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Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley Student ID #260632688

Towards a Comprehensive Understanding of Nonformal Holocaust Education: The Role of Community Organizations in Canadian Holocaust Education (1976-2016)

Supervisor: Dr. Eric Caplan

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Oscar Kirshner, Marcel Segal and Aron Eichler, survivors who never ceased to inspire me with their courage, their openness, and their dedication to Holocaust education.

To Judy Shapiro, Diana Kalef, and Ilana Krygier-Lapides: I was so lucky to grow up with such strong, compassionate Holocaust educators. Thank you for helping me try to make sense of the impossible.

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1. Abstract and Keywords

Abstract: Since the late 1970s, nonformal Holocaust education initiatives – such as education centres, local community organizations, family foundations and museums – have facilitated Holocaust education in Canada, developing resources, coordinating survivor educators, running Holocaust education symposia, and providing professional development for teachers. In spite of their central role, comprehensive research has never been conducted on nonformal initiatives in this context. This thesis discusses the applicability of nonformal education in the context of Holocaust education, and explores both the development of early Canadian Holocaust education, and the current structure of these nonformal initiatives. It identifies the centrality of Holocaust educator resources, education symposia, classroom kits, and the experiential authority of survivor educators, and connects nonformal Holocaust education to notions of *historical thinking* and *historical consciousness*. This research also introduces the concept of *formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration* as a way of understanding the relationship between these initiatives and classroom teachers, and proposes micro- and macro-communities of practice – as a way of conceptualizing the relationship(s) between Canadian nonformal Holocaust education initiatives.

Résumé: Depuis la fin des années 1970, les initiatives non formelles en matière d'éducation de l'Holocauste — telles que promues dans les centres d'éducation, les organismes communautaires locaux, les fondations familiales et les musées — ont rendu possible l'éducation de l'Holocauste au Canada en développant des ressources, en coordonnant des rescapés éducateurs, en mettant sur pied un colloque à propos de l'enseignement de l'Holocauste, ainsi qu'en offrant du développement professionnel pour les enseignants. Malgré ce rôle central, les initiatives non formelles n'ont jamais fait l'objet de recherches sérieuses. Cette thèse se penche sur la mise en application de l'enseignement non formel dans le contexte de l'éducation de l'Holocauste, et elle explore les premiers développements canadiens en cette matière ainsi que l'évolution et la structure actuelle de ces initiatives. Elle rend compte de la place centrale que tiennent, pour les éducateurs de l'Holocauste, les ressources, les colloques sur l'enseignement, les trousses pédagogiques ainsi que la valeur éducationnelle des rescapés éducateurs. Par ces moyens, l'éducation non formelle de l'Holocauste se lie aux notions de la pensée et de la conscience historique. Cette recherche introduit aussi le concept d'une collaboration entre pédagogies formelle et non formelle afin de mieux comprendre la relation entre ces initiatives et les enseignants qui les professent. À terme, elle propose que des communautés de pratiques aux échelles micro et macro – unies par l'intention de former une communauté de pratique compréhensive, soit une communauté de meilleure pratique — forment un modèle conceptuel pour mieux comprendre les relations entre les différentes initiatives non formelles d'enseignement de l'Holocauste au Canada.

Keywords: nonformal education, Holocaust education, experiential authority, survivor educators, Holocaust education symposium, classroom kits, historical thinking, historical consciousness, formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration, micro-community of practice, macro-community of practice, community of best practice.

2. Introduction

The Holocaust is, in and of itself, incredibly complex. Teaching about the Holocaust is a difficult and often overwhelming undertaking, involving many careful – and often delicate – negotiations on the part of the educator. As Paul Salmons said:

There is potential for real harm when we teach the Holocaust. We need to be sensitive to the emotional impact that this subject can have on young people. We need strategies for moving students without traumatizing them, for ensuring they understand the enormity of the events without titillating or horrifying them with graphic images. Students need time for thought and reflection. We need to be careful that we do not inadvertently reinforce stereotypes and prejudices, that we do not define Jews through the Holocaust, and that we do not create anti-German feeling. The persecution of Roma, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, political opponents of the Nazis, Soviet Prisoners of War, and people with disabilities needs to be understood and to be visible throughout the scheme of work, not relegated to a single lesson on 'other victims' (2001, p. 38).

In addition to the complexities of learning about any historical event, Holocaust education is further complicated by politics, both personal and international. It is influenced not only by a country's relationship to – or role in – the Second World War, but it is also complicated by the ways in which nation states and political actors invoke the Holocaust, or Holocaust denial, to achieve different political ends, now and in the past. Holocaust education in classrooms is achieved through a complex and ongoing negotiation between teachers, local curricula, and community stakeholders – particularly Jewish communities, academics, museums, historical societies, and various levels of government. Within a school, Holocaust education takes place in many different pedagogical contexts: it is most commonly found in social studies, history, and literature courses, as well as human rights, peace, civic, and citizenship education, and locally developed courses like Quebec's Ethics and Religious Culture course. Local and national contexts not only have an effect on what the students learn, but also on how they learn it (Cowan et. al. 2011, Davis et. al. 2013, Gross et. al. 2015).

Of course, Holocaust education does not take place exclusively in primary, secondary, and postsecondary classrooms; it exists in formal, nonformal, and informal forms (La Belle, 1982). Holocaust education in a formal education context occurs when teachers in the primary, secondary, and/or post-secondary education system are given curriculum that either *explicitly requires* teaching their students about the Holocaust or *gives the teacher an opportunity* to teach about the Holocaust, ie. through a unit on totalitarianism, the Second World War, human rights, and so on (Bromley et. al. 2010, Gross et. al. 2015, Taylor 2006, p. 293). In Canada this is complicated by the formal education system, in which curriculum is developed independently by each province and territory, with territories also using provincial curricula for some grade levels through the Western and Northern Canadian Protocol¹. Additionally, curriculum documents across the country are constantly being revised at different times with different intentions. Though all curriculum is arguably always in flux, the Canadian context is particularly challenging to follow and to understand.

Nonformal Holocaust education includes museums, education centres, co-curricular and extracurricular activities and trips, and curriculum resource development outside of the formal education system. Informal Holocaust education encompasses what students learn about the Holocaust through chance encounters with books, movies, theatre, videogames, newspaper articles and so on, *outside of an 'explicitly educational' context*. While all three areas are important, interconnected, and necessary to study, this research focuses on what I argue is the

¹ The Western and Northern Canadian Protocol is an agreement that was signed by the governments of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut in 1993, that developed a framework for collaborating on and sharing curriculum documents and resources between the provinces and territories. The central outcome has been the use of provincial curriculum documents in the northern territories, though they are used in different ways in each territory. The Yukon uses British Columbia curriculum at every grade level, while in the Northwest Territories it depends on grade level and the specific course – the elementary school curriculum is entirely a locally developed Northwest Territories curriculum, junior high/middle school is a mix of Northwest Territories and Alberta curriculum, and high schools rely the most heavily on Alberta curriculum, but also incorporate locally developed courses. Nunavut uses Nunavut curriculum in elementary schools and Alberta curriculum in high schools, but is in the process of developing and implementing a Nunavut secondary school curriculum.

most influential aspect of Holocaust education: the role of nonformal Holocaust education, and the relationship between formal and nonformal Holocaust education.

Across Canada, the vast majority of Holocaust education resources come from nonformal sources, particularly museums and Jewish community organizations. However, the role of nonformal education initiatives in the development and implementation of Holocaust education is a vastly under-studied component of Holocaust education. This research seeks to understand the history and pedagogical approaches of nonformal Holocaust education initiatives in Canada, in order to develop a foundation on which to build further research that will both help us understand the relationship between formal and nonformal Holocaust education, and better equip Canadian teachers to provide their students with comprehensive, pedagogically-sound resources.

2a. Terminology

Scholarship on nonformal education typically refers to it in four different ways: non-formal education, non-formal learning, or nonformal learning. In my own research I advocate for the use of "nonformal" in an attempt to emphasize that nonformal education is its own distinct type of education (formal, nonformal, informal) rather than something that is defined exclusively in opposition to formal education (non-formal). While "learning" is, of course, an active process, I use "education" because it more strongly implies an active choice to educate, for a particular purpose or to a particular end.

The vast majority of existing scholarship on nonformal education focuses on NGOs and extragovernmental organizations in what I will be referring to as the Global South. Here I follow scholars who advocate for the use of "Global South" as an alternative to "Third World" or "Developing Countries", both of which have problematic colonial and neocolonial origins and implications (Dirlik 2007, p. 12-17).

When referring to antisemitism I agree with Doris Bergen, who argues against the hyphenated "anti-Semitism" because it implies that the thing that is opposed – "Semitism" – exists, when in reality it does not (Bergen 2009, p. 4).

The terms *Holocaust* and *Shoah* are both used when referring to the systematic destruction of European Jewry between 1939 and 1945. The term *Holocaust* is more widely used but is derived from the Greek word *holokauston*, meaning a holy sacrifice by fire or burnt offering to God. This implication of martyrdom or a holy sacrifice, in addition to the fact that cremation is forbidden by Jewish Law, is problematic for many Jews, and led to the use of the term *Shoah*, which means "catastrophe" in Hebrew. Though I am personally uncomfortable with the connotations of the term *Holocaust*, most – though not all – Canadian Holocaust education initiatives, teaching resources, popular culture, and news media use it rather than *Shoah*, and so for ease of understanding I use *Holocaust* throughout this thesis.

When asked about survivor involvement, initiatives were asked to differentiate between the involvement of adult Holocaust survivors and child survivors. There is no universal definition of a Holocaust survivor, and the issue of who is considered – or should be considered – an *adult* survivor or a *child* survivor is complicated, and not always clear. For the purposes of this

research an adult survivor is anyone who was approximately 16+ in 1939, and a child survivor is anyone who was 15 or under in 1939.

2b. Holocaust Education as Nonformal Education

As previously noted, while there is a robust scholarship devoted to nonformal education, there have been limited applications of the concept of nonformal education to contexts outside of international development and the Global South (La Belle 1982, Rogers 2005, Taylor 2006, Taylor et. al. 2008). However, in 2006 Edward Taylor put forward the idea of "local nonformal education" in the context of museums, historical and cultural institutions, home improvement workshops, and parks (2006, p. 292). He built off of Joe Heimlich's definition that nonformal education is "any organized, intentional and explicit effort to promote learning to enhance the quality of life through non-school settings" (Heimlich, as cited in Taylor 2006, p. 292), and off of Barrie Brennan's three types of nonformal education - *complimentary, alternative,* and supplementary – in which nonformal education either addresses needs that are not being met by formal education, advocates and implements indigenous education and ways of knowing, or supplements the formal education system (p. 293-294). Taylor argued that the difficulty in applying these conceptualizations of nonformal education outside of the Global South is that there are museum and community education programs that align more closely with definitions of formal education than nonformal education, in spite of there being a clear distinction between classroom teaching and co-curricular or extra-curricular learning. To that end, he advocated for an expansion of nonformal education to include these programs (p. 292-294).

Taylor later published a paper with Amanda C. Neill, arguing further that the "unique educational setting" of a museum or community institution is not fully understood because of the focus on program evaluation and visitor impact – particularly, and primarily, on children – at the expense of understanding the role of the museum educator and the adult visitor. Taylor and Neill, again, drew on Heimlich's definition, adding that many nonformal education initiatives are "somewhat participatory, flexible, less standardized and more responsive to local interest" than formal education (2008, p. 24). Additionally, they borrowed Alan Rogers' notion of a continuum of education, from informal, through participatory, nonformal, and then formal, ultimately arguing that the application of a nonformal education framework to museums and community institutions is a reminder of all of the learning that occurs outside the classroom, and its importance (p. 25).

Applying Taylor and Neill's framework to contemporary Holocaust education requires two minor adjustments: the vast majority of nonformal Holocaust education initiatives would be placed very close to – and occasionally overlap with – formal education on the education continuum, which needs to be acknowledged, and the specific context of nonformal education in Jewish communities needs to be considered. With these adjustments, a clear conceptualization of the work that Jewish community organizations and museums do for Holocaust education emerges. Nonformal Holocaust education works both within the formal system and in community contexts, developing teaching resources, coordinating Holocaust commemoration and memorialization, and often providing psychological, financial, and social services for Holocaust survivors.

