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# Examining the Historical Representation of the Holocaust within Trade Books

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**Examining the Historical Representation of the Holocaust within Trade Books**

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**Abstract:** State and national education initiatives provide American students with opportunities to engage in close readings of complex texts from diverse perspectives as they actively construct complicated understandings as they explore complex texts. Opportunities for interdisciplinary units emerge as the role of non-fiction in English/language arts and informational texts in history/social studies increases dramatically. Trade books are a logical curricular link between these two curricula. The initiatives, however, do not prescribe specific curricular material so teachers rely on their own discretion when selecting available trade books. Scholarship indicates that historical misrepresentations emerge within trade books to varying degrees, yet only a few empirical studies have been conducted. We empirically evaluated trade books centered on the Holocaust, which is arguably the most consequential global event in 20th century. It is also a curricular element of U.S. history, world history, and English/language arts. We report various misrepresentations within the trade books regarding the Holocaust's origins, targeted victims, victim totals, contributors, and recognition of other genocidal acts. We provide ancillary primary sources for teachers interested in addressing or balancing the historical misrepresentations.

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The Nazi-initiated 1940s industrial genocide, or Holocaust, is certainly the 20th century's nadir and arguably humanity's low point. It, deservedly, has a prominent fixture in middle level and high school history and social studies. The Holocaust has a similar position in English and language arts, especially when one counts the enormity and quality of published young adult literature (hereafter, "trade books"). Considering its historical complexities and curricular popularity, we investigated how trade books historically represented and contextualized the Holocaust.

Young adult authors cannot—and should not—detail the history like historians, yet teachers should be aware of the trade books' historicity, or historical representation and accuracy (Schwebel, 2011). Scholarship indicates the ubiquity of historical misrepresentations within history-based trade books about slavery in America, child labor in America, Thanksgiving, Native Americans, Christopher Columbus, Abraham Lincoln, and impactful 20th century American women like Eleanor Roosevelt, Helen Keller, Rosa Parks and Amelia Earhart (Bickford, 2013a; Bickford, Dilley, & Metz, 2015; Bickford & Hunt, 2014; Bickford & Rich, 2014a, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b; Desai, 2014; Williams, 2009). These findings are unsurprising considering that trade books, even history-based trade books, are not rigorously vetted for

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historicity like history textbooks (Loewen, 1995; Schwebel, 2011). Until now, no research has mapped the Holocaust content that was included, how it was included, and what was disregarded.

Other considerations contribute to the significance of this research. First, American state and national initiatives, in following some international educational trends, prescribe changes to the reading material in both English/language arts and social studies/history (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices & Council of Chief State School Officers [NGA & CCSSO], 2010; Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers [PARCC], 2012). A relatively equivalent balance between literature (fiction, historical fiction, etc.) and informational texts (secondary history books and primary source documents like letters, diary entries, photographs, etc.) will replace the preponderance of fiction in English/language arts; increased readings of informational texts and the intentional juxtaposition of primary and secondary accounts will displace, or diminish the deference given to, textbooks in social studies/history. Holocaust-based trade books—from historical fiction and various subgenera of non-fiction (narrative non-fiction, biography, diary, memoir, and expository)—have a potentially prominent future position in both curricula.

Second, the initiatives require changes yet provide little guidance for teachers to traverse the implications of these mandates (Sapers, 2015). Educators from any country might be entirely unaware of the lacunae within their selected trade books and unacquainted with material to address the misrepresentations. Public and accessible digital repositories, like the Library of Congress, provide diverse informational texts to supplement a trade book or a textbook, yet the tasks of review and selection can overwhelm. Even educators who are aware of the historical misrepresentations within previously used trade books might question their own ability to select a new book because of the sheer volume of choices. As Holocaust-based trade books far outnumber other history topics for trade books printed in English, teachers have a seemingly inexhaustible selection. Prior to purchase, teachers are left to judge a book on little more than its cover due to endemic concerns with online summaries and reviews, which may be written by non-experts (likely teachers or parents) or those with a vested interest in the sale of the book (like authors or editors).

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the historical representation of the Holocaust within trade books. This inquiry is rooted in the theoretical frameworks of sociocultural theory and cognitive constructivism (Nokes, 2011; VanSledright, 2014; Vygotsky, 1978, 1985; Wineburg, 2001). Its foundation originates from four presumptions. First, trade books cannot comprehensively detail every aspect of history yet sanitized tales do not substitute for history. Second, the Holocaust warrants a historically representative retelling more than any other 20th century historical event. Third, adolescents—consumers of gratuitous media—are mature enough to grasp the historical realities of the Holocaust. Finally, historiography informs the trade book analysis.

### **Historiography**

This research, when simplified to its foundation, identifies areas of convergence and divergence between trade books' historical content and historians' understandings. This inquiry is accordingly based on the resonant and relevant historiography, which does not begin with Adolf Hitler and the Nazis.

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If Hitler was the gardener and the Nazis were his garden tools, then Europe was fertile ground for cultivation with its extensive, dubious history of anti-Semitism (Bankier, 1992; Browning, 2004; Goldhagen, 2013).

Hitler's oratory, confidence, and promises, coupled with Nazis propaganda and ostensible power, persuaded—or solicited active support from—a significant portion of the populace both in and outside of Germany (Payne, 1973; Shirer, 1961). Scholars debate middling German soldiers' and citizens' motivation to participate and their degree of willing involvement, yet they converge in agreement that ordinary Germans' complicity was essential for the manifestation of the Final Solution (Bankier, 1992; Browning, 1998; Goldhagen, 1997). The Third Reich's origin, ascent, and collapse—through which the anti-Semitic prose and sporadic, violent action emerged into systematic industrial genocide—relied on myriad personalities not named Hitler, like Albert Speer, and organizations not named Nazi, like the Catholic Church (Goldhagen, 2002; Shirer, 1960; Speer, 1970). Hitler's venom, apparent in various speeches, and Nazi action, like Kristallnacht, solicited worldwide sympathy for Jews; the sympathy manifested in conferences (like in 1938 in Evian France, to discuss large-scale Jewish emigration) and attempted legislation (like the 1939 Wagner-Rogers Bill intended to rescue Jewish refugee children) but no action (Browning, 2004; Goldhagen, 2002; Shirer, 1960). European Jews were Hitler's primary—but not only—target and comprised roughly 6 of the 11 million victims (Bankier, 1992; Browning, 2004; Payne, 1973; Shirer, 1961). Just as the Holocaust did not originate entirely in the mid-20th century, genocide did not begin under Hitler and did not end in 1945 as has been documented in centuries prior and confirmed in each decade after (Goldhagen, 2009; Novick, 1999; Power, 2002). The Holocaust's significance is unsurpassed; its implications on political and military action regarding subsequent genocides are fluid. While every detail cannot be included in all trade books, it is important to investigate what was included (and omitted) and how it was included in trade books. This research juxtaposes trade books' content with historiography to explore how the Holocaust is historically represented within young adult literature.

## Methods

We utilized *inductive content analysis*, a rigorous qualitative approach, in all research components (Krippendorff, 2013; Maxwell, 2010; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). In order to establish a representative, sizeable, and current data pool, we used the three largest literature resources, viz. Amazon, Scholastic and Barnes and Noble, to collect the titles of all Holocaust-based children's trade books. We targeted only in-print trade books because these are available for teachers interested in adapting their curricula to adhere to state and national initiatives; teachers might be able to locate out-of-print books but it would be unwieldy to gather a class set. To determine the books' reading level, we triangulated data from Advantage/TASA Open Standard and, where available, Lexile, Grade Level Expectations and Developmental Reading Assessment. *Systematic sampling*, the most appropriate form of sampling for literature, ensured a representative sample of appropriate size as 25% ( $n=50$ ) of the books were randomly selected (see Appendix I, entitled "Data Pool"). The steps to establish a representative, random, current, and sizeable sample are consistent with best practice methods (Krippendorff, 2013).

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To generate empirically based findings, we utilized both open coding and axial coding (Krippendorff, 2013). We individually read each book and recorded observable patterns (and anomalies to the patterns). This initial step was an open coding scrutiny of the books' narratives. Notes about emergent patterns from the initial readings were then synthesized and became tentative codes for an axial coding scrutiny. We then reread each book to determine the presence (or absence) of the tentative codes and their frequency. In other words, we reevaluated each book to determine what was included, how it was represented (or misrepresented), and what was omitted. Particular attention was paid to how content was included because an adult writer might include historical content that an adolescent reader—with questionable prior knowledge—might not fully grasp. Our intent was to determine whether the historical content would be reasonably clear to a typical adolescent student who reads at the book's intended reading level. During this second rereading, we noted the need for distinctions between content that was explicitly detailed multiple times and content that was included but minimized or only included in the afterword, a section that a child might not read. Distinctions needed to be made, for instance, between books that detailed Hitler's many targets for extermination frequently throughout the narrative with those books that noted only Jews as targets within the narrative but mentioned in a single sentence in the afterword that non-Jewish victims made a sizeable portion of the victims of the Holocaust. The former was termed "explicitly detailed"; the latter earned the "included but minimized" denotation. We accomplished these distinctions during the third rereading. No new patterns in need of testing were located and, therefore, there was no need for a fourth reevaluation (see Appendix II, entitled "Content Analysis Tool"). This qualitative research project—from the data pool to the data sample to the data analyses—followed best practice research methods (Krippendorff, 2013; Maxwell, 2010; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The methodology corresponded with similar empirical research (Bickford, 2013a; Bickford et al., 2015; Bickford & Hunt, 2014; Bickford & Rich, 2014a, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b; Chick, 2006; Chick & Corle, 2012; Chick, Slekar, & Charles, 2010; Desai, 2014) and case study research (Schwebel, 2011; Williams, 2009) on children's and young adult literature.

