"Holocaust Fatigue": Teaching It Today

Simone Schweber

"Research & Practice," established early in 2001, features educational research that is directly relevant to the work of classroom teachers. Here, I invited Simone Schweber to examine teaching and learning about the Holocaust in light of alternative approaches, current politics, and popular culture.

— Walter C. Parker, "Research and Practice" Editor, University of Washington, Seattle.

In the 15 years that I have been teaching about the Holocaust, I have seen dramatic shifts in my students' attitudes and orientations towards learning about it. I recall that, years ago, my students approached the subject with a kind of inbred reverence, a seriousness and cautiousness that bordered on nervousness. They handled the topic gingerly, as if it could shatter. As evidence of that impression, I remember that I once planned to write an article railing against Holocaust sacralization—the idea that the Holocaust had become so sacred that it could only be talked about in hushed tones or with prayerful appropriateness. While I believed (and still do) that human atrocities deserve reverential responses, I feared then that the perceived sanctity of the Holocaust would stand in the way of its history being learned, really investigated, questioned, challenged and understood. Reverence, after all, is the enemy of inquiry.

As further evidence of what might be called Holocaust-awe, I used to take Holocaust survivors to high schools in the San Francisco Bay Area. After the survivors would speak, I generally had to prod the students in the audience to ask questions. "You don't need to be shy," I used to say. "These survivors have lived through more than answering your questions." Usually that was all that was needed to open the floodgate of queries. At the time, I was struck by the kinds of questions the students asked and by the sheer volume of questions; in hindsight, I am struck by the pause that preceded my prompts.

I find that my students now tend to approach the Holocaust without that pause, without a default position of veneration. The Holocaust is, for them, interesting but not awesome. I teach a college-level course on the Holocaust, wherein I have students in small groups lead a part of each class session. This past semester, one group of students led a Jeopardy game show to review information. The student leaders tossed out mini-Snickers bars to reward their peers for right answers. Thus, in response to the 100-point answer, "The name of the gas used to asphyxiate victims at Auschwitz," the two teams vied to be the first to ask, "What is Zyklon B?" The juxtapositions were excruciating to me—the game show, the candy, and Auschwitz; worse than a bad joke, the combination seemed to me an obvious example of Holocaust trivialization, and I felt embarrassed to have it occurring in my classroom. And yet I also take responsibility for the activity. I had full knowledge of the students' plan, having ok'd it before allowing them to take the classroom stage. Moreover, I "played along," consciously hiding my reactions as the activity unfolded so as not to quell my students' enthusiasm. I had decided that having students participate in such an activity and then *fully* debriefing their reactions would be more educative than quashing the plan outright; it was a classic ends-vs.-means trade-off calculation. Whether or not that was the right decision for my college-level students, and, more importantly, whether that would be the right decision in a high school classroom is not my point here: *that* the students would choose such a format is. I can't remember students making similar choices in the past. In the lengthy debriefing discussion, one of the students in the class mentioned that she was concurrently enrolled in a course on slavery and that she couldn't imagine the same activity occurring there. Where I once worried that the sanctification of the Holocaust stifled learning, I now worry that trivialization of the Holocaust impedes its understanding.

Needless to say perhaps, my impressions and anecdotes don't constitute research. There is substantial evidence to suggest that trivializing formats have been around for a long time and that students have always responded to Holocaust representations with indecorous reactions. Furthermore, I haven't been teaching in the same locale, at the same grade ranges or in the same type

Colby: We had very little rations, no snacks.

Solly: Snacks, what are you talking snacks? We didn't eat, sometimes for a week, for a month....

Colby: Have you even seen the show?

Solly: Did you ever see our show? It was called the Holocaust!

Photo 1 to come from HBO to Michael. Contact is Kristen.Ardigo@hbo.com (310-382-3414).
Caption/transcript for Larry David t.v. photo:

of schools in the last years, so it's quite possible that the changes I've registered are simply the consequences of my own movements and not reflections of larger sociological trends. That said, no one would argue with the claim that the Holocaust's role in American life has undergone radical transformations in the last few decades and that shifts in attitudes among the general populace would likely occur as a result.[1] Thus, it seems worthwhile to consider why students' attitudes towards the Holocaust might have shifted, what challenges such shifts present to educators, and importantly, what empirical research has been done that might help guide what we do in the classroom to address those challenges.

