textbooks often overlook the complex relationship the Dutch had to local Jewry. The authors found that the textbooks underreport the history of European antisemitism that contributed to the Holocaust. Students in general could not be expected

to know more than the education system made possible, and the general provision of content was, in their judgment, insufficient and problematic. Their study draws attention to the fact that there are often multiple factors contributing to students' low levels of knowledge about the Holocaust.

In France, Fijalkow and Jalaudin (2009, 2012, 2014) conducted research with 1,300 secondary school students on their general knowledge level about the Holocaust and local Holocaust history. They found positive results regarding their knowledge levels and their rejection of racism and xenophobia. In this case, the authors found a correlation between programs teaching the Holocaust and positive attitudes. Together, these results show that we cannot generalize about students' knowledge levels across contexts, and that it can be difficult to produce a consensus about knowledge levels even within a single national context.

From Knowledge to Understanding

Understanding the Holocaust, of course, requires more than a collection of facts or individual pieces of information. Investigating students' understanding of causes, contributing factors, historical contingency and other complex aspects of historical learning typically requires qualitative research methods. Two studies suggest that gender may be an important factor in students' responses to and understanding of the Holocaust. In Ukraine, for example, Ivanova published two qualitative studies (2004, 2008) that analyzed written essays about the Holocaust and surrounding history. She focused on the discourse, including the narrative and qualitative content of how they wrote about the Holocaust and how they related it to other events like the Holodomor. The essays were classified into six different types of discourse: historical knowledge; comparisons with other groups of victims; attitudes concerning antisemitism; everyday life; antiracist and anti-nationalist stances; and personification and the transfer of responsibility. She found that female students use more emotional discourse and everyday-life narratives as well as some camouflaged antisemitism, while males are more likely to use historical, comparative and overtly antisemitic discourses.

Oeser (2010), a French researcher, found that gender also plays an important role in how National Socialism and the Nazi past is viewed and understood by German youth aged fourteen to eighteen in Eastern and Western Germany (see also Chapter 3). She studied the appropriation of the Nazi past—how German students make use of this history in specific

contexts for their own purposes in school, family life and social life. As in Ivanova's research, the girls tend towards a fascination with the victims of Nazism, and the boys towards a fascination with the "actors" (the terminology is discussed in Chapter 3). She found that some teachers graded the boys less favorably, thus contributing to a reorientation of their interests towards the victims.

The issue of how students' prior understandings unfold in the classroom is also a central concern of Zülsdorf-Kersting (2007), who showed how German ninth and tenth grade students appropriate history education about the Holocaust. The outcomes often fall short of politicians' and/or educators' expectations. Although this work is discussed in more depth in the Chapter on German language research into TLH, it is important to note here that students tend to construct history based on the explanatory patterns that they bring with them to class, and that subsequent formal instruction seems largely unable to overcome these deep-set modes of thinking. Ethnic-German students still tend to excuse most of Germany's population from responsibility, and they apply the same simplistic interpretations that have circulated for decades. This research points to the power of "schema" (Bartlett, 1932) in the construction of historical narratives (Wineburg et al., 2007; Bartlett, 1932). Analyses of schematic understandings are able to assess underlying historical knowledge more accurately than multiple-choice exams and surveys alone.

Similarly, Gross (2014) found that Polish students have a stock set of narratives to draw upon when asked to narrate famous photographs of the Holocaust. They heroized Polish participation in saving the Jews, even when photos showed the opposite. Students explained this discrepancy by stating that it was the Nazis who humiliated the Jews. Gross's research examined the relationship between school and cultural knowledge of the Second World War in contemporary Poland. Drawing on 126 student responses to well-known photographs, Gross addressed what it means for school children to learn about an aspect of a contested past, the Holocaust, within the frame of the Second World War in Poland. Her research illuminated shared cultural narratives about war and unearthed dissonant responses from a subset of students who recognized features of the photographs that other students overlooked. Those students experienced the start of a schematic shift from their previous understanding about the Holocaust to a new understanding, thus breaking their "schematics" associated with the Second World War.

Finally, the most recent study published in this area comes from Britain (Foster et al., 2016).¹ This study surveyed nearly 10,000 secondary students and included interviews with nearly 250 students. Although many students had encountered the Holocaust in school and most viewed the Holocaust as important to understand, their knowledge and conceptual understanding were often limited and based on inaccuracies and misconceptions. Many students vastly underestimated the number of victims and their places of origin (thinking most Jews came from Germany). Many students described watching movies such as the *Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, which can provide distorted impressions of the Holocaust. Students lacked concrete historical knowledge about the event. The authors note the problematic manner in which the Holocaust is situated within a popular and political frame.

The Complex Relationship between Knowledge and Attitudes

It seems reasonable to assume that better knowledge of the Holocaust would be linked to lower levels of antisemitism, but the precise nature and strength of this relationship is not well understood. Much of the best research on the relationship between antisemitism and Holocaust knowledge comes from Poland, and it is discussed in-depth in Chapter 2. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs (1998, 2000, 2008, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b), for example, notes that comparing students in control and experimental classes revealed meaningful positive changes in their attitudes, suggesting that teachers' genuine motivation and involvement in shaping students' attitudes and interests had a significant impact on outcomes.

Research in this field explores both antisemitism and broader attitudes like ethnocentrism, racism, anti-democratic behavior and national identity. Kavadias (2004) conducted such research in Brussels among French-speaking and Flemish-speaking twelfth grade students. He found a weak correlation between greater knowledge of the Holocaust and lower levels of antisemitism among Flemish students, but not among French students. This correlation thus does not indicate clear causality: learning about the Holocaust might lead to more democratic and less antisemitic views, but it

1 <http://www.holocausteducation.org.uk/research/young-people-understand-holocaust/> (accessed 7 October 2016).

could also be that more democratically inclined students are more interested in the Holocaust.

Some researchers have examined the question of Holocaust remembrance and understanding through the lens of citizenship and national identification. Shamai, Yardeni and Klages (2004) followed separate groups of Israeli and German students in two comparative studies. They were attempting to gauge the knowledge that German and Israeli students had of both German history before the war and the Holocaust, and to see if it was connected to their attitudes toward the “other group” (Germans were asked to express attitudes about Israelis and vice versa). The Germans had more historical knowledge about the start of the war, while Israeli students knew more about the Holocaust. The positive correlation between knowledge levels and attitudes towards the other group (German/Israeli) and willingness to resist the possible rise of a dictatorial regime led the authors to argue that multicultural education combined with lessons that target attitudes and cognitive behaviors can promote nonracist perspectives.

Two studies explore interventions aimed at reducing negative attitudes. In German-speaking parts of Switzerland, Eser Davolio (2002; 2012) created and tested a series of experimental modules to reduce prejudice, specifically in the domains of xenophobia, hatred against asylum seekers and antisemitism. The work was evaluated with quantitative and qualitative methods. Two hundred and fifty-six teenagers of relatively low educational levels were exposed to modules that included encounters with asylum seekers and Holocaust survivors, and they visited synagogues and mosques. The findings indicate mixed effects: prejudices about asylum seekers were reduced in the long term, but remarkably, prejudice towards Holocaust survivors increased. This study was conducted during a period of contentious debates in Switzerland about Jewish accounts in Swiss banks, so this context may have influenced teenagers’ attitudes. However, it appears that peer-to-peer influence can have a powerful negative effect, increasing prejudice when peers’ views are in tension with the teachers’ lessons. The only group that showed a reduction of prejudice towards Jews was a class that discovered during the module that one of their fellow students was Jewish, a fact that had been completely unknown to the group. In this group, peer influence had a prejudice-reducing effect. The study also shows the importance of establishing an emotional connection to students’ lives.

Carrington and Short (1997) completed a similar study with 14 and 15-year-olds in six English secondary schools to assess the contribution that Holocaust education made towards developing antiracist attitudes. Students gained an awareness of racism and prejudice, but some nevertheless seemed complacent about the issue. Together, the studies suggest that there are links between Holocaust knowledge and attitudes towards diversity, but they are complex, and positive outcomes are not consistent across contexts. These links merit further investigation in order to help researchers and educators understand the relationship more clearly. However, an overly narrow focus on TLH and its effects may distort our understanding of the broader processes through which students' attitudes form and evolve. The challenge of situating TLH and its impact in this larger context remains, and it invites researchers to try to identify not just paradigmatic transformations of students' perspectives, but also more subtle shifts in their attitudes and understandings.

3. Students' Learning in Multicultural Classrooms

Multicultural classrooms encompass many different situations, including a dominant-group teacher working with students from a single migrant or minority background. Even if students share a relatively homogeneous background, the classroom may still be considered multicultural (or high-minority) from the point of view of the teacher, researcher or society. Multicultural education can also imply a diverse mix of students from dominant and non-dominant backgrounds, or of different non-dominant backgrounds (say, domestic and migrant minorities). Philosophically, multiculturalism more generally evokes a situation in which different cultural groups coexist side by side and maintain their distinct identities and cultural practices. In contrast, interculturalism is an orientation or approach that deliberately brings these students into active dialogue and exchange with one another. Chapter 12, which concerns intergroup encounters, reflects this intercultural orientation. These various configurations offer different opportunities and challenges, depending on the depth of shared experiences and frames of reference among students and their teachers.

Observers in many Western European countries (Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK, among others) have expressed concern that students with migrant backgrounds may be more reluctant to

learn about the Holocaust, and that the multicultural nature of a classroom might be an obstacle for teaching about the Holocaust. The reasons for this supposed reluctance include the beliefs that these youths cannot identify with the national historical background and that immigrants bring with them new antisemitic beliefs and attitudes. In Germany, there has been a discussion about these observations, the didactic consequences and Holocaust education in a diverse classroom since 2000 (Fechler, Kössler, & Liebertz-Gross, 2000). Some researchers' findings mostly contradict these assumptions, although they pose fundamental questions about dealing with diversity in a classroom. Research on these questions has been conducted in Germany, France and Belgium. Grandjean (2011, 2014; see also Chapter 3) found that both immigrant and non-immigrant groups "relativize" the Holocaust in comparison with other crimes or trivialize it. Furthermore, students with an immigrant background show a higher tendency to mobilize memories of recent or current events, or to connect the past to their own experiences than those who do not have an immigrant background. For example, young people with an immigrant background or of foreign origin mobilize memories of recent events more frequently, especially with respect to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Kühner, Langer and Sigel (2008) focused on social-psychological responses to the Holocaust in Germany. The authors asked whether the migrant backgrounds of students add to the complexity of teaching, or whether it can be used as a privileged starting point for learners. The researchers carried out qualitative interviews with students and their teachers. They observed that the assumption that immigrant students are not interested in National Socialism or the Holocaust did not hold in this sample. Rather, they observed that students and teachers showed a high degree of interest in the topic, but also a tendency towards *Selbst-Überforderung* (overloading themselves with demands), because the topic is experienced as highly emotional. The emotional demands of the subject are in turn exacerbated by the expectation that TLH must also serve as a tool of moral education and should have a cathartic effect. Kühner (2008) analyzed how students and teachers position themselves towards Nazi Germany, and how the attribution of guilt, shame or responsibility towards different groups of "Others" serves as an interactive pattern in a migration society.

Gryglewski (2013) conducted several educational programs with Berlin youth who have Turkish, Arabic or Palestinian family backgrounds. She questioned the common assumption that these youth express antisemitic

remarks when the topic of the Holocaust is addressed. Through her observations, she developed a typology of student attitudes. Most of the participants were classified as “friendly-interested”: this is the predominant attitude of German youth with a migrant background. Another group is “open-empathic”: they may lack factual knowledge, but are open to learning. Only one individual expressed antisemitic views in a provocative manner (but provided the basis for the classification “provocative”). Crucially, Gryglewski’s observations showed how young people who grew up in Germany but feel like outsiders and those who come from the dominant group in society negotiate belonging and exclusion. The core concept of her project and studies is a pedagogy of *recognition* as a teaching and learning method, based on the recognition of historical experiences of suffering that are not recognized by the dominant narrative.

Other scholars have also identified patterns among migrant-background students and between them and ethnic Germans. Georgi’s (2003) interviews with fifty-five young Germans between the ages of fifteen and twenty who have migrant backgrounds allowed her to construct a typology of “immigrant” perspectives on the German Nazi past (the different patterns of response she found are discussed in Chapter 1). With a slightly different take, Köster (2013) studied the understanding of historical texts about the Nazi period among German students in the tenth grade to find out more about potential differences between those with “German” origin and those who come from immigrant families.

In France, Wieviorka (2005) explored various manifestations of anti-semitism in a number of towns and neighborhoods with populations of North African and other Muslim immigrants where antisemitic incidents have occurred. The study revealed that antisemitism in schools often emerges as a form of competition over victimhood: local youth sometimes argue that Jews are not the victims who suffered most in history, and some show strong feelings of resentment towards Jews. Issues do not appear in every school, but where they do, the Holocaust becomes a point of fixation. Teachers report that they have better success teaching the history of the Holocaust when they put it in the context of other genocides, and without insisting on the singularity and exceptionality of the Shoah. Students claim recognition of other crimes against humanity or genocides and of experiences that are closer to their family background, and they may react to the Holocaust to express resentments against Jews, who are seen to be part of the dominant society, a category from which these youth feel excluded. The

results of this study concur with other research in the field, for example that by Corbel and Falaize (2002; 2003; see also Chapter 3), who highlight the danger of sacralizing and moralizing the history of the Holocaust, which might create a sense of saturation. The authors also hint at the discrepancy between the visibility of TLH and the status of teaching about colonial history and decolonization, which has long been less valued.

In the English-speaking world, Rutland (2010, 2015) examined the beliefs and attitudes that Muslim school children in Australian public schools have towards Jews in Sydney. Although she cites examples of some of the most disturbing antisemitic statements and behaviors documented in the literature, the author explores how Holocaust education could potentially combat ingrained racist beliefs about Jews and discusses the importance of mandatory Holocaust education.

4. Teaching the Holocaust for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights

In this section, we address research on TLH as a means for what more traditionally has been called multicultural, civic, moral or character education, and today might be labeled intercultural, citizenship, ethics or democratic education. Many authors examined here work under the assumption that school is a place where civic attitudes and behaviors are taught.

One of the first works exploring students' perceptions of what they learned from the Holocaust was conducted by Wegner (1998) in middle schools in Wisconsin. Wegner (1998) assumed that "an education founded exclusively on intellectual process without any related consideration of moral values poses a significant threat to democracy" (p. 170). In order to analyze whether and to what extent Holocaust teaching does reach the goal of shaping moral values and civic virtue, the author conducted a content analysis of 200 student essays collected from students who had completed a multi-week interdisciplinary unit on the Holocaust. He asked, "what lessons from the Holocaust are there for my generation today?" Students used concepts like "discrimination," "dehumanization" and "prejudice," as well as categories like "bystanders," and displayed a discerning attitude towards political leadership.

Similarly, Meliza (2011) conducted a qualitative study with twelfth grade students in the southeastern United States. She asked students about

their perceptions of TLH in the United States and their motivations for learning about the Holocaust. The students were motivated to learn about the Holocaust for four reasons: personal interest; for good grades; due to an expectation from family; and for the good of society. Also in the United States, Schultz and Barr (2001) worked with students in Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO) classes to determine if learning about the Holocaust led to improvements in moral reasoning and civic attitudes. At the end of the year, they found that students who took FHAO classes showed more restraint, greater moral reasoning and stronger civic attitudes than a focus group, but the findings were not statistically significant.