Another practical application of Taylor in this context is contained within what he argues is nonformal education's distinctive "community of practice" encompassing "a unique combination

of three fundamental elements: a domain of knowledge, which defines a set of issues, a community of people who care about this domain and the shared practice that they are developing to be effective in their domain" (Wegner as cited in Taylor, 2006, p. 303, Zembrzycki et. al. 2012, p. 419-420). In the context of nonformal Holocaust education, I argue that the community of practice certainly exists, but is complicated by the regular crossover of formal and nonformal Holocaust education, and the frequency of formal educators taking on positions with nonformal initiatives. Nonformal Canadian Holocaust education also has multiple communities of practice that are inter-regional and international – rather than a single community of practice. To that end, special attention will be paid to illustrating – and developing a conceptual framework for – communities of practice in the context of nonformal Holocaust education.

2c. Nonformal Education and Jewish Education

There is a precedent in Jewish education for the conceptualization of nonformal education that I present here, but it is referred to as "informal Jewish education" and "experiential Jewish education". Informal Jewish education has been framed, primarily by Barry Chazan, as the education programs that take place in Jewish communities outside of the context of Jewish day schools, through Jewish community centres (JCCs), Jewish summer camps, youth movements, and Israel trips, while experiential education is described, by Joseph Reimer and David Bryfman, as a way of understanding the so-called 'informal' initiatives that use an immersive, experiential approach for an explicitly educational purpose (Chazan 1991, Reimer 2007, Reimer & Bryfman 2008). Reimer and Bryfman's conceptualization of experiential Jewish education is misleading

because, in reality, experiential Jewish education is actually a pedagogical approach that can be applied to any of the three "types" of education – formal, nonformal or informal.

While I do not disagree with Chazan entirely, I argue that "nonformal" more accurately articulates the phenomena he is trying to describe. *Explicit educational intentions*, in a program as a whole or in a component of a program, are 'nonformal Jewish education', whereas implicit educational experiences are 'informal Jewish education'. For example, Yiddish lessons offered through a JCC would be nonformal education, while a Jewish family's trip to New York to see their relative's Ellis Island immigration records is informal education. A Jewish summer camp incorporates both nonformal and informal education: informal when children engage in unstructured socialization with other Jewish children, and nonformal when it runs programs with an explicit educational intention, such as *sichot*, which are discussion groups on different – and often Jewish - topics. While Chazan, Reimer and Bryfman are all making useful observations, none of them quite captures the unique and pervasive educational phenomena of nonformal Jewish education and experiential Jewish education in Jewish communities. Using the conceptualizing of nonformal education that I have outlined above to differentiate explicitly educational initiatives on the continuum that exists between formal and informal education is therefore useful in the broader context of Jewish education.

The longstanding commitment of Jewish communities to educate their members is key to understanding the development of Canadian Holocaust education initiatives². However, Holocaust education is and is not Jewish education. The Holocaust is certainly learned about

² See *Like Everyone Else...but Different: The Paradoxical Success of Canadian Jews* (2001) by M. Weinfeld, and *Reflections on Jewish Polity and Jewish Education* by M. Weinfeld and P. Zelkowitz, in *The Jews in Canada* (2010), R. Brym, W. Shaffir and M. Weinfeld (eds)

formally, nonformally and informally in Jewish contexts, and though not all of the victims of the Holocaust were Jewish a substantial proportion were, and it was Jewish Holocaust survivors who spearheaded Holocaust education initiatives across Canada. That being said, not all students of Holocaust education are Jewish, nor are all Holocaust educators, and Holocaust education takes places outside of Jewish contexts, with audiences of many different backgrounds. Holocaust education, and that specific context – though beyond the scope of this study – should be carefully examined, but Holocaust education is at the center of a much more complex nexus of the study of Jewish history, world history, genocide, human rights, and rebuilding community after trauma.

2d. Pedagogical Objectives and Approaches: Learning About, From, For and Within

As previously mentioned, Holocaust education in schools is used for a variety of pedagogical purposes, in a wide variety of courses. In each of these contexts learning about the Holocaust has a different purpose or intention. To better understand these intentions, I argue for a framework that combines Monique Eckmann's suggestion that we learn *about* human rights, learn *for* human rights, and learn *within* a human rights framework (2010), with Paula Cowan and Henry Maitles' concept of learning *about* and *from* Holocaust education (2011).

In discussing the relationship between Holocaust education and human rights education, Eckmann explains that when students learn *about* the Holocaust they are taught about historical context, events, individuals, processes, actions, reactions, and so on. Learning *for* means that throughout the learning process students are positioned as advocates and protectors of human rights, and learning *within* means that the students' learning environment reflects principles of human rights, equal opportunity, and democratic structure – which can be simple, such as each student having equal opportunity to voice their opinions, or more complex (Eckmann 2010).

Not dissimilarly, Cowan and Maitles describe students' learning *about* and *from* Holocaust education in their study of Scottish students' experiences in the co-curricular Lessons from Auschwitz program in the UK (2011, p. 163-164). While their explanation of learning *about* matches Eckmann's, they add the notion of learning *from*, in which students learn 'universal' lessons from the Holocaust and make connections between the Holocaust and other genocides and human rights abuses. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the focus on learning *from* and *for* are arguably the most prevalent – not solely as pedagogical objectives, but as the rationale for teaching about the Holocaust in the first place. While the extent to which that is a realistic or achievable goal is debated, it is nonetheless the driving force behind the vast majority of Holocaust education initiatives (Barr 2005, Brabeck et. al. 1994, Cowan et. al. 2007, 2011, Davies 2000, Davis et. al. 2013, Eckmann 2010, Gray 2014, Jedwab 2010, Totten 2002, Totten et. al. 2001, Salmons 2001, Shoemaker 2003, Short 2000, Totten et. al. 2012, Schweber 2004, 2006, 2007, 2010).

A framework that combines all four pedagogical approaches and objectives – learning *about* and *from* the Holocaust, and learning *for* and *within* a Holocaust education/human rights/antiracist/citizenship/peace framework – is extremely useful in understanding the different pedagogical functions of Holocaust education. In nearly every instance of Holocaust education students learn *about* the historical context of the Holocaust and its effects, as well as *from* its moral, ethical, political, and legal questions. In learning *from*, they are typically also learning *for*

– positioned as advocates for change, and given the responsibility, either explicitly or implicitly, to use what they have learned. For primary and secondary students this is often framed as a responsibility for students to speak out against bullying, to stand up against adversity and embrace diversity; in universities it is often framed as a responsibility to thoroughly understand both the complexity and the ramifications of the historical event, often still with an underlying preventative objective, but also engaging with that preventative objective and discussing its feasibility. The shape that learning *for* takes is determined by the approach of the educator when they frame learning *from*.

Particularly in secondary and post-secondary contexts, by learning *about*, *from*, *for*, and *within*, students are learning as much from the events and their aftermath as they are from the debates surrounding those events and aftermath. Learning *about*, *for*, and *from* are typically pedagogical *objectives*, while learning *within* is typically a pedagogical *approach* – however, each of the four can be used as pedagogical approaches or pedagogical objectives, and depending on the context their use as an approach or objective may change, or be invoked simultaneously.

2e. Teaching the Holocaust: Complexity, Experiential Authority, and Educational Activism Given all of these complicating factors, it is perhaps not surprising that teachers tend to feel unprepared or underprepared to talk about the Holocaust in their classrooms (Brabeck et. al. 1994, Davies 2000, Gray 2014, Gross et. al. 2015, Short 2000, Totten et. al. 2001). Teachers are required to have a concrete understanding of an incredibly complex historical event and its contemporary effects, and to simultaneously teach *about, from, for* and *within* Holocaust education, while also ensuring that their students' emotional and psychological health is protected. It has all the difficulties of teaching history in general – particularly presenting the information in a way that is compelling and relevant to students' lives – compounded by the nature of the Holocaust, a dark and deeply traumatic event in human history, and by the continued perpetration of genocide and mass violence since the Second World War (Gross et. al. 2015). There are no easy answers or satisfactory explanations.

Perhaps it is for these reasons that many teachers choose to take a somewhat simplistic moral pedagogical approach to teaching the Holocaust, typically framing most individuals in Europe during WWII as both influenced by antisemitic attitudes and lacking the 'moral compass' to resist Nazism, and often drawing direct connections between Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, and bullying and exclusion in their current context (Salmons 2001). This approach is particularly appealing to educators because it achieves the pedagogical goal of developing history education that is both compelling and relevant to the students and seems, at least on the surface, to teach *about, from, for* and *within.* Salmons explains the danger of these moral pedagogical approaches by saying that:

[...] Implicit in the *framing* of [the] historical questions there is a nagging assumption that people at the time failed to make 'the correct moral choice'. [...] We then answer these questions with the very assumptions that form them – that we explain the past in moral rather than historical terms, and in so doing we reduce our students' understanding of complex events to straightforward lessons of 'right and wrong.' (2001, p. 35)

Salmons suggests an alternative approach in which the moral questions faced by individuals during the Second World War are explored by the students, followed by discussion of the individual's decision, in its historical context. By integrating discussion of morals and the Holocaust in a way that is accessible to students while simultaneously acknowledging the complexity of those moral decisions, morality and historical inquiry are stimulated without distorting the historical context (2001, p. 36-38). Simone Schweber similarly warns against the pedagogical danger of overgeneralizing or over-specifying the Holocaust and its lessons, both of which distort the historical reality (2006). Schweber cautions against "a kind of overgeneralizing that strips the Holocaust of its historical particularities in order to emphasize its commonalities with other events in history", which is a common critique of the Facing History and Ourselves curriculum, but she also warns that over-specification, narrowing the focus so acutely and making the Holocaust appear so unique and unlike any other historical pedagogical suggestion though: in order to help students navigate ubiquitous Holocaust representation in popular culture, classes on the Holocaust should begin by contextualizing it within the history of antisemitism, provide a range of explanations for perpetrators' behaviours and, I would add, a range of victim experiences, and then explicitly engage with cultural trivializations of the Holocaust as a point of departure for discussing the Holocaust in a more contemporary context (Schweber 2006).

In an effort to avoid overgeneralization and over-specification, Brian Davis and Eliane Rubenstein-Avila advocate for a rhizomatic framework for teaching the Holocaust that deemphasizes hierarchical history that establishes a clear beginning and end, in favour of a "chaotically complex networking of stems" that reflects the complexity of the historical reality and leaves it open to challenges and questions (2013, p. 152, 164). While this rhizomatic framework is a fascinating possibility for students who have extensive background knowledge, creating space for innumerable perspectives, the pedagogical challenge it presents is how to capture the complexity, chaos, and interconnectedness of the historical reality in a way that is

accessible to the students, and does not overwhelm them – which, in many ways, is the central challenge of teaching history and the Holocaust in particular, especially outside of a university context (Seixas 2006, Wineburg 2001, Wineburg et. al. 2001).

Along with the challenge of trying to get it "right" pedagogically, for students who have learned about the Holocaust – formally, nonformally, or informally – there is the very real phenomenon of Holocaust fatigue. Schweber notes that "where [she] once worried that the sanctification of the Holocaust stifled learning, [she] now worr[ies] that trivialization of the Holocaust impedes understanding" (2006, p. 2). This trivialization is shaped by the passing of time, changing cultural and historical contexts, and there being so few survivors left to speak about their experiences, as well as the increase in popular representation of the Holocaust in TV shows, films, books, videogames, and so on (p. 2). Schweber notes the importance of teachers' awareness of Holocaust content in popular culture as a way of understanding the types of information students have received about the Holocaust prior to arriving in the classroom (p. 3). Because of students' exposure, both in and out of the classroom, overexposure or 'Holocaust fatigue' is increasingly common – particularly for students in Jewish schools, and students in countries with a particular historical connection to the Holocaust, such as Germany.

Students' exposure to both the horrors and the explanations requires educators to make critical decisions about how they are framing and presenting material (Cowan et. al. 2007, Davies 2000, Davis 2013, Gray 2014, Gross et. al. 2015, McDougall 1991, Riley et. al. 2002, Salmons 2001, 2003, Schweber 2004, 2006, 2007, 2010, Shoemaker 2003, Totten et. al. 2001). Teachers also have to make decisions about how to respond to the topic of Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian

conflict, because when they learn about the Holocaust students often ask how Jews, as a historically oppressed people, can oppress Palestinians. While teaching history always involves making implicit political choices, engaging with Israel is overtly political and can be difficult to negotiate in a classroom, in addition to requiring additional knowledge of a complex topic. This confirms – very explicitly – that "to teach about the past always and unavoidably implicates the present" (Schweber 2006, p. 4).