Attitudes and Challenges

A powerful explanation for a shift in attitudes towards the Holocaust is rooted in its exposure. Since the latter part of the 1980s, there has been a near-explosion of Holocaust representations and invocations, media forms devoted solely to representing the Holocaust and ones that invoke the Holocaust without focusing on it exclusively. Indicative of the range, the Holocaust appears as a bit player in the X-men movie, as a central feature of three memorable Seinfeld episodes, and as the organizing principle of the slide-show, The Holocaust on Your Plate, posted on the website of the organization People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. The multitude of documentary films produced in the year 2003 alone prompted The New York Times to run an article under the headline, "Holocaust Documentaries: Too Much of a Bad Thing?" (June 15, 2003). While this cursory list suggests the far-flung influences of the Holocaust, it is not the number of popular representations alone that has worn down the patina of seriousness encasing the event. The content of the representations themselves has contributed to the trend.

The genre-bending, now-classic comix-books, *Maus I+II*, by Art Spiegelman, can be imagined as the parents of Roberto Begnini's Academy-Award-winning movie, *Life is Beautiful*, which in turn produced numerous progeny within the family line of Holocaust humor, sometimes referred to as Holocaust-kitsch. In the fourth season of Larry David's cable show, *Curb Your Enthusiasm*, for example, a 'survivor' of the CBS reality-TV show, *Survivor*, squared off with a Holocaust survivor, the two jousting for singular status in an unsettling exchange that typifies Holocaust irreverence. The two compared, for example, who had fewer "snacks." As Stephen Vider explains, "Holocaust humor is hardly new to American culture or *Curb Your Enthusiasm*: the first episode found Larry calling his wife Cheryl 'Hitler' to the outrage of his manager's parents. The entire fourth season is built around Mel Brooks hiring Larry to play Max Bialystock in *The Producers*—a hit musical based on the movie about an intentionally awful musical about Hitler.

Former Whitwell Middle School students Cassie Crabtree, left, and Casey Condra, right, give Holocaust survivor Samuel Sitko a tour on September 2, 2004 in Whitwell, Tennessee, of an actual train car that was used in transporting prisoners during the Holocaust. The train car, shipped from Germany, is part of the Children's Holocaust Project and contains millions of paper clips. Students at the school started collecting paper clips after learning that some Norwegians wore them on clothing as a memorial for Holocaust victims. Crabtree and Condra were two of the students that help start the project. (AP Photo/ Mark Gilliland)

As the real *Producers* continues to play to sold-out audiences, Holocaust humor hardly seems taboo…."[2]

Given that numerous studies have shown that popular culture can frame students' perceptions of historical subject matter, it's not surprising that my students would choose to play Holocaust-Jeopardy.[3] As Imré Kertesz put it, "For the Holocaust to become with time a real part of European (or at least western European) public consciousness, the price inevitably extracted in exchange for public notoriety had to be paid."[4] The acceptability of Holocaust humor in the larger culture has permeated students' notions of the subject matter, posing the challenge of orienting students in the classroom to take it seriously. Amidst what is often discussed as students' desensitization towards violence more generally, this challenge becomes especially important to overcome. How, after all, can students understand genocidal violence without taking the subject seriously? Or vice versa, how can students take the subject seriously without understanding genocidal violence?