More recently, Barr et al. (2015) conducted a randomized trial of an initial implementation of the FHAO program. The intervention, which integrated content and pedagogy, involved a five-day seminar for teachers with follow-up coaching as well as curricular materials. The program sought to address “civic learning, ethical reflection and historical thinking skills.” Using previously validated measures, the study investigated whether the FHAO program influenced students across three domains: civic learning, historical understanding and social and ethical skills. The civic-learning domain was the broadest, encompassing civic responsibility, tolerance, civic self-efficacy, civic participation and classroom climate. The areas in which a positive and statistically significant effect was detected included their “overall historical understanding” and “four civic literacy variables”: political tolerance, civic efficacy, opportunities to engage in civic matters in class and open classroom climate.

Cowan and Maitles (2004, 2007) have been exploring the civic dimensions of TLH in Scotland for many years. In their first study, they found that Scottish students who had completed a Holocaust course were more likely to have “positive values” than those who had not studied the Holocaust. Similarly, they later attempted to measure whether these “positive values” lasted for longer than initially tested. They followed students for a year after some had had Holocaust lessons and others had not. They found that students who had had lessons in Holocaust history still displayed more positive values after a year.

Wibaeus (2010) conducted classroom observations and a small number of interviews with Swedish students, finding that most of the students perceived an instrumental intention behind education about the Holocaust. Wibaeus noted that students are unclear about the purpose of TLH, and a key reason is the lack of open communication between teachers

and students about the purpose of it all. In the same way, Meseth, Proske and Radtke (2003) studied pedagogical communication in the classroom and concluded that students were aware that the topic was important, but might not know what happened or have moral attitudes about the topic. The students were “sensitive,” which the researchers believed might stem less from Holocaust knowledge than from socialization. Their work, which is expounded in Chapter 1, concluded that history education has a limited potential to transform attitudes, though it can help students learn socially acceptable ways of speaking about the past. Strictly condemning Nazi politics and particularly the Holocaust is a sort of litmus test in German public discourse. For the authors, developing socially acceptable ways of speaking about the Holocaust among students is a great achievement. Critics emphasize that the purpose of history education is not to socialize students into particular historical narratives, but to have them examine them critically (for example, Henke-Bockschatz 2004).

5. The Intersection of Students’ Identities and Memory with Historical Knowledge

As Chapters 3 and 5 illustrate, the transmission of the history and memory of the Holocaust plays an important role in TLH. Faced with the expansion of public memories of the painful past, the EU has encouraged the development of civic platforms for a discussion on history that could contribute to a constructive processing of the experiences and memories of historically difficult issues. The Teaching History for a Europe in Common (THIEC) project involves researchers and educators in six European countries—Finland, France, Hungary, Poland, Portugal and Russia—in order to develop pedagogical instruments to deal with issues of painful pasts in history teaching and in-service teacher education. The guiding question is how teachers can constructively, responsibly and in an epistemologically robust way address the issues of the painful past in educational contexts. The project is founded on the conviction that the answer must be based on the study of the forms of historical consciousness among adolescents in contemporary Europe.

Through a comparative qualitative study using focus groups of adolescents between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, the authors attempted to find what they think of the painful past. Hommet (2012, 2014), director

of THIEC in France, focused on the perception and interpretation of the Vel' d'Hiv roundup, the July 1942 roundup of Jews in France. He found that students thought that the injustices of the past must be recalled somehow. It appears easier for students to accept collective responsibility than individual responsibility. The intention was to repair history to rebuild the community. It was easier to accept moral reparations than financial reparations.

Grandjean (2011, 2014) also references how Holocaust memory has been transmitted. He considers the Holocaust alive in the memory of Western societies through schools, the media, family and, more recently, social networks and the internet. In the mental universe of the students, it appears to be a "social rule" that imposes this memory. In order to understand it, educators have highlighted the importance of the survivors and stories—in films, novels, documentary films and so on—as forms of socialization.

Welzer, Moller and Tschuggnall (2002) revealed that quite different images of the Nazi past are transmitted within German families than within schools. Family memory centers on the suffering of one's relatives. Flügel (2009, 2012) demonstrates how primary-school students' relationship to the theme of Nazism are interwoven with general German memory discourses about these topics.

Other research has demonstrated how differently German and Israeli students relate to Holocaust remembrance and the war (Yair et al., 2014). Asked to identify heroes, German students avoid naming military figures or leaders in battles or wartime. Israelis are the opposite. Germans also take an international view, naming peace activists or human rights advocates from around the world, while Israelis more frequently name fellow Israelis. Less prominent heroes who were silent or humble appeal to Germans, including those who hid Jews during the Holocaust. Peaceful figures who inspired broad masses are also popular with German students: Martin Luther King, Gandhi, Mother Theresa and Nelson Mandela. Israeli students, in contrast, "often use heroic combat examples to define heroism" (Yair et al., 2014, p. 290).

Corbel and Falaize (2003, 2004) tried to measure the tension between emotion and reason, memory and knowledge. They found, through surveys, that teachers in France consider the teaching of the Holocaust to be a very important issue, but are fearful of how their students will react. Teachers mentioned this fear when comparison between the Holocaust and the decolonization of Algeria comes up in the classroom. Their research

pointed to the fact that teachers think students experience competitive martyrdom, or a competition between the suffering of victims.

Another way to evoke the memory of the Holocaust is by using filmed testimonies with students. This is the case in research conducted by Nadine Fink (2009, 2014) in Switzerland. The study deals with students visiting the exhibition “I am History” with their teachers, which contains 555 audio-visual testimonies of Swiss wartime memories. Using participant observation and interviews, Fink shows the interplay between adhesion and detachment among teachers and students. Adhesion, because “I am History” reveals the collective memory of a political community with which they identify; detachment, because teachers and students express the necessary perspective in the face of competitive narratives about the past. Oral testimony can also help students develop their historical understandings, and in turn, contribute to their intellectual and civic training.

In one of the few studies of Holocaust education conducted by a Holocaust survivor, Bauman (2004) examined the responses of a group of twenty-eight British Christian middle-class schoolchildren to her memoir, *Winter in the Morning: A Young Girl's Life in the Warsaw Ghetto and Beyond, 1939–1945*. Bauman analyzed twenty-eight portfolios of student work, uncovering seven themes. While the level of initial ignorance, the shock and disbelief may have abated since the time of this study in the early 1990s, the powerful impulse towards moral judgment may remain. Disgusted and sickened, the students directed their revulsion at “the Germans” and sometimes Hitler. Similarly, their inclination to identify with the protagonist may remain, and that feeling may color their view of both history and the present. The students’ empathy for the survivor seemingly evoked their own anxieties and focused on different aspects of her experience. Confronting these realities, experiences and emotions left students trying to find meaning in it all, from resolutions to oppose similar events or ensure they do not happen, to sentiments that everyone should learn about Jews’ experiences during the Holocaust—not take things for granted—and adopt an ethic of “live and let live.” Bauman concludes that teaching the subject like any other in the English literature course was beneficial, because the students were already prepared to apply a set of intellectual tools to the tasks of analysis and interpretation.

In a qualitative study, Hoffmann (2011) compares German and Polish students’ reception of Pressler’s historical young-adult novel *Malka Mai*, which tells the story of a Jewish family’s escape from Poland to Hungary

in 1943. Participant observation and interviews in ninth and tenth grade classes were conducted to discuss the function of young-adult literature and discussions about literature in an intercultural-school context. Hoffman argues that literature offers interpretative patterns that lie beyond bonds of family loyalty and institutional claims to issues of national-identity formation. Similarly, Juzwik (2009), in her research (in the United States), analyzed the words and syntax used by middle-school students when talking about Jews. She found that both teachers and students described Jews as receivers of action, rather than as generators of action, a grammatical pattern that she links to the larger historical persecution of Jews (2009).

6. Primary School: At What Age should Instruction Begin?

As noted in Chapters 1 and 8, the fact that students develop impressions of the Holocaust and the Nazi period from their families and peers and the media leads to the question about the right age to begin instruction about the Holocaust. In his famous radio address, “Education after Auschwitz,” Adorno (1998 [1967]) argued that it was important to begin educational efforts at an early age, though in today’s German history curricula—as in many other countries—Nazi Germany and the Holocaust are normally addressed around the age of fifteen. The debate that emerged between Beck and Heyl in the 1990s, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 1, contrasted the fact that primary-school children already possessed knowledge about Nazism and the Holocaust with concern that children might be overwhelmed or even traumatized by the topic and should be sheltered from this complex and unsettling part of German history.

In order to understand how young is too young, scholars have investigated Holocaust education in primary schools in Germany (Becher, 2009; Enzenbach, 2011; Flügel, 2009; Hanfland 2008) and other contexts. Becher (2009) found that the education of young children usually focuses on Hitler, that some children harbor “latent antisemitic” attitudes and that they come in with knowledge about the Holocaust not learned in school. She concludes that, because students will learn about the Holocaust anyway, German primary schools should teach it. Although authors have weighed in on the ethics of Holocaust education, its history, practices and materials, few have empirically examined what the Holocaust looks like when taught to a young audience.

Schweber (2008) sought to guide policy about the question of how old is old enough to teach students about the Holocaust by observing what aspects of Holocaust history were taught in the third grade classroom of a very experienced and well-respected teacher. Importantly, the study sought to understand how such teaching affected students emotionally and intellectually. Ultimately, Schweber judged third graders too young, as a group, to be taught about the Holocaust, and recommended that the “curricular creep” of this topic to younger grades be stopped. That said, the competing interpretations of the teacher, parents and some of the students are included for consideration as well.

7. Students in Religious Schools

Some studies asked whether religion influences learning and, if so, how. Though not only relevant to the United States, it is particularly interesting that in the studied context, it is not permitted to advocate any religion or prayer in public schools, a restriction many interpret to apply to any religious expression by anyone in a school. In American schools, for this reason, theological responses to the Holocaust can be silenced, and hence religion’s role in learning about the Holocaust (or even teaching it) may often be invisible or insufficiently considered. While some of these studies come from religious institutions that receive no government support, these restrictions do influence the selection of a private religious school for many parents. A number of studies have dealt with the question: “What do members of groups with different sociocultural and religious backgrounds know about the Holocaust, Jews and WWII history?” Spector (2004, 2007) followed Midwestern students: some were evangelical (often termed fundamentalist, a term that can have negative connotations) Christian middle-school students, and others were black students with varied religious affiliations. The author found that students’ and teachers’ religious beliefs filtered their understanding of the Holocaust in important ways. For example, the evangelical students understood the Holocaust as preordained by God while linking it to the sacrifice that Jesus made for the good of humanity.

In the United States, Schweber conducted research in a number of religious school settings, as well as in more typical middle- and high-school settings. Schweber (2008) showed that students at a religious (Lubavitch) girls’ school (yeshivah) and in an eighth grade secular studies classroom

found the Holocaust to be mysterious. Also, historical knowledge of the Holocaust was curtailed, and even opportunities to grow in their religious faith were shortchanged through the teaching of the Holocaust as a mysterious event. Schweber and Irwin (2003) argued that learning about Jews in an evangelical Christian school posed some problematic issues for multicultural education. They ultimately argued that religion should be more consistently included within an accepted framework for multicultural education, and that students should engage in experiential learning in the classroom (what they call “lived classroom practice”; in this case they interviewed survivors).

Dahl (2008) investigated the effectiveness of Holocaust education as a means of anti-bias education. This researcher focused on a Catholic school in the United States where the Holocaust curriculum was inspired by the leadership of some local church authorities. The students “adopted” a survivor who made frequent visits to the school. There were thirty-three sixth grade students and four survivors in this study. Dahl wanted to know how students come to understand the Holocaust as well as how they view their own roles and the connections they make to other acts of intolerance. Dahl claimed that his analysis of written work and his observations of this program showed that students were able to make broad and detailed connections between the Holocaust and other forms of discrimination. They used what the researcher called “transformative language” in their final reflections, by which he meant both that the students felt the experience was transformative for them and that it transformed their understanding of themselves and the world.

8. How is the Holocaust Compared to Other Events?

Comparing the Holocaust to other events, from the genocide in Rwanda to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is an area of concern for many Holocaust education advocates and educators. But authors do not make a clear distinction between analytical comparison and equating different traumas; when historical events are analytically compared, the critical differences are frequently more salient than the similarities. Such comparisons, dealt with as equations, can be problematic, superficial or misleading, and many Holocaust educators oppose comparisons, particularly of groups’ suffering (see, for example, Eckmann & Heimberg, 2009, 2011). Yet comparison is

inevitable as students struggle to make sense of new information through familiar frames of reference. In addition, teachers tend to make (superficial) comparisons in their attempt to make the study of the Holocaust more relevant for the students by referring to mass crimes that happened recently. Furthermore, systematic comparison is a fundamental intellectual tool for much research and scientific inquiry. Generally, students do compare, often implicitly, but are never instructed on how to compare responsibly, analytically and scientifically. As a pedagogical discipline, the didactics of history seldom promotes comparison, remaining immersed in the specificity of each event while missing the opportunity to reveal commonalities, while fields such as sociology—which are much less common in most school-based education—may emphasize models, theories or commonalities at the expense of particular circumstances. Abowitz (2002) reveals some of the benefits of studying the Holocaust comparatively in higher education with sociological concepts.

Part of the problem stems from the multiple connotations of the word “compare.” One connotation is to consider both similarities and differences, based on an extensive consideration of the evidence in both cases. But the word “compare” in many languages also carries the connotation that things are equal, or the same, and there is a concern that the very act of permitting a comparison between, say, Soviet and Nazi crimes, legitimizes the idea that they are moral equivalents and erases meaningful distinctions between them. It is worth considering what kinds of comparisons students who are learning about the Holocaust make on their own, without specific guidance in how to compare systematically, in order to better understand how to help them avoid faulty conclusions. Eckmann and Heimberg (2011) helpfully point out that when students draw false conclusions about the Holocaust and other atrocities, the source of error may stem not from intellectual processes, but from other groups’ need to have what their members have endured be recognized, particularly in the context of intergroup encounters. In this frame of reference, analytical comparison may become possible as a result of mutual recognition.

Boix-Mansila (2000) performed such an analysis by asking American middle-school students who had studied the Holocaust for six to ten weeks through the FHAO program and had received initial exposure to the history of the Rwandan genocide—about three class periods—to hypothesize about similarities and differences between the two cases. This use of “asymmetrical comparison” led Boix-Mansila (2000) to consider the

students' approach as an "opportunity for transfer" (p. 400). Using their responses, she was able to develop a set of criteria for evaluating students' ability to transfer insights from one context to another, using hypotheses and balancing commonalities and differences, while considering the additional research they would have to conduct in order to judge whether their hypotheses could be upheld. The thirty-five participants, aged twelve to fifteen and from private and public schools, had two or three forty-five minute sessions to work on four tasks that involved hypothesizing about similarities and differences, and thinking through the research tasks that might resolve them. Unsurprisingly for students who had no specific preparation for the task assessed, their performances ranged broadly:

Successful students were able to (1) build an informed *comparison base* between both cases of genocide; (2) recognize historical *differences* between them; (3) appropriately apply *historical models of thinking* to examine the genocide in Rwanda; and (4) generate *new questions and hypotheses* about the Rwandan genocide. (Boix-Mansila, 2000, p. 402; italics in original)

While many had shallow grounds for comparison, others made more profound connections: one student noticed a clip in the documentary *For-saken Cries* in which anthropologists measured the skulls of Tutsis and Hutus and linked it to eugenics, though the term was not used in the film. A deep knowledge of contexts, a capacity to embrace complex causation, an inclination to weigh alternative explanations and the ability to think through multiple data sources and their limitations all distinguished the best responses from the less satisfactory ones.