In order to be fully prepared to teach the Holocaust, a teacher needs to have a clear understanding of all of the above, which also requires understanding their own particular context – as an individual, their class, their school, their community, their region, their nation and the ways in which these overlapping contexts can complicate, and sometimes distort, history (Davis et. al. 2013, Gross 2015). Negotiating all of this, particularly avoiding and limiting dehumanization, objectification, re-victimization, overgeneralization and over-specification, are significant challenges and require a comprehensive understanding of the Holocaust – what Michael Gray refers to as possibly "too high a level of expertise" (2015, p. 1, Davis et. al. 2013). As Salmons says: "It is not the uniqueness of the Holocaust that demands curriculum time; it is the complexity of the subject, the difficulties in teaching it, and the dangers of doing so badly" (2001, p. 38). It is, understandably, incredibly overwhelming for educators.

However, knowledge is not exclusively about having an exhaustive understanding of the content and its complexity; it is also about understanding the gaps in one's knowledge and knowing where to look for reliable sources that will address them, whether through a film, a guest speaker, a textbook, a novel, a podcast, or a museum exhibit. The added difficulty is, as Davis and

Rubenstein-Avila point out, that Holocaust education is a very good example of the disconnect between curriculum and teacher training; even in the rare instance that policy-makers make Holocaust education mandatory, there is often little correlation between these mandates and the resources and professional development necessary to fulfill them (p. 163). It is here that educators turn to Google and to libraries, with varying degrees of success, and where nonformal Holocaust education initiatives step in. The latter have the time and resources – intellectual and, often, financial – to not only think about these issues but to develop, test, and refine comprehensive approaches for tackling them. For educators who have access to nonformal Holocaust education resources, some of the overwhelming aspects of teaching the subject can become less so. For educators who are not sure where to start, or feel that they do not have a thorough-enough understanding of the historical context, nonformal initiatives – depending on their resources – can loan out a classroom kit with books about the Holocaust, take the students through museum exhibits, provide lesson plans and teaching strategies, schedule survivor speakers, and so on.

Survivor speakers have been one of the most widespread pedagogical tools for Holocaust education in the 20th and early 21st centuries (Gray 2014, Gross 2015, Schweber 2004, Totten et. al. 2001, Zembrzycki et. al. 2012). Survivors have an experiential authority that is incredibly effective for students: their personal narrative is a testimony to their experiences and their survival, the emotional impact of their testimony is profound, and their physical presence makes a connection between the present and a past from which we are rapidly moving further and further away (Schweber 2004, Totten et. al. 2001, Zembrzycki et. al. 2012). Through sharing their experiential authority with students, survivor educators engage in a form of educational

activism that began with post-war Holocaust commemoration and often resulted in the development of Holocaust education symposia and education centres (Gerber 1989, Schober 1998, Zembrzycki et. al. 2012).

3. Methodology

This research employed a mixed-methods approach, in two phases. The first phase of the research involved an online questionnaire, with both qualitative and quantitative questions, that was completed by 17 Canadian nonformal Holocaust education initiatives (see Appendix A). The world of Holocaust education initiatives in Canada is guite small, so the list of possible respondents was compiled using my pre-existing knowledge of the field, and then sent to several Canadian Holocaust educators who were asked for feedback and additions to the list. In total there were 22 Holocaust education initiatives identified, one of which was removed because it was the older of two Holocaust-related initiatives in one city, and through discussion with the current Holocaust education director in that city it was clarified that when the more recent Holocaust education initiative was developed Holocaust education became the sole mandate of the new initiative. A second initiative was removed from the list because they only just formed this year and are still in the process of developing their mandate. Of the 20 initiatives that were contacted 18 responded to the research email with interest, and 17 of those initiatives completed the research questionnaire. The original questionnaire consisted of 127 questions, though after the first seven completed questionnaires were received it was expanded to include two additional questions: asking for an estimate of the current number of Holocaust survivors in their community, and asking if they or their organization's work appears in an annual report, either their own organization's or someone else's – Federation, UJA, a private foundation, or other

funding body. The first seven respondents were contacted by email and asked the additional questions. Initiatives' websites – if they have them – were also explored, in order to expand understanding of what types of resources are available to educators. In the second phase of the research, I interviewed the education directors of four different initiatives, to expand on questionnaire responses and discuss the specific context of each of the four initiatives, as well as to enrich overall understanding of the development of Holocaust education in Canada, Canada's role in the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), and the current state of Holocaust education in Canada.

The quantitative questionnaire data was analyzed using SPSS Statistics. In order to protect the initiatives that wish to remain anonymous, graphs and tables have been labelled from 1-17, though they are arranged in roughly geographical order so as to give a sense of the distribution of initiatives across the country.

4. The Beginning of Holocaust Education in Canada

Holocaust commemoration, memorialization, and education are inextricably linked, and there is arguably an implicit educational component to commemoration. However, in Canada, explicit Holocaust education did not develop until the late 1970s, following nearly three decades of Holocaust commemoration and memorialization efforts.

In North America the earliest Holocaust commemoration began in 1943, with the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising just a year after it took place, and it remained one of the most widespread Holocaust commemorations until the late 20th century (Bialystok

2000, p. 169, Young 1993). Six years after the end of WWII, in 1951, the newly established State of Israel created Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day), an annual memorial day on the Hebrew date of Nissan 27, typically occurring in April or May. Over time it became, and remains, the most widely observed Holocaust commemoration day in Jewish communities around the world.

Though early commemorative events were generally well attended by survivors and their families, and some other members of Jewish communities, overall they lacked support from the established Jewish leadership of those communities, as did early Holocaust education efforts. In his book *Delayed Impact: The Holocaust and the Canadian Jewish Community* (2000), Frank Bialystok puts forward the idea, with which I agree, that for a variety of reasons it took several decades for the Holocaust to become a part of the collective memory, and everyday workings, of Jewish communities in Canada. Though a thorough discussion of the local and international politics that delayed the impact of the Holocaust in Canadian Jewish communities is beyond the scope of this thesis, what follows is a summary of the key events that lead to the formalization of Holocaust education in Canada.

The national organizing body of the Canadian Jewish community – Canadian Jewish Congress – was headquartered in Toronto and Montreal, and focused on lobbying the federal government on behalf of Canadian Jews. Under the direction of Saul Hayes, CJC tried – ultimately unsuccessfully – to petition the government to lift restrictions on Jewish immigration during the war. Hayes and the CJC tried again, more successfully, after the war, at which time the government agreed to allow a thousand orphaned children to emigrate as part of the War Orphans

Project in 1947, and several thousand skilled labourers and their families as part of the Tailors' Project the following year (Bialystok 2000, 42-43, Gerber 1989, p. 30-42, Schober 1998, p. 24, Goldberg 2012, 23-53). In 1945 CJC sent two members, Sam Lipshitz and Hannaniah Meir Caiserman, as a delegation to Poland, in order to both collect firsthand accounts of the conditions and to trace relatives, as well as to provide a show of support to Polish Jews, and to show Canadian Jews that CJC was actively trying to help the remaining Jews in Europe (Bialystok 2000, p. 30).

After immigration was finally expanded in the 1950s survivors began to arrive in much larger numbers, and their experiences in Canada depended on a variety of factors. Whether or not they had family or friends living in Canada, how old they were, what languages they spoke, where they were from, and what their Holocaust experiences had been all affected their immigration experience, from where they moved, to where they worked, to how they were received and who they spent time with. Survivors in larger Jewish centers like Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, and Winnipeg benefitted from the support of landsmanschaften or mutual aid societies based on a person's region or town of origin. In general, there tended to be more interaction between survivors and the established community in small- and mid-sized Jewish communities, and more isolation in the larger communities of Toronto and Montreal. In each of these different contexts some survivors adapted to life in Canada quite easily, while others struggled enormously (Bialystok 2000, Goldberg 2012). For the most part, particularly throughout the 1950s, survivors who came to Canada were focused on rebuilding their lives; many refused to discuss or acknowledge what had happened to them, while others tried to discuss their experiences and were told by the established Jewish community, or by other survivors, to put it behind them and move

on. However, by the beginning of the 1960s some survivors had become involved with existing Jewish organizations and had also established their own, like the Association of Former Concentration Camp Survivors/Survivors of Nazi Oppression (Bailystok 2000, 95).

Bialystok cites five significant developments in the 1960s that led to increased knowledge about the Holocaust and increased mobilization of community support of Holocaust commemoration and education, beginning with public debate in Canada over restricting hate propaganda, and the occurrence of two events in West Germany: the rise of a right wing German neo-Nazi party, and a proposed statute of limitations on prosecuting Nazi war criminals. Concerns were heightened by the increased politicization of survivors – whose Holocaust commemorations were not only drawing large audiences but also considerable media coverage – and growing instability in Israel during and after the 1967 war, when many feared the possibility of a second Holocaust. There was one additional development that had a profound effect on Holocaust education initiatives: a new generation of Canadian Jews, descendants of survivors and of the established Jewish community who were born during or after the war. These individuals were coming into adulthood following the Eichmann Trial in 1961 and, in part, drawing on the Holocaust in their search for self-definition and identity (Bialystok 2000, 150-151). Through the 1970s as this generation grew older, learned more about the events of the Holocaust and grew more aware of contemporary anti-Semitism - which was of increasing concern to the Canadian Jewish community - the "postwar generation of young adults born in the 1930s and 1940s tried to remember what their parents had tried to forget" (Bialystok 2000, p. 164).

However, through the 1960s and early 1970s the focus remained on Holocaust commemoration, contemporary antisemitism, and Nazi war criminals, rather than education. Holocaust commemoration had become a fixture in established Jewish communities, though relationships between survivors and the established community remained tense, particularly in Montreal and Toronto (Bialystok 2000, p. 171). In 1973 Congress established the National Holocaust Memorial Committee, which later became the National Holocaust Remembrance Committee (NHRC), and by the end of that year there were local Holocaust memorial committees in most Canadian cities with Jewish populations, some of which were affiliated with Congress and some of which were affiliated with local community councils and federations. Bialystok recalls that:

Through a process of trial and error, and despite some opposition from local federations, these committees succeeded in developing programs, most significantly in education. It was largely through the efforts of survivors, some of whom had been in the forefront in confronting the established community in the 1960s over its apparent inaction regarding neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism, that these endeavours took place. In time, many survivors who had been silent about their experiences or unwilling to become involved in community affairs took the courageous step of speaking publicly (p. 178).

In particular, Bialystok points to three critical developments in the 1970s that led to the proliferation of Holocaust education initiatives in the latter part of the decade. The first was the previously-discussed increased commitment to Holocaust education and commemoration by the established Jewish communities. The second was the enormous volume of research and media coverage about the Holocaust, as well as the widespread publication and increasing popularity of scholarship, memoirs, diaries, and Holocaust fiction in the form of novels, plays, and poetry. The last, and one of the most profound developments, was the increased presence of the Holocaust in popular culture, particularly in film. Bialystok notes that between 1962 and 1978 there were very few films about the Holocaust, but that beginning with the NBC miniseries *Holocaust* in 1978,

there would be 23 feature films and 34 documentaries about the Holocaust produced by 1988 (2000, p. 179).

It is therefore no coincidence that the earliest iterations of Canadian Holocaust education initiatives were established in 1975 and 1976. The earliest explicitly educational programs in Canada were York University's first course on the Holocaust and Winnipeg's first Holocaust education seminar for Jewish schools in 1975, Vancouver's first high school Holocaust education symposium for students of all different backgrounds in 1976, and the establishment of the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre/Le Centre commémoratif de l'Holocauste à Montréal in that same year (Bialystok 2000, p. 190, 214, 217).