In some sense, though, it is the antecedent to this trend that poses the greater challenge to teachers. What allowed for the Holocaust to become popularized in the first place also encouraged its teaching in a broad range of classrooms, grades, and contexts. Whether Holocaust education has spread in the last few decades as the result of Jewish elites pushing that agenda, popular cultural representations percolating into societal consciousness, a grassroots campaign among mostly non-Jewish American educators to teach the subject, or some constellation thereof, the results are unequivocal.[5] Having been widely accepted as morally crucial and educative in and of itself, the Holocaust has seeped downward into lower and lower grades, a trend I call '*curricular creep*.' Whereas once the Holocaust was only taught about in high schools, it is now frequently taught in middle schools and in upper elementary grades, even occasionally appearing as a topic in the very early elementary years. In a study I am just now completing, for example, a third grade teacher taught about the Holocaust in great detail. The third graders in that class may encounter the Holocaust again in their 5th, 8th, 9th and 10th grades. Such unsystematic coverage leads to 'Holocaust fatigue,' the sense that "this particular event is being taught to death."[6] As a friend of mine who teaches 9th grade history remarked recently, "My kids are sick of it, sick of the Holocaust." The challenges this situation poses are clear: not whether, but how to make the material new, interesting, intellectually engaging, and emotionally affecting, how to build on what students have previously learned rather than reiterating that which they already know.

In sum, by the time students are taught about the Holocaust in high school, many have already been surrounded by invocations that encourage

its trivialization in the world outside of school, and many have learned about the topic repeatedly over the years, posing for teachers the double-barreled challenge of encouraging serious study of a well-worn subject. Though a host of other frequently discussed challenges pertain to Holocaust education, I'll mention only one that seems especially charged of late: the vexed role of Israel in public opinion.

In the last few decades, not only since the Al-Aqsa intifada, Israel has borne harsh criticism.[7] By this statement, I do not wish to suggest that much of this criticism is not justified nor that some of it isn't. I am only making the point that Israel's roles in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Middle East generally matter in terms of Holocaust education, both globally and nationally. In some of the suburbs of Paris with large populations of North African Muslim students, for example, the Holocaust has already been excised from the school curriculum, partly out of administrators' fears of seeming to support Israel through teaching about the Holocaust, but also largely out of teachers' resistance to facing hostile learners. As Georges Bensoussan, the author of a 2004 report on anti-Semitism in French schools, declared, "I know of cases in which the teacher mentioned Auschwitz and Treblinka, and students clapped."[8] For the most part, happily, such blatantly anti-Semitic reactions remain almost unimaginable in U.S. public schools. A 2003 University of Cincinnati survey of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky teachers, for example, found that more than 90 percent of the respondents claimed their students reacted to learning about the Holocaust with: "sadness, disgust, disbelief and anger"—reactions diametrically opposed to celebration.[9] Nonetheless, it's easy to envision teachers here who, out of criticism of the current Israeli administration's actions, choose not to cover the Holocaust in their classrooms, not out of anti-Semitic impulses on their part, but because of the authentic linkages between the devastation of European Jewry during the Holocaust and the establishment of the state of Israel thereafter.

In light of the overexposure I described above, this deletion might not be such a bad choice, but the situation illustrates a profound issue at the core of all history teaching: that to teach about the past always and unavoidably implicates the present. Teaching about the Holocaust as history, for better or worse, raises questions about the Holocaust's uses and meanings in the present, posing a set of real dilemmas for teachers. In order to teach about the Holocaust, must we teach about the on-going conflicts in the Middle East? And, if so, whose politics might that choice seem to support? Conversely, if we choose not to include the Holocaust in the curriculum, whose politics does that choice seem to support? Is it fair or right to equate Holocaust coverage with support of Israel's existence or with support of its current policies? What do such linkages imply?

All three of the contexts I have described in relation to the Holocaust—cultural/commercial trivialization, curricular overexposure, and political contentiousness—influence teaching and learning about the Holocaust. While no research that I know of confronts these specific challenges directly, there are recent studies of holocaust education that can be brought to bear regardless.

Empirical Research

To begin, it's worth mentioning one of my biases. While hundreds of articles and an increasingly large number of books advocate Holocaust education, only very few of these base recommendations for practice on empirical research. Impassioned writers implore teachers to adopt particular rationales (e.g., Totten and Feinberg, 2001), to avoid particular pedagogies (like simulations, e.g., Totten, 2000), and to use particular materials; and yet it's important to recall that, though well intentioned, the exhortations may not be research-based.[10] In my experience, effective educational practice is sometimes counter-intuitive. My bias is to let empirical studies guide practice, the small number of which underscores the newness of the field.