### **Findings**

The historical significance of the Holocaust is not disputed so neither is its inclusion in world history curricula. The combination of its historical significance and a plethora of Holocaust-based trade books contribute significantly to its placement in English curricula. Teachers of either content likely trust the history within their selected material yet historicity was inconsistently achieved, as the findings demonstrate.

### ***Genre and Primary Sources***

Educators, like their students, largely trust the historicity of their selected curricular resources (Loewen, 1995; Wineburg, 2001). It would be antithetical to knowingly use historically misrepresentative or inaccurate material in a unit of such magnitude. Two particular characteristics about the reviewed literature contribute to this trust: genre and the incorporation of primary source material.

The majority of books ( $n=36$ ; 72%) were non-fiction with a variety of subgenres, which included narrative non-fiction, biography, diary, memoir and expository. A portion was historical fiction ( $n=14$ ;

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28%) with disclaimers about specific fictionalized aspects and strong claims of historical authenticity, if not accuracy. All of the books, thus, either connoted or denoted their effective historical representation of the Holocaust. Trade books' inclusion of primary source material perhaps contributed to an appearance of historicity. The majority ( $n=33$ ; 66%) incorporated photographs, excerpts from letters and speeches, and newspaper headlines that both supplemented the narrative and were consistent with its content. Many that did not include actual documents incorporated artistic representations of primary source material. The integration of historical documents contributed to an appearance of historicity.

Most of the books, thus, were non-fiction and integrated assorted primary source material (see Appendix III, entitled "Biographical Content", for specific details of each). Such characteristics would likely influence readers—both adolescents and educators—to trust the historical content within the trade books' narratives. The historical content that trade books omit, however, negatively impacted their actual historicity.

### ***History of Anti-Semitism***

The history of the Columbian Exchange did not begin when Christopher Columbus stepped on soil in the New World just as the Civil Rights Movement did not originate with Rosa Parks's bold move on the bus; the roots of each era extend a good distance back from these singular events. Historians contextualize the Holocaust's origins with details of centuries of anti-Semitic attitudes and pogroms (Browning, 1998; Goldhagen, 1997, 2013; Power, 2002), yet only a small amount of the trade books detailed this explicitly ( $n=15$ ; 30%). A paltry portion included minimized versions of this dubious history in a single sentence ( $n=3$ ; 6%). An adolescent reader would not likely grasp the historical significance of the Holocaust's origins with considerably minimized content, especially if it were relegated to a single sentence in the afterword like, "although there were periodic outbreaks of violence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for the most part the Jews [prospered]" (Pryor, 2011, p. 154). The vast majority failed to clearly convey Germany's history of anti-Semitism as half omitted such content entirely ( $n=25$ ; 50%) or vaguely implied it ( $n=7$ ; 14%). *Four Perfect Pebbles: A Holocaust Story* illustrates the latter,

Once again the long-smoldering hatred of the Jews, known as anti-Semitism—one of the oldest prejudices in the world—was fanned into flames. Today the year that is remembered as the beginning of the official racist activity in Germany is 1933. (Perl & Lazan, 1996, p. 14)

A young reader (likely) cannot comprehend the social isolation, political marginalization, violence and dehumanization that the author encoded in either of the previous excerpts. Many books that entirely omitted the content also included misleading prose, like how the German populace was "brainwashed into believing what they did was for a good cause" (Williams, 1996, p. 167). When germane historical context is minimized, vaguely included, or entirely omitted, an adolescent reader cannot effectively seize the nefarious interconnections between Europe's past and Hitler's Germany in the mid-20th century. In *Holocaust: Understanding and Remembering* (Strahinich, 1996), for instance, the reader is walked through the roots of anti-Semitism, with religious disagreement and its historical corollaries, like the intentional incineration of the Talmud and Jews themselves, placement in ghettos or their expulsion

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from the country, and social, political and economic marginalization (Strahinich, 1996). The historical content is graphic yet accurate; anything less is problematic (see Appendix IV, entitled "Historical Context, Pre-War Aid, Ordinary Germans, and Culpability", for specific details of each). The intent is not to shame any author that did not include such detail; teachers, though, should be aware of what is included, how it is included, what is omitted, and trade books' startlingly frequent omission of the Holocaust's origins.

### ***Pre-War (Non-)Assistance***

Hitler and Nazi Germany were brazen in words and action, as noted in contentious speeches, legal decrees, and strategic mob violence like Kristallnacht. Many outsiders were concerned with Nazi Germany's conspicuous hostility and sought to provide refuge for Jews intent on resettling or humanitarian aid. As the latter was denied, dialogue and legislation on the former emerged both internationally and within the United States. Three dozen countries sent delegates to Evian, France for a 9 day conference in 1938, which produced only excuses as to why their strict immigration quotas could not be relaxed. Save Kindertransport in England and other smaller efforts, the international community collectively turned their metaphorical backs. The Wagner-Rogers Bill, proposed in 1939 and again in 1940 in the U.S. Congress, sought to admit Jewish refugee children; many senators pleaded with President Roosevelt for executive action. The American legislative and executive branches each followed the world's seeming apathy as the Wagner-Rogers Bill went unsupported and Roosevelt offered kind words but no tangible help (Goodwin, 2013; Persico, 2002; Stafford, 2011).

Trade book authors largely disregarded the world's apparent indifference. Only a small portion ( $n=8$ ; 16%) explicitly detailed the world's inaction. For instance, "Delegates from 32 countries . . . rose one by one and spoke in sympathetic tones about the German refugee problem but all invariably followed with reasons why their country could not accept additional Jewish refugees" (Hasday, 2002, p. 68). A similarly small portion included vague content ( $n=5$ ; 10%) with references like "Other countries would not let them in" (Davidson, 2008, p. 24). The vast majority of trade books ( $n=37$ ; 74%) entirely omitted the history of the world's collective inaction (see Appendix IV, entitled "Historical Context, Pre-War Aid, Ordinary Germans, and Culpability", for specific details of each).

Noting that the overwhelming majority of trade books omitted content about the United States's failure to intervene does not intend to connote that the United States should be directly blamed for the Holocaust. That responsibility firmly lies at the boots of Nazis, their supporters within Germany, and non-German Nazi sympathizers. It is through hindsight, or with a presentist lens, that American non-involvement generates virulence. When contextualized, President Roosevelt's and American senators' bystander stance appears dismissive of potential danger, consistent with its current practice, pragmatic in action, but not decidedly anti-Semitic: the Great War—with an entangling start and a brutal, costly result—was less than a generation prior and resonated in isolationist political stance and popular sentiment throughout the 1920s and 1930s; America's non-assistance mirrored that of the international community; and xenophobic sentiment and an intolerance for renewed immigration was sustained throughout the first half of the 20th century, especially with regard to those who did not hail from western Europe. Anti-Semitism was perhaps a factor, but not the only factor, that contributed to

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inaction. Such factors explain, but do not excuse, America's seeming indifference (Goodwin, 2013; Persico, 2002; Stafford, 2011). While non-involvement to stop genocide from afar (i.e., United States) appears horrendous in hindsight, it should not be given equal blame with those who initiated genocide (i.e., Nazi Germany), facilitated genocide (i.e., Poland), or stood idly by while in close proximity to the aforementioned genocide (i.e., ordinary Germans). As Santayanan logic—that history's significance lies in learning from past mistakes—informs curricular decisions to incorporate Holocaust content, students should be made aware of the world's collective bystander stance and the resultant implications (Loewen, 1995, 2010). Trade books overwhelmingly failed to do. Teachers should consider such information when making selections.

### ***Non-Jewish German Citizens' Involvement***

Adolf Hitler could not have compelled compliance nor gained active participation from unwilling, unreceptive citizens. Ordinary Germans of non-Jewish ancestry hailed Hitler's speeches and cheered Nazi parades. In both discourse and deed, ordinary Germans actively performed anti-Semitic Nazi ideology. Dissenters concealed their sentiments or risked arrest as nearly all of Germany contributed to Nazi reign and terror (Bankier, 1992; Browning, 1998; Goldhagen, 1997).