The contexts in which these initiatives developed were quite different. In Toronto, the established Jewish community had been largely reluctant to take on Holocaust education. A small group of survivors and young Canadian Jews born in the 1940s and 1950s, both the children of survivors and members of the established Jewish community, were joined by a handful of non-Jewish individuals and spearheaded the early initiatives. An effort in the late 1960s by Ben Kayfetz, executive director of the Joint Community Relations Committee, to have the Holocaust properly included in public school education in Ontario, finally made some progress in the early 1970s when two OISE researchers, Garnent McDiarmid and David Pratt, conducted a survey of bias in Ontario textbooks and were shocked by the poor quality of the information about the Holocaust and the stereotyping of Jews. However, this initial progress was limited. In the mid-1970s the chair of Toronto's Holocaust Remembrance Committee wrote to the director of the local Board of Jewish Education, offering to co-sponsor professional development seminars on teaching the

Holocaust to Jewish teachers, but when the director surveyed the teachers they were "not interested, and stated that teaching the Holocaust was 'a low order of priority'" (Bialystok 2000, p. 203). Around that same time, a proposal by Jacob Egit, who was – at the time – the biggest proponent of Holocaust education in Toronto's Holocaust Remembrance Committee, advocated for Holocaust education within the Board of Jewish Education, but was similarly dismissed by the Toronto Jewish Congress. Through the late 1970s tensions arose among survivors, and between survivors and the established community, over differences of opinion in how to deal with rising neo-Nazism in North America, resulting in the creation of a Holocaust Remembrance Association in addition to the existing Holocaust Remembrance Committee, the latter of which was subsequently dissolved and then reconstituted³. Holocaust education in Toronto began to make strides outside of the Jewish community with the first Holocaust course at York in 1975, followed by the University of Toronto in 1978. Around the time that NBC's *Holocaust* miniseries was set to air in 1978, Ruth Resnick, who had been spearheading Toronto's public school education initiatives over the preceding years, brought Dr. Roger Simon on board to develop classroom resources for the series, and they received an overwhelming response from educators (Bialystok 2000, p. 194-214).

Winnipeg's early committee of survivors, on the other hand, was a small group of active survivors serving on the Shaareth Hapleita ("Surviving Remnant") Committee of the Winnipeg Jewish Community Council. By the time it became the Holocaust Memorial Committee of CJC in the mid-1970s, it had developed two simultaneous programs: a Holocaust Awareness Week that coincided with Yom HaShoah, and a Holocaust education seminar for students in Jewish

³ For more information on the controversy in Toronto see *Delayed Impact* (Bialystok, 2000), p. 194-201. The response of the Toronto Jewish Congress to Jacob Egit's proposal is deserving of further research.

schools, both of which resulted in the increased participation of survivors in Holocaust education. In Montreal, the work of survivors was bolstered by the advocacy of a young Montrealer named Stephen Cummings, who knew little about the Holocaust or survivors until the Eichmann Trial in 1961. Nearly 15 years later, after returning from a visit to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, Cummings assembled a group of around twenty young adults who approached the survivors who were running the local federation's Holocaust committee, the Association of Jewish Community Services of Montreal Holocaust Committee, to offer their support. This somewhat unlikely group began working together on plans for a Holocaust centre that would serve as a memorial space and also house a permanent exhibit and space for special projects, which opened officially in 1979 (Bialystok 2000, p. 190-194).

These early education initiatives also coincided with the acknowledgement of the experiences of those who survived the Holocaust in hiding, particularly child survivors, who at the time were entering middle age and had begun taking over leadership positions in Holocaust commemoration projects and organizations as older survivors began to pass away (Krell 1985, Krell 2012, Krell, unpublished interview with author, March 11, 2013, Sicher 2000, p. 57). The increased acknowledgement and acceptance of child survivors as Holocaust survivors, and their more public profile, resulted directly in Vancouver's first Holocaust education symposium, which was coordinated by child survivor Dr. Bob Krell, a professor of psychiatry at UBC, and Bill Nichols, a non-Jewish professor of religion at UBC. The first year's speakers were all professors, including Dr. Rudolf Vrba, one of only five people to have escaped Auschwitz, and co-author of the 1944 Auschwitz Report/Vrba-Wetzler Report, a document that detailed the camp's operations and conditions. Within several years the symposium was expanded to two days to accommodate

1000 students from the Lower Mainland, an outreach program had been developed in which survivor speakers took materials to schools and ran professional development workshops, and an essay contest was established in 1978. Notably, unlike many of the cities in Eastern Canada, Vancouver did not experience resistance or reluctance from the established Jewish community (Bialystok 2000, 214-216).

Events in Canada continued to fuel local Holocaust education efforts through the 1980s, beginning with the publication of *None is Too Many* by Irving Abella and Harold Troper, a watershed work that exposed the Canadian government's racist and exclusionary immigration policy during World War II. This momentum increased as a result of the trials of the Toronto publisher and distributor of Holocaust denial literature, Ernst Zundel, and of Jim Keegstra, the social studies teacher in Eckville, Alberta who taught Holocaust denial to his high school students (McDougall 1991, p. 53, Robinson 2015, p. 139-144, Schober 1998, p. 21-22, 64, Supreme Court of Canada 1990, 1992, Zembrzycki et. al. 2012, p. 414). The trials encouraged many individual survivors to begin speaking about their experiences but it was in Calgary, not far from where Jim Keegstra was teaching in southern Alberta, that the direct result was the development of an annual Holocaust education symposium by survivors, in 1984.

Today there are twenty Holocaust education initiatives in Canada (Fig. 1). There are five education centres and museums, including the Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre (VHEC), the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre/Le Centre commémoratif de l'Holocauste à Montréal (MHMC), the Sarah and Chaim Neuberger Holocaust Education Centre, the Freeman Family Foundation Holocaust Education Centre, and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR);

community organizations like the Victoria Holocaust Remembrance and Education Society, Calgary Jewish Federation Holocaust and Human Rights Education, the Jewish Federation of Edmonton, the Jewish Federation of Ottawa Shoah Committee, the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum Holocaust Study Group, and Atlantic Jewish Council Holocaust Education; and synagogue initiatives, like the Beth Jacob/Regina and District Jewish Association, and Congregation Agudas Israel Synagogue in Saskatoon. Additionally there are several family foundations – the Azrieli Foundation Holocaust Survivor Memoirs Program, the Asper Human Rights and Holocaust Studies Program, and the Kleinmann Family Foundation – as well as Canadian branches of international organizations, such as Facing History and Ourselves, Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Foundation for Holocaust Studies, and the Canadian Society for Yad Vashem. The early educational activism of Holocaust survivors resulted in the development of the vast majority of these initiatives, and helped mould them into the active nonformal Holocaust education initiatives they are today (Gross 2015, p. 6, Zembrzycki et. al. 2012).





5. Holocaust Education in Canada Today: Research Results

As noted above, each initiative developed differently depending on its specific location and context. The numbers on the graphs that follow refer to the 17 initiatives that responded to the survey; they are arranged in rough geographic order, from east to west, but are not labeled, out of respect for those initiatives that asked that their responses be kept anonymous.

Holocaust education initiatives were developed in different cities at different times (Fig. 2), with very different relationships to the existing Jewish community, and different approaches to programming and outreach. That being said, there is one broad similarity between them: nearly all of the initiatives were established by Holocaust survivors or relatives of survivors, members of local Jewish communities, and/or educators (Fig. 3).



Of the 17 nonformal Holocaust education initiatives that participated in this study, I categorized seven as community organizations, three as museums, three as education centres, three as family foundations, and one as a teaching and resource development organization (Fig. 4). However, it must be noted that two of the museums, all three education centres, and all three family foundations are also Jewish community organizations, one of the museums is also an education centre, and it, along with two of the other education centres, are also teaching and resource development organizations. These categorizations are admittedly fluid categories, but the conceptualizations are useful in understanding the structure of each organization. The museums all have permanent exhibits, while the 'education centres' not only identify as either education centres or memorial centres, but are also the primary coordinators of Holocaust education in their region. Family foundations are privately funded initiatives, and the teaching and resource development organization fits into no other category than the one it is in. Unsurprisingly, given the demographics of Canadian Jewry, the largest concentration of initiatives is in Eastern Canada, with five initiatives in Toronto and two in Montreal. Six initiatives are spread throughout

Western Canada, and the country is bookended by two initiatives each on the West and East Coasts (Fig. 5).



In terms of institutional structure, paid staff – as would be expected in a typical Canadian workplace – are almost entirely between the ages of 21 and 60 (Fig. 6). Almost 90% of these initiatives employ fifteen or fewer full- and part-time staff, seven have fewer than five paid full- and part-time staff, and three are run entirely by volunteers (Fig. 7). Of the 14 initiatives that have paid staff, just over 60% have staff members who are either descendants or relatives of survivors (Fig. 8). While there are slightly more Jewish staff than non-Jewish staff the difference is not significant; preliminary analysis reveals that it does not tell us much beyond the fact that most initiatives were founded in Jewish communities and by Jewish Holocaust survivors, though further research would be worthwhile (Fig 9). It is interesting to note that Canadian cities with more established Holocaust education initiatives *and* a large Jewish population *and* a large survivor population have a more equal number of Jewish and non-Jewish staff and volunteers. The number of volunteers that the smaller initiatives have over the course of a year ranges from 5



Current Staff: Descendants and Relatives of Survivors

Current Staff: Descendant of Survivors Current Staff: Relatives of Survivors

from 15 to over 80, with the largest group of volunteers between the ages of 50 and 70 (Fig. 11). Have Staff in the Following Age Ranges (2016) Number of Paid Staff (2016) FT Staff (30+ hr) PT Staff (1-15 hr) PT Staff (16-29 hr)

Number of Paid Staff

to just over 200, while the largest institution has around 350 (Fig. 10). Volunteers range in age



Canadian Holoc

Fig. 7



Initiative

10

-11 12 13




Canadian Holocaust education initiatives are primarily funded by individual donors, federal and provincial grants, and the United Jewish Appeal (UJA). Depending on the organization and the year, the individual donations vary from annual donations, to one-time or periodic donations from individuals or groups sponsoring a particular exhibit or program, to endowments, which are typically established by one family or foundation, in perpetuity. Smaller proportions of funding, just under half, come from the Claims Conference⁴, and endowments and fundraisers, while only a few of the initiatives are supported by family foundations, advocacy groups like B'nai Brith Canada or the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs, and local synagogues (Fig. 12).



⁴ The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (also referred to as the "Claims Conference" or the "Jewish Material Claims Conference") was established in 1951. It was developed at a meeting in New York that brought together national and international Jewish organizations and agencies, following the West German government's statement committing to material reparations for Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. The Claims Conference has functioned as a non-partisan organization for the last 65 years, responsible for negotiating the terms of German reparations, helping implement and monitor restitution and compensation, providing social services for survivors, helping rebuild European Jewish communities, and – until the 1990s – assisting survivors who lived behind the Iron Curtain and, as such, were not able to apply for individual reparation payments.

While 70% of Canadian Holocaust education initiatives provide public education and nearly 60% offer adult education programs (Fig. 13 and Fig. 14), the primary focus of each of these initiatives is students – high school students in particular – and educators.



6. Educator Resources

The main sources of educator resources in Canada are the MHMC, the VHEC, the Neuberger and Facing History. The MHMC, VHEC and Facing History are the most active in producing educator resources, consistently developing updated teaching resources for educators. Each of the initiatives develops resources that provide historical information as well as lesson plans, documents, photos, artefacts, films, glossaries, and external resources, each with a slightly different focus. The VHEC primarily produces teachers' guides based on the exhibits they curate, which cover a wide range of topics, while MHMC focuses on developing resources that align with the Quebec curriculum – the Quebec Education Program, or QEP – and Facing History has an explicit focus on moral education, developing resources that help students make connections between historical events – primarily genocide and human rights abuses – and contemporary racism, antisemitism, and prejudice.

The VHEC, MHMC, and Neuberger all vary in terms of the types of teaching resources they produce for Canadian teachers. In addition to a fairly comprehensive list of online resources from other organizations, including links to various national and international Holocaust education centres and museums and a link to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) guide for comparative study of the Holocaust, the Neuberger has developed three teacher's guides, one for teaching students about Theresienstadt⁵, and two for introducing adult Englishlanguage learners to the Holocaust, developed in partnership with Citizenship and Immigration Canada-Multiculturalism, as well as a "Comprehensive Resource Trunk" that includes historical and literary resources for studying perpetrators, victims, bystanders, and rescuers during the Holocaust. The VHEC and MHMC have both produced collections of teaching resources on an impressive variety of topics. MHMC has materials for educators teaching the Holocaust and visiting the museum with their students, including an overview of the history of the Holocaust and an overview of antisemitism in Canada, guidelines for visiting the museum and preparing for survivor testimony, as well as the following eight pedagogical guides for teachers: Hana's Suitcase, The Heart from Auschwitz (an artefact that is on display in the MHMC's permanent exhibit), Letters from the Holocaust: Using Primary Sources in the Classroom, Exploring the Evidence: The Holocaust, Cambodian Genocide, and Canadian Intervention/Engûete dans les archives: Holocauste, genocide au Cambodge et intervention du Canada, The Night of Broken Glass Kristallnacht, Responding to the Charlie Hebdo-Paris Attacks, Teaching about the Holocaust Using Recorded Survivor Testimony – Anti-Jewish Measures and Life in Hiding: The Experience of Marcel Tenenbaum, and Using Primary Sources in History Classroom [sic]. As

⁵ Theresienstadt was a ghetto and labour camp outside of Prague, Czechoslovakia where tens of thousands of German, Austrian, and Czech Jews – including many famous artists, musicians, actors, and writers – were imprisoned. It was used a "model" ghetto and concentration camp, where the Nazis filmed propaganda falsifying the conditions of the ghettos – representing them as better than they were – and where the Nazis staged the International Red Cross visit in 1944. Jews in Theresienstadt were deported to the extermination camps at Auschwitz, Majdanek, and Treblinka, and a crematorium was built just outside the ghetto in 1942 to cremate those who perished from the deplorable conditions in Theresienstadt.

noted above, most of these teaching resources – including *Hana's Suitcase*, *The Heart from Auschwitz*, *The Night of Broken Glass Kristallnacht*, *Anti-Jewish Measures and Life in Hiding: The Experience of Marcel Tenenbaum*, *Brief History of Antisemitism in Canada*, and *Exploring the Evidence: The Holocaust, Cambodian Genocide, and Canadian Intervention/Enqûete dans les archives: Holocauste, genocide au Cambodge et intervention du Canada* – explicitly address the guidelines and competencies outlined in Quebec curriculum (QEP) for both English and French schools, and all of the MHMC's resources are available in English and French.