In one of the few surveys done to date to broadly assess Holocaust education, Jeffrey Ellison established that, in Illinois high schools, teachers spent eight days of instruction on the Holocaust on average, usually within the "context of a required course … during students' junior year," lending credence to the claim that the Holocaust is being widely taught and not likely to disappear from the U.S. curriculum any time soon.[11] Most respondents also reported that "rather than relying on [what Ellison describes as] questionable and possibly detrimental simulations and role playing," they preferred "traditional" methods of teaching, like "discussions, lectures and films." Specifically, most of the teachers showed Spielberg's 1993 film, *Schindler's List*, and didn't seek out additional materials, a troubling, if understandable, sentiment.[12] Of note is one other feature of Ellison's results, that "there was a tendency in Illinois high schools to subsume the topic of the Holocaust within the topic of tolerance and stereotyping" rather than to consider the topic within the specific history of anti-Semitism. [13]

This last point is a typical pitfall in the teaching of the Holocaust, a kind of over generalizing that strips the Holocaust of its historical particularities in order to emphasize its commonalities with other events in history. My own research confirms this tendency.[14] The teachers I studied glossed over the reasons Jews were historically persecuted and ignored the history of church-based anti-Semitism, leading many of the students I interviewed to grope for answers they didn't have when asked directly why Jews were persecuted. As an outspoken young woman who had spent an entire semester studying the Holocaust in a *Facing History and Ourselves* classroom remarked during an interview, "I still don't know why y'all let yourselves be gassed like that."[15] In addition to not understanding the larger processes of victimization and not being familiar with examples of resis-

tance, this student hadn't understood *why* victimization occurred in the first place. While the students I studied, for the most part, had learned what had happened to Jews and other victimized groups, they had not learned why Jews as a group were specifically targeted nor why other groups were voraciously pursued. The histories of Sinti and Roma peoples (formerly known as "Gypsies"), the history of gays and lesbians, of Jehovah's Witnesses, of the disabled, and other persecuted groups was often bypassed. With only a few hours available to teach this content, it's not surprising that these complex histories would be left out. The omissions, however, bear consequences.

Omitting the history of anti-Semitism in teaching about the Holocaust permits mostly Christian students to avoid unpleasant encounters with their religion's history, and as a recent groundbreaking dissertation by Karen Spector points out, the omission also allows teachers to avoid possibly unpleasant encounters with Christian parents.[16] Spector's exchange with a Christian teacher in her Ohio-based study amplifies why:

> **Karen:** Um, I noticed you didn't talk about the history of Christian anti-Semitism in class, and it seemed to come up, like, um, with people saying, 'Jews killed Christ.'
>
> **Ms. France:** I, um, this year particularly, um, I kind of tread lightly with the religious things because while most of my students are Baptist in upbringing, I have had like a lot of weird stuff going on, and talking about Christian anti-Semitism would get people on all sides riled up.[17]

As this case highlights, the omission also allows preconceived notions about Jews, sometimes even anti-Semitic ones, to flourish. One Catholic student attending a public high school explained the cause of the Holocaust to me this way: "It was our fault for killing the Jews, but it was their fault for killing Jesus."[18] When this student later tempered her answer, she explained that the divine role of Jews to "kill Christ" mitigated their culpability for the act. Had this student learned about the history of anti-Semitism and the specious nature of the deicide charge, she stood to gain in a variety of arenas, not only by grounding her understanding of the Holocaust and early Christian history, but by scaffolding her religious beliefs "intelligently."[19] Had the teacher in Spector's study been willing to challenge anti-Semitism and other forms of hatred expressed in her own class, her entire school community would have benefited. It's dismaying indeed for a teacher to abandon the charge of serving as a moral role model in order to avoid getting people "riled up"; it's especially painful in the context of teaching about atrocity.

"It seems to me as much of a mistake not to teach about the Holocaust because of current politics as not to teach about the current politics of the Holocaust."