Only a small portion of trade books ( $n=7$ ; 14%) explicitly detailed ordinary Germans' willingness to marginalize, or their acquiescence in the marginalization of, Jewish citizens and other targets. Stated differently, over four-fifths of the trade books ( $n=43$ ; 86%) failed to explicitly note that the vast majority of ordinary Germans' supported—or failed to resist—Hitler. In *Escape: Children of the Holocaust* (Zullo, 2009), for example, it was noted that most ordinary Germans actively contributed while “only one half of one percent of European non-Jews—some of them known as Righteous Gentiles—risked their lives to assist and hide Jews from the Nazis” (p. xi). While inimical for those involved, this finding about trade books is historically representative of ordinary Germans' complicity or acquiescence (Browning, 1998; Goldhagen, 1997). Large portions of trade books portrayed ordinary Germans as benevolent ( $n=8$ ; 16%) or an assortment of good and bad ( $n=27$ ; 54%), which is historically misrepresentative. Exceptionalism and disproportionality, two distinct historical misrepresentations, emerge when the anomaly is characterized as typical or when not appropriately contextualized. Omission, also a historical misrepresentation, manifested as many trade books ( $n=8$ ; 16%) failed to portray ordinary Germans' involvement at all (see Appendix IV, entitled “Historical Context, Pre-War Aid, Ordinary Germans, and Culpability”, for specific details of each). It is ahistorical to portray the majority of ordinary Germans as anything other than contributory to or acquiescent in the marginalization and murder of Jews and other members of society. The historical misrepresentations of exceptionalism, disproportionality, and omission need to be disentangled and examined separately.

Exceptionalism, a historical misrepresentation, emerges whenever only the atypical is presented and the typical is omitted or when the anomaly is not contextualized within the framework of the archetypal (Bickford & Rich, 2014a, 2014b). While some Germans (or citizens under Nazi control) heroically aided Hitler's targets and risked everything to resist Hitler's aggressive anti-Semitic ideology, they were exceedingly anomalous. Most actively supported or passively accepted it. Some books, like Darryl Lyman's (1999) *Holocaust Rescuers: Ten Stories of Courage*, are sated with anecdotes of non-Jewish

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rescuers and include only such anomalies. Examples of exceptional individuals do exist in history and should be celebrated, yet Oskar Schindler's actions do not historically represent archetypal German citizens just as Harriet Tubman's experiences fail to historically represent the typical slave's experience. When only exceptionalist stories like that of Oskar Schindler are told, young readers' understandings of Germans' participation are easily skewed. Exceptionalism manifests in history-based trade books because the unusual, incredible stories captivate readers (Schwebel, 2011). While exceptionalist narratives are historically misrepresentative, they should not be banned but instead balanced with historically representative material.

Disproportionality, a historical misrepresentation, manifests when narratives balance the good with the bad and fail to note on which side the majority resides. To state that some ordinary Germans (and citizens of German-occupied lands) were benevolent and others were malevolent is historically accurate but incomplete; it does not detail proportion, and specifically which portion was larger. Disproportionality manifests when ordinary Germans are presented as a balanced mixture of benevolent and malevolent. While distinctly different responses to Nazi power emerged among the German populace, they were not equal. It is more precise, and historically representative, to state that the vast majority of ordinary Germans (and citizens of German-occupied lands) did not act benevolently towards Jews and Hitler's other targets. Similarly, some white abolitionist women actively agitated in the antebellum American South prior to slavery's end, yet they were exceedingly anomalous (Laughlin-Schultz, 2013). It would be historically misrepresentative if a trade book only told these white American abolitionist women's stories and did not designate them as highly unusual within a broad context of white women's support of, or non-resistance to, slavery. To balance an exceptional example with a typical example connotes, especially to the adolescent reader, a proportional relationship that did not exist. In *Simon's Escape: A Story of the Holocaust* (Pryor, 2011), disproportionality is exemplified:

*Although many Polish people betrayed their Jewish friends and neighbors, many others hid and protected Jews [italics added].* The punishment for helping a Jew was death, not only for that person but also the whole family. Still, after the war Jewish people stepped out of attics, basements, and barns where they had been hiding for years. One social worker named Irena Sendler and her helpers even managed to smuggle 2,500 babies out of the Warsaw ghetto. (p. 159)

Many Polish and German citizens did hide and protect Jews but most did not. A few thousand babies were smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto, yet millions of Jewish children were asphyxiated in the gas chambers near towns filled with houses of acquiescent or enthusiastic citizens. Adolescent readers would have a skewed understanding if the only text they read presented—or implied by not explicitly stating otherwise—an equal balance of benevolence and malevolence in Nazi Germany (and German-occupied lands). In the research literature about history-based trade books, disproportionality is a previously unidentified historical misrepresentation.

Omission, a historical misrepresentation, materializes when relevant events and considerations are disregarded (Bickford, 2013a; Bickford & Hunt, 2014). A narrative about the Holocaust must include more than simply Nazis and Jews. To utterly disregard ordinary Germans results in their unintentional

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pardoning as they do not receive—in the trade books—the necessary and appropriate blame for their active contribution or acquiescence. To be clear, absolution is not explicitly granted when ordinary Germans' contributions or acquiescence are omitted from trade books' narratives but neither is blame; blame was historically earned and absolution was not. Omission is quite common in history-based trade books (Bickford & Rich, 2015a, 2015b).

Exceptionalism, disproportionality and omission emerged in the majority of trade books as the narratives traversed (or failed to traverse) non-Jewish Germans' (or citizens of German-occupied lands) involvement and culpability. Scholars debate if non-Jewish Germans were *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (Goldhagen, 1997, 2002) or *Ordinary Men* compelled to contribute (Browning, 1998, 2004), yet converge in agreement that nearly Germans actively contributed or acquiesced to Nazi ideology. It is ahistorical to claim otherwise (Bankier, 1992). Educators should be aware that trade books largely do. Those that historically misrepresent should not be removed from the classroom but balanced with more representative material.

### ***Origins of the Holocaust***

The Holocaust originated from Hitler, the Nazis, and many other contextual elements of pre-war Germany. Hitler cannot be solely blamed and neither can the Nazis because industrial genocide would not likely have emerged in a land that did not have the numerous, negative variables of pre-war Germany. All three variables—Hitler, the Nazis and the context of pre-war Germany—are foundational elements of the Holocaust's origin. While the context of pre-war Germany can easily be obfuscated when not overtly addressed, historians recognize its inextricably intertwined nature with Hitler and the Nazis (Bankier, 1992; Browning, 2004; Goldhagen, 1997; Shirer, 1960, 1961). Germany's humiliation at Versailles, the subsequent ensnaring financial burdens, the 1930s worldwide depression, and, arguably most relevant, the ubiquity of virulent anti-Semitism were endemic to pre-war Germany. Each factor fertilized the soil for Hitler's garden work. Hitler's vision of an Aryan-only empire, refined by various Nazi party elite, depended upon and benefited from ordinary Germans' acceptance and involvement.

The majority of trade books only attributed blame to Hitler and the Nazis ( $n=28$ ; 56%). A smaller portion ( $n=21$ ; 42%) appropriately noted how the context of pre-war Germany contributed. Only one book failed to specify blame and included only a faceless, fearsome "them" in black boots and helmets, a likely substitution for the Nazis (Vander Zee, 2003). Therefore, while most every author targeted Hitler or the Nazis as blameworthy, the majority disregarded the context of pre-war Germany (see Appendix IV, entitled "Historical Context, Pre-War Aid, Ordinary Germans, and Culpability", for specific details of each).

Books that did not reference Germany's pre-war context engaged in two historical misrepresentations: omission (of economic variables and ordinary Germans' culpability) and exceptionalism (of Hitler's persuasion and Nazi party power). Each historical misrepresentation deserves discussion. German economic conditions contributed mightily as desperation engendered receptivity to ideas or people that might have otherwise generated caution. The German populace was literally starving for assistance and figuratively starving for a scapegoat. Anti-Semitism, emergent throughout Europe, was particularly

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entrenched in Germany where it festered through economic, political and social marginalization before eruption in pogroms; this pattern occurred throughout the centuries (Goldhagen, 1997). Anti-Semitism grew not in the German architecture nor in the German exports, but in the German people. Hitler directed a thirsty population towards an agreeable pond from which to drink.

Such omissions—of economic variables and ordinary Germans' culpability—contribute to an exceptional paradigm of Hitler and the Nazis. Stated simply, Hitler's persuasion and Nazi power are given preeminence when authors omit Germany's economic desperation and ordinary Germans' ubiquitous anti-Semitism. While Hitler elicited interest outside of Germany, other populations were far less receptive. Hitler and the Nazis sold a product to a willing customer. Scholars recognize the tangled relationship between leader, followers, and the contributing factors endemic to the context of pre-war Germany (Browning, 1998, 2004; Goldhagen, 1997); trade book authors largely did not. Such omission generated an exceptionalist paradigm in the adolescent reader's mind: Hitler and the Nazis were the bad guys; they started this; without them, no one would have hurt the Jews. Teachers should be aware of how their selected trade books' represent the Holocaust's origins, which preceded Hitler, the Nazis and 1933. Considering trade books' blatant omission of the origins of slavery (Bickford & Rich, 2014b; Schwebel, 2011; Williams, 2009), it was unsurprising that the majority of trade books did not adequately historicize the Holocaust's origin.