Boix-Mansila additionally makes an important contribution to the question of student knowledge by shifting the question from *what* students know to *how* they know it. This orientation rejects the metaphor of student as vessel, seeing how full they are of prescribed information, and shifts the focus away from a test of orthodoxy—whether students believe the dominant societal narrative about the Holocaust—to how they hypothesize, how they think about sources and how they deal with multiple, potentially conflicting data sources. It balances universals and particulars, focusing on the transferability of ideas from one specific context to another, a question posed with respect to the Holocaust, but equally applicable to the dynamics of Holocaust education. This epistemological focus is particularly apt,

because, “with a few exceptions, students failed to recognize the constructed nature of the very account on which they were grounding their hypotheses and interpretations” (Boix-Mansila, 2000, p. 410), and thus were unprepared to “understand *the past* (i.e., the lives of people and societies in times gone) *and* understand *history* (i.e., the disciplinary thinking processes and criteria by which accounts of the past are produced and validated)” (Boix-Mansila, 2000, p. 410; italics in original).

9. Conclusion

With respect to students and learning about the Holocaust, there is a great diversity in research and practice. The diversity of ways in which schools, regions and countries engage the Holocaust makes it difficult to draw meaningful generalizations or conclusions that apply broadly across different contexts. A review of the available research does demonstrate that, in general, there is little consensus about the impact of Holocaust education on students. Some research points to beneficial results such as increased empathy, while other research notes that the subject can exacerbate competitive martyrdom narratives and even provoke a slight increase in racist attitudes or reinforce stereotypes.

Here we must also distinguish between the effects or influence of “ordinary” or average TLH, the kind that most students experience, and the potential of exemplary TLH in optimal settings—for example, with an excellent teacher who has ample time available for the subject. (We actually do not have many studies of “ordinary” TLH, in which a teacher spends one to four lessons on the subject, though these might help us understand the most common student experience of TLH). In exemplary circumstances, students may attest to deep engagement, powerful emotional responses, ongoing interest and a desire to learn more, and sometimes even a change in perspective or reduction of stereotypes. We cannot answer whether these positive responses are attributable more to the nature of the material itself, to the specific qualities of these teachers, their methods, or their preparation.

The exemplary cases do suggest that TLH has greater potential than most other subjects to achieve important affective, civic and dispositional learning outcomes. It should be cautioned that we lack the ability to predict what kinds of students will respond most profoundly to the subject, and

in what ways. There is an exception, however: TLH by itself does not seem to be a sufficient tool for dealing with hardened ideologies; it seems more likely to be successful in awakening greater awareness among students who had unconsciously absorbed problematic or stereotypical views that are broadly present in society. Further, many studies suggest that it is difficult to change underlying patterns of thought, such as simplistic explanations for complex phenomena (see the discussion of the impact of site visits in Chapter 11). Hopes, for example, that a single visit to an authentic site like a concentration camp memorial can by itself provoke major changes in one's worldview seem to be based on an implicit "inoculation" theory of education, supposing that a single exposure to a virus will make one immune forever. There is no evidence to support this "instant transformation" or "inoculation" model. Rather, different learning outcomes, especially ones that are more substantive than information recall, require greater amounts of time, ongoing support and, for example, the effective integration of visits to authentic sites with classroom instruction.

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Visits and Study Trips to Holocaust-Related Memorial Sites and Museums

1. Introduction

Every year, millions of people visit memorial sites and museums connected to the Holocaust and the terror of the Nazi regime (1933–1945). Some arrive as independent visitors driven by various motives, such as tourism, personal interest or family connections to the historical events. Others arrive as part of arranged group visits. Many of these latter visitors consist of students whose classes make the trip for educational purposes. The focus of this chapter is empirical research about the deliberate teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) that is carried out at memorial sites and museums; it is thus a more narrow focus than the broad literature on museums and memorial sites in general.

What follows by no means claims to cover all relevant literature in the field, but rather highlights and discusses some general themes that recur frequently in the empirical literature about the Holocaust education that occurs at memorial sites and museums.

Much of the empirical research on Holocaust memorial sites and museums has focused on the institutions as such, on the content of their exhibitions and on the influence of national and political contexts on how they articulate and represent historical events rather than their specifically educational functions. In the wake of James E. Young's influential study of representations of Holocaust memory (Young, 2003), there have been many studies of how different Nazi concentration camps and other sites connected to Nazi atrocities and the Holocaust have been transformed into memorial sites and museums (see, for example, Cole, 2000; Marcuse, 2001; Reichel, 1995; Selling, 2004). Most of these works do not address educational functions directly and are thus beyond the scope of this review and therefore have not been included, even though they touch upon relevant phenomena such as historical culture, social memory and Holocaust

representation at memorial sites and museums, which needless to say affect Holocaust education in a more narrow sense.

Even within these more narrow parameters, there are noticeable differences in terms of geography as well as academic discipline. Most empirical research about education at Holocaust memorial sites and museums has been done by researchers in Germany, where *Gedenkstättenpädagogik* (memorial-site pedagogy) has emerged as a sub-discipline within the educational sciences. Comparatively much empirical research has also been conducted in Israel, most of it focusing on school journeys to Poland. In terms of academic disciplines, the educational sciences dominate the field. Of the forty-five authors selected for this review, 44 percent belong to the educational sciences, 16 percent to sociology, 13 percent to tourism studies, 7 percent to history and 4 percent to psychology. In addition, there are representatives of geography, cultural studies, anthropology, international studies, literature and law. The comparatively high presence of tourism studies might appear surprising, but in recent years there has been considerable interest among researchers within the field of dark tourism (or thanatourism) in empirically measuring the motivations and effects of visits to Holocaust-related sites and museums (see, for example, Lennon & Foley, 2000 and Sharpley & Stone, 2009 for an introduction to this field of research). Both quantitative and qualitative methods are well represented. Among the former are several attempts to measure outcomes of visits to memorial sites using survey instruments. Most often, the sample size ranges between 100 and 300 people, although it exceeds 1,000 in a few cases. Some of the qualitative studies use ethnographic methods, others are based on interviews, either individual or in groups, and a few researchers use a combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Furthermore, not all empirical studies of visitors to memorial sites should perhaps be considered research; some are attempts to measure the success of exhibitions or other pedagogical activities with the view of improving the site in question (Pampel, 2011).

In order to understand the context of Holocaust education that is carried out in different museums and memorial sites, it is important to bear in mind that many of these institutions have multiple purposes. Sometimes Holocaust-related education might take place in “ordinary” museums, for example when an exhibition is temporarily borrowed from another institution. In other cases, a permanent exhibition is created as part of a larger museum, as at the Imperial War Museum in London, and some muse-

ums have also been specially created for the purpose of Holocaust education, such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC. Finally, in many European countries there are institutions, constructed on the original grounds of former concentration camps and prisons, that today often have educational projects and departments, even if they were not originally constructed as places of education (Reemtsma, 2010). In Germany, such institutions are most often called *Gedenkstätten*, which translates roughly as “sites of remembrance.” These are normally considered to be something different than a monument or a museum, even if they often resemble both.

The concept of *Gedenkstätten* is strongly associated with the Nazi period, but is also used in connection to the East German experience of Soviet occupation and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Occasionally, the term covers not only original sites, such as former concentration camps, but also memorials constructed after the fact. According to Volkhard Knigge, *Gedenkstätten* have certain characteristics:

1. They are crime sites;
2. They are sites of suffering;
3. They are often graveyards, both symbolically and objectively;
4. They are political monuments;
5. They are places for learning;
6. *Gedenkstätten* that are situated on the site of the historical event are also palimpsests—in the sense that the sites have a history that extends beyond the events of 1933–1945, and sometimes also predates them—and, as such, ambiguous;
7. They are, especially in modern media-dominated society, places for individual and collective projections (Knigge, 2004).

In the context of this chapter, it is important to underline that not all memorials and museums related to crimes of the Nazi regime are called *Gedenkstätten*, nor are all such institutions related to the Holocaust. The Topography of Terror Documentation Center in Berlin, for example, presents itself as a documentation center, even though the headquarters of the Gestapo, the SS and the Reich Security Main Office were located on the site. The *Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand* (German Resistance Memorial Center), in turn, focuses on German resistance to the Nazi dictatorship.

These circumstances highlight one of the difficulties in delineating the field, especially today, when discussions about the “post-museum” are challenging traditional notions of what a museum might be (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). Sites and museums are too often delimiting or circumscribed, with possible interpretations not open-ended but framed by curatorial intentions. One solution is to apply the concept of “memorial museum,” described by Paul Williams as “a specific kind of museum dedicated to a historic event commemorating mass suffering of some kind” (Williams, 2007, p. 8). According to the International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of Public Crimes’ (ICMEMO) official definition, memorial museums for the remembrance of victims of public crimes can be defined as follows:

These institutions function as museums with a stock of original historical objects, which generally includes buildings, and work in all the classical fields of museum work (collecting, preserving, exhibiting, doing research, and providing education). Their purpose is to commemorate the victims of state and socially determined, ideologically motivated crimes. They are frequently located at the original historical sites, or at places chosen by the victims of such crimes for the purpose of commemoration. They are conceived as memorials admonishing visitors to safeguard basic human rights. As these institutions co-operate with the victims and other contemporary witnesses, their work also takes on a psychosocial character. Their endeavours to convey information about historical events are morally grounded and aim to establish a definite relationship to the present, without abandoning a historical perspective. (ICMEMO, 2007)

This definition serves well for the purposes of this chapter and basically all studies discussed below concern education in institutions that fit this description.

2. What is the Nature of Education at Memorial Museums?

The fact that these institutions serve different purposes also raises questions about the nature of their educational endeavors. On the one hand, not only museums, but also many Holocaust memorials today consider education

to be an important part of their remit (FRA, 2011, pp. 40–42). On the other hand, it is less evident what this means in practice and how educational activities relate to, for example, commemorative practices and purposes.

In a study of different uses of history at the memorial sites of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Dachau, Mauthausen and Sachsenhausen in the postwar period, Trond R. Nilssen notes that in many of these institutions there has been a development in recent decades, from an original function as arenas for commemoration of victims and for ritual acts to places of learning and education. However, he also notes that there can be tensions between long-established commemorative practices and signs and present-day educational ideals and goals (Nilssen, 2011). Thomas Lutz also highlights the tension between, on the one hand, commemoration and, on the other, learning at German memorial sites. Lutz analyzes twenty new permanent exhibitions at German memorial sites and demonstrates that these new exhibitions use a broader documentary base than was previously the case. However, the increased emphasis on multi-perspectivity in educational work to some extent also shifts the focus away from the original commemoration of the victims (Lutz, 2010).

To some researchers, the long-established commemorative and educational “norms” in Holocaust memorial sites and museums could in fact set them apart from broader developments in museum pedagogics. Starting with a discussion of Kant’s notion of the sublime—a complex philosophical notion that involves the experience and apprehension of the enormity of a thing or event that defies simple quantification—and how later thinkers such as Derrida, Žižek and Lyotard have criticized it, Debbie Lisle (2006) questions whether established practices in present-day Holocaust and war exhibitions are compatible with the ideas behind the “New Museology.” By this she means the attempts by museum professionals to correct what is perceived as the problematic Enlightenment foundation of modern museums, which tend to “privilege Western reason as a universally valid principle” (Lisle, 2006, p. 849). Instead, she sees an “enduring presence of the Kantian sublime” in these exhibitions, where “difficult juxtapositions of terror and awe are resolved by jettisoning ambivalence and installing morally clear narrative trajectories” (Lisle, 2006, p. 861). To her, the potentially destabilizing experience of the sublime is always smothered by “pious messages” of commemoration and moralizing “lessons” (Lisle, 2006, p. 861; see also Segall, 2014).

Anna Reading (2003) reaches similar conclusions by analyzing visitors’ uses of digital media technologies at the Simon Wiesenthal Museum of

Tolerance in Los Angeles. She notes that it is not enough for the educational philosophy to be based on a constructivist approach, which emphasizes the active role of the learner in developing meanings and understandings about new things they encounter through reference to their prior knowledge and experiences. The constructivist philosophy is in effect trumped because multimedia information is still hierarchically structured in such a way that visitors are more or less forced to follow a certain order and cannot skip parts of the narrative. Furthermore, in terms of factual content, narrative structure and aesthetics, digital interactivity tends only to reproduce conventional and established media forms. What is more, to help visitors navigate the materials, the museum uses clickable icons that are based on familiar Holocaust-related images, such as Adolf Hitler, Auschwitz and Anne Frank, a practice that Reading believes runs the risk of reinforcing formulaic and habitual Holocaust representations. Most visitors prefer to make interactive choices based upon what they already know:

Thus, with digital interactives in public there is navigational predictability related to the knowledge and understanding that is part of people's development of social memories. This suggests that the extent to which visitors will actually extend or have challenged their knowledge and socially inherited memory of the Holocaust through interactive technology that utilize traditional encyclopaedic forms in a public context may be limited. (Reading, 2003, p. 79)

Echoing Lisle (2006), she raises the question of whether and how Holocaust museums should use new technologies in a more radical way, for example by using a games format that allows for a more rhizomatic structure, but acknowledge that this might prove difficult, given the circumstances (for a more in-depth discussion of a rhizomatic structure, see Davis & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013).

Which educational ideas and concepts then guide memorial museums when they create new Holocaust-related exhibitions? There exists, of course, no general answer, but some recent research at least highlights currents in Germany. Based on interviews with the curators of twenty new permanent exhibitions at important German memorial sites, Thomas Lutz notes that a key theme in all of these is the avoidance of reconstructing buildings, topography and so on, in order to avoid false perceptions of authenticity. Another common feature is that perpetrators are nowadays presented in a way that

clarifies their roles and room for maneuver. Focus, furthermore, rests not only on individual actors, but also on German society between 1933 and 1945, which is described as a *Tätergesellschaft* (“perpetrator society.”) The memorial sites also share certain principles for handling artifacts in exhibitions: the chosen objects should be representative of a larger historical context—for example, an event of everyday life in the camp or the treatment of certain categories of prisoners; the objects should be integrated into the historical context of the entire exhibition and not be separate islands; and their provenance must be known with complete confidence. Finally, curators tend to structure exhibitions according to a chronologically ordered narrative interwoven with thematic excursions (Lutz, 2010).

Basically, all of these institutions offer guided tours as part of their educational work. The guided tour is probably the most common and most characteristic pedagogical tool in memorial sites and museums, even if many institutions today offer many other venues, such as seminars and workshops, encounters with contemporary witnesses, work in the archives and so on (Eberle, 2008). Some German sites can also offer facilitated explorations of the site and of exhibitions in small groups. According to Wolfgang Meseth (2008), guided tours at German *Gedenkstätten* are characterized by a tendency to present visitors with an authoritative master narrative, something that, although it may be present in formal education in school as well as non-formal education conducted at other institutions, is often open to exploration or challenge in those settings. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the educational communication that takes place in such tours is simply a retelling of one single narrative decided by a curator (unless, of course, visitors are using audio guides). Empirical research has noted that there can in fact be tensions between the leading narrative of an exhibition and what is told by museum pedagogues in a guided tour (Ølberg, 2009). Here one might expect national or even local ways of narrating to influence the way guides communicate. Studying guided tours in Ravensbrück, Dachau, Neuengamme and the *Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz* (House of the Wannsee Conference) in Berlin, Christian Gudehus in fact finds many similarities in both content and form between the stories told at the different German memorial sites, something that might indicate a canonization of the transmitted narrative, independent of the exhibition (Gudehus, 2006).