A real benefit (rather than a self-serving one) accrues from omitting the history of anti-Semitism, too, though, which I believe helps provide explanation; when their 'difference' as a people is minimized, Jews are more likely to be 'normalized' in the classroom. Sometimes, in other words, Jewish difference is downplayed to further the goal of empathizing with victims in history, as though such empathy will translate into an aversion to perpetration. Put differently, empathic bridges are more easily built on the basis of sameness, even if it's more important to build them to span difference. Teaching about Jewish difference—Jewish rituals and traditions, beliefs and history, including the history of anti-Semitism—is a necessary prerequisite for fully understanding the Holocaust as history; and yet, simultaneously, teaching these elements delineates difference, which in turn can be seen as an impediment to empathy. The teacher in my study who orchestrated an elaborate Holocaust simulation, for example, did an amazing job of grafting the personal experiences of students onto a historically-based fiction of history, one of the upshots of which was that her diverse students ended up identifying closely with Jewish victims of the Holocaust.[20] Though this teacher neglected to teach the history of anti-Semitism, her omission served a larger purpose of fostering empathy, a feat I think of as a tremendous accomplishment, especially given the complexities of teaching about victims.

The opposite of overgeneralization presents another pitfall in Holocaust teaching. Over specification refers to particularizing the Holocaust, making its focus so narrow that the historical reality is distorted, minimizing its usefulness in combating racism specifically and "idiocy" more generally.[21] In a 2003 study of fundamentalist schools, for example, co-author Rebekah Irwin and I found that "others" were weeded out of Holocaust representations; in the fundamentalist Christian school, a fundamentalist Christian's story loomed large, superceding Jews, whereas at the ultra-orthodox Jewish yeshiva, the story of a Jewish victim crystallized Holocaust history. In the latter school, the students were taught that the perpetrators "weren't human" and that, "you can't understand them."[22] Spector's study, shows that her mostly Christian participants viewed Holocaust suffering, in some cases, as imposed by Satan, funneled through Hitler, deserved by Jews, and redeemed by God.[23] The participants' "narratives of redemption" subsumed the misery embedded in the texts read in class and eviscerated the tragic dimensions of the atrocity studied. For some students, Anne Frank had likely "frolicked in the concentration

camps," and Elie Wiesel had found God in the text of his memoir, Night. In a sense, then, Spector's study finds over specification, where instead of the range of historical actors being narrowed for particularistic religious ends, the entire Holocaust narrative was narrowed to support a singular reading, a solely Christian interpretation of events.

Up to this point, I have been suggesting that good teaching about the Holocaust involves striking a balance between overgeneralization and over specification, and that where one draws the line between these two is deeply personal. What constitutes a healthy generalizing of this history and an appropriate specification are matters of conscience. I am reminded of Peter Novick's dispiriting argument that how you make sense of which analogies to draw from the Holocaust or what lessons you believe the Holocaust bears, are purely reflections of personal choice, a matter of what "clicks or doesn't" rather than what supports a rational argument or not.[24] It's clear even from this limited research base that the lessons we draw from the Holocaust have everything to do with what we know about it, what we want from it, and what we're willing to do with it—whether, for example, we know the history of anti-Semitism, whether we want to teach it and, especially, whether we're willing to "rile people up" in so doing.

To close this section, I want to return to the contexts I identified in the first part of this essay, asking: What does this research have to do with cultural trivialization, curricular overexposure, and Israeli political contentiousness? And, what ought we do to teach about the Holocaust in their midst?

Knitting Together Current Challenges and Empirical Research

Above, I proposed that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as well as Israel's vexed position in world public opinion may influence teachers' decisions to teach about the Holocaust. Interestingly, the very contexts described above shed light on the empirical research, specifically on the import of teaching the history of anti-Semitism. Israel today is militarily dominant, a regional superpower with a global superpower as an ally. Moreover, American Jews, as a mostly white ethnic group, have been tremendously successful socio-economically in the last few decades. As a side note, this seems to me a reasonable explanation for why farcical representations of The Middle Passage and slavery don't exist as popular culture forms. These events can't be rendered as funny given their real, continued and blatantly oppressive legacies in the present. By contrast, the prominence today of Jews in American society and Israel's military might make the notion of an imperiled Jewish population during the Holocaust a contradiction to some of our students' lived knowledge. Simply put, because American and Israeli Jews are now an empowered and powerful force, it's important for kids to learn that Jews have not always been so, are not so in all parts of the world now, and certainly don't typically perceive themselves as such.