### **Ghetto Life**

The industrial genocide, defined by the systematic use of gas chambers and ovens in concentration camps, was preceded by horrendous living conditions in ghettos and forced labor camps. Scholars chronologically characterize the elements of prisoners' experiences as including relocation, loss of possessions, starvation and disease, arbitrary rules and harsh punishments, and death or near-death survival (Bankier, 1992; Browning, 2004; Goldhagen, 1997; Shirer, 1960, 1961). The majority of trade books ( $n=32$ ; 64%) explicitly noted all or most stages (see Appendix V, entitled "Ghettos, Victims, and Other Genocides", for specific details of each). For example, "There, in crowded, unsanitary conditions, the Jews tried to keep themselves and their dignity alive. In the end, those who did not die of hunger or disease in the ghettos were doomed to death in the concentration camps" (Finkelstein, 2004, p. 20). An adolescent reading this narrative non-fiction would grasp the historical significance of the ghettos. The gravity of ghetto life was also effectively told in historical fiction; for instance, "A woman carrying a baby suddenly broke loose from the line and started to run. Several shots rang out and the woman fell dead in the street. . . . The soldier killed the baby, too" (Pryor, 2011, p. 45). Such inclusion was not ubiquitous.

A sizeable portion of narratives did not explicitly detail the antecedent to industrial genocide. Some books minimized it ( $n=3$ ; 6%) to a single sentence that contained only a few of the elements noted above. Others referenced it vaguely ( $n=8$ ; 16%). In *Hidden: A Child's Story of the Holocaust* (Dauvillier, 2012), a historical fiction example, the only reference was unclear: "I didn't know what a camp was . . . and no one would explain it to me. They weren't being mean. They wanted to protect me" (p. 63). A well-intentioned teacher might not realize that crucial details were omitted entirely ( $n=7$ ; 14%) from a sizeable portion of trade books. Even expository texts, like Ann Byers's (2012) *Saving Children from the Holocaust: The Kindertransport*, were guilty of omission of this relevant aspect of the Holocaust. It could

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be argued that depiction of ghetto life is unnecessary for inclusion in trade books about Kindertransport since children rescued through Kindertransport did not experience ghetto life or would not have survived the initial reduction line at camps' entry point. In response, a sizeable number of those rescued on Kindertransport were preteens and adolescents, old enough to meet the minimum age requirement to circumvent initial extermination and die of disease, like Anne Frank who died of typhus in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp at age 15. Kindertransport prevented these children from experiencing ghetto life, but ghetto life was an integral aspect of the Holocaust; adolescent readers must be confronted with its reality in order to grasp its historical significance. Books that do not detail it explicitly should not be discarded, but teachers can recognize and balance the historical misrepresentations within their selected literature.

### ***Victims***

Hitler's primary objective for extermination was Jews, yet he targeted many others. These included, but were not limited to, non-Europeans and eastern Europeans (Africans, Ukrainians, Poles, Slavs, etc.), prisoners of war, political enemies (communists, socialists, anarchists, etc.), religious dissidents (Catholics, Freemasons, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc.), homosexual and transgender individuals, and people with cognitive or physical disabilities (Browning, 1998; Goldhagen, 1997; Novick, 1999). The majority of trade books, however, explicitly referenced only Jews ( $n=27$ ; 54%) and omitted all non-Jewish Holocaust victims. A smaller portion ( $n=22$ ; 44%) denoted a more comprehensive list, yet most of these references were in the afterword and not the narrative (see Appendix V, entitled "Ghettos, Victims, and Other Genocides", for specific details of each). One book named no victims other than Papa, a rebel who died fighting the Nazis (Russo, 2011). This pattern is, at best, limiting students' historical understandings and, at worst, disingenuous to the victims.

The omission of non-Jewish Holocaust victims is increasingly more glaring when one considers the total numbers of victims. While pseudo-historians engage in Holocaust revisionism (Irving, 2002), scholars converge in agreement that 11 million people were killed during the Holocaust, six million of which were Jews (Browning, 1998; Goldhagen, 1997; Novick, 1999). Non-Jewish Holocaust victims, almost half of the aggregate, were oft-neglected in the trade books. Only a paltry percentage of trade books explicitly recognized 11 million Jews and non-Jewish victims ( $n=10$ ; 20%). A larger portion made no mention of non-Jewish victims and explicitly recognized only six million Jews ( $n=15$ ; 30%). A small collection ( $n=7$ ; 14%) referenced divergent totals, some higher and some lower than scholars' accepted figures: "[Hitler] had succeeded in murdering over three million Jews, along with many of his other 'undesirables'" (Robbins, 2011, p. 82); "six million Jews as well as seven million others that Hitler declared inferior" (Whelan, 2009, p. 116). The largest portion of books ( $n=18$ ; 36%) failed to denote a specific number of victims (see Appendix V, entitled "Ghettos, Victims, and Other Genocides", for specific details).

The majority of history-based trade books, thus, did not include an accurate total number of victims and did not include an inclusive list of groups targeted. Considering the total size and diverse victims within Holocaust, such omissions appear egregious and unsettling. Mindful educators would not knowingly propagate such omissions.

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### ***Genocidal Antecedents and Recurrences***

Santayanan logic, or learning history to avoid repeated mistakes, is manifest within “never again”, an oft-used phrase to memorialize the Holocaust (Loewen, 2010). The proceedings of the Nuremberg trials, the 1948 Genocide Convention, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights contributed to the world’s collective aspiration to never again permit genocide. While *never again* is at the foundation for students understanding the Holocaust’s place within history’s timeline, the vast majority of trade books failed to properly contextualize it within the framework of 20th century genocide. Nearly every book ( $n=46$ ; 92%) omitted all mention of pre-Holocaust genocides and post-Holocaust ethnic extermination attempts in Cambodia, Rwanda, Iraq and the Soviet Union (see Appendix V, entitled “Ghettos, Victims, and Other Genocides”, for specific details). Only two (4%) explicitly recognized any other cases of genocide (Meltzer, 1991; Willoughby, 2001) with prose like, “In Indochina, in Indonesia, in Biafra, in Bangladesh, there have been mass exterminations: all post-Hitler” (Meltzer, 1991, p. 192). A similarly small portion vaguely referenced other genocides ( $n=2$ ; 4%) with encoded prose like, “And as the world grew more and more advanced technologically, it seemed to grow more and more tolerant of terror and human suffering” (Bitton-Jackson, 1998, p. 11); “If people don’t speak out, other mass killings will happen. Some already have” (Houghton, 2004, p. 35). Adolescent readers would not likely grasp the historical implications within the indistinct prose.

The data indicate the presence of two historical misrepresentations: omission and chronological ethnocentrism. Omission of, or vague references to, other genocidal acts misrepresents history by granting an undeserved exclusivity to *the* Holocaust. Quite simply, the Holocaust was not the only holocaust nor did it register the largest victim count (Novick, 1999; Powers, 2002). Chronological ethnocentrism implicitly emerges when contemporary society is portrayed as better than her predecessors (Bickford & Rich, 2014b; Loewen, 2010). Chronological ethnocentrism, thus, is a corollary to omission as a young reader likely (and wrongly) concludes that such hostility and vengeance are relics of a distant past; chronological ethnocentrism manifested through trade books’ omission of more recent genocides. Genocide was not exclusive to Germany and German-occupied territories during the Second World War, yet the Holocaust was exceptional for its industrial approach and inhumanity.

### **Discussion**

Adolescents could readily identify the misrepresentation within a lottery advertisement that states: some people win the lottery and some people lose. They are old enough to know some people do win but *most* lose. They have experience with advertisements, advertisers’ skewed claims, and the (un)likelihood of lottery success. Research indicates, however, students unnecessarily defer to textbooks’ facts and trust its content (Loewen, 2010; Wineburg, 2001). Considering our findings, students’ trust in trade books’ narratives is unearned. Teachers, especially those without a robust history background, may also unnecessarily defer to the content. Trade books, however, should not be jettisoned. They have engaging prose and unique tales (Schwebel, 2014). Teachers have invested a good deal of money to purchase a class set of a single novel or a few sets of multiple titles for differentiated literacy groups (Schwebel, 2011). Trade books, however, could be used differently. We offer three important suggestions to interested teachers.