Many visitors arrive as part of their formal education, and this fact can be a source of tension. Verena Haug and Wolfgang Meseth (2006), for

example, discuss the special situation that is created when school classes accompanied by teachers meet the pedagogues of a memorial site. Analyzing the communication between students, school teachers and museum pedagogues in connection with visits to German memorial sites, the authors describe the situation as a hybrid setting in a field of tension between formal and non-formal education in which students, school teachers and museum pedagogues often have uncertain roles (Haug & Meseth, 2006). This tension, however, is probably also due to different perceptions of the purpose of education, desired outcomes and suitable methods that might exist among practitioners of formal education, on the one hand, and those of non-formal education, on the other.

Meseth claims that there are also important differences between formal and non-formal education regarding Nazi Germany because only in formal school education can one identify a mandatory emphasis on the connection between knowledge and values (Meseth, 2008, p. 81). This does not mean, of course, that there are no such connections in non-formal education at memorial sites and museums. He also notes that non-formal educators can often draw upon the results of formal education, in terms of, for example, visiting groups' prior knowledge or structure (group members have already assumed the social position of students) or, when a school teacher accompanies the group, the school's disciplinary powers (Meseth, 2008, p. 81).

In the present German context, with formal history education increasingly focusing on the development of certain generic skills rather than the transmission of empirical knowledge or a set of interpretations, there might also be other challenges in these encounters. It has been suggested, for example, that students should learn to deconstruct the historical narratives (a key skill in the FUER model¹ of historical skills) transmitted at memorial sites (Baeck, 2006). It is not difficult to imagine that such attempts might lead to friction, as they might seem to challenge established memorial practices on sites, but also public and political expectations regarding the function of these institutions. Another factor that may influence the encounter between formal and non-formal educational settings is that many students arrive as part of a longer journey to a foreign country. This fact is something that *per se* makes these visits worthy of special didactic attention (see Glaubitz, 1997; Hartung, 1999).

1 Förderung und Entwicklung von Reflektiertem und (selbst-)Reflexivem Geschichtsbe-
wusstsein (Promotion and Development of (Self-)Reflective Historical Consiousness).

3. Excursions: Learning by Journey. What's so Special?

Every year, many students visit memorial sites and museums in the course of planned visits. In some cases, the journey might only consist of a daytrip, if there are memorial sites close to home. School classes in Essen, for example, often visit the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam (a two-hour car drive) or Buchenwald, about four hours away by bus (Bistrich, 2010). In other cases, journeys span several days of traveling in a foreign country. Norwegian school journeys normally last five to ten days. Yet there is comparatively little empirical research on what the journey *per se* means in terms of pedagogy and student experience, although there are quite a few Israeli quantitative studies that try to measure the outcome of student journeys to Holocaust memorial sites in Poland.

One exception is Kyrre Kverndokk (2007), who, based on ethnographic methods, studies Norwegian school journeys to former death and concentration camps in Poland and Germany. He claims that these trips tend to reproduce established Norwegian collective-memory discourses, in that they relate to the Norwegian resistance in the early years of the Second World War, emphasize solidarity among Norwegian prisoners in concentration camps and prisons and highlight Scandinavian prisoners' experience of being rescued by the Red Cross's "White Buses" in March and April 1945. Kverndokk (2007) views the school journeys as ritual re-performances of these narratives. He further argues both that there exists a ritual script requiring the teenagers to identify with characters, and that moral standards of the Holocaust are viewed as a "trauma drama." One consequence of the ritualization of the journey is that there is little room for individualized interpretation and reflection. The students are forced to position themselves in strict relation to the script of the journey, its moral standards and its rhetorical figures. Jackie Feldman has undertaken a similar ethnographic analysis of an Israeli school journey to Poland during which, he claims, the participating students undergo a rite of passage, in which they are transformed into victims, victorious survivors and finally witnesses of the witnesses (Feldman, 2002, 2008).

Comparing Kverndokk's and Feldman's analyses, one can easily note some features that Israeli and Norwegian school journeys have in common. In both cases, the enterprise seems to be strongly connected to national or even nationalist narratives. In the Israeli case, one of the explicit goals of the state-sponsored journeys is to increase the participants' identification

with the Jewish people and appreciation of the value of Zionism, and to make them appreciate the importance of having a sovereign Jewish state. In the Norwegian case, there are no explicit national goals, but the journeys are still set in a specifically Norwegian framework. The Israeli and Norwegian arrangements also have in common that they are marked by frequent elements of ritualization.

Inside the bus or hotel	Outside the bus or hotel
Encompassing environmental bubble of the home world	Alienation from the foreign terrain
Warm temperature	Cold temperature
Hebrew spoken	Foreign language spoken—Polish
Israeli snack food and music	Unfamiliar or poor-quality Polish food No music
Security	Danger
Night	Day
Fun and socializing	Mourning, serious demeanor
Emotional “decompression” sites	Tension and sorrow
Israel	Holocaust Poland/Diaspora Jewry
Behave like teenagers	Behave like representatives of Israel
Hope	Despair
Present/future	Past
Life	Death
“Us”	“Them”

(Source: Feldman, 2008, p. 78)

Another similarity concerns the students’ situation during the journey. Feldman describes how students live in isolation from the Polish environment, which might emerge as a foreign and potentially threatening country to the participants in the journey. The phenomenon creates clear

	Space	Time	Moral	Existential
Norway	<i>Known</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Goodness</i>	<i>Life</i>
The bus tour (and the hotel room)	<i>Known</i> But surrounded by a foreign world.	<i>Present</i>	<i>Goodness</i> Safety, friends and acquaintances.	<i>Life</i>
(Germany) ↕ Poland	<i>Unknown</i> Unknown terrain, unknown villages, unknown currency. Foreign languages. Cheap shopping. Easily accessible alcohol.	Closer to the <i>past</i>	Closer to <i>evil</i> Poverty, lack of safety, pickpockets, risk of food poisoning.	<i>Life</i> But for the students, this is a different kind of life; a form of liminality.
Death and concentration camps	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>The past</i>	<i>Evil</i>	<i>Death</i>

(Source: Kverndokk, 2007, p. 166)

dichotomies, where the tour bus and hotel become part of one's "homeland," things that represent safety, in contrast to the surrounding environment.

Cold temperatures will probably not bother Norwegian students much, but otherwise there are striking resemblances in Kverndokk's analysis of a Norwegian school class. In this case, however, an additional element is introduced, as the Norwegian students visited not only Poland, but also Germany (see p. 257).

The importance of a "safe environment" to students also emerged in a Scottish study in which only half of the interviewed students had been accompanied by one of their teachers to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum. Many of them afterwards stressed that they would have preferred to have their regular teacher with them, while others stressed that they were glad that they had been accompanied by their teachers (Cowan & Maitles, 2011).

These journeys also share a selection process for participation that is marked by exclusionary mechanisms. In Israel, until recently there were exclusions based on economic factors: students from low-income groups were underrepresented in the journeys (Soen & Savidovich, 2011). In Norway, there has been a tendency for students with an immigrant background to refrain from taking part in the journeys (Kverndokk, 2007), whereas in Scotland it is above all academically high-achieving students who choose to go (Cowan & Maitles, 2011).

4. What Kind of Learning is Generated by Visits to Sites and Memorial Museums?

Learning in museums is in general often much more immersive, imaginative and open-ended than learning in formal education systems (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). Although this observation might be common sense, it is well worth remembering in the context of Holocaust education, where many actors tend to look for very specific learning outcomes. It is difficult to imagine that a person will not learn anything from a visit to an institution such as the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum. It is, however, far more precarious to predict the nature of that learning, even if that is exactly what many actors tend to do. In a survey conducted in 2009 among twenty-six EU member states' ministries of education, most judged the development of antiracist attitudes, awareness of democratic

values and awareness of human rights to be the main educational aims behind visits to Holocaust memorial sites (FRA, 2009, p. 35). What, then, is the empirical foundation for such hopes?

Initially, one could look at the expectations visitors bring to their visit to memorial sites and museums and what attracts them. Over the years, there have been quite a few attempts to understand the motives behind visits to Holocaust-related memorial sites and museums. Many of these studies suffer from methodological problems, and the results are often difficult to compare (see the discussion in Pampel, 2007). It would therefore be dangerous to draw overly general conclusions from these studies, but they might point towards larger trends or patterns that could be confirmed, refuted or nuanced through further empirical investigation.

To begin with, one can note national differences in the symbolic meaning given to certain sites (see, for example, Fröhlich & Zebisch, 2000; Stec, 2014). This does not necessarily mean that visitors will always accept “their own” established national master narratives (Thuge, Christoffersen, & Korsgaard, 2005). To some visitors, “original sites” have the character of being “must-see places” or places that one should visit at least once (Fröhlich & Zebisch, 2000; Krakover, 2002; Isaac & Çakmak, 2014). Many also seem to be attracted by the prospect of “seeing what it is like” or getting a personal direct experience of the place (Schubarth, 1990; Fröhlich & Zebisch, 2000; Eberle, 2008; Isaac & Çakmak, 2014). It is, however, noteworthy that many visitors who are not part of an organized group regard these sites as places of learning (Eberle, 2008; Stone, 2010; Biran, Poria, & Oren, 2011; Isaac & Çakmak, 2014). A German study of visitors to Dachau noted differences between age groups in terms of what they considered most important about the visit. People under twenty years of age tended to put more emphasis on emotional elements, whereas older people emphasized increased knowledge to a greater extent (Fröhlich & Zebisch, 2000). Furthermore, there are indications suggesting that people’s expectations are influenced by perceptions of personal connections to the history of the Holocaust and/or of the camp in question (Krakover, 2002; Eberle, 2008; Biran, Poria, & Oren, 2011).

People thus arrive at these institutions with different motives and expectations. Between 2001 and 2005, Bert Pampel (2007) interviewed twenty-eight Germans about their visits to one of three different German memorial sites. They displayed a multitude of motives and expectations, but Pampel distinguishes between six ideal types:

1. Visitors oriented towards experience;
2. Visitors oriented towards knowledge;
3. Visitors who want to confirm their understanding of history;
4. Visitors who want to show the site to others;
5. Visitors who come in order to commemorate relatives;
6. People who give the visit importance for political or moral reasons.

The author claims that, contrary to most visiting school classes, adult visitors who arrive on their own display an intrinsic motivation for the visit and are also able to present concrete reasons for it. The most common motivations are the wish to experience the historical place *in situ*; the need to learn more about one's history; and biographical or family-related relations to the site. Most of those interviewed hinted at the wish to learn more about the history of the place. They hoped, above all, to increase their knowledge through authentic testimonies and biographical narratives that would enable them to get an idea of "what it was like before." Experience-oriented expectations concerning authenticity, visibility and empathy, combined, were given more importance than expectations of an increase in knowledge (Pampel, 2007). We will return to this observation later.

If there are thus many indications that visitors expect to learn from visits to Holocaust-related museums and memorial sites, are these expectations met? Quite a few studies attempt to measure the outcome of visiting memorial sites and museums. They are not easily compared, however, as the methodology can vary, they often ask different questions and the sample groups as well as the contexts are often very unlike each other. However, most studies have in common that they are interested in trying to measure specific rather than generic learning outcomes, above all an increase in historical knowledge about the Holocaust and changes in values, attitudes and beliefs.

Some studies indicate that visits to memorial sites might have a positive effect in this respect. In a Scottish study, for example, students claimed that travelling to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum had increased their understanding of genocide, human rights, antisemitism and the Second World War (Cowan & Maitles, 2011). A study of Scottish teachers rendered a similar result (Maitles & Cowan, 2012). In Israel, several studies have attempted to gauge the effects of the state-sponsored journeys to Poland. The results are ambiguous, but they do not seem to suggest that these trips are more effective in terms of educational outcomes than other forms of Holocaust education. Furthermore, in terms of knowledge these

journeys do not seem to have long-term effects (Lazar et al., 2004; Romi & Lev, 2007; Shechter & Salomon, 2005; Soen & Davidovitch, 2011; Davidovitch & Soen, 2012; Ben-Peretz & Shachar, 2012).

In Germany as well, several empirical studies over the years have tried to establish the effects of visits to memorial sites, working with the same cause-and-effect paradigm. While the Israeli research was carried out in the midst of a discussion about the potentially nationalist goals of state-sponsored journeys, German research has been carried out in an environment in which there have been political and public expectations that memorial sites will somehow “vaccinate” visitors against political extremism, xenophobia and non-democratic attitudes. The results so far are hardly encouraging. Already in 1983, a survey answered by 813 German students indicated that 10 to 20 percent of German secondary school students continued to harbor xenophobic attitudes after having visited the Neuengamme memorial site. In 1992, a study of young visitors to Buchenwald came up with similar findings. Another study of 130 grade nine and ten students who visited Buchenwald in 1995 also questioned the belief that memorial-site visits could be used in a straightforward instrumental fashion to reduce young peoples’ political attitudes (these studies are discussed in Pampel, 2011). Furthermore, qualitative studies question the transformative powers of memorial-site visits in regard to the historical interpretation of Germany between 1933 and 1945. One study, for example, demonstrates how a visit to a memorial site (Buchenwald) can make an impression on students but still fail to bring about a significant change in established patterns of historical interpretation (Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2007). Interviewing 290 German students who visited the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, Annette Eberle found clear tendencies that they were likely to absorb and reproduce simplified and exculpatory explanations of perpetrators’ motivations (Eberle 2008). Bert Pampel, in turn, notes that about half of his interviewees claimed that the visit to a memorial site had spurred them to further engagement with themes they had come across. Most, however, denied that they had changed their interpretations or evaluations of the past as a result of the visit in question (Pampel, 2007). Weber (2010) is an exception in that, based on two visits with university students to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum, he takes a more optimistic view and claims that such visits do have a positive effect on the political consciousness of students.

In general, the German research thus warns against unrealistic hopes regarding the effects of visits to memorial sites and museums. In a review of

twenty-one German studies of class visits to memorial sites over a period of twenty-five years, Pampel is highly skeptical of expectations that such visits will change students' political views or attitudes towards immigrants. Instead, based on the results he formulates six theses:

1. It is not likely that visits to memorial sites will reduce xenophobic or other extreme attitudes significantly;
2. Most students will probably not change their basic moral evaluation of Nazism considerably by visiting a memorial site;
3. A visit to a memorial site will normally not significantly change students' basic explanatory beliefs about Nazism and the Holocaust;
4. Most students will acquire new knowledge by visiting a memorial site, most of it connected to the historical place;
5. A visit to a memorial site will raise a temporary interest for historical themes in many students;
6. In general, a visit to a memorial site will hardly contribute to self-reflection among students (Pampel, 2011).

Nonetheless, there might be other kinds of learning and experiences that are promoted by visiting a memorial site. It could also be a way to affirm and connect to society's normative system. Furthermore, as Wolf Kaiser has argued, memorial sites might need to develop educational approaches that, without sacrificing engagement with the historical site, are deliberately aimed at civic education (Kaiser, 2011). However, recent German empirical research on the possible nexus between human rights education and memorial-site pedagogy demonstrates that there is still much work to be done in this field (Ganske, 2014; Zumpe, 2012).

5. What are the Roles of Emotions, Aura and Authenticity?

Many studies highlight the strong emotions that might be provoked by a visit to a memorial site or museum. In one study, 290 German students from thirteen school classes in grades nine to twelve were given a survey after they had visited Dachau and followed educational programs in the early autumn of 2004. The students were asked about their thoughts and feelings about the exhibition, and their answers demonstrate the emotional

impact the visit had on them, especially in comparison with more cognitive elements dealing with meaning and explanation.