American-Israeli peace-activist Emily Hauser wrote, "We [Israelis have] raised a generation who've never been anything but conquerors … and taught them they've never been anything but victims"—an orientation spawned by the long history of anti-Semitism.[25] Or, as Limor Livnat, the Israeli education minister has explained, "For Israelis, the lessons of our tragic past are never permitted to be anachronisms; they are always relevant and reflective of our current reality.… As such, in our worldview, it's a clear line that unifies the ancient Persian tyrants who sought our destruction to the murderous Nazis who practiced genocide against us, to the current Islamic suicide bombers who have devastated our Israeli cities…."[26] Whether you consider Livnat's position to be an exemplar of over generalizing (using anti-Semitism as the principle to unify Israel's past and present) or of over specifying (focusing only on an Israeli worldview to the exclusion of all others) is again, a matter of personal politics. Either way, the rhetoric of her remarks underscores my point. Just as the persecution of Jews during the Holocaust can only make sense to students if the history of anti-Semitism paves its way, so current uses of the Holocaust throughout the world can only be navigated with deep understandings of the Holocaust in place. It seems to me as much of a mistake not to teach about the Holocaust because of current politics as not to teach about the current politics of the Holocaust.

Curricular overexposure, as I see it, has exacerbated the problems of superficial coverage. If we teach about the Holocaust without generating deep understandings of the subject matter—without teaching students why different groups were persecuted, how perpetrators were enticed into violence, how this atrocity is similar and dissimilar to other genocides—repeating that kind of coverage is the surest way to get students not to take it seriously, not to care about it, and to become "sick of the Holocaust" before graduating from high school. I'm not sure that the "what's" of the Holocaust (what happened to whom, in gross detail) bear repeating ad nauseum. In fact, it may be the case that students' senses of knowing a lot about the Holocaust and being "sick of it" are reflections of their having been overexposed rather than actually knowing much about the event—overexposed to its horrors but not overexposed to its explanations. Much more crucial to my sense of its import in the world is both why it happened in the first place and how it is important in the present.

In light of the multiple media forms, my position is in some sense simple: that our job as teachers is to help students navigate them. Especially given Holocaust video games and *Seinfeld* and *Simpsons*' episodes, the many trivializations and commodifications, the many true and legitimate controversies swirling around this topic, our job as teachers is to help our students become wise consumers in an ever-expanding marketplace of narratives. Which so-called uses of the Holocaust make sense? Which don't? Why does Iranian

President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad call the Holocaust "the myth of the Jews' massacre" and why is that especially offensive? Why do both pro-abortion and anti-abortion advocates invoke the Holocaust? (Why do Pro-Life groups refer to an "abortion Holocaust" rather than an abortion genocide or abortion crusade, for example?) Is the PETA website kosher, so to speak? Should redemptive narratives trump authentic tragedy? What do redemptive narratives afford and limit? Is it the case that the multiplicity of media formats allows people to make the easiest choice, the choice of narratives that doesn't challenge their beliefs or confront their racism? Is there anything wrong with playing *Jeopardy* to review Holocaust information? Should there be? Should we approach atrocity with a pause of reverence? Should we even spend curricular time to learn about the Holocaust in this day and age, when genocide is ongoing? What I am suggesting we do as teachers, in other words, is deepen our discussions about the Holocaust's uses—in everyday life, in politics, and in our classrooms. Because such conversations happen relatively rarely, the benefits may be great—providing we're willing to take the risks involved.