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First, trade books should be viewed and used for what they are: secondary historical texts written in age-appropriate ways for younger audiences. The narrative is not a primary source but an author's construction. Whether historical fiction or non-fiction, trade books are based on history, yet they are also products of their time period and reveal their author's fingerprints (Schwebel, 2011, 2014). To prepare students for college and career readiness, teachers can facilitate students' criticality and content area literacy using age-appropriate, discipline-specific resources. Students, among other things, are to scrutinize informational texts for perspective (or bias), use of evidence and connections to related informational texts (NGA & CCSSO, 2010). American educational initiatives mandate these cognitive tasks, which are widely used in other first world countries. Such activities enable students to think historically by skillfully deploying historians' cognitive devices with diverse, complicated texts (Bickford, 2013b; Schwebel, 2011, 2014; Wineburg, 2001). Historians scrutinize all historical texts—primary and secondary, visual and text-based—for historicity (Nokes, 2011). Trade books, like textbooks, are not objective summaries of history and should be used as curricular tools for examination (Loewen, 2010; Schwebel, 2011, 2014; Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2011). Trade books should be juxtaposed with each other and supplemented with primary source material for students to examine for areas of convergence and divergence (Bickford, 2013b). Whether reading a trade book in a literacy circle or whole class format, teachers can target specific historical lacunae through primary source integration. Germane historical documents, like those within "Supplementary Primary Sources" (Appendix VI), are readily available and free for classroom use within digital repositories like The Library of Congress and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Figure 1 demonstrates anti-Semitism's dubious history; Figures 2, 3 and 4 indicate collective attempts to aid Hitler's targets; Figures 5 and 6 illustrate ordinary Germans' acquiescence or non-resistance to Hitler; Figure 7 demonstrates the presence of ghettos; Figure 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 indicate that Hitler targeted non-Jewish citizens; and Figures 13, 14, 15 and 16 represent genocidal antecedents and recurrences. This is an illustrative sampling, not an exhaustive collection, of the ocean of primary source material available for teachers. Whereas juxtaposition makes the distinctions between two colors more apparent, teachers' primary source integration enables students to more readily identify distinctions between dissimilar texts.

Second, educators should resist reliance on a single trade book. Critiques could be leveled at every trade book because no single book, especially a historical fiction text or a biography, can cover every topic. Trade books should be expected to engage students and immerse them in a topic; they should not be expected to definitively detail every relevant historical aspect. No book—no matter how iconic, compelling, or engaging—is worthy of the implicit deification that goes along with the status as the class novel. The reviewed non-fiction books, which likely had a more rigorous vetting process than historical fiction texts, revealed significant flaws as many failed to detail the influence of pre-war Germany context and most disregarded all other genocidal acts. Anne Frank's (1993) diary is iconic and deserving of the superlatives it has garnered from international circles; it is historically misrepresentative of the Holocaust much like how the events on December 7, 1941 are not representative of a typical day in Hawaii. Even if the prologue, narrative, and afterword are read in their entirety, the reader must confront various historical misrepresentations, some of which are perhaps obscure to an adolescent. Exceptionalism emerged as benevolent non-Jewish citizens hide her family. The history of anti-Semitism, various factors contributing to the Holocaust's origins, the world's collective inaction prior to the

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Holocaust, ghetto life, non-Jewish Holocaust victims, subsequent genocides, and various other aspects are all absent. These historical misrepresentations are conspicuous to historians, blurred to adolescents bereft of strong historical background, and entirely concealed to students first learning about the Holocaust. Frank's (1993) diary is an iconic book worthy of inclusion in any classroom, yet leaves students ignorant of consequential elements of the Holocaust when read in isolation. It must be supplemented with germane primary sources or juxtaposed with a more historically representative trade book.

Finally, teachers should not jettison or censor graphic content. The Holocaust, as much as any other 20th century historical event, deserves full consideration. Due to its complex nature and the immense mental capacity required to fully comprehend its atrocities, teachers must grasp important elements—like those noted above—before planning any Holocaust curricula (Lindquist, 2007). Teachers should use discretion in choosing to teach the Holocaust because cruel, vile elements are relevant and should not be omitted or sanitized. If students are too young to be exposed to the graphic nature of the events, then they are not ready to comprehend humans' inhumanity. Bombarding students with horrific facts and ghastly images, however, is similarly not an appropriate course of action. Holocaust instruction should be carefully constructed with pedagogical appropriateness in mind, in order that students may analyze it both accurately and safely (Lindquist, 2007). Educators should consider David Lindquist's (2007) suggestions in avoiding inappropriate Holocaust pedagogy that reduces victims' suffering to, say, word problems in mathematics. Likewise, to minimize victims' horrific experiences by having students simulate a cramped, imaginary boxcar can only result in an impossibly skewed view of the historical events. Such approaches, regardless of intent, inhibit students' understandings. Educators should cultivate, instead, a sense of empathy for the victims along with the inquiry skills necessary to examine the Holocaust's roots and contemporary reverberations.

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**Appendix II – Content Analysis Protocol**

1. Author's name, publication date, title, company.
2. What is the book's genre? Would this be clear to a young reader?
  - a. Historical fiction
  - b. Non-fiction (narrative non-fiction, biography, diary, memoir, expository)
3. Did the book incorporate primary sources?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No/omitted
4. How did the book note the history of anti-Semitism and/or pogroms in Europe?
  - a. Explicit and detailed\*
  - b. Included but minimized\*\*
  - c. Implicit/vague
  - d. Omitted
5. How did the book detail pre-war or pre-Holocaust efforts by other countries to help Jews?
  - a. Explicit and detailed\*
  - b. Included but minimized\*\*
  - c. Implicit/vague
  - d. Omitted
6. Which specific historical events were recognized or integrated within this book?
7. How did non-Jewish, German citizens respond to Hitler and Nazi ideology?
  - a. Contributory or acquiescent towards Nazis
  - b. Resistant towards Nazis and benevolent towards Jews
  - c. A balanced mixture of contributory/acquiescent and resistant/benevolent
  - d. Indistinct, vague, or omitted
8. How did the book describe the Holocaust's origin, specifically who initiated and contributed?
  - a. Hitler and Nazi party
  - b. Hitler, Nazi party, and the context of pre-war Germany
  - c. No blame given or indistinct
9. How did the book detail living conditions in the ghettos and death camps?
  - a. Explicit and detailed\*
  - b. Included but minimized\*\*
  - c. Implicit/vague
  - d. Omitted
10. Who did the book identify as Holocaust victims?
  - a. Jews only
    - i. Noted in the narrative (and possibly the Afterword or Prologue)
    - ii. Mentioned only in the Afterword or Prologue
  - b. Jews and others
    - i. Noted in the narrative (and possibly the Afterword or Prologue)
    - ii. Mentioned only in the Afterword or Prologue
  - c. Indistinct or omitted

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11. What was the number used to denote the total number of Holocaust victims?
  - a. Six million Jews
    - i. Noted in the narrative (and possibly the Afterword or Prologue)
    - ii. Mentioned only in the Afterword or Prologue
  - b. 11 million Jews and others
    - i. Noted in the narrative (and possibly the Afterword or Prologue)
    - ii. Mentioned only in the Afterword or Prologue
  - c. Something else
  - d. Omitted
12. How did the narrative end?
13. Did the book recognize any other cases of genocide after the Holocaust?
  - a. Explicit and detailed\*
  - b. Included but minimized\*\*
  - c. Implicit/vague
  - d. Omitted
14. Were any parts of the book historically misrepresentative, inaccurate, problematic, or too vaguely explained for the intended age of the reader?

\* To earn the denotation of *Explicit and Detailed*, it must be the central theme in two or more sentences; at least one of which is in the narrative while the other could be in the afterward or prologue.

\*\* To earn the denotation of *Included but Minimized*, it must be clearly noted or mentioned once but only once in either the narrative or the afterward; it does not have to be the main theme of the sentence.

**Appendix III – Bibliographic Content**

Author; Year	Title	Genre	Primary Sources
Abramson, A. (2007)	Who was Anne Frank?	Non-Fiction	No
Adler, D. (1989)	We remember the Holocaust.	Non-Fiction	Yes
Adler, D. (1994)	Hilde and Eli, children of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Adler, D. (2002)	A hero and the Holocaust: The story of Janusz Korczak and his children	Non-Fiction	Yes
Altman, L. (1998)	The Holocaust ghettos	Non-Fiction	Yes
Arato, R. (2013)	The Last Train: A Holocaust Story	Non-Fiction	Yes
Auerbacher, I. (1993)	I Am a Star: Child of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Bachrach, S. (1994)	Tell them we remember: The story of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Bitton-Jackson, L. (1998)	I have lived a thousand years: Growing up in the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Byers, A. (2012)	Saving children from the Holocaust: The Kindertransport	Non-Fiction	Yes
Dauvillier, L. (2012)	Hidden: A child's story of the Holocaust	Historical Fiction	No
Davidson, S. (2008)	The Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Drucker, M. (1993)	Jacob's rescue: A Holocaust story	Historical Fiction	Yes
Finkelstein, N. (2004)	Remember not to forget: A memory of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	No
Fitzgerald, S. (2011)	Children of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Frank, A. (1993)	The diary of a young girl	Non-Fiction	Yes