Thoughts and feelings about the exhibition	Percentage (multiple answers allowed)
Horror/shock	36
Sadness	23
Compassion	15
Anger/hatred	11
Disgust/nausea	6
Respect for the prisoners	1
Lack of understanding	10
Thoughts of the situation of the victim	16
Thoughts about the reasons for the terror	4
Thoughts about meaning for the present	6
Thoughts about guilt/responsibility	2

(Source: Eberle, 2008, p. 99)

Emotion is of course an intrinsic part of young people's engagement with a topic such as the Holocaust (see, for example, the discussion in Assmann & Brauer, 2011). Yet results such as Eberle's are not unproblematic, especially in Germany, where educators normally try to stick to the *Beutelsbacher Konsens* (Beutelsbach Agreement), with its veto against *Überwältigung* (overpowering) in civic education. Most German authors on the subject warn against playing on emotions in education at memorial sites (see, for example, Brockhaus, 2008; Ehmann, 1998; Heyl, 2012; Lutz, 1995; Neirich, 2000). Lack of emotions can, however, also cause problems. Kverndokk relates how a Norwegian student in a school journey to Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum felt distressed because she could not produce the expected emotional reaction (Kverndokk, 2011). Marion Klein has described this phenomenon as the "sorrow imperative" and discussed how students feel

expectations to feel emotions in connection to visiting memorial sites and the strategies they develop to cope with this challenge (Klein, 2013).

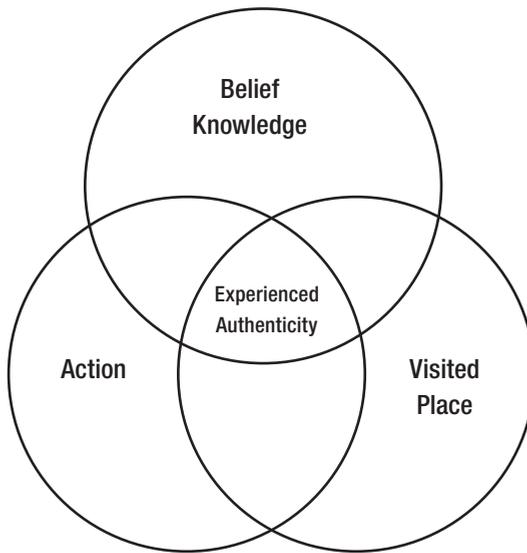
If strong emotions thus have a potentially disturbing influence on learning at memorial sites, many researchers have emphasized the particular educational effect of the “authenticity” or “aura” of original sites and/or objects (Kößler, 1997; Popp, 2003; Kranz 2005; Witz & Grillmeyer, 2008). Earlier research also demonstrates that many German memorials focus to a great extent on the history of the site and consciously try to use visitors’ perceptions of “authenticity” for educational purposes. Through the authenticity of the remains, so goes the argument, original sites offer a chance to create a situation of learning in which concepts, contexts and structures can be experienced. Wolf Kaiser, for example, argued that original sites have a special aura that originates in the visitors’ knowledge about what has happened there. This is something that should be used as an educational tool by making sure that there is always time for reflection and pause in the midst of the educational program (Kaiser, 2001). Furthermore, many visitors are in fact looking for authenticity, and could be disappointed if their expectations are not fulfilled (Lutz, 2004; Pampel, 2007). It can, however, often be difficult to meet these expectations, not least because later events have usually changed the site such that only parts are original (Neirich, 2000). This suggests that perceptions of authenticity might also depend on what visitors see at the site.

In tourism studies, there are at least three paradigmatic approaches to authenticity. The *objectivist approach* assumes that authenticity stems from the originality of a visited object such as a site. In theory, this originality could be measured with different objective criteria to determine whether the object is authentic or not. Here, authenticity basically stands for knowledge rather than feeling (Wang, 1999). This view has been criticized by the *constructivist approach*, which instead emphasizes symbolic meanings created by discourse. There is no static and absolute origin or original against which an absolute authenticity can be measured (Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945), for example, changed during the years of the Holocaust). Authenticity is instead the result of subjective perspectives and interpretations, which means that it is pluralistic. As a consequence, cultural discourses might intervene such that what visitors label as authentic is founded upon stereotypical images and expectations held by their own cultural group, rather than upon what they see at the site visited. Instead, the constructivist approach emphasizes the

pluralistic nature of meaning-making processes that establish or recognize authenticity and assume that authenticity is projected onto an object by social discourses (Wang, 1999). Finally, the *existentialist approach* focuses on a potential existential state of being, one that may evoke a sense of somehow feeling different at a deep level and which can be activated by tourism activities. Existential authenticity could therefore have nothing to do with the authenticity of the visited objects (Wang, 1999).

For our purposes, there is much in favor of the constructivist perspective. Bert Pampel, for example, notes that the more connections there are to visitors' already existing knowledge, the less important are the physical remains on the site. The pre-understanding compensates for the lack of physical remains (Pampel, 2007, p. 273). One could, however, also argue that even if most scholars today support the constructivist view, there are occasions—for example, when studying pilgrimage experiences—when the “toured objects and social constructions surrounding the experience cannot be separated from the experience itself when analyzing it” (Belhassen, Caton, & Stewart, 2008, p. 673). This is particularly interesting because there have been claims that visits to original sites related to the Holocaust have the character of a modern pilgrimage (Gross, 2006). Arguably, today many visitors carry with them a socially constructed “topography” of the Holocaust, mostly centered on the death camps, with Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945) as the main marker (see also Assmann & Breuer, 2011). As Phil C. Langer has pointed out, the site of Auschwitz-Birkenau has become the standard by which people measure other sites in terms of “authenticity.” The closer a site is to the imaginary center of the annihilation process, the more authentic it is perceived to be and the more it is attributed the ability to “affect” young people (Langer, 2008). This suggests that some original sites might create experiences of authenticity among visitors more easily than others.

One could perhaps therefore discuss authenticity as something that is produced where three separate “fields” of influence overlap. There is the visited place, which might contain a greater or smaller number of original objects from the historical period in focus for the visit, and which might have retained more or less of the topography it had at that particular time in history. Then there are the knowledge, expectations and beliefs that the visitors bring with them to the visit. Finally, there is the action that takes place during the visit, for example guided tours, commemorative rituals and so on.

Learning in museums and original sites²

The problem with this line of argument is that, as Erik Cohen has recently pointed out, primary sites do not in themselves ensure perceptions of authenticity and secondary sites do not preclude it. Pointing to the example of Yad Vashem, he introduces the concept of *in populo* sites to describe memorial sites that “embody and emphasize the story of the people to whom the tragedy befell. These may be located at population and/or spiritual centers of the victimized people, irrespective of the geographical distance from the events commemorated” (Cohen, 2011, p. 194). Based on a study of 272 non-Israeli teachers who participated in seminars hosted by the International School for Holocaust Studies in 2005–2006, Cohen claims that the respondents in fact perceived Yad Vashem as an authentic site for learning about the Holocaust, and that many of them had highly emotional experiences from being at the site (Cohen, 2011, p. 194). It seems, however, that “authenticity” is in this case more in line with the existentialist approach, mentioned above. In line with this thinking that has developed in Israel recently, there have been attempts to introduce a trip in Israel as an alternative to the high-school trips to Poland. This four-

2 This diagram draws on Belhassen, Caton and Steward (2008).

day, experiential program includes plays, visits to museums and meeting witnesses (Davidovitch, 2013).

Furthermore, recent developments in information technology also raise questions about (re)presentation, location and perhaps feelings of authenticity. While many authors use the word “aura” when talking of experiences at an original site, surprisingly few evoke Walter Benjamin’s argument about aura being “the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be,” something that is bound to decline in the “age of mechanical reproduction” (Benjamin, 1991, p. 440). The perhaps most obvious field where such a “devaluation” might have consequences concerns the replacement of real-life encounters with video testimonies (de Jong, 2012). But the question about what creates perceptions of aura also has a bearing on the increasing use of modern information technology by many museums and memorials.

Already a decade ago, William F. S. Miles prophesied that the Web might change things considerably in the future:

Already, one can take “virtual tours” of museums via the World Wide Web. In darkest tourism, museum cyberguides and curators will take their virtual tourists on real time tours of active detention camps, killing fields, death rows, and execution chambers.... For sure, cybertourism does not physically bridge the spatial distance.... As sensory cognition evolves in relation to progressive computerization, however, longstanding psychological distinctions between real and virtual, here and there, subject and object may themselves loosen. If so, then the dark cyber-tourist may not in fact sense a substantial difference between walking and browsing through Auschwitz. (Miles, 2002, pp. 1176–1177)

Lutz Kaelber explores this idea in a study of the websites of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum, the Florida Center of Instructional Technology and the Block Museum of Art in Illinois, as well as the use of cutting-edge technology in the BBC documentary *Auschwitz* (2005). He concludes that nothing in the examined material is close to Miles’s vision, but adds that it would be within reach if 3D modelers emulated existing computer games: “... browsing through Auschwitz’ could easily feature virtual gassings and other forms of mass extermination. The means to do just that certainly exist already” (Kaelber, 2007, p. 31).

It is, however, hard to conceive of an educator who would use such tools, even if they were available.

Far from all are convinced that technology can substitute for *in situ* experiences. Lutz (2009), for example, emphasizes that even if virtual techniques might help to give a more comprehensive and multidimensional presentation of the site, they cannot replace the actual visit to the historical place. Connections between memorial sites and information technology might concern not only authenticity, however, but also authority and legitimacy. It has been noted that many of the most popular Holocaust-related websites are those that interface with museums and memorial sites. This might suggest that these sites are granted special authority, something many users might appreciate, for example, amidst websites that insidiously present Holocaust denial as historical truth (Reading, 2003).

In conclusion, it can be stated that most Holocaust-related museums and memorial sites consider themselves to be sites of education and learning, and they are also perceived as such by many visitors. Still, the very nature of these sites and visits makes it quite difficult to predict the learning outcome.

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Intergroup Encounters in the Context of Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

1. Introduction: Intergroup Encounters and Basic Concepts

Youth encounters focused on confronting the history and memory of Nazi crimes started soon after the Second World War. Organized encounters between youth from different countries were initiated by the Franco-German Youth Office (FGYO)¹ in 1963 to carry out exchange programs to promote intercultural understanding and reconciliation. Since 1983, international youth camps have taken place annually at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site to encourage reconstruction and dialogue.²

Encounter programs are an important tool for dealing with the history and memory of the Second World War. They often focus on the legacy of the Holocaust and have been developed with the work undertaken by Dan Bar-On and his colleagues with young Germans and Israelis (Bar-On et al., 1997), a work that paved the way for many educators and researchers. The authors linked encounter programs and research conducting seminars within the university curriculum. In these seminars, the students first confronted their own family memories of the Second World War and the Holocaust; then the research team set up encounters between Israeli and German students, first in Israel and then in Germany, in 1991 and 1994 (Bar-On, Brendler, & Hare, 1997). These encounters usually included visits to memorial sites. One could call this a model that links biographical work, visits to memorial sites and encounter programs.³ In multiple ways, these elements of an encounter model have expanded globally in a number of

1 The FGYO (OFAJ in French, DFJW in German) was founded in 1963 under the auspices of the Franco-German Treaty on Franco-German cooperation. See <http://www.ofaj.org/english-version> (accessed 15 August 2016).

2 For international encounter projects at memorials, see several contributions in Ehmann et al. (1995).

3 See also Chapter 11.

educational projects and met with increasing interest from the academic and heritage-tourism communities. Here, we review the empirical research conducted as a result of these encounter projects (for site visits, see Chapter 11).

The Encounter Model and its Basic Concepts

The encounter model draws on the social psychological concepts of *intergroup relationships*, *intergroup contact* and *social identity* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and deals with latent or open conflict situations. These concepts have been developed in the field of social psychology. They address intergroup hostility and intergroup competition and form the background for many experiences. The concept of intergroup relationships is based on the crucial role of one's social identity and the strong feelings towards both one's own group and others. The concepts have been useful in peace education (see, for example, Salomon, 2002; Bar-Tal, 2002) and antiracist education, because they are intended to overcome intergroup hostility. Thus, intergroup encounters are based on the hypothesis that direct contact between estranged groups provides better mutual understanding, furthers empathy and reduces prejudice (Allport, 1979; Pettigrew, 1998).

The encounter process is grounded on two basic premises. The first is an acknowledgment of an existing categorization between "us" and "them," also called in-groups and out-groups. These categories can refer to ethno-national differences, but also to cultural, religious or other distinctions. The second is the "contact hypothesis," according to which direct interaction and encounters are necessary but insufficient: as Hewstone and Brown (1986) put it in their classic article on the subject, "Contact is not enough." There are a number of necessary conditions for the encounter model to be likely to affect a change in participants' attitudes, including equality in status, common goals, cooperation and support from institutions and authorities—which might also include educators (Allport, 1954). Studies have also shown that other factors, such as the quality of the encounter, whether contact is enjoyed and the duration of contact, as well as the context and the co-moderation of encounters by leaders or mediators of both groups, also play a role.

Some other encounter programs have shown that the moment of direct interaction is not sufficient for change. Instead, a process that consists of at least three phases is required: pre-contact preparation; the contact and

encounter itself; and post-contact elaboration and reflection—what can be called a *pedagogy of conflict elaboration* (Eckmann, 2014). It is often only in the post-encounter phase that the real change in students' attitudes occurs. When analyzing the effects of encounter projects, these dimensions of the pedagogical setting should be carefully researched as well.

Encounter and Interaction in Various Contexts and Settings

Encounters have been carried out in various contexts, which can be distinguished according to the stage of hostility or conflict at which they occur:

- As a tool for prevention, i.e., in order to prevent a possible conflict; this approach is sometimes used in intercultural or antiracist education.
- As a tool for reconciliation in the context of settled conflicts, i.e. in dealing with past conflicts that continue to have an impact upon people today. This model was first carried out (without the component of the Holocaust) by the FGYO, which was created to foster relations between French and German youth; since then, it has been replicated and developed in many other contexts in which conflicts often relate to competing memories, including relations between Germans and Poles, Poles and Jews and Germans and Israelis. It was also implemented as trilateral encounters between Jews, Poles and Germans.⁴
- As a tool to address ongoing conflicts, i.e. between hostile groups in contexts such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as in lingering conflicts, as in the Balkans. In these contexts, encounters are usually used as tools for peace education.

One can also distinguish encounters in rather peaceful contexts—between groups that either do not know each other or have negative views of each other—and in conflictual contexts, where “the Other” is the clearly designed antagonist of one's own group.

We could also distinguish between direct and indirect contact. Encounters are at first sight always linked to direct interaction, meeting face to face with persons of the other group. However, there is also another kind of contact, which we will call *indirect* intergroup contact, with diverse

4 See Jugendwerk, <http://www.2lozamosc.pl/260-polsko-niemiecko-izraelska-wymi-ana-mlodziezy-spotkanie-w-zamosciu-1-6-lutego.html> (accessed 23 August 2016).

mediations and without meeting face to face: contact can be established through the internet, or by exchanging letters or when two school classes interact about a book they both had to read and discuss (see, for example, Hoffmann, 2011, comparing German and Polish students' reception of Mirjam Pressler's novel *Malka Mai*⁵).

The encounters discussed in this chapter are *constructed* or deliberate, not naturally occurring meetings. They are also often combined with field visits or visits to memorials. But encounters can also happen naturally, in which case they are not conducted as pedagogical activities.