In sum, what I am suggesting we do is as follows. First, teach about the history of anti-Semitism in covering the Holocaust. The Holocaust can't make sense without it; moreover, present-day anti-Semitic materials and incidents only make sense in light of it. Second, provide students with a range of explanations for perpetrators' behaviors. Harder than teaching about the experience of victimization, it may also be much more important to explain the agents of atrocity, for this marks a local step in the global direction of eradicating violence. Third, use popularizations and current uses of the Holocaust as teachable texts. Show the PETA slide show or a Holocaust *Seinfeld* episode and, most importantly, use those texts to delve deeply into the lessons of the Holocaust. Ask students, what are the lessons they draw from this study and which of those did they come into the classroom already believing? Finally, know where you, as a teacher, stand; what your lessons are; and where you draw the boundaries between over generalizing and over specifying. My hope is that in teaching about the Holocaust as well as the Holocaust's multiple legacies, uses, and invocations, we will all grapple with the much harder questions it raises about what it means to be Human.

> *"Where I once worried that the sanctification of the Holocaust stifled learning, I now worry that trivialization of the Holocaust impedes its understanding."*

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Notes

1. Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999).
2. Stephen Vider, "Survivor Challenge," Nextbook.org/ Keren Keshet — The Rainbow Foundation (2003), www.nextbook.org/features/feature_david_print.html.
3. Alan Marcus, *Celluloid Blackboard: Teacher Practices with Film and Students' Historical Understanding* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, Calif., 2003); Peter Seixas, "Confronting the Moral Frames of Popular Film: Young People Respond to Historical Revisionism," *American Journal of Education* 102, no.3 (1994); Sam Wineburg, Susan Mosborg, and Dan Porat, "What Can *Forrest Gump* Tell Us about Students' Historical Understanding?" *Social Education* 65, no. 1 (2001): 55.
4. Imré Kertesz, "Who Owns Auschwitz?" *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14, no. 1 (2001): 267-272.
5. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*; Rona Sheramy, *Defining Lessons: The Holocaust in American Jewish Education* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., 2000); Alan Mintz, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Thomas D. Fallace, *The Construction of the American Holocaust Curriculum* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 2004).
6. Geoffrey Short and Carole Ann Reed, *Issues in Holocaust Education* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 67.
7. Intifada is the Arabic word for "uprising." The Al-Aqsa Intifada broke out in September of 2000 following Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount, one of the most sacred Jewish sites. Palestinians viewed Sharon's visit, accompanied as he was by more than 1,000 bodyguards, as an act of aggression. The uprising is named for the Al Aqsa Mosque, which is located at the Temple Mount and is one of Islam's holiest sites.
8. Georges Bensoussan made the remark during an interview, as reported in, "It Began with Students Denying the Holocaust," *The Jerusalem Report* (Dec. 13,2004).
9. "An Assessment of Holocaust Education in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky," (Survey, University of Cincinnati Evaluation Services Center, Ohio, 2003): 10.
10. Samuel Totten and Stephen Feinberg, *Teaching and Studying the Holocaust* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon Publishing, 2001); Totten, "Diminishing the Complexity and Horror of the Holocaust: Using Simulations in an Attempt to Convey Historical Experiences," *Social Education* 64, no. 3, (2000): 170.
11. Jeffrey Ellison, *From One Generation to the Next: A Case Study of Holocaust Education in Illinois* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, 2002), 145.
12. Ibid., 146.
13. Ibid., 147.
14. Simone A. Schweber, *Making Sense of the Holocaust: Lessons from Classroom Practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004).
15. Margot Stern Strom, *Facing History and Ourselves: The Holocaust and Human Behavior* (Watertown, Mass.: International Education, 1982).
16. Karen Spector, *Framing the Holocaust in English Class: Secondary Teachers and Students Reading Holocaust Literature* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati, Ohio, 2005).
17. Ibid., 152.
18. Schweber, *Making Sense of the Holocaust*, 16.
19. Nel Noddings, *Educating for Intelligent Belief or Unbelief* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1993).
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22. Schweber and Rebekah Irwin, "'Especially Special': Learning about Jews in a Fundamentalist Christian School," *Teachers College Record* 105, no. 9 (2003): 1693-1719.
23. Spector, *Framing the Holocaust in English Class.*
24. Novick, 243.
25. Emily Hauser, "A Conqueror with the Mindset of the Conquered," *The Chicago Tribune*, online edition, (May 22, 2005).
26. Limor Livnat, Israeli Education Minister, 2005.

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