The VHEC has developed a 30-page teaching resource that covers guidelines for teaching and preparing students for survivor speakers, frequently asked questions, a timeline and glossary, and a list of recommended websites and readings, as well as a study guide called *Too Close to Home: Anti-Semitism & Facism in Canada 1930s& 1940s*, thorough teacher's guides for 26 of the 49 exhibits they have curated, and two "Discovery Kits" that include artefacts for teachers to use – one has artefacts related survival in hiding in the Netherlands, meant to complement *Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl*, and the other, called *Journey to Canada: The War Orphans Project 1947-1949*, contains colour reproductions of primary source material exploring Canada's immigration history and the arrival of Jewish orphans in Canada after the war.

While all of the initiatives are committed to anti-racism education and encouraging students to be responsible, thoughtful, active citizens, Facing History engages with a particularly explicit mandate of moral education. When it was founded in 1976 Facing History focused solely on the Holocaust but they have since expanded to include other genocides, as well as the Civil Rights movement and other human rights issues, and they continue to add contemporary resources, such

a new full-day workshop called *Facing Ferguson: News Literacy in a Digital Age*. Though Facing History sometimes veers towards overgeneralization, and has been criticized in the past for the way it draws parallels between historical events, and between history and contemporary experiences (Blum n.d., Lipstadt 1995), it is extremely popular with educators and students alike. An analysis of their website reveals the enormous range of resources they offer – from general teaching strategies and activities, to lesson plans, units, and collections (which include study guides, lesson plans, primary sources, videos and so on), as well as online webinars, in person seminars and workshops – all centered around eight broad topics: Anti-Semitism and Religious Intolerance, Bullying and Ostracism, Democracy and Civic Engagement, Genocide and Mass Violence, Global Immigration, Holocaust, Justice and Human Rights, and Race in US History. There is also an extensive network of Facing History "alumni", educators who have participated in Facing History professional development, one of the benefits of which is access to additional resources, such as the Facing History lending library – though the online bookstore is available to everyone. Facing History resources are used by 90 000 educators around the world (Facing History, 2016) but the content, though still relevant for students in other countries, is largely geared towards American students and is developed with American state education standards in mind. That being said, Facing History does make an effort to develop resources that are specific to other contexts, such as their new Canadian resource Stolen Lives: The Indigenous Peoples of Canada and The Indian Residential Schools which is intended for use across Canada, and their CHC2 Canadian History Through a Facing History Lens seminar, which was developed for Ontario teachers and is being offered in partnership with OISE (the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto) this summer. The approach that Facing History takes and its broad range of resources appeals to educators, and the initiative offers a substantial

network of support but – like any of these organizations – the resources are best used with an awareness of the criticisms of the content and the approach.

It is clear that each initiative aims to cover a broad range of topics through the resources it has developed for educators, but some distinctive themes emerge. The Neuberger has produced the fewest teaching resources, and has focused on specific historical moments during the Holocaust. The VHEC focuses primarily on historical moments with an explicit mandate to tell lesser-known stories, such as the open port of Shanghai, Canada and the 1936 Berlin Olympics, Albanian Muslim rescuers, the 'euthanasia' killing centres at Hadamar, experiences of the women of Ravensbrük, and the War Orphans Project, balanced with more widely-known stories, such as Anne Frank, Danish rescue operations, experiences in the Warsaw Ghetto, and Janusz Korczak. Beyond resources focused on Holocaust history, they also regularly incorporate both wartime and post-war Canadian context – including exhibits that focus on the experiences of Holocaust survivors who came to Vancouver – and they have also developed their own resources for teaching about the Holocaust, including teaching strategies for educators. The MHMC also focuses on a combination of resources for teaching the Holocaust and specific Holocaust history, incorporating some Canadian content and context, and they have the most explicit focus on developing resources that correspond with competencies outlined in the provincial curriculum⁶. The VHEC, MHMC, and Facing History have all developed resources for comparative study of the Holocaust; the VHEC has done so primarily through the teaching guide for an exhibit they

⁶ These Quebec Education Programme (QEP) competencies include – but are not limited to – primary school competencies such as "to understand the organization of a society in its territory", "to interpret change in a society and its territory", and "to be open to the diversity of societies and their territories" (*Hana's Suitcase Teacher's Guide* n.d., p. 8), and secondary school competencies such as "analyzing primary and secondary written and visual sources", "practising historical and political interpretation", and "reflecting in a critical and complex way on international social issues" (*The Holocaust, Cambodian Genocide, and Canadian Intervention* 2012, p. 2). More information can be found in the MHMC Teacher's Guides, available through their website: www.mhmc.ca/en/pages/resources-and-training

developed called *The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust: One Man Takes a Stand*, and the MHMC primarily through their *The Holocaust, Cambodian Genocide, and Canadian Intervention/Enqûete dans les archives: Holocauste, genocide au Cambodge et intervention du Canada* resource. For Facing History, comparative study is central to its mandate which, as noted, has also led to some of the criticisms of its approach, but by doing so they have also consistently developed resources that help educators navigate teaching difficult historical and contemporary events.

All four initiatives expand and round out these themes through professional development opportunities for educators. The Neuberger offers a partially subsidized Holocaust Educator Study Tour in Europe, MHMC offers an annual teacher's conference every fall, the VHEC offers a biennial teacher's conference in the spring, and Facing History offers in-person workshops and seminars, online courses and webinars, throughout the year.

By looking at each of these initiatives' exhibits, lesson plans, classroom kits, and other resources, it is clear that the strength of the MHMC, VHEC, Neuberger, and Facing History is that they accomplish what few educators have the time to do: develop age-appropriate comprehensive resources and lesson plans for teaching the Holocaust that incorporate a wide variety of primary sources, documents, films, and readings, and a combination of pedagogical approaches.

7. Main Resources: Holocaust Education Symposia, Classroom Kits, and Survivor Educators All Canadian Holocaust education initiatives provide resources to high school students (Grade 10-12), with almost 90% also providing resources for junior high school students (Grade 7-9) and the general public, which reflects the general consensus among educators that Holocaust education should start no earlier than Grade 4, and is best taught in secondary/high school (Fig. 15)⁷. The core resources that Canadian Holocaust education initiatives provide are Holocaust education symposia, classroom kits, and survivor educators.





Holocaust Education Symposia Often the event that preceded the establishment of a local Holocaust education initiative, Holocaust education symposia for high school or secondary school students are offered by nearly 60% of Canadian initiatives (Fig. 16). Eight initiatives run an annual symposium, with the smallest reaching roughly 20 students a year and the largest

⁷ For more information on the discourse surrounding the appropriate age(s) to begin teaching children about the Holocaust, see Schweber, S. (2008) "What Happened to Their Pets?": Third Graders Encounter the Holocaust. *Teachers College Record*, 110(10), 2073-2115.

reaching around 5000 students a year. The Azrieli Foundation reaches nearly 15 000 of those students across the country through partnerships with local symposia, primarily through providing free copies of survivor memoirs for educators to distribute to students (Fig. 17). Though Facing History does not always run a symposium it is currently running symposium-style student programs through a grant they received from Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Multiculturalism Program, though the programs are more interactive than a typical symposium and cover a variety of topics, including but not limited to the Holocaust. The two largest symposia – in Vancouver and Calgary – are also two of the longest running, having started in 1976 and 1984 respectively.



Holocaust education symposia in Canada are attended by junior high and high school students (secondary students in Quebec), with the focus on Grades 9-12. Just over 50% of the initiatives that run a symposium coordinate for Grade 11 students, and just under half (47%) coordinate for Grade 9 students, with 40% coordinating for Grade 12 students and 35% coordinating for Grade 10 students (Fig. 18).



In Halifax the annual symposium is offered during Holocaust Education Week in partnership with the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, with survivor educators speaking to groups of up to 400 at the museum and groups of up to 1000 at local high schools. In Calgary, the annual three-day symposium has taken place in partnership with Mount Royal University (formerly Mount Royal College) for the last 32 years. Groups of students from several different schools come together in lecture halls – six in total – where a historian from either the University of Calgary or Mount Royal speaks to them about the Holocaust, following which they watch a short documentary and then meet a survivor, who tells them about their experiences during the Holocaust.

Classroom Kits In addition to Holocaust education symposia, nonformal Holocaust education initiatives also provide teachers and students with classroom kits. These kits take three forms: educator resources, as discussed above, as well as classroom sets of Holocaust-themed books, and classroom sets of other resources. Just over 75% of Canadian Holocaust education initiatives -13 out of 17 - offer classroom kits with Holocaust-themed books for educators, and just under 60% offer classroom kits with other resources, all of which are provided free of charge (Fig. 19).

Classroom kits with books are offered for students from Grade 6 to university, with nearly 60% of initiatives providing kits to Grade 9-11 students (Fig. 20). Of the initiatives that offer books to educators, four provide classroom kits with *Number the Stars* by Lois Lowry, one provides *Boy in the Striped Pajamas* by John Boyne, four provide *Hana's Suitcase* by Karen Levine, one provides *Sarah's Key* by Tatiana de Rosnay, three provide *I Never Saw Another Butterfly* by Hannah Volavková, four provide *Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl*, and three provide *Maus* by Art Spiegelman. Many initiatives offer more than one classroom kit: one of the larger initiatives provides *Night* by Elie Wiesel, *The Old Brown Suitcase* by Lillian Boraks-Nemetz, and *Goodbye Marianne* by Irene Watts, in addition to *Anne Frank, Hana's Suitcase* and *Maus*; another provides *Salvaged Pages: Young Writers' Diaries of the Holocaust* by Alexandra Zapruder and *A Partisans' Memoir: Woman of the Holocaust* by Faye Schulman in addition to *Number the Stars, Hana's Suitcase*, *Anne Frank, Maus*, and *I Never Saw Another Butterfly*; a third offers *The Giver, Salvaged Pages* and *Anton the Dove Fancier* by Bernard Gotfryd, alongside *Number the Stars* and *Maus* (Fig. 21).





Fig. 19

Fig. 20



The classroom kits with other resources are offered in several cities, primarily for Grade 7-12 students, and vary from documentaries on DVD and music in Saint John, to interactive kits with reproduced or simulated artefacts in Vancouver, Victoria, and Calgary (Fig. 22). The VHEC developed two 'Discovery Kits': Outside the Attic Walls, which is intended for use alongside Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl and is filled with artefacts relating to children in Holland during the war, and Journey to Canada: The War Orphans Project 1947-1949, which explores the postwar context in Europe, Canada's immigration history, and the arrival of Jewish orphans in Canada through a variety of reproductions of primary source material, including ID cards, government documents, newspaper clippings, photos, letters and diaries. In Victoria a local educator also developed suitcases, with teaching manuals, DVDs, and 'simulated artefacts' like clothing, shoes and toys. Some initiatives have classroom kits from other organizations, for example in Calgary, where educators can borrow the Choose Your Voice kit from F.A.S.T. (Fighting Anti-Semitism Together), as well as the CJC's SS St. Louis kit, and replica suitcases with materials to support units on teaching Anne Frank and Hana's Suitcase, as well as Too Close to Home: Anti-Semitism & Fascism in Canada, from the VHEC.