Encounters can also deal with diversity issues and can involve immigrants and locals or minorities and majorities. In the field of education about the Holocaust and National Socialist crimes, this issue seems to be relevant to many educators who try to address the specific needs of various groups. There is also an assumption that learning about the Holocaust means dealing with painful history and memories, and it can therefore be an identity challenge for learners, thus provoking strong emotions. This possibility is even more salient in intergroup encounters, which touch upon strong feelings regarding both groups. These strong emotions, which can be negative or positive, and that are linked to the identification with or distance from one's own group, can be a great challenge for educators who deal with the past, whether it be a past of victimhood, perpetration or passive non-intervention of bystanders.

2. Research Findings in Various Settings

We located empirical studies of encounter programs, based on both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The basic research questions of these studies are as follows. Does the encounter process really change attitudes towards "the Other"? How does dealing with the past influence the way participants deal with present-day conflicts or antagonisms? And do encounter projects that deal with the Holocaust help or hinder the process of reconciliation?

Research on intergroup encounters dealing with the Holocaust has focused primarily on encounters between Israeli Jews and Germans, between

5 These experiences and the research conducted in connection with them are discussed in Chapter 10.

Poles and Jews (i.e. non-Polish Jews)—settings referring to post-conflict or post-genocide situations—and on encounters between Israeli Jews and Palestinians—settings referring to the context of an ongoing conflict and aiming at peace building initiatives.

Jewish Israeli-German Encounters

As mentioned above, Bar-On and his colleagues set up encounters between young Germans and young Israeli Jews in the 1990s (Bar-On et al., 1997). Their work can be considered the starting point for Holocaust-related encounter projects. Bar-On and his team brought together descendants of both perpetrator and victim societies. Their work dealt with the cognitive, emotional and attitudinal aspects of these encounters. The participants, mostly young adults, first engaged in separate seminars in their home country before meeting in person elsewhere. In these seminars, students dealt with their conflict-loaded memories and family narratives. The in-person encounters went through various stages, allowing students to gain a new degree of historical consciousness and feeling of personal responsibility. The process was monitored and evaluated through interviews, questionnaires and interventions. Bar-On and his team found that students needed to recognize both sides' difficulties in order to integrate the historical events into contemporary life, needed to process their personal experiences and needed to deal with the effects of historical consciousness and historical knowledge on identity-building (Bar-On et al., 1997). The researchers also emphasized that the research and educational team needed to undergo the same process (*idem*).

Since the end of the 1990s, many joint Israeli-German journeys and exchanges have taken place. Davidovich and colleagues (2006) have analyzed the joint journeys organized by the Israeli-German Rehabilitation Association. Over the past decade, there have been eighteen delegation exchanges between Israel and Germany.

One of the objectives of this association is to form a communicational bridge between intellectuals in Germany and Israel so that they may discuss the lessons learned from the Holocaust. The research discusses the motives of the participants to join the delegations and the views they develop as a result of partaking in them. A number of other projects of this kind have taken place, but many of these encounter tours have not been systematically analyzed by researchers.

Polish-Jewish Encounters

In Poland, much of the research on Holocaust education focuses on intergroup meetings and responses as well as intergroup relationships; this includes Polish-Israeli encounters and encounters between Poles and Jews from other parts of the world. Michal Bilewicz is perhaps the foremost scholar in this area of research. For the purposes of this chapter, we will confine ourselves to examining his research on American, Israeli and Australian Jewish students and Polish (mostly non-Jewish) students. In a set of publications in 2007, Bilewicz et al. (2013) observed student interactions during structured conversations between Poles and Jews from the US, Israel and Australia who were in Poland as part of the March of the Living tours (tours in which Jewish students from all over the world visit former death camps in Poland).⁶ The researchers observed in-group discussions and out-group attitudes, as well as intergroup discussions, and found that the groups' positive attitudes towards each other increased most when they discussed contemporary rather than historical issues. Bilewicz et al. argued that discussing present-day issues allowed participants to view each other as more similar. When students focused on historical issues, the results were the opposite.

In a qualitative study one year later, approximately 1,000 Polish and Jewish high-school students were asked to submit some questions they wished to ask each other. Polish students most often wanted to know why (they thought) Jewish students still accused Poles of participating in the Holocaust with questions such as: "Why do Jews think that we allowed and helped Germans to build Auschwitz?" or, more explicitly, "Why do you still blame Poles for the Holocaust?" (Bilewicz, 2008; Wójcik, 2008).

In 2013, Bilewicz and Jaworska attempted an intervention that "was [meant] to reconcile young Poles and Israelis by presenting narratives that could change stereotypical thinking about the past" (Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013, p. 162). They "hypothesized that life-stories of heroic helpers could play an important role in restoring the moral image of current Poles ... This could then enable descendants of the bystander group to restore their moral image and make them feel accepted by descendants of victims" (p. 167). The aim of their study, then, was to help Polish youth feel better about the past.

6 In contrast to these studies, Romi & Lev (2007) conducted a study on Jewish participants who went to Poland without ever meeting Polish youth.

This study was conducted with the help of Dialogue among Nations, a non-profit organization that focuses on bringing Israeli Jewish youth and Polish youth together to talk about the past in Poland. Bilewicz observed 259 high-school students, 122 of whom were Israeli and 137 of whom were Polish. The students read descriptions of those who helped Jews during the Second World War and also met a “heroic helper” in person during the encounter. The study showed that Polish students came away feeling much more positive and much more similar to the Israeli youth after the activity, while Israeli youths’ attitudes towards Poles did not change as significantly.

In another study, Bilewicz, Stefaniak and Witkowska (2014) surveyed 700 Polish high-school students who lived in fifteen small towns about their knowledge of and attitudes towards Jews. The survey found that, for the most part, these Polish individuals would not want a Jewish boyfriend/girlfriend, but might not mind going to summer camp with a Jew. In order of significance, the students self-reported that they learned about Jews from television, school and their grandparents. The authors believe that Polish education focused on bringing together Poles and Jews through the non-profit organizations that specialize in intergroup education is the most important “pathway towards reconciliation.”

Israeli-Palestinian Encounters dealing with the Holocaust and Peace Education

Inspired by encounter projects, peace education and Holocaust education, a number of projects have linked the topic of learning about the Holocaust to the topic of furthering dialogue between groups experiencing historical antagonism.

For example, a study by Schechter, Ferchat and Bar-On (2008) analyzed a joint journey of Israeli Arabs and Jews to the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum. The purpose of the research was to attempt to break the Israeli consensus regarding Arabs and their connection to the Holocaust. Many encounter programs of this kind were conducted in the late 1990s and early 2000s, but they were more often documented than studied. Schechter, Ferchat and Bar-On (2008) continued some of this work through the 2000s. Similarly, Schechter (2002) and Schechter and Salomon (2005) conducted research with Israeli youth and examined their reactions after returning from the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum. The researchers investigated whether the visit to this site helped Israelis

have empathy towards Palestinians. Three hundred students participated in the research: 150 went to the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum, while 150 did not. The authors found that those who came with preconceived notions about “the Other” were less likely to change over the course of the trip: while some students developed more empathy towards Palestinians during the study trip, the trip tended to exacerbate the previous feelings of those students who visited this site with more negative attitudes towards Palestinians.

An experimental encounter program between Israeli Jews and Palestinians from Israel, led by the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute (VLJI),⁷ was researched by Eckmann, who investigates learning about the Holocaust and intergroup encounters. The program was built on the concepts of encounter pedagogy, peace education and Holocaust education, and it included historical lectures about the Holocaust and an encounter process. The program brought together teachers, facilitators and community workers from both groups over the course of a year, and it included a study trip to Berlin at the end. The research attempted to understand how the participants dealt with the history of the Holocaust, with the confrontation with “the Other” and with learning together about the Holocaust and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Eckmann 2009; 2013). The study was based on three sets of interviews with the participants. Eckmann argues that the students engaged in a process of identity-building, a recognition of victims’ experiences rather than victim’s identities some distancing from the own group, while facing some dilemmas that came up regarding the history of the Holocaust. The research points to the importance of a culture of mutual recognition, without denying the asymmetrical character of the situation. The author argues that it is important not to compare sufferings or equate historical facts, and that focusing on perpetrators and bystanders, rather than only on victims, can lead to common insights for both sides and deepen the understanding of the other group’s past and present situation.

To conclude this section, we refer to two authors who have researched encounters in conflict settings in Cyprus and Israel, Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas. Although they only deal with the Holocaust in some of their studies, we include their work here because it is relevant to the research on intergroup encounters in conflict contexts. They deal with

7 VLJI is a leading intellectual center for the interdisciplinary study and discussion of issues related to philosophy, society, culture and education.

education and historical traumas, and with the teaching of contested narratives and the potential for reconciliation (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2008; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2011). Their ethnographic observations, carried out in mixed Israeli-Palestinian schools in Israel and in mixed schools in Cyprus, lead to a discussion about identity, memory and reconciliation processes. Indeed, the “witnessing of the Others’ suffering” (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2008) constitutes a challenge, according to the authors, but also an opening. Indeed, the “pedagogical responsibility of educators is to create spaces in which students may explore collectively what it means to bear witness to the Other” (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2008, p. 148), so that the classroom becomes a place of work through their affective connections to others and to their own group, and “can be useful in the development of shared meanings created through intersubjective encounters” (*idem*) and in developing critically shared meanings.

However, these pedagogical interventions must recognize the power of emotions and a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between emotion and historical narratives (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2011).

3. Concluding Remarks

Intergroup encounters take place in contexts of conflict, often even intractable conflict (Bar Tal, 2007), and also post-conflict or post-genocide contexts, and bring together groups living with conflicting historical experiences or with antagonistic narratives. In addition, the place of encounter might add an important dimension to the encounter dynamics, as some of the projects happen in memorial places. Encounters between Israelis and Arabs, for example, could happen anywhere, but the fact that they can happen at a memorial site like Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum adds another layer of complexity. Some of the projects occur in several locations, including at Yad Vashem and the Ghetto Fighters Museum in Israel, but also at memorial sites in Berlin, thus confronting not only the victims’ past, but also the perpetrators’ history, the way that memorialization is dealt with in Germany and the way heritage is dealt with in a multicultural society (Eckmann, 2013, p. 139).

Does research provide evidence that encounters modify the representations of “the Other” and deepen the mutual understanding? According to these studies, it seems that most projects help further the understanding

of the “other side,” increase empathy with “their” past experiences and diminish the distinction between “us” and “them.” But it also appears that encounters do not produce the same effects for both sides and might not change their perceptions of each other equally (as Bilewicz’s study on Poles and Jews shows, for example). This fact might relate not only to the way history is taught and understood in students’ countries (the history of the Holocaust in particular), but also to a lack of analysis and awareness regarding power relations within the current contexts between the groups involved in such studies, because the dominant and dominated groups do not experience the encounter process the same way.

The findings also reveal that it is difficult to find a balance between, on the one hand, the witnessing of the Others’ suffering as a result of learning to see, feel and act differently and becoming a witness and not simply a spectator (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2008, p. 145), and, on the other, overcoming competition and the comparison of sufferings. This is a challenge, and in the case of competition over recognition, the past can be an obstacle to furthering better understanding. However, some projects seem to point to an opening: learning about history and encounters means dealing not only with victims, but also with the position and dilemmas of bystanders and perpetrators, which offers the potential for the development of shared meanings.

Another challenge is maintaining a balance between historical learning and the encounter process. The findings demonstrate that it can be difficult to deal with precise historical learning and carry out an encounter process; thus, in some encounter education programs, history is often less salient, and the process deals rather with memory than with history; nevertheless, encounters form an important tool and contribute to mutual understanding, and perhaps even facilitate reconciliation.

Encounter processes are expensive, because they require facilitation, which includes co-moderation by mediators from both groups, extensive preparation for each group, professional guidance through the process and careful post-encounter elaboration. In addition, these projects are often linked to field trips. So a necessary condition for high-quality encounter projects is sufficient means for a correct historical *and* pedagogical setting, including history experts and experts in group facilitation.

One could ask whether the energy, institutional support and funds required for such projects linking historical learning and intergroup encounters are worth the investment. The answer depends on the goals of

the project. Encounter projects involving historical learning *in fine* deal with *contemporary* conflicts relating to the past. So, because the goal in encounter projects is to further mutual understanding *today* and to engage in reconciliation processes, it is useful and worthwhile to provide the means necessary to carry out these challenging projects, and to improve the pedagogical settings and tools through experimentation and research.

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General Conclusions

1. The State of Research on Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

The research on teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) is intellectually rich and quite diverse in terms of theory, methods, questions and focus. This richness and diversity make the research in the field both tantalizing and challenging: tantalizing because it raises so many additional questions, and challenging because it is not easily synthesized into a broad and coherent picture.

Overall, the research sensitizes us to many patterns or typologies, setting the stage for future research into how common or frequent the different categories or identified trends are, and whether those trends hold true in different contexts.

Regarding the development of the field, publications on TLH seem to follow a similar process in different countries and regions. These publications begin to appear at about the same time as TLH itself emerges. Generally, the first phase includes advocacy literature and educators' individual reflections on their experiences in teaching about the Holocaust, or descriptions of TLH projects or practices. The next phase tends to include qualitative studies and analyses of textbooks, curricula or popular books or films. Large-scale, statistically representative studies may be undertaken in later phases. Critically, these stages occur at different times in different places. Several factors can influence the timing. Countries that did not directly experience the Holocaust and countries that had authoritarian governments—the former Soviet Bloc, for example—tended to initiate TLH later than, for example, Germany, Israel or the United States.

We might first observe that, when considering other historical events, it is remarkable that the field exists at all. The fact that a special international community of interest and commitment has emerged—advocating for TLH, providing professional development in the field and conducting research about it—is itself quite notable. Certain historical events may receive special emphasis, particularly within individual countries. But the

fact that the Holocaust has become the focus of international cooperation and academic inquiry likely reflects its distinctiveness historically and its contemporary relevance. As the Stockholm Declaration states, “The Holocaust (Shoah) fundamentally challenged the foundations of civilization”.¹

The particular status of the Holocaust in education partly stems from the global commitments of international organizations and civil society, but it is also reflected in the experience of teachers and students. Students experience the Holocaust as qualitatively different from other topics they encounter, and teachers similarly find that teaching about the Holocaust poses certain challenges and creates special opportunities that are not present when they are teaching other historical events. While there remains much that we do not know, and would like to know, it is important to keep in mind that the critical mass of scholarship that has developed is already quite remarkable.

A few pioneering scholars have conducted research on TLH for a decade or longer, making this subject the focus of their careers. Thanks in part to their efforts, TLH is emerging as a field of research in its own right, with TLH research expanding rapidly and many new scholars contributing to the field. There still remain critical gaps in our knowledge, and more descriptive research is needed in many contexts and on many aspects of TLH (including teacher training and classroom instruction to museum visits, to name only a few).

Qualitative research is common in TLH, which is appropriate for a field still very much in need of discovery and documentation. However, qualitative research seems to have a particularly important role in TLH because the Holocaust is a profoundly meaningful event: the field needs studies that focus on the meaning that the Holocaust has for teachers and students, how those meanings are constructed and negotiated and how they support or challenge broader national narratives and senses of identity.

Overall, the approaches to the field have not calcified, but remain diverse and dynamic. It is not always easy to disentangle the range of values, hopes, beliefs and theories that inform researchers’ work. We are increasingly seeing larger, methodologically rigorous, team-led (and expensive) studies that build on the foundations created by early researchers. Such studies can create baselines to track changes over time. While many scholars publish in more than one language, usually their native language and

1 See p. 9.

English, the diverse discourses and states of development in different linguistic communities demonstrate that it would be quite fruitful to promote cooperative research and projects between scholars in different countries (ideally in at least three, so that the differences experienced in two cases do not lead to simplistic dichotomies).