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Goldman, A. (2000)	I am a Holocaust Torah	Non-Fiction	No
Hasday, J. (2002)	The Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Houghton, S. (2004)	Elie Wiesel: A Holocaust survivor cries out for peace	Non-Fiction	Yes
Johnston, T. (2004)	The harmonica	Historical Fiction	No
Kerr, J. (2009)	When Hitler stole Pink Rabbit.	Historical Fiction	No
Landau, E. (2001)	Holocaust memories: Speaking the truth	Non-Fiction	Yes
Levi, P. (2010)	Survival in Auschwitz	Non-Fiction	No
Leyson, L. (2013)	The Boy on the Wooden Box: How the Impossible Became Possible...on Schindler's List	Non-Fiction	Yes
Lowry, L. (2011)	Number the Stars	Historical Fiction	No
Lyman, D. (1999)	Holocaust rescuers: Ten stories of courage	Non-Fiction	Yes
Meltzer, M. (1991)	Never to forget: The Jews of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Orlev, U. (1991)	The island on Bird Street	Historical Fiction	No
Perl, L. (1996)	Four perfect pebbles: A Holocaust story	Non-Fiction	Yes
Preus, M. (2012)	Shadow on the mountain	Historical Fiction	Yes
Pryor, B. (2011)	Simon's escape: A story of the Holocaust	Historical Fiction	Yes
Resnick, A. (2000)	The Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Robbins, T. (2011)	Lily Renée, escape artist: From Holocaust survivor to comic book pioneer	Historical Fiction	Yes
Roseman, K. (1998)	Escape from the Holocaust	Historical Fiction	No
Ruelle, K. (2009)	The Grand Mosque of Paris: A Story of How Muslims Rescued Jews During the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes

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Russo, M. (2011)	I will come back for you	Non-Fiction	Yes
Senker, C. (2006)	Surviving the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Strahinich, H. (1996)	Holocaust: Understanding and remembering	Non-Fiction	Yes
Taylor, P. (2007)	The Secret of Priest's Grotto: A Holocaust Survival Story	Non-Fiction	Yes
Thomson, R. (2011)	Terezin: Voices from the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Tonge, N. (2009)	The Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Vander Zee, R. (2003)	Erika's story	Non-Fiction	No
Whelan, G. (2009)	After the train	Historical Fiction	No
Wiesel, E. (2006)	Night	Non-Fiction	No
Williams, L. (1996)	Behind the bedroom wall	Historical Fiction	No
Willoughby, S. (2001)	The Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes
Wiviott, M. (2010)	Benno and the Night of Broken Glass	Historical Fiction	No
Yolen, J. (2004)	The devil's arithmetic	Historical Fiction	No
Zullo, A. (2009)	Escape: Children of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	No
Zullo, A. (2012)	We fought back: Teen resisters of the Holocaust	Non-Fiction	Yes

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**Appendix IV – Historical Context, Pre-War Aid, Ordinary Germans, and Culpability**

Author; Year	History of Anti-Semitism	Pre-War Help	Ordinary Germans' Response	Blame for Holocaust
Abramson, A. (2007)	Explicit	Omitted	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	Hitler & Nazis
Adler, D. (1989)	Explicit	Explicit	Omitted	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Adler, D. (1994)	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Adler, D. (2002)	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Hitler & Nazis
Altman, L. (1998)	Explicit	Omitted	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Arato, R. (2013)	Implicit	Omitted	Contributory / Acquiescent	Hitler & Nazis
Auerbacher, I. (1993)	Explicit	Explicit	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Bachrach, S. (1994)	Explicit	Explicit	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Bitton-Jackson, L. (1998)	Minimized	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Byers, A. (2012)	Implicit	Explicit	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Dauvillier, L. (2012)	Omitted	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Davidson, S. (2008)	Explicit	Implicit	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Drucker, M. (1993)	Omitted	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Finkelstein, N. (2004)	Explicit	Omitted	Contributory / Acquiescent	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Fitzgerald, S. (2011)	Omitted	Explicit	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis

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Frank, A. (1993)	Minimized	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Goldman, A. (2000)	Implicit	Implicit	Omitted	Hitler & Nazis
Hasday, J. (2002)	Explicit	Explicit	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Houghton, S. (2004)	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Hitler & Nazis
Johnston, T. (2004)	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Hitler & Nazis
Kerr, J. (2009)	Omitted	Implicit	Omitted	Hitler & Nazis
Landau, E. (2001)	Omitted	Implicit	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Levi, P. (2010)	Omitted	Omitted	Contributory / Acquiescent	Hitler & Nazis
Leyson, L. (2013)	Explicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Lowry, L. (2011)	Omitted	Omitted	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	Hitler & Nazis
Lyman, D. (1999)	Explicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Meltzer, M. (1991)	Explicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Orlev, U. (1991)	Omitted	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Perl, L. (1996)	Implicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Preus, M. (2012)	Omitted	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Pryor, B. (2011)	Minimized	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Resnick, A. (2000)	Explicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Robbins, T. (2011)	Omitted	Explicit	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis

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Roseman, K. (1998)	Implicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Ruelle, K. (2009)	Omitted	Omitted	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	Hitler & Nazis
Russo, M. (2011)	Omitted	Omitted	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	Hitler & Nazis
Senker, C. (2006)	Omitted	Implicit	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Strahinich, H. (1996)	Explicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Taylor, P. (2007)	Implicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Thomson, R. (2011)	Omitted	Omitted	Contributory / Acquiescent	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Tonge, N. (2009)	Explicit	Explicit	Contributory / Acquiescent	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Vander Zee, R. (2003)	Omitted	Omitted	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	No Blame
Whelan, G. (2009)	Implicit	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
Wiesel, E. (2006)	Omitted	Omitted	Contributory / Acquiescent	Hitler & Nazis
Williams, L. (1996)	Omitted	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Willoughby, S. (2001)	Explicit	Omitted	Resistant to Nazis / Benevolent to Jews	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany
Wiviott, M. (2010)	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Hitler & Nazis
Yolen, J. (2004)	Omitted	Omitted	Contributory / Acquiescent	Hitler & Nazis
Zullo, A. (2009)	Omitted	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler, Nazis & context of pre-war Germany

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Zullo, A. (2012)	Omitted	Omitted	Mixture	Hitler & Nazis
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**Appendix V – Ghettos, Victims, and Other Genocides**

Author; Year	Ghetto Conditions	Victim Groups	Number of Victims	Recognition of Other Genocides
Abramson, A. (2007)	Minimized	Jews & others	Something else	Omitted
Adler, D. (1989)	Explicit	Jews & others	Six million Jews	Omitted
Adler, D. (1994)	Implicit	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Adler, D. (2002)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Altman, L. (1998)	Explicit	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Arato, R. (2013)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Auerbacher, I. (1993)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Bachrach, S. (1994)	Explicit	Jews & others	Something else	Omitted
Bitton-Jackson, L. (1998)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Implicit
Byers, A. (2012)	Omitted	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Dauvillier, L. (2012)	Implicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Davidson, S. (2008)	Explicit	Jews & others	Six million Jews	Omitted
Drucker, M. (1993)	Explicit	Jews only	Something else	Omitted
Finkelstein, N. (2004)	Explicit	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Fitzgerald, S. (2011)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Frank, A. (1993)	Implicit	Jews & others	Something else	Omitted
Goldman, A. (2000)	Omitted	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Hasday, J. (2002)	Explicit	Jews & others	Six million Jews	Omitted

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Houghton, S. (2004)	Explicit	Jews & others	Six million Jews	Implicit
Johnston, T. (2004)	Implicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Kerr, J. (2009)	Implicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Landau, E. (2001)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Levi, P. (2010)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Leyson, L. (2013)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Lowry, L. (2011)	Omitted	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Lyman, D. (1999)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Meltzer, M. (1991)	Explicit	Jews & others	Six million Jews	Explicit
Orlev, U. (1991)	Implicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Perl, L. (1996)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Preus, M. (2012)	Omitted	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Pryor, B. (2011)	Explicit	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Resnick, A. (2000)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Robbins, T. (2011)	Minimized	Jews & others	Something else	Omitted
Roseman, K. (1998)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Ruelle, K. (2009)	Implicit	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Russo, M. (2011)	Implicit	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
Senker, C. (2006)	Explicit	Jews & others	Something else	Omitted

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Strahinich, H. (1996)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Taylor, P. (2007)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Thomson, R. (2011)	Explicit	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Tonge, N. (2009)	Explicit	Jews & others	Something else	Omitted
Vander Zee, R. (2003)	Minimized	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Whelan, G. (2009)	Omitted	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Wiesel, E. (2006)	Explicit	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted
Williams, L. (1996)	Omitted	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Willoughby, S. (2001)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Explicit
Wiviott, M. (2010)	Omitted	Jews only	Omitted	Omitted
Yolen, J. (2004)	Explicit	Jews & others	Six million Jews	Omitted
Zullo, A. (2009)	Explicit	Jews & others	11 million Jews and others	Omitted
Zullo, A. (2012)	Explicit	Jews only	Six million Jews	Omitted

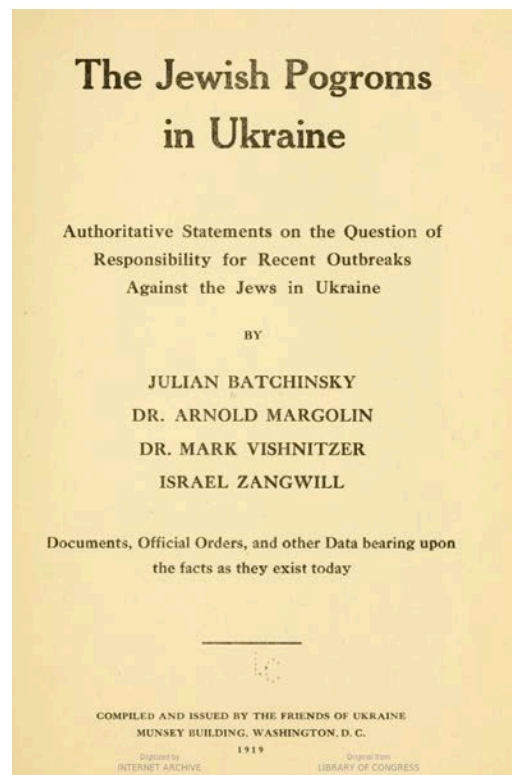
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**Appendix VI – Supplementary Primary Sources**