While further analysis and research is necessary, some preliminary observations of Canadian classroom kits can be made. It is significant that 75% of Canadian initiatives offer classroom kits that contain Holocaust-themed books, indicating a preference for fiction or non-fiction books as a way of introducing students to – or expanding their understanding of – the Holocaust. Number the Stars, Hana's Suitcase, and Anne Frank are the most common books in classroom kits, followed closely by *Maus* and *I Never Saw Another Butterfly*. These five books cover a range of topics, experiences, and perspectives on the Holocaust; most are true stories or based on true stories, some of which focus on people who survived, while others focus on people who were murdered. Further research would be necessary to determine exactly how each initiative chose the books it offers to educators - for example, to what extent classroom kits were created for books teachers were already using, such as Anne Frank, and also how certain primary level books are used in secondary classes – but it seems that each initiative has made thoughtful decisions about which books they provide. Initiatives that offer more than one classroom kit offer a range of books, a mix of fiction and non-fiction, some stories of survival and some of death, that could be used for a variety of different grade levels. While nearly 60% of initiatives offer classroom

kits with resources other than books, it is interesting to note that there are no Canadian initiatives that solely offer classroom kits with other resources – they either offer classroom kits with books, classroom kits with books and other resources, or no classroom kits at all. Further research is required to determine whether the other resource kits are used as a way of expanding context that is explored through the books or for a separate purpose or both, as well as to determine how decisions are made regarding which books to use at which grade levels, and how initiatives decide which classroom kits – books and other resources – to offer to educators.

Survivor Educators Not surprisingly, the experiential authority of survivor educators continues to be the cornerstone of contemporary Holocaust education, with nearly every Canadian initiative either coordinating survivor speakers for teachers and commemorative events, or using survivor educators, or both. As discussed above, the vast majority of Holocaust education initiatives, particularly the ones in the major centers of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg, would not exist if it had not been for the activism of survivors, and they would not have developed the way that they did without survivors' continued educational activism.

Currently, 82% of initiatives – 14 out of 17 – are responsible for coordinating survivor speakers for schools and/or Holocaust commemoration events (Fig. 23). Of the remaining three initiatives only one does not coordinate survivor speakers; another occasionally coordinates survivor speakers, and the third arranges for speakers through other Canadian Holocaust education initiatives. While it is difficult to determine exactly how many survivors live in each community, rough estimates were as follows: 2 in New Brunswick, 8-12 in Victoria, 10 in Halifax, and 35-40 in Calgary; 80 in Ottawa, 100 in Winnipeg, 200 in Vancouver, 3500 in Montreal, and between 5000-8000 in Toronto⁸.



Fig. 23

Initiatives do not track their survivor educators' countries of origin, experiences, or languages spoken, so knowledge about survivor educators varies depending on how long the current education director or equivalent has held their position, and on the strength of institutional memory in that initiative and/or community. However, it is possible to get a *sense* of survivor educators' backgrounds and experiences. Unsurprisingly, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver had the greatest diversity of survivor countries of origin and languages they spoke, reflecting the diversity of countries of origin and languages spoken by existing Jewish populations in those cities. Almost 95% of respondents have, or had, survivor educators from Poland, and just over 75% had survivor educators from Hungary and France. 65% of initiatives had survivor educators

⁸ These numbers are approximations and meant to be treated as such. It is extremely difficult to determine exactly how many Holocaust survivors live in Canada. Definitions of who is a Holocaust survivor – while more inclusive than they were at the end of the war, at which time only adults who had survived concentration camps were considered 'survivors' – are still complicated. How young a person was, particularly if they have few clear memories of their experience, and where they were from – especially for Jews living in the Soviet Union, particularly depending on which part of the Soviet Union they lived in – can make it difficult to determine who is or is not considered a survivor. Not all survivors are active in education and not all survivors talk about their experiences, so there are undoubtedly seniors in most large Jewish communities, not to mention those living in small towns or rural communities, who are survivors but no one knows that – or no one is sure if – they are Holocaust survivors.

from Germany and Holland, just under 60% from the Czech Republic, and a little under half from Belgium, Austria, the USSR, Ukraine and Romania. 18% have survivor educators from Belarus, and 12% from Denmark, Italy and Greece (Fig. 24). Almost 95% of survivor educators spoke Yiddish and Polish before arriving in Canada, 88% spoke French, 82% spoke German and Russian, and 76% spoke English and Hebrew, with the remaining languages more or less proportional to countries of origin (Fig. 25). Most survivor educators in Canada experienced deportation, ghettos, labour camps and extermination camps, a significant proportion survived in hiding and experienced Displaced Persons (DP) camps, and over half experienced the Einsatzgruppen, resistance, or partisan groups (Fig. 26).



Fig. 24



At this time, most survivor educators are speaking to public school students and at Holocaust commemoration events. Just over half of the initiatives who coordinate survivors are doing so for teachers, and just under half are doing so for non-Jewish community groups, Jewish schools, and Jewish community groups, though Jewish schools and community groups often have existing relationships with survivor educators and therefore do not always coordinate speakers through a Holocaust education initiative (Fig. 27). Few are presenting to charter schools, though it must be noted that only a few Canadian provinces have charter schools.



To a large extent, an initiative's Holocaust education program is shaped by the survivors who are involved with Holocaust education there - where they came from, what their Holocaust experiences were, how old they were and are, how long they have been involved and to what extent. The dynamics of Holocaust education have shifted and continue to shift as the educational activism of survivor educators has passed more and more to child survivors; Vancouver, in particular, has a large group of actively engaged child survivor educators, many of whom have been involved since the VHEC was founded in the early 1990s, and some of whom have been involved since the first symposium in the late 1970s. In some cases educational activism has passed down to the children and grandchildren of survivors. The Calgary Jewish Federation has spent the last three years piloting a new program from Houston called Through Their Eyes in which the children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors develop presentations of their parent or grandparent's experiences during the Holocaust, using excerpts from their relative's video testimony, and share the presentations at the annual Holocaust education symposium. In Saskatoon, Heather Fenyes and Congregation Agudas Israel have developed an annual Raoul Wallenberg Day program with speakers who are the children and grandchildren of Wallenberg survivors, in partnership with the Saskatoon Public and Greater Catholic School Board.

Survivors had and have myriad reasons for speaking to students, but there are some common themes (Fig. 28 and Fig. 29). For many, it is a way to combat their 'survivor guilt' over why they survived when so many died, and/or to honour family members and friends who died during the Holocaust. Survivor educators often speak about the importance of encouraging young people to be kind and respectful of one another, particularly of one another's differences – indicating an emphasis on the pedagogical objectives of educating *for* and *from*. In Canada, many survivors

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began speaking about their experiences after the Zundel and Keegstra trials, both of which renewed and heightened fears of antisemitism, Holocaust denial, and possible violence against Jews. Others began speaking as they became older, and many speak for the purpose of genocide prevention. Some survivors were inspired or asked to speak by other survivor educators and others were asked to speak by their families. Some have never spoken to their families about their experiences, even if they speak to students. Quite often it is a combination of some or all of these reasons, and many survivors will tell you that the reasons can shift and change depending on the year or the day⁹.





⁹ The observations in this section are based on two questions from the research questionnaire that asked about survivors' original reasons for speaking to students and their ongoing reasons for speaking to students, as well as on my own experiences listening to Holocaust survivors in Calgary, Vancouver, Montreal, Poland, and Israel speak to students and educators about why they talk about their experiences. The accuracy of the responses to these research questionnaire respondent has worked with the initiative and how well they know the survivor educators that have been involved, and there are geographic limitations to my own experiences, so neither are intended to be comprehensive. Instead they are meant to give a general sense of the primary reasons that survivors speak to students.





Concern over losing survivors and survivor educators is not new. It was a concern as early as the late 1960s and 1970s (Bialystok 2000, Kerr-Lapsley 2013), but the discussion has understandably become more urgent over the last twenty years as survivors – and now child survivors – become older, become too ill to speak, and pass away. As the question of how to teach about the Holocaust without survivors becomes increasingly pressing, it is also important to remember that these initiatives, and Jewish communities in general, are not only losing valuable educators, they are losing parents, grandparents, friends, and colleagues. This reality is perhaps part of the underlying reason for respondents' near-unanimous support of national resource coordination of some kind, whether it be a website or database, where Canadian educators can discuss and share resources and best practices.

8. Other Pedagogical Approaches and Local Holocaust Commemoration

While the main resources available through nonformal Holocaust education initiatives are educator resources, survivor educators, classroom kits, and Holocaust education symposia, they are not the only resources. The MHMC, the Neuberger, CMHR, the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum, and the Freeman Family Foundation all had the space and the funding needed to develop permanent exhibits, which vary in size and scope, and the VHEC, the Freeman Family Foundation, Saint John Jewish Historical Museum, the MHMC, the Kleinmann Foundation, the March of the Living, the Atlantic Jewish Council, Regina, and Saskatoon have developed temporary exhibits which, again, vary in size and scope.

The VHEC has been the most active in the development of temporary exhibits, curating 49 impressively high quality, comprehensively researched exhibits – 1 to 4 a year since it opened in 1994. Their exhibits have focused on a wide variety of topics, including but not limited to: *We Were Children Then: Vancouver Child Survivors Remember; Visas for Life: Chiune Sugihara; MAUS: A Memoir of the Holocaust; Broken Threads: The Destruction of the Jewish Fashion Industry in Germany and Austria; Shanghai: A Refuge During the Holocaust; May 31, 1944; Janusz Korczak and the Children of the Warsaw Ghetto; Ravensbrük: The Forgotten Women of the Holocaust; Vancouver's Schindler Jews; Scream the Truth at the World: Emanuel Ringelblum and the Hidden Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto; In Defiance: Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust; More Than Just Games: Canada & the 1936 Olympics; Albanian Muslim Rescuers During the Holocaust; The Wartime Escape: Margret and H.A Rey's Journey From France; and Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Jewish Refugees in Canada, 1940-1943.*

Other initiatives, particularly smaller ones, have developed unique local programs. In Ottawa the Shoah Committee has partnered with embassies during Holocaust Education Week to host lectures, workshops, films, and other programming, and as noted above, Calgary is piloting the Through Their Eyes project. In Saint John, the curator of the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum has worked with the local Enrichment Coordinator for Saint John area schools to develop an annual Holocaust Study Group, in which Grade 11 and 12 students participate in seven classes on Judaism and the Holocaust. They hear from guest speakers, watch documentaries, use guided readings and music, and conduct research, while also keeping a journal of reflections, preparing a book report on a Holocaust-themed book, and developing an open-format final project on a topic related to the Holocaust. The last class takes place on Yom HaShoah, when the museum brings in a survivor speaker – often from the Neuberger, but sometimes from Halifax or Maine – to speak to the students, and give presentations at some of the local high schools.

Regina is the most ad hoc of Canadian initiatives, primarily organized by a local couple, planning events when there is an opportunity to do so. Several years ago, the couple, the Regina and District Jewish Association, and Beth Jacob Synagogue worked with core musicians of the Regina Symphony Orchestra to develop a performance of the *Der Kaiser von Atlantis (The Emperor of Atlantis)* a short opera that was written in Theresienstadt by Viktor Ullmann and Peter Kien, both of whom died in Auschwitz. A speaker toured several schools with the musicians, discussing the opera, while the musicians played excerpts from it. In the last several years opportunities for Holocaust education programming in Regina have also come as a result of the Managing Director of the Neuberger in Toronto including the community in their outreach program. One of the Regina coordinators is a professor in the Faculty of Education, the Neuberger programs are now mandatory for all pre-service teachers in the four-year Bachelor of Education program.

Several of the initiatives, large and small, are also responsible for coordinating the following extra-curricular programs in their community: the Asper Human Rights and Holocaust Studies Program trip, and/or the March of the Living. The Asper trip is a Canadian initiative for 14 and 15 year olds that used to follow several weeks of extracurricular Holocaust education and mandatory community service with a short trip to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and now follows the same program culminating in a trip to the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, which is also an initiative of the Asper Foundation. The March of the Living is an international initiative, with several Canadian offices, that similarly follows several months of extracurricular Holocaust education with a trip, but it takes high school students overseas for two weeks, the first of which is spent at the Holocaust memorials, museums and monuments in Poland, coinciding with Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day), and the second of which is spent in Israel, over Yom Hatzma'ut (Israeli Independence Day). While neither program is without its critics - a discussion that is beyond the scope of this thesis¹⁰ – the experiential components of these trips are highly effective. Anecdotally, this year the instructor who taught McGill's undergraduate Holocaust course, JWST 240: The Holocaust, had the students write personal statements introducing themselves to the instructor and myself, the TA. Students could write whatever they wanted and were not required to talk about previous experiences learning about the Holocaust, and yet a significant number of students spoke about their experience on the March of the Living, noting what they described as the deeply profound effect it had had on them, their lives, and their understanding of the Holocaust. Whether or not students had participated in the March of the Living, nearly all of them stated that they were taking JWST 240 because they were seeking a

¹⁰ For an introduction to the discourse surrounding the March of the Living, see Kugelmass, J. (1994) Why We Go to Poland: Holocaust Tourism as Secular Ritual. In J. E. Young (Ed), *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (174-183). Munich and New York: Prestel.

more comprehensive understanding of what happened during the Holocaust, in a more neutral context or setting than they had previously experienced.