Researchers often begin with the data or sources that are more easily gathered: textbook studies and analyses of curricula are relatively common, because they are publicly accessible in most countries. Holocaust-related materials that are commonly used in educational settings, such as films, books and, more recently, graphic novels, are often studied and critiqued. But beyond the analysis of their content, we have few studies that show us how they are used or implemented in regular classrooms, or how students relate to their content. Such studies can help us appreciate the complexity, sensitivity, tensions and challenges of grappling with difficult content in the classroom.

2. A Rich Diversity across Languages and Regions

It is difficult to make broad, general claims about TLH, for several reasons. Indeed, the language-region analyses demonstrate that TLH in the different surveyed language areas is diverse with regard to practice, policy and pedagogy, due to a number of factors: the national context in which research is embedded, the politics of memory and the role of the Holocaust and other historical events in national political narratives. There are also great differences in the extent and nature of empirical research, which may be related to the funding situation and opportunities for scholars. In addition, TLH itself is a broad umbrella with many different approaches and areas of focus. Terms such as “Holocaust education” and “teaching and learning about the Holocaust” encompass such a wide range of content and practices that it is problematic to conceive of them as a single entity. Finally, while some trends may exist, the relative lack of research in the field means that even for trends that are identified in one country, we often do not have comparable studies in other countries to judge whether they are shared more broadly.

3. Key Findings and Issues in Research into Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

This section reviews key findings and issues that emerged in the thematic chapters of the report, which explore the research literature on TLH that pertains to teachers and teaching, to students and learning, to memorial sites and museums and to intergroup encounters.

Teachers and Teaching

The most striking characteristic of teachers of and teaching about the Holocaust is their diversity, both across and within countries, as well as in terms of their knowledge, preparation, motivations, goals and instructional methods. Despite this diversity, there are important commonalities, such as a generally high level of interest and engagement with teaching about the Holocaust. Teachers express their need for both more professional development and more time to deal with the subject.

They experience their teaching of the Holocaust as a special topic, a subject distinct from others. There is a strong emotional component, sometimes actively promoted by teachers, and less confident teachers of the Holocaust seem to gravitate to more emotive approaches to the subject. Many good teachers are comfortable pursuing cognitive, affective and experiential approaches to the subject simultaneously, rather than seeing those approaches as in competition or conflict. Their expectations for the subject are very high, but sometimes also not well specified, and some expect their students to demonstrate a high degree of empathy for the victims. Some studies attest that teachers' and students' own personal background and family histories play a powerful role here. Especially for history teachers, a kind of reflexive work on their own family histories and memories, and their ongoing reinterpretation not only merits further analysis, but should also become part of their training.

Many teachers feel insufficiently trained to teach the subject, and often depend on popular media representations of the Holocaust rather than on more academic material. Many experience anxiety about teaching the subject and anticipate difficulties with students, an anxiety that reflects the importance they attach to the topic of the Holocaust and National Socialist crimes. These heightened feelings may affect the classroom dynamic, exacerbating the situation. Some teachers report a tension between emo-

tion and reason, and between memory and history. In addition, teachers are often hesitant about the purposes they should be serving by teaching the subject, whether those purposes be transmitting historical knowledge, dealing with primary sources or imparting moral education, to name just some of the options.

Teachers' Knowledge and Coping with Society's Misconceptions

The question of which criteria to apply when measuring teachers' knowledge is particularly interesting for the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). Based upon the Stockholm Declaration, the IHRA insists on certain standards and attempts to provide a comprehensive list of topics. In most countries, dealing with all the topics suggested by the guidelines on "What to teach"² would necessitate extremely superficial coverage, given the existing time constraints. These guidelines therefore do not define minimum standards, but rather ideals. Also, it would be unrealistic to expect teachers to have a comprehensive knowledge about the Holocaust comparable to that of scholars specialized in the topic. (In any case, given the limited amount of time that most educators can dedicate to teaching about the Holocaust, students would not be able to benefit fully from such comprehensive knowledge on the part of their teachers.)

Because the context varies from country to country, teachers from a particular country might be better equipped than an international organization to choose particular aspects and approaches for providing students with the knowledge they need to develop an understanding of the Holocaust that is meaningful for them today and in the future. For example, in the case of neutral countries during the Second World War, as shown in a recent IHRA publication (IHRA, Guttstadt, Lutz, Rother, & San Roman, 2016), teaching and learning also have to deal with these countries' myths of rescue and resistance. Teachers must be supported in their attempts to deal not merely with students who may have knowledge gaps, but also with students who may carry fundamental misconceptions or erroneous views.

Conceptualized in this way, the task is not simply to define the correct minimal facts or topics that teachers should teach, but rather to consider what knowledge could serve as a corrective for broad misconceptions that

2 <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/educate/teaching-guidelines> (accessed 17 August 2016).

circulate in different places, such as the myth of rescue in former neutral countries or the rhetoric of double genocide in parts of Eastern Europe. This line of thinking has a significant implication for future research, and that is the importance of documenting the kinds of misconceptions, stereotypes or narratives that are most common or problematic, how they relate to specific contexts and what foundation of historical facts or understandings can help disrupt or dislodge such views.

Teachers, of course, may also be susceptible to these misunderstandings: therefore, international organizations or institutions may serve as effective partners in a dialogue to identify common misconceptions and myths, and to think together through the approach to knowledge that could provide a corrective, not merely fill a gap. This task can be a sensitive one, and teachers, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, sometimes perceive outside advocates or trainers as critical or even accusatory. Some studies, such as Misco (2007), illustrate how foreign partners can help to disarm these anxieties by emphasizing the local educational expertise of teachers and domestic partners, that domestic partners should remain critical of everything they hear, even from their expert foreign partners, and that they must come to their own conclusions based on the evidence they encounter. The key is dialogue, which is quite difficult when there is a power imbalance, as there inevitably is between well-funded international organizations and local teachers, and between experts and non-specialists. If these approaches are lacking, local partners or teachers may feel lectured to, criticized or not respected, and they can enter such encounters on the defensive about their nation and its historical experience.

There are many possible approaches to teaching about the Holocaust, and rather than simply idealizing one or another of those approaches, we can explore the trade-offs that each entails—trade-offs that must be judged with respect to the specific contexts in which they operate. Wonderful lecturers may excel in transmitting content but may not foster understanding in their students nor engage the moral issues intrinsic to the study of the Holocaust; conversely, a focus on moral issues can deprive students of an adequate historical understanding of what occurred and why.

Students and Learning

About Knowledge

Studies of the knowledge levels of students come to varied conclusions; researchers judge that students from different places and at different times cover the full range from uninformed to well-informed about the Holocaust. These studies contain significantly different expectations for what students should know, and they often test them on information the authors or Holocaust experts believe students should know, rather than on the specific content prescribed in curricula or that teachers have deliberately attempted to convey to those students. By testing students on knowledge that was never presented to them, some studies may paint an overly negative portrait of students' knowledge levels.

In terms of content, these studies do suggest that students tend to know more about the Nazis and their individual leaders than about the Jewish communities of Europe or individual Jews who perished in or survived the Holocaust. The Holocaust remains primarily situated as part of the Nazi era and is presented as a story more of perpetrators than of Jews or other groups targeted by the Nazi racial ideology. At the same time, the use of survivor testimonies has an important position in many places. If a shift towards greater attention to Jewish history in Europe before the Holocaust is taking place, it is not yet evidenced by these studies. In addition, students' knowledge about the Holocaust seems both to have a strong national aspect to it, varying from country to country, and to be influenced by popular media representations. Many students develop simplistic narratives of the Holocaust that hold Hitler completely and solely responsible, while Holocaust victims are often seen according to a single template: exclusion and persecution, ghettos, arrest, trains and gassing (or liberation). The Holocaust by bullets is not as well represented, and students and teachers alike are often unclear about the distinction between concentration camps and death camps.

Knowledge is, of course, more than the sum total of particular facts. Understanding is more difficult to evaluate than the retention of information. A given set of facts that are important to know may be compatible with highly problematic views or interpretations of the Holocaust. Facts are made meaningful through broader theories or narratives that connect them. Knowledge is necessarily selective, and the selections cannot be

neutral, but are inevitably informed and shaped by students' conceptions about what happened and what it means. Understanding students' narratives and conceptions accurately, and thereby understanding the implicit theories that frame their factual knowledge, would teach us a great deal.

Research into these broader narrations in countries such as Ukraine and Poland has revealed a stock set of national narratives that marginalize Jews, as well as some overt and camouflaged antisemitism, though even in places with broad narrative patterns, there are diverse responses and examples of more inclusive counter-narratives. Researchers in different countries have developed several useful typologies of students' responses to encountering the Holocaust that should be tested in other contexts and adapted as appropriate.

Moreover, it appears that gender shapes the kinds of narratives that students are drawn to. In some cases, girls respond more attentively to the personal experiences of survivors, while boys are more interested in the actors. While gender is receiving important attention within Holocaust studies, it merits investigation in TLH as well.

Emotions and Attitudes

Many societies narrate the Holocaust or emphasize those aspects of it that are least uncomfortable for contemporary society and its view of members of that society during the Second World War. Many students in Germany, including descendants of immigrants, are willing to accept a position of responsibility, but other students also exculpate most of the German population, and that trend appears to include even students with a migrant background. In Poland, some non-Jewish Poles saved Jews and non-Jewish Poles suffered. But that story is incomplete. Americans may take pride in helping to bring down the Nazi regime, but broad antisemitism, its own racial regime in the South and its immigration quotas, which prevented the safe escape of Jews from Europe, are less commonly attended to. At a more universal level, students may not be invited to consider that they themselves, as ordinary human beings, would have been then and are today vulnerable to the kinds of forces that demonize certain people. Perhaps they imagine that they would have been immune to propaganda and power, a posture that invites easy judgments of people at the time. Indeed, the extent to which teachers in different places demonize the Nazi leadership or the Germans of that era more generally is not clear, but merits attention.

At this point, studies of knowledge and attitudes do not allow us to say that higher knowledge levels alone cause students to have more tolerant attitudes towards diversity in contemporary society, nor do students consistently transfer their feelings of empathy for historical figures to marginalized peoples in the present. Some studies have been able to link higher knowledge levels to more tolerant attitudes, but at the level of correlation rather than causation, and not consistently across contexts. Indeed, the causation may flow in the other direction: more tolerant individuals may be more interested in learning about the Holocaust.

Studies in different contexts suggest some alignment between knowledge and political attitudes, and in others between students' knowledge and their expressed willingness to resist authoritarian tendencies in their leaders or governments. TLH research and practice will benefit from deeper engagement with other fields that have sophisticated models and theories about the relationship between knowledge and attitudes, and between attitudes and behavior.

Some educational research engages with issues of emotion, but this phenomenon remains in need of much more attention. Within psychological research, there was a strong emphasis on affective learning in the 1980s and 1990s, but this field has gained little traction since then. Evidence from students and teachers suggests that the Holocaust almost inevitably generates emotional responses, even when such responses are not deliberately incited through the use of emotive sources or representations (although they often are). Both psychology and anthropology can help us understand emotional responses to the Holocaust and how they vary across cultures. Such research would shed light on important aspects of TLH in different cultural, intercultural and multicultural contexts.

How Young is too Young to Learn about the Holocaust?

The dispute over how early to begin Holocaust education is connected to ideas about where students' views on Jews and the Holocaust come from (for example, family, film and friends), and whether those views are entrenched by the time students encounter the Holocaust in school. The view that it is difficult to change or dislodge students' views once they have taken root does draw some support from research. Dislodging mistaken impressions and adding nuance to simplistic interpretations is difficult. This view reflects a real problem, but perhaps not the only possible response. Teachers

are also affected by such media representations and require sufficient support to deal with such emotive and quasi-historical materials. Students are being deliberately exposed to the Holocaust at younger and younger ages in many countries. Researchers have identified some adverse consequences, including numbers of children experiencing nightmares. One risk of early TLH is that children will have the Holocaust as their primary or perhaps only association with Jews. With Judaism's ancient heritage and rich religious, cultural and intellectual history in Europe and beyond, one could imagine Jews being treated in a manner similar to the Greeks in Europe, with students learning a great deal about their history before they encounter the Holocaust.

Educators and researchers might experiment with alternative educational efforts for younger students, intended to help protect them against negative socialization, without yet directly invoking the Holocaust itself. As Short (1999) argued, it may be difficult or impossible to teach meaningfully about the Holocaust if children have no conception of what a Jew is. Students by extension typically have little understanding of what the Jewish world looked like *before* the Holocaust. Would teaching students about what a Jew is, or what it means to be Jewish, help protect them against, for example, antisemitic stereotypes they might otherwise absorb? When students first learn about Jews and Judaism at the same time that they are exposed to Nazi stereotypes and propaganda, there is some risk of confusion, just as students do not always clearly distinguish between the historical consensus about the past and the version propagated by the Nazis. Teaching about Jewish history and culture across Europe would not only help prevent an automatic association of Jews with the Holocaust, but could also help protect students from how the history of the Holocaust might distort the understanding of historical facts such as a "ghetto," which is reduced to the Nazi ghettos, ignoring the widespread use of Jewish ghettos in Europe.

These questions are intriguing not only because the understanding of what a Jew is varies from culture to culture and language to language, but also because the categories themselves are culturally rooted and have different meanings. Depending on the salient categories in specific places and languages, Jews may be understood by others primarily in terms of religion, race, ethnicity, culture or nationality. These categories—religion, race, ethnicity, culture and nationality—can be inclusive or exclusive in different contexts. Some permit multiple or overlapping (both/and) identi-

ties, while others are mutually exclusive (either/or). Students in the United States who think of Jewishness primarily as a religious affiliation generally understand the terms “Jewish Americans” or “American Jews.” In the Soviet Union, however, to be Jewish was not (only) a religion, but a nationality, like Russian. Those raised in the Soviet Union were raised to understand “Jewish” and “Russian” as mutually exclusive national identities. The notion of a Russian Jew or Jewish Russian would suggest quite different meanings or associations to English and Russian speakers.

A Powerful Experience, Yet Some Reluctance

Some students experience learning about the Holocaust as something quite powerful and use transformative language to describe their experiences. Such claims to transformative effects are quite difficult to evaluate externally, and normally rely on self-reporting, which is a research method that must be used with caution. Self-reporting is particularly problematic regarding sensitive domains like the Holocaust, where there are often clear, socially expected responses and deviating from expected answers can draw a harsh rebuke. Still, some exemplary teachers seem to be able to create learning experiences that students feel are transformative, particularly if they are given sufficient time to explore the subject in depth; evidence from group-encounter research suggests that these transformative possibilities are significantly strengthened when pedagogues include a final phase of reflection. TLH can have strong effects on students who previously had little knowledge of or exposure to the subject. For students who have strong or deeply entrenched ideological, racist or antisemitic views, TLH alone does not easily dislodge or disrupt these problematic views. There is evidence that TLH can contribute to aspects of civic and moral development and motivate students to deal with human rights, social justice and democracy, but not that it can function as a form of deprogramming for individuals who have fallen under the sway of extremism.