*Figure 1.* The Jewish pogroms in Ukraine: Authoritative Statements on the Question of Responsibility for Recent Outbreaks against the Jews in Ukraine. Library of Congress Classification, D639.J4 B3 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/scd0001.00053440307>

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*Figure 2.* Famous actress urges admittance into U.S. of 20,000 German refugee children. Washington, D.C., April 20. Speaking 'as an American mother,' actress Helen Hayes today appealed to a senate immigration subcommittee to approve legislation to admit 20,000 German refugee children into the United States during the next two years. She is pictured with Senator Robert F. Wagner, left, of New York, and Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers, right, of Massachusetts. Harris & Ewing, photographer. 1939, April 20. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>

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Wagner-Rogers Refugee Bill Backed at Hearing; 1,400 Adoption Offers Reported. April 21, 1939

WASHINGTON (Apr. 20).

Helen Hayes, testifying as "an American mother" before a Senate-House immigration subcommittee, declared today that adoption of the Wagner Rogers Bill for admission of 20,000 refugee children to the United States in two years would serve as an example to the children of this country in repudiation of oppression and racial brutality. ...

Miss Hayes, who has two children, one of them adopted, said she wanted her children to grow up without racial prejudice. It is brutalizing, she said, for a child to read in the papers of refugees being shunted back and forth. If Belgium and Holland take refugees, why not the United States? she asked. ...

Robert Balderston, representative of the American Friends' Service Committee, who returned from Europe yesterday, reported that persecution in Germany was not relaxed, that "non-Aryans" who were not Jewish were also being harmed and that all Catholic schools had been closed. He said that in Vienna 30,000 persons were being fed in soup kitchens as compared with 20,000 a few months ago.

Mrs. Edward B. Huling, of Larchmont, N.Y., representing the Allied Patriotic Societies, 42 in number, said these societies were absolutely opposed to the bill. She said she did not want "this country to play Santa Claus when our own people are starving."

*Figure 3.* The Global Jewish News Source (1939, April 21). Wagner-rogers Refugee Bill Backed at Hearing; 1,400 Adoption Offers Reported. <http://www.jta.org/1939/04/21/archive/wagner-rogers-refugee-bill-backed-at-hearing-1400-adoption-offers-reported>

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*Figure 4.* United States delegate Myron Taylor delivers a speech at the Evian Conference on Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. Evian-les-Bains, France, July 15, 1938. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Md. [http://www.ushmm.org/outreach/en/media\\_ph.php?MediaId=2532](http://www.ushmm.org/outreach/en/media_ph.php?MediaId=2532)

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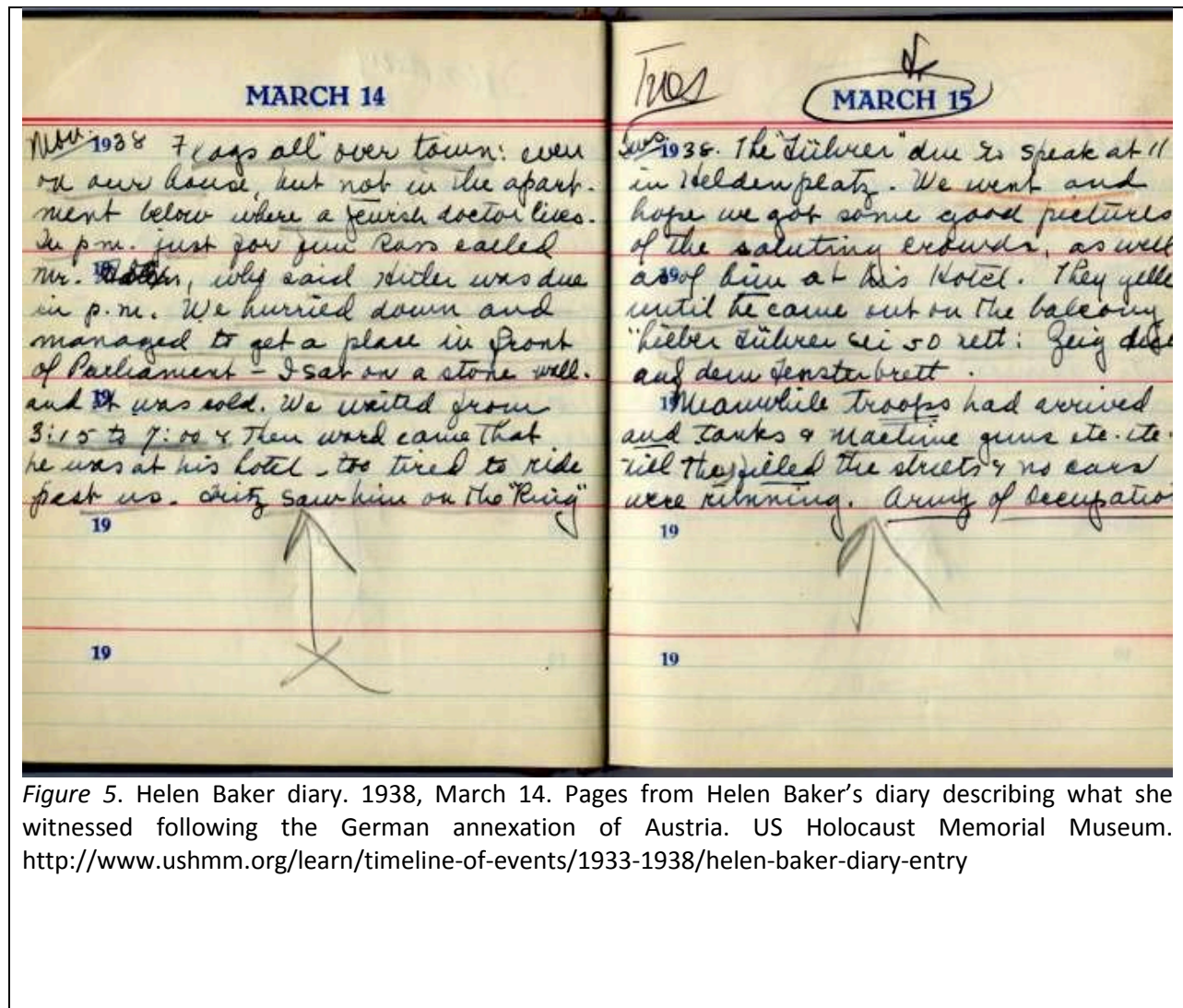


Figure 5. Helen Baker diary. 1938, March 14. Pages from Helen Baker's diary describing what she witnessed following the German annexation of Austria. US Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://www.ushmm.org/learn/timeline-of-events/1933-1938/helen-baker-diary-entry>