After the loss of survivor speakers, arguably the biggest influence in Canadian Holocaust education in the last ten years has been the development and growth of the Azrieli Foundation's Holocaust Survivor Memoirs Program, and more recently, their Re:Collection pedagogical tool. Because the Azrieli Foundation has vast resources, their publications are provided to educators, students, Jewish communities, March of the Living participants, and so on, at no cost, and the overwhelming majority of Canadian initiatives – all but one – use and/or distribute Azrieli resources (Fig. 30). Further research on the process Azrieli has used to publish its memoirs and develop the Re:Collection tool, as well as an analysis of the content of each, would not only be interesting but would also be useful to Holocaust educators, initiatives, and researchers, in order to better understand these resources.



Fig. 30

There is still fluidity and overlap between Holocaust education and Holocaust commemoration today. Just over 80% of the Canadian initiatives participate in annual Holocaust commemoration

events, 11 are responsible for coordinating these events each year, and 2 are sometimes responsible for coordinating them (Fig. 31 and Fig. 32).



Each of the twelve Canadian cities where these initiatives are based commemorates Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day) and it is the only commemorative event that is observed by all of these communities (Fig. 33). Created by the Israeli Knesset in 1951, Yom HaShoah occurs between Passover and Yom Hatzma'ut (Israeli Independence Day) and is now the most widely observed annual Holocaust commemoration for Jewish communities around the world¹¹. All but three of the smallest communities commemorate the anniversary of Kristallnacht (the Night of Broken Glass), a series of violent anti-Jewish pogroms that took place in Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland on November 9th and 10th 1938, the year that Nazi anti-Jewish policy intensified and radicalized, and that early deportations of Jews to concentration camps began. Two communities have their own unique commemorations: Vancouver has an annual High Holidays cemetery service that takes place at the Schara Tzedeck Cemetery between

¹¹ For further discussion of the development of Yom HaShoah, see *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (1993) by James E. Young

Rosh Hashana (Jewish new year) and *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement) and gives participants the opportunity to say *kaddish*, the Jewish prayer for those who have died, to honour and mourn those who were killed during the Holocaust. A relatively new ceremony in Winnipeg, commemorating deportation from the Warsaw Ghetto, was started by a survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto who had been smuggled out of the ghetto by his cousins and hidden by three Polish women for the remainder of the war. Several years ago he heard of a walk of remembrance in Poland commemorating deportation from the Warsaw Ghetto and wanted to replicate it, first walking from his house to the Manitoba legislature, joined by members of the Winnipeg community, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. The annual march is now from the Canadian Museum for Human Rights to the Holocaust memorial at the Manitoba Legislative Building, a 1.5 km walk that draws more participants from the interfaith community than the Jewish community, in part due to the Freeman Family Foundation Holocaust Education Centre Chair's involvement with the Manitoba Multifaith Council.

Given that Raoul Wallenberg Day is a Canadian commemoration, it is interesting that only two communities, Toronto and Saskatoon, report observing it. A Swedish diplomat who gave out thousands of Swedish passports – with the Swedish government's authorization – to protect Hungarian Jews in 1944, Wallenberg was arrested by Soviet forces after the war and was never heard from again. He was made Canada's first honourary citizen in 1985 and the Canadian government established Raoul Wallenberg Day (January 17th) in 2001 (CMEC 2008). That only two Canadian communities commemorate this day is interesting for several reasons. Rescue is a popular way for educators to approach the Holocaust, in part because it allows educators to temper the horror of the Holocaust with stories of survival and resistance, and of individuals who

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responded to violence and oppression by saving lives. At higher grade levels Raoul Wallenberg can be an entry point to discussing wartime and postwar politics – such as different countries' responses to the persecution of the Jews, or the role Sweden played during the war and how it remained neutral – and is an interesting case to analyze from a perspective of post-war and Cold War politics. Additionally, discussion of Raoul Wallenberg Day opens up discourse surrounding Canadian responses to World War II, and how this day fits into the Canadian national narrative and Canadian identity more broadly. Further inquiry into why so few Jewish communities and so few Canadian Holocaust education initiatives observe Raoul Wallenberg Day is recommended.

Fig. 33 Local Holocaust Commemoration Events (2016)							
City	Yom HaShoah (Nissan 27, April or May)	Kristallnacht (November 9 th /10 th)	International Holocaust Remembrance Day (January 27 th)	Raoul Wallenberg Day (January 17 th)	Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (April 19 th)	Deportation from the Warsaw Ghetto (July)	High Holidays Cemetery Service (Fall)
Victoria							
Vancouver							
Calgary							
Saskatoon							
Regina							
Winnipeg							_
Toronto							
Montreal							_
Saint John							
Halifax							

9. The National Holocaust Remembrance Committee (NHRC) and the International

Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)

The National Holocaust Remembrance Committee (NHRC) was established by Canadian Jewish Congress in 1973, and was chaired for many years by Nate Leipciger, a very active survivor in Toronto, with a mandate that covered Holocaust commemoration, documentation of survivor experiences through the collection of testimonies and other materials, and education (Bialystok 2000, p. 174). It is unclear when exactly the National Holocaust Remembrance Committee became inactive, but it was sometime in the early 2000s (F. Bialystok, personal communications, May 2016). Certainly by the time that Canadian Jewish Congress was 'absorbed' into the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs in 2012, the focus of Canadian Holocaust education had reoriented, centered around the local initiatives discussed here, and internationally through the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), with no national representation.

Since 2009, Canada has been a member of the IHRA, holding the chair position in 2013. The IHRA was established by Sweden in 1998 through the Stockholm Declaration. The first five members were Sweden, the US, the UK, Israel and Germany, with renowned Holocaust scholar Dr. Yehuda Bauer as their independent academic advisor, and a mandate of knowledge dissemination and international cooperation on education initiatives and pedagogic best practices. The IHRA now has 31 Member Countries¹², 10 Observer Countries¹³, and 7 permanent international partners¹⁴. Canadian Holocaust educators have been well represented in IHRA's Education Working Group, through Alice Herscovitch (MHMC), Jody Spiegel (Azrieli), Belle Jarniowski (Freeman Family Foundation), Clint Curle (CMHR), and Dr. Carson Phillips (Neuberger), and Canadian educators have held several chair positions on IHRA committees: Dr. Kori Street (USC Shoah Foundation) was the 2011-2012 Communications Working Group

¹² Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the US

¹³ Albania, Australia, Bulgaria, El Salvador, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Monaco, Portugal, Turkey, and Uruguay

¹⁴ The United Nations, UNESCO, The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw, International Tracing Service, The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, The Council of Europe, and The Jewish Material Claims Conference Against Germany

Chair, Alice Herscovitch (MHMC) was the 2013 Education Working Group Chair, Dr. Alain Goldschlager (University of Western Ontario) was the 2014 Academic Working Group Chair, and Nina Krieger (VHEC) was the 2015 Memorials and Museums Working Group Chair.

When asked "Do you think that a central organization that manages a database or website for Holocaust education in Canada, connecting Holocaust education initiatives to one another and to educators who are teaching the Holocaust, would be useful?" 88% of the initiatives – 15 out of 17 – responded in favour. In their comments respondents noted the need for sharing resources and best practices with other Canadian initiatives, though some, understandably, questioned the feasibility of it, noted that IHRA tries to do this, and cautioned against the creation of yet another organization, recommending that it instead come from an existing initiative. While nearly all of the larger organizations were in favour of a central organization or portal for sharing resources, it is important to note that initiatives based in smaller communities wrote the most enthusiastic feedback to this question and were particularly supportive of this proposal. They noted that, in particular, it would help improve smaller initiatives' awareness of available resources and enable more effective sharing of resources, information, and best practices between all of the initiatives. This clearly demonstrates a need, though the exact shape that this would take is unclear at this time.

10. Historical Thinking, Historical Consciousness, and Formal-Nonformal

Pedagogical Collaboration

With their explicit and implicit anti-racist and citizenship education approaches, these nonformal Holocaust education initiatives extend beyond rote memorization of historical information to

"historical consciousness" – how we understand the past, what shapes that understanding, and how that applies to our individual and collective present and future (Seixas 2006b) – and "historical thinking", through teaching students to use primary sources, understand historical significance, identify continuity and change alongside cause and consequence, as well as understand different historical perspectives and the ethical dimensions of historical interpretation (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness n.d., Seixas 2006a, Wineburg 2001). While they all emphasize historical thinking in one way or another, the extent to which these initiatives explicitly engage with historical consciousness depends entirely on the initiative, the resources being used and the educators using them, and is deserving of further study.

One of the most important applications of the concept of nonformal Holocaust education lies in understanding that relationship between classroom educators and nonformal resources, a phenomenon I have come to refer to as *formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration*. Internationally, *formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration* in the context of Holocaust education is present in numerous contexts, from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's annual Belfer National Conference for Educators, to Facing History's full-day workshops – like *Voices and Choices of Young People During the Holocaust* – in the United States and England, to the Shoah Foundation's *iWitness* online resource, which has built pedagogical activities around the US Common Core State Standards Initiative, using digitized survivor testimony that students access online. *Formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration* can also apply to co-curricular programs, like the *Lessons from Auschwitz (LFA)* program in the United Kingdom. Though it uses different terminology, the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence, developed in the early 2000s, advocates for *formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration* by

"promot[ing] active learning methods and recogniz[ing] the value of educational experiences that take place beyond the classroom" (Cowan et. al. p. 164, 168). By reinforcing the importance of nonformal initiatives – museums in particular – in providing an alternative context outside of the classroom that allows for different types of learning, the Curriculum for Excellence clearly advocates for the use of nonformal resources. The LFA program, developed by the Holocaust Educational Trust, achieves this aim through its annual program that takes UK secondary students to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and has them develop a project to share their knowledge with their schools and communities when they return.

In Canada, *formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration* encompasses a wide range of approaches: teacher's conferences and professional development through the MHMC, VHEC, Neuberger, and Facing History; museum exhibits created by the MHMC, VHEC, the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum, the Freeman Foundation, and the CMHR; educational partnerships, like the one between Calgary Jewish Federation and Mount Royal University, or between the Neuberger, the Regina and District Jewish Association and the University of Regina, or between Congregation Agudas Israel and the Saskatoon Public and Greater Catholic School Boards; and classroom resource development through Facing History, the Azrieli Foundation, the MHMC, and VHEC. This is a key area of inquiry for further research on nonformal Holocaust education initiatives in Canada and around the world.

11. Conclusion

Holocaust education in Canada is important and relevant for a number of reasons. The Holocaust is inarguably an important part of European history and the Second World War. There is disagreement over the extent to which lessons can be drawn from and applied to the Holocaust, and whether or not genocide prevention is possible. However, educators typically use study of the Holocaust as an entry point into critical discussions of genocide and human rights abuses in the 20th and 21st centuries, and as a way of helping their students navigate the myriad references to and appropriations of Holocaust history that appear in literature, film, pop culture, video games, and in politics, both local and international. It is also important for students to understand the Canadian context during the Second World War, not solely through the hero narrative of being an Allied force but also of antisemitism in Canada, the SS St. Louis, Canada's wartime immigration policy, and the internment of Japanese citizens and German 'enemy aliens'. Canadian Holocaust education initiatives – the VHEC and MHMC in particular – have been instrumental in developing resources that explore and explain the specific historical context in Canada. The Canadian Holocaust education context itself is unique in many respects, most notably in that the lack of a national curriculum means that provincial and territorial contexts vary widely, and the absence of mandatory Holocaust education in most curricula means that incorporating it is entirely up to the individual educator.