Students in general demonstrate a high level of interest and engagement in the subject of the Holocaust, and deal with it respectfully, sometimes even reverently. This trend applies in general also to students with an immigrant background, including those from predominantly Muslim countries. While disturbing episodes have been documented, research suggests that these events are exceptional rather than typical, and while they clearly reflect antisemitism, they may be compounded by broader feelings

of exclusion from mainstream society. Some Muslim students in predominantly Christian societies perceive that Jews are accepted by mainstream society, but the same mainstream society in turn rejects them, an exclusion that seems to them puzzling and unfair. This sensitivity to exclusion can manifest itself when the topic of the Holocaust is raised. For some of these students, the topic of the Holocaust can function as an opportunity to express resentment towards Jews, as well as towards teachers and what is perceived as the “system.” Some research results hint to some students’ feelings of conflict and exclusion, rather than a sense of shared belonging and humanity. This research identifies an underlying feeling that their own group’s suffering in the past lacks acknowledgment, a situation that can fuel a sense of competition over suffering. These feelings are often found not only among youth with an immigrant background in many European and other contexts, but also in many countries that experienced both Soviet and Nazi occupation. Typical of such expressions is the assertion that Jews have not suffered more than others in history.

We do not know the frequency of such expressions, which can be concentrated in some pockets. Indeed, students with an immigrant background showed a high tendency to be interested in the topic of the Holocaust, which allows them to link the Holocaust to their own communities’ suffering, and thus build bridges of understanding from history to the present. Some studies show that students with an immigrant background tend to make connections with greater frequency than those who do not have an immigrant background. Some research suggests that comparative-genocide pedagogies and recognition of others’ suffering can help avoid this competition. Such recognition, rather than leading to false equivalences, can allow analytical comparisons and deeper understanding of the process leading to genocidal events.

In some research, teaching and comparing the Holocaust and other genocides or crimes against humanity has emerged as a tool or skill worthy of further testing and investigation in promoting students’ understanding of the Holocaust. Skills in explicit, analytical comparison—such as of the steps leading from stigmatization, through exclusion, to genocidal acts—show promise. Implicit comparisons, in contrast, seem almost natural, or inevitable, particularly for people whose family histories intersect with trauma and war, a condition that is unfortunately too common. If schools do not engage in explicit and historically well-informed comparison, they often fail to bring to the surface students’ uncritical and superficial com-

parisons, allowing them to pass without challenge or nuance. One intriguing study asked students who were well informed about the Holocaust and had a cursory introduction to the Rwandan genocide to apply their knowledge of the first to hypothesize about the second. Their performance was highly mixed, and overall not encouraging about students' ability to draw insights from one context and ask whether they were pertinent in another. Students were largely judged to be deficient in a skill that they were never explicitly taught.

Because sound judgment and perspective require the ability to recognize both key similarities and meaningful differences, educators should explore explicit instruction in how to compare responsibly and effectively. It appears that students may not develop comparison skills in the course of regular schooling. The injunction "never again," Santayana's imperative to learn the past so that we do not repeat it, does not imply that repetitions will be identical: rather, similar threats may emerge in new contexts, a circumstance that requires students to be able to transfer insights and draw appropriate conclusions about similarities and differences between diverse cases.

Specific Educational Approaches and Projects

Study Trips

Study trips are a particularly intriguing field of research. A comparison of Israeli and Norwegian school journeys revealed that they have much in common, particularly with respect to national and even nationalist narratives. Israel's state-sponsored journeys to Poland are expensive, which contributes to the pressure and interest in assessing their impact or effectiveness. The trips may be promoted and implemented according to diverse goals, and the results are ambiguous, but it appears that these trips are no more effective than other forms of TLH. In terms of knowledge gains, there were no measured long-term effects of these journeys. Knowing what happened in certain places seems to provide a certain authenticity that shapes the responses of students, but it is difficult to link those particular experiences to specific learning outcomes. Further, participants on trips are often constrained in how they are expected to express themselves, which dampens free expression and exchange. For these reasons, seeking to measure specific outcomes may be the wrong way to think about the value and importance of such visits. Assessing more abstract outcomes like increased

awareness and sensitization, for example, is quite challenging. Perhaps the visits are part of a larger process of constructing meanings, which may themselves be diverse, but no less important for that fact. In addition to the reaction of students and visitors, there are studies of the sites themselves. In Germany, for example, a shared narrative about the Nazi era seems to be emerging across sites, without regard for the particular context of the individual sites. This finding calls into question the potential of each site to offer specific and contextual learning and suggests that there is a certain convergence or institutionalization of a German national orientation towards the Holocaust.

Encounter Projects in the Context of Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust

Learning about the Holocaust invokes difficult histories, memories and emotions, potentially challenging learners' identities. Intergroup encounters combined with learning about the Holocaust represent learning opportunities that can bring forth not only cognitive, but also emotional insights, especially regarding strong feelings towards one's own group as well as towards the other group. However, it appears that these strong emotions can be negative or positive, and that the facilitation skills of the educators are of crucial importance in influencing the outcome.

Encounter projects aim to modify the representations of "the Other," and thus to help develop mutual understanding. Research on encounters suggests that most projects do help further the understanding of the "other side," increase empathy towards the other side's historical experiences (particularly traumatic histories) and reduce the strength of the distinction between "us" and "them," but also that success is predicated on the use of skilled facilitators and the equality of the groups involved. However, encounter processes often do not have the same impact on both groups. This dynamic might be explained by the power relations within the given contexts between the groups, because dominant and non-dominant groups experience the same encounter process differently. The exchange of experiences and comparisons can be enlightening, and indeed, comparative genocide pedagogies can make positive contributions to understanding the Holocaust in diverse contexts.

4. Conclusion

Research in different contexts supports the perception that teachers and students experience and conduct TLH as a subject distinct from other topics in the same courses, with all the promise and perils that that entails. This difference can be seen in the strong engagement in the topic, but also in the increased tension it can create. But its unique status can also generate confusion about aims and expectations. In many countries, just a few hours are allotted to the subject in the traditional curriculum, while a sophisticated international array of institutions exists to support and to advocate for broader education and inclusion of TLH in curricula and schooling. This mismatch itself can produce tensions between the hopes for comprehensive coverage and the realities of classroom life.

Practices remain diverse, often experimental, and sometimes problematic, as teachers attempt new approaches beyond their usual practice, which places everyone in unfamiliar territory. But innovative experiences also develop, for example linked to arts such as theatre or music. Specialized and in-depth training on the Holocaust does not always have clear benefits in classroom practice for teachers whose hours are tightly scripted or structured, which can make them frustrated about their ability to teach the topic adequately. However, positive pedagogical practices that are introduced in the context of the Holocaust are by no means confined to that topic alone, but are often applicable to didactics more generally. TLH may be an effective tool for improved pedagogical practice more broadly, and not just in TLH itself.

A further cause of anxiety for teachers is the possibility that the subject will provoke problematic reactions in students, coupled with teachers' feeling that they may be ill-equipped to handle such reactions. Preparation that enables teachers to handle problematic situations effectively may encourage them to deal directly with difficult subjects of all kinds, and not just the Holocaust.

The processes of TLH in schools and at memorial sites therefore seem to have a great potential interest not only for specialists, but also for educational reformers and researchers and museum specialists more generally. Supporting the continuing development of broad, interdisciplinary research into TLH seems the best route through which to continue to explore, fulfill and document this potential.

But let us end with a question: does research on TLH, as well as TLH itself, deal first and foremost with the topic of the *Holocaust*, or is it first and foremost a general question of *education*? We should keep in mind that the educational challenges faced by TLH are also profound questions regarding the pedagogical relationship between teachers and students, between established knowledge and questioning and between the possibility of learning from scholars or textbooks and experiencing an autonomous way of discovering knowledge and values on one's own.

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SECTION III

Language Bibliographies

Introduction

In this section you will find bibliographies of publications dealing with empirical research about deliberate educational efforts concerning the Holocaust, particularly since 2000. These bibliographies are organized by languages, as are the first eight chapters of this book.

On the IRHA website (www.holocaustremembrance.com), you will find those same bibliographies that include the research publication's abstract (or, if unavailable, a summary composed by members of the research team) which provided the basis for composing this book.

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Polish-Language Bibliography and Anglophone Literature about Poland

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English-Language Bibliography

Please Note:

- A. The first round of empirical research articles included below was culled from a list developed and shared by University College London's Centre for Holocaust Education, <http://www.holocausteducation.org.uk>. We are grateful for their help and willingness to share resources.
 - B. Additional references were collected by each member of the team and compiled by Doyle Stevick.
 - C. For convenience, some relevant English-language literature is included both here and in the lists for specific language/regions.
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Multi-Year Work Plan: Education Research Report

Executive Summary

1. Background

Teaching and learning about the Holocaust (TLH) has undergone significant changes since the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) was founded in 1998. While TLH was originally initiated mainly by civil society, governments have increasingly committed to this endeavor: they have contracted international obligations and devoted resources to implementing nationwide policies, and international and national government-led initiatives have also emerged. At the same time, the field of TLH research has developed. Nonetheless, communication between TLH initiatives and TLH research is not robust. And a significant gap obtains between research and practice.

This project identifies and summarizes research studies dealing with TLH. Its three goals are to map research initiatives in the area of TLH; analyze the state of research; and foster exchange and dialogue among diverse stakeholders, ranging from policymakers to researchers and educators.

During the two-year span of this project, the research team collected some 635 publications, which represent 375 studies in fifteen languages. The research team reviewed 100 studies in English; eighty-four in German; fifty in Hebrew; forty in Polish; thirty-four in French; twenty-eight in Nordic languages; nineteen in Spanish/Italian/Portuguese; and fifteen in Russian/Belarusian/Ukrainian, some of which also concern Moldova and the Baltic States.

2. Main General Findings

1. The IHRA's Education Research Report highlights that TLH in the different surveyed language areas is diverse with regard to practice, policy and pedagogy, due to a number of factors: the national context in which research is embedded, the politics of memory, the role of the Holocaust

in national political narratives, the extent and nature of empirical research and the funding situation and opportunities for scholars. In some places, normative and advocacy literature, accounts of personal experiences and descriptive studies dominate, while in others numerous diverse qualitative and quantitative studies have been conducted.

2. Although TLH is diverse in terms of methodology, assumptions and experience, TLH research appears to develop in general stages in each given context. During the first stage, TLH research consists mainly of normative literature (why and how the Holocaust should be taught) and personal accounts of educators' own practices. Qualitative, often exploratory studies and analyses of educational materials are generally conducted in the second phase. In the third phase, researchers undertake quantitative studies.
3. Overall, TLH is a growing and maturing field, as evidenced by the increasing volume of research on TLH and the rising number of young scholars devoted to TLH. Thus, the TLH research field is poised for further professionalization, which can best be achieved through reflection on its assumptions and methods.
4. Although there is no single definition of the Holocaust or of TLH across IHRA Member Countries, there is a consensus that TLH is crucial. But there are diverse approaches to "why, what and how to teach," and, consequently, to research in this field, i.e. how to measure or conceptualize the results of TLH.
5. The research attests that TLH is perceived by both teachers and students as a field that is qualitatively different from others, as it includes powerful emotions as well as historical knowledge, thinking and understanding. A shared assumption prevails among teachers and students that TLH contributes to moral education and ethical development. Thus, its field of application is broader than other areas and bears a complexity and expectations particular to it alone.
6. Some studies provide baseline knowledge about curricula and textbooks for a given country or countries, but much less about how they are implemented and used in the classroom in diverse contexts.
7. Many studies offer profound insights about specific local cases, but these studies do not necessarily adduce broad evidence or information to validate these insights beyond the local case.
8. A number of factors impede the establishment of a mature research field:

- While the disciplinary background of researchers (for example, historians, sociologists and education scholars) shapes a range of approaches to TLH, there is little dialogue between them.
- Language barriers prevent exchange of information and experience.
- The definition and goals of TLH are often implicit and untested.
- There are strong disparities in experience among the surveyed language contexts, reflecting the history, culture and social fabric of each.
- Only a few quantitative surveys have been conducted providing comprehensive, comparable and consistent data.

Findings about Students and Learning

1. Students show a high level of interest in learning about the Holocaust.
2. Research cannot be conclusive about the effect of TLH in general on students' level of knowledge or on their attitudes because TLH itself is so diverse.
3. A number of studies have linked different forms of TLH to the civic and moral development of students, but these are often time-intensive model programs rather than part of usual school lessons, and they are not generalizable.
4. There is no conclusive evidence about the approaches that best enable TLH to address antisemitic and other racist attitudes and beliefs effectively.

Findings about Teachers and Teaching

1. Educators teaching about the Holocaust come from diverse backgrounds. They are united by a high level of interest in the topic, a strong personal commitment to the issue and a desire for more training.
2. They feel insufficiently prepared to teach about the Holocaust and are unaware of existing resources.
3. Overall, their skills, knowledge and needs are under-researched.

Findings about Study Trips, Visits to Memorials and Museums and Encounter Programs

1. There is no evidence that study trips and visits to Holocaust-related memorials and museums are more effective than other forms of

teaching, and no conclusive evidence of a positive correlation between experience during the study trip and learning, unless students are carefully prepared beforehand and careful reflections and debriefings are conducted after the trip.

2. There is some evidence that intergroup encounters in the field of TLH can contribute to increased mutual understanding between groups, under the condition of solid preparation and careful follow-up and debriefing.

3. Recommendations to Different Stakeholders

The IHRA's Education Research Project shows the significant empirical research and data collection that have been undertaken in many countries, and the progress in theory building that has been made. It also points to the regional diversity and heterogeneity of approaches, methods, contexts and results. These observations suggest that local, regional and international forums have to be created or reinforced to discuss results and their implications for both the formulation and implementation of TLH policies.

Recommendations to Educational Policymakers

1. Allocate funds to support research in TLH. Allow access to schools for qualitative or quantitative research projects, especially focusing on the implementation of programs in the classroom.
2. Allocate funds to conduct an independent evaluation of specific TLH projects, both in schools and in extracurricular projects.
3. Introduce a national strategy to study the determinants of success and failure of TLH.
4. Charged expectations prevail as to what the purpose and the impact of TLH should be: civic education, prejudice reduction, embracing diversity and fostering a culture of pluralism and democracy. Policymakers should encourage discussion with stakeholders (researchers, educators) to jointly identify and define reasonable goals, without overloading TLH with overblown expectations.
5. Support the dissemination and discussion of results and ensure that the results are used for evidence-based policymaking.

6. Endorse a dialogue with all social agents involved in empirical studies on TLH to support their separate efforts, coordinate the studies at a higher level and create synergies.
7. Apply empirical research results to content and methodology in the curriculum-planning process.

Recommendations to University Departments, Teacher-Training Institutions and Research-Funding Organizations

1. Build the capacity of researchers.
2. Develop research tools.
3. Encourage interdisciplinary work.
4. Reinforce research and development in the field of teaching tools and resources for teachers and reinforce access to existing tools and resources.
5. National and international research programs, including European programs, should encourage data collection in the field of TLH by independent researchers. The results should be published and made accessible to policymakers and educators.
6. Support and build research capacity in under-studied educational contexts.
7. Encourage cooperation with state institutions and NGOs to conduct empirical studies on their TLH programs and projects.

Recommendations to Funding Organizations

1. Encourage NGOs to cooperate with researchers conducting empirical studies to evaluate TLH programs and projects.
2. Support empirical research that will ultimately empower teachers in the classroom.

Recommendations to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

1. Establish research on TLH as a priority of the organization, including follow-up on the results of this report with discussions to develop concrete objectives for all stakeholders.
2. Facilitate access to research results and organize exchange between researchers across language barriers.

3. Support the development of and access to instruments for research (methods, standards and tools) that are free and multilingual, and build the capacity of researchers/research institutions to use these tools to further professionalize the TLH field.
4. Provide a space for educators and researchers at the regional, national and international level to further discussions about the methodological foundations of TLH.
5. Form a network of institutions and structures to initiate further empirical studies on TLH that can help prioritize long-term effective action and build cross-language cooperation.

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For the Steering Committee

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