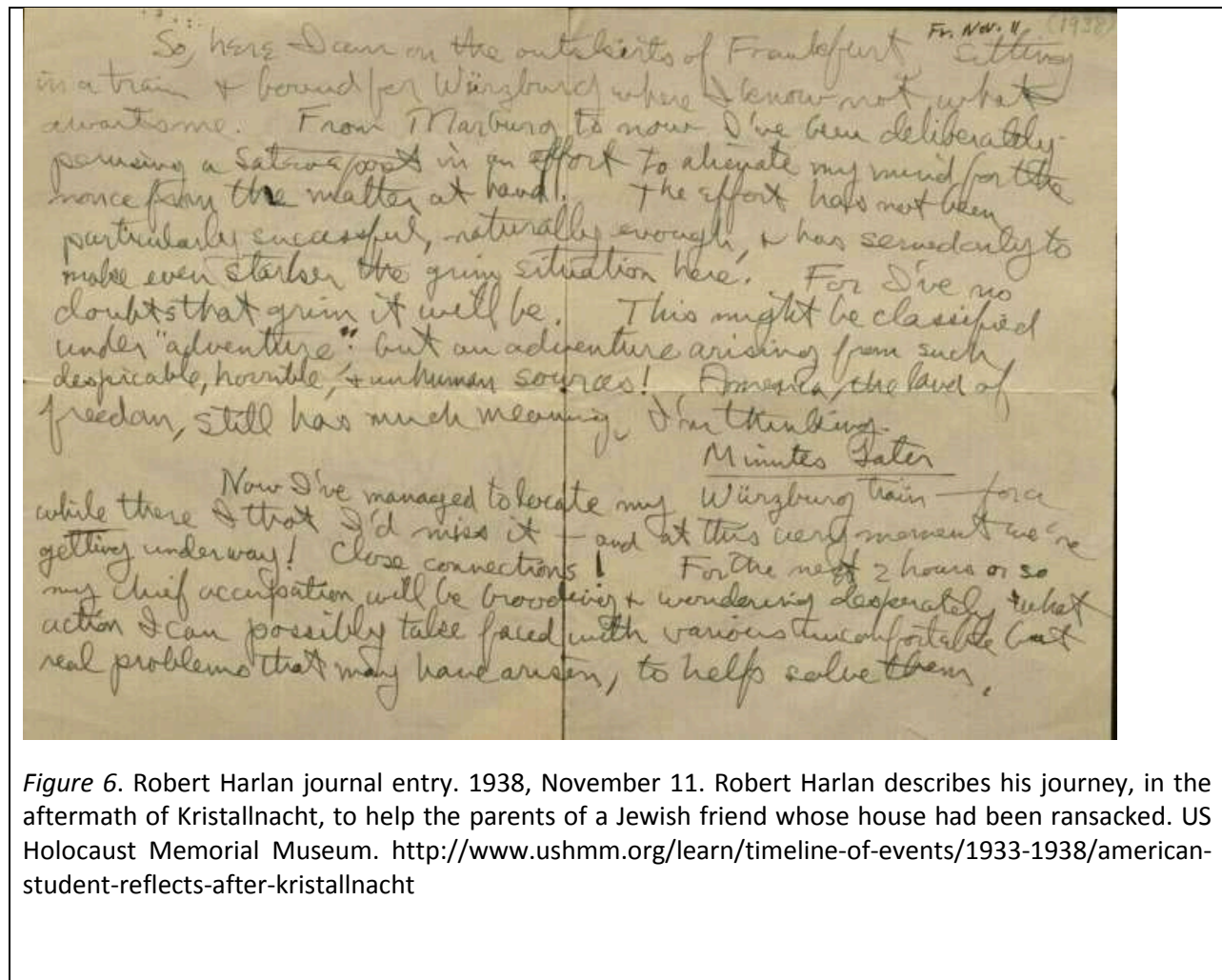


Figure 6. Robert Harlan journal entry. 1938, November 11. Robert Harlan describes his journey, in the aftermath of Kristallnacht, to help the parents of a Jewish friend whose house had been ransacked. US Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://www.ushmm.org/learn/timeline-of-events/1933-1938/american-student-reflects-after-kristallnacht>





*Figure 7.* Section of eight-foot high concrete wall encircling Jewish ghetto in Warsaw, Poland. 1940 Dec. 20. Behind this eight-foot concrete wall some 500,000 Jews will begin a new life in Warsaw's ghetto. By German decree, all Warsaw Jews are required to reside in the district, located in the central part of the conquered city. It surrounds more than 100 city blocks and closes off 200 streets and even street car lines. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003668306/>

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Jehovah's Witnesses, incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps, were given the opportunity to be freed if they signed this statement renouncing their beliefs. Few did so, even when beaten or tortured by their guards.

DECLARATION RENOUNCING BELIEFS

Concentration camp .....

Department II

DECLARATION

I, the .....

born on .....

in .....

herewith make the following declaration:

1. I have come to know that the International Bible Students Association is proclaiming erroneous teachings and under the cloak of religion follows hostile purposes against the State.

2. I therefore left the organization entirely and made myself absolutely free from the teachings of this sect.

3. I herewith give assurance that I will never again take any part in the activity of the International Bible Students Association. Any persons approaching me with the teaching of the Bible Students, or who in any manner reveal their connections with them, I will denounce immediately. All literature from the Bible Students that should be sent to my address I will at once deliver to the nearest police station.

4. I will in the future esteem the laws of the State, especially in the event of war will I, with weapon in hand, defend the fatherland, and join in every way the community of the people.

5. I have been informed that I will at once be taken again into protective custody if I should act against the declaration given today.

.....Dated

.....Signature

*Figure 8.* Reprinted and translated in Jehovah's Witnesses: Proclaimers of God's Kingdom (New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc., 1993); p. 661. US Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://www.ushmm.org/learn/students/learning-material-and-resources/jehovahs-witnesses-victims-of-the-nazi-era/declaration-renouncing-beliefs>

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*Figure 9.* Concentration camp badge worn to identify a prisoner as a Jehovah's Witness. The badge was issued to Lüise Jahndorf at Ravensbrück concentration camp in order to identify her as a Jehovah's Witness prisoner. US Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn514317>



*Figure 10.* Prisoner identification badge shaped as a pink triangle with a T in the center. This pink badge would have been worn by a inmate who was accused, by the Nazis, of being homosexual. The "T" may denote that this victim was Czechoslovakian. It was one of many badges found by Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Ottoman on April 22, 1945 at forced labor Camp Zwieberge, a subcamp of Buchenwald. It was used to try case #117- "Alleged Atrocities at Camp Zwieberge Concentration Camp" and was stored in the War Crimes Case File at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. US Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn4805>

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*Figure 11.* Black triangle badge. Black triangle badge to identifying gypsy prisoner. Found by Milton Shurr, April 1945, Buchenwald concentration camp. US Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn1002>



*Figure 12.* Prisoner identification badge shaped as a red triangle with an I in the center. This red badge would have been worn by a inmate accused, by the Nazis, of being a political prisoner. The "I" may denote that the wearer was Italian. It was one of many badgees found by Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Ottoman on April 22, 1945 at forced labor Camp Zwieberge, a sub-camp of Buchenwald. It was used to try case #117- "Alleged Atrocities at Camp Zwieberge Concentration Camp" and was stored in the War Crimes Case File at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. US Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn4807>

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REPORT OF ROBERT H. JACKSON  
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE

TO THE  
International  
Conference on  
Military Trials

LONDON, 1945. *Representation from the  
United States*



*A documentary record of negotiations of  
the Representatives of the United States of  
America, the Provisional Government of the  
French Republic, the United Kingdom of  
Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and  
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,  
culminating in the agreement and charter  
of the International Military Tribunal.*

Figure 13. Report of Robert H. Jackson, U.S. representative, to the International Conference on Military Trials, 1947, December 15. Library of Congress Books – Webpages division.  
[http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military\\_Law/pdf/jackson-rpt-military-trials.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/jackson-rpt-military-trials.pdf)

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*Figure 14.* Armenians. Bain News Service, 1899. Photograph shows a poor, widowed Armenian woman and her children, Makarid (on her back) and Nuvart (standing next to her). In 1899, after the murder of her husband in the aftermath of the Armenian Massacres of 1894-1896, the family walked from their home in the Geghi region to Kharpert (Harput), eastern Anatolia (Turkey) seeking help from missionaries.

Photograph was published in Helping Hands Series Magazine (Armenian Relief Committee) in December 1900 and an image of Nuvart wearing the same clothes appears in the December 1899 issue of the same publication. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ggb2006002495/>

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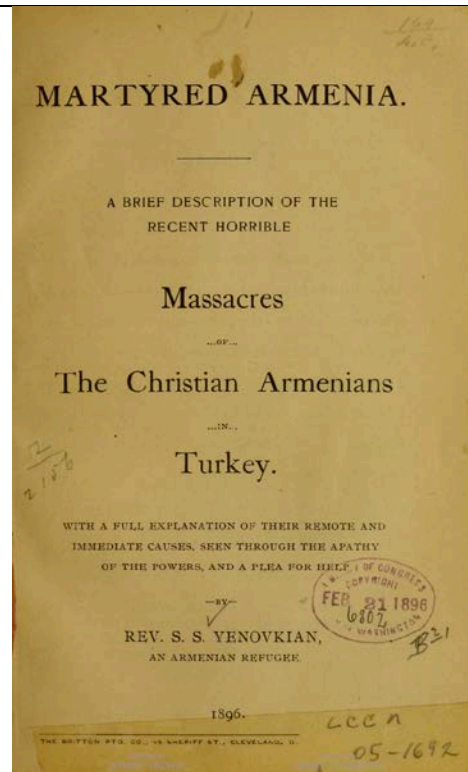


Figure 15. Martyred Armenia. A brief description of the recent horrible massacres of the Christian Armenians in Turkey. By Rev. S. S. Yenovkian. 1896. Cleveland, O., The Britton ptg.co., 1896. Library of Congress control number, 05001692

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*The Demographic and Socio-Economic Distribution of Excess Mortality during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*

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Abstract: There is an extensive literature on violent conflicts such as the 1994 Rwandan genocide, but few papers examine the profiles of victims and perpetrators, or more broadly the micro-level dynamics of widespread violence. This paper studies the demographic consequences of the Rwandan genocide and how the excess mortality due to the conflict was distributed in the population. Data collected by the 2000 Demographic and Health Survey indicate that although there were more deaths across the entire population, adult males were the most likely to die. Using the characteristics of the survey respondent as a proxy for the socio-economic status of the family dead, the results also show that individuals with an urban or more educated background were more likely to die. Over and above the human tragedies, a long-term cost of the genocide is the country's loss of productive skills.

Figure 16. de Walque, D. & Verwimp, P. (2009). The demographic and socio-economic distribution of excess mortality during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Washington, DC: World Bank  
<http://lcn.loc.gov/2009655579>

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