Canadian Holocaust education initiatives are therefore best described as *nonformal Holocaust education initiatives*. They have the explicit educational mandate missing from informal Holocaust education, and though they work closely with educators through *formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration*, they are not part of the formal education system. Largely as a result of educational activism on the part of Holocaust survivors, nonformal Holocaust education in Canada has been active at the local, national, and international levels over the last 40 years, and nonformal Holocaust education initiatives are central to Holocaust education in Canada – it would not exist without them. As my study has shown, in addition to providing resources – particularly in the form of classroom kits, teaching strategies, and professional development – the vast majority of these initiatives are also responsible for the active facilitation of Holocaust education across the country, through survivor educators, symposia, and exhibits.

While a community of practice among nonformal educators has been built, conceptually it is complicated by *formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration*, and the presence of formal educators in leadership positions within nonformal initiatives. Practically, it is not a fully functional community of practice. Instead, there are micro-communities of practice, some of which are geographic, like between the VHEC and the Calgary Jewish Federation, and some of which are resource-based, like between the Neuberger and Regina. There is a fast-growing, though perhaps somewhat one-sided, macro-community of practice between Azrieli and everyone else, another macro-community between education centres involved with IHRA, and another between Canada's IHRA delegation and international formal and nonformal Holocaust education initiatives. Though deserving of further study, it does seems that these micro- and macrocommunities of practice are fairly functional, and it is clear through the near-unanimous support of some form of a national organization or portal to help coordinate Canadian Holocaust education efforts, that there is a desire for a comprehensive community of practice. The point is perhaps not to have a seamless, singular community of practice but rather a strong network of micro-, macro- and comprehensive communities of practice that fit into one another, all working

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towards accessible, high quality, pedagogically-sound Holocaust education resources, a network that could best be described as a *community of best practice*.

As this is the first study of nonformal Canadian Holocaust education, there are inevitable weaknesses. To begin with, it is – at best – a superficial overview of each initiative and the work that they do. Interviews with the education directors, or equivalent, were very interesting and informative, and should be conducted with the remaining 13 initiatives. Ideally, each initiative would also have its own thorough case study that explores its unique history and development. While each initiative provides historical information and resources for teaching about the Holocaust, the extent to which different organizations provide teachers with meta-pedagogic skills - recognizing and mediating overgeneralization and over-specification, understanding the influence of their personal, school, municipal, and provincial contexts, and different approaches to teaching the Holocaust (about, for, from, within, moral, and so on) - is not well understood, and is deserving of further study. In part, these questions will be addressed in my PhD dissertation, which will focus on the use of nonformal Holocaust education resources by Canadian high school teachers. Innumerable future research projects are possible, and recommended, including: explicit study of formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration, and the role of Holocaust education in Canadian social studies, history, English Language Arts, French Language Arts, and other curricula; exploring the influence of survivors with different Holocaust experiences and from different countries moving in and out of Canadian Jewish communities, and between Canada, the US, Israel, and elsewhere; a critical analysis of learning about, from, for and within as pedagogical objectives and approaches; a comparative study of formal Holocaust education and public Holocaust education in Canada, such as museum exhibits and film

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screenings; an exploration of the pedagogic relationship between Canadian Holocaust survivors and residential school survivors, particularly in British Columbia; and the development of a conceptual framework around micro- and macro-communities of practice, and communities of best practice, in a nonformal education context. An up-to-date study of the Holocaust and Canadian curricula is also needed, as are case studies of urban and rural contexts, studies of how educators engage with their students and other audiences, and evaluations of the effectiveness of programs and pedagogic tools.

It will be a challenge for initiatives that depend entirely, or almost entirely, on survivor educators as their core pedagogical tool to maintain their education programs over the next decade. Though nothing can replicate the experience of a survivor educator, alternative pedagogical resources – exhibits, videotaped survivor testimony, and classroom kits in particular – that have been developed and are being developed by many of these initiatives are a promising option. Provided that there is a desire, thorough training, financial support, and effective communication between all of the initiatives, comprehensive, pedagogically-sound resources will continue to reach Canadian educators and continue to help facilitate active historical thinking in Canadian students.

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13. Appendices

Appendix A: Online Questionnaire

NOTE – Adapting the questionnaire from Google Forms to Word was extremely difficult, and the formatting has suffered because of it. In particular, in the original questionnaire there was space for the respondent to write in their answers to qualitative questions, as well as next to any question with an "Other" option. Each section appeared as a separate page in the online questionnaire, with proper formatting and spacing between words, and each checklist option had a corresponding 'bubble' to check.

MA Research: Towards a Comprehensive Understanding of Canadian Holocaust Education

Thank you so much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire! It should take 20-45 minutes. Please answer as thoroughly and thoughtfully as possible.

Some questions may not apply to your initiative – if that is the case, please select "Not applicable" or write "N/A" in the response box.

Questions that ask about survivor involvement will sometimes ask you to differentiate between the involvement of adult Holocaust survivors and child survivors. It is understood that who is considered, or should be considered, an adult survivor or a child survivor isn't always clear. For the purposes of this research an adult survivor is anyone who was approximately 16+ in 1939, and a child survivor is anyone who was 15 or under in 1939. There will be an explanation of the discussion around adult/child survivors in the final thesis for this project.

If you have any questions, please contact Sarah Jane (SJ) Kerr-Lapsley sj.kerr-lapsley@mail.mcgill.ca

Required

Basic Information

- 1. Name of initiative: *
- 2. Location (City, Province) *
- 3. Date Founded (Month, Year) *
- 4. List any previous names for the initiative AND/OR any societies, associations, or foundations that preceded this initiative and led directly to its creation. Please include the dates they began and ended, if known.
- 5. Give a brief summary of how this initiative was founded (who, when, and why) *

6. Who originally founded this initiative? Check all that apply.*

Check all that apply.

Adult survivors (16+ in 1939) Child survivors (15 and under in 1939) Descendants of survivors Other relatives of survivors Jewish community members Teachers Other

Current Structure

It is completely understood that educational initiatives grow and change over time. To get a sense of how your initiative functions today, the following questions are intended to reflect your current situation, as of February 2016.

However, since some of the questions may not be relevant now but were in the past – or vice versa – you will be provided with optional space in which you are welcome to explain or give context explaining changes over time.

Additionally, not all questions will apply to all initiatives. If a question does not apply to your initiative please select "Not applicable" or type "N/A" in the response box.

7. Do you have a Board of Directors? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes No Other

8. Who sits on your board? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Adult survivors (16+ in 1939)

Child survivors (15 and under in 1939)

Descendants of survivors

Other relatives of survivors

Jewish community members

Teachers

Not applicable

Other

- **9**. Has your Board of Directors changed significantly since it was founded? If so, please describe how it has changed.
- 10. Which of the following administrative and executive positions exist for your initiative? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Executive Director
Director
Associate Director
Assistant Director
Education Director (or equivalent)
Program Coordinator (or equivalent)
CEO
President
Vice President Treasurer
Secretary
Administrative Assistant
Docents
Docents Temporary/Project Specific Staff
Temporary/Project Specific Staff

11. Does your organization appear in any annual reports? Either your own or others (Federation, UJA, a museum, a foundation, etc.) *

Staff and Volunteer Demographics

Please try to be as specific as possible. It is understood that – particularly with volunteers – numbers can fluctuate throughout the year, and over the years. Please indicate if your answers are approximations or averages.

12. How many full-time paid staff (30+ hours per week) do you have? *

- 13. How many part-time paid staff (1-15 hours per week) do you have? *
- 14. How many part-time paid staff (16-29 hours per week) do you have? *
- 15. How many full-time regular volunteers (30+ hours per week) do you have? *
- 16. How many part-time regular volunteers (1-15 hours per week) do you have? *
- 17. How many part-time regular volunteers (16-29 hours per week) do you have? *
- 18. How many event-specific volunteers do you have? ie. for annual events like teacher's conferences, high school symposia, Yom HaShoah, etc. *
- **19.** Please check off all of the age brackets that reflect your current paid staff: * *Check all that apply.*
 - 15-20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 71+ Not applicable
- 20. Briefly describe the age demographic of your paid staff. ie. Are most of the staff 20-40? 50-60? Retired? Is it evenly balance between several age brackets? *
- 21. How many of your current paid staff are survivors? *
- 22. How many of your current paid staff are the children or grandchildren of survivors?
- **23.** How many of your current paid staff are relatives of survivors (relationship other than

children or grandchildren)? *

- 24. How many of your current paid staff are from the Jewish community? *
- 25. How many of your current paid staff are not Jewish?*
- 26. Please add any additional comments on paid staff demographics
- 27. Please check off all of the age brackets that reflect your current volunteers: *

Check all that apply.

Younger than 12 13-17 18-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70-79 80+ Not applicable

- 28. Briefly describe the age demographic of your volunteers. ie. Are most of the volunteers 15-30? 50-60? Retired? Is it evenly balance between several age brackets?
- 29. How many of your current volunteers are survivors? *
- 30. How many of your current volunteers are the children or grandchildren of survivors?
- **31.** How many of your current volunteers are relatives of survivors (relationship other than children or grandchildren)? *
- **32**. How many of your current volunteers are from the Jewish community? *
- 33. How many of your current volunteers are not Jewish?*

34. Please add any additional comments on volunteer demographics:

Funding

35. We receive/have received funding from:

Check all that apply.

UJA

Jewish Material Claims Conference Against Germany

Provincial Government Grants

Federal Government Grants

Individual Donors Endowment(s)

Fundraisers

Other

Programs and Pedagogy

36. Do you have your own office space? *

Mark only one oval.



37. Do you have classroom/presentation/work space for students or visitors? Check all that apply.

Check all that apply.

C assroom space

Presentation space

Work space

Multipurpose classroom/presentation/work space

Not applicable

Other

38. Do you have permanent exhibit space? *



Other

39. Do you have temporary exhibit space? *

Mark only one oval.



40. Do you have your own library? *

Mark only one oval.



41. Do you have your own archive? *

Mark only one oval.



42. Do you provide resources - or have you in the past - to any of the following: *

Check all that apply.

Scholars (affiliated with a university, college, or other official institute)

Families researching their family history

Independent researchers (not affiliated with a university, college, or other official institute, and not researching their own family)

None of the above

Other

43. Who do you provide Holocaust education resources for? Check all that apply.*

Check all that apply.

Kindergarten - Grade 3 Grades 4-6 Grades 7-9

Grades 10-12
University students
Adults
General public
Other

44. Do you provide resources or run programs outside of Canada? *

Mark only one oval.

C	Yes
C	No
C	Other

45. If yes, please explain: *

46. Do you provide resources or run programs in Canada, outside of the province in which you are located? *

Mark only one oval.



47. If yes, please explain: *

48. Do you provide resources or run programs in your province, outside of the city in which you are located? *

Mark only one oval.



49. If yes, please explain: *

50. Please add any additional comments you have on the programs that your initiative offers:

Classroom Kits

"Classroom Kits" refer to sets of books and/or resources that you lend out – free or for a fee – to teachers for use in their classrooms.

51. Does your initiative have classroom kits with Holocaust-themed books and resources for teachers?

Mark only one oval.



52. If you have classroom kits that provide Holocaust-themed books (fiction or nonfiction) for teachers, which grade levels are they intended for? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Kindergarten to Grade 1 Grade 2-3 Grades 4-5 Grade 6 Grade 7 Grade 7 Grade 8 Grade 9 Grade 10 Grade 11 Grade 12 CEGEP University Not applicable Other:

53. Do your classroom kits contain any of the following books? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Number the Stars - Lois Lowry

The Boy in the Striped Pajamas - John Boyne

Hannah's Suitcase - Karen Levine

Sarah's Key - Tatiana de Rosnay

INvever Saw Another Butterfly - Hannah Volakova

Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl

The Book Thief - Markus Zusak

Maus - Art Spiegelman

Not applicable

Other

54. How many classroom kits with books do you have? Please describe them briefly. *

55. If you have classroom kits that provide other Holocaust-related resources for teachers, which grade levels are they intended for? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Kindergarten to Grade 1
Grade 2-3
Grades 4-5
Grade 6
Grade 7
Grade 8
Grade 9
Grade 10
Grade 11
Grade 12 CEGEP
University
Not applicable
Other

56. If you have classroom kits that contain resources other than books, please briefly describe what is in them: *

57. Do you offer your classroom kits for free, or for a fee? *

Mark only one oval.	
Free Free	

\smile	
\bigcirc	Fee
\bigcirc	Not applicable
\bigcirc	Other

High School/Secondary School Symposium



Mark only one oval.

Yes No Other

59. What grade level(s) is it intended for? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Grade 7
Grade 8
Grade 9
Grade 10
Grade 11
Grade 12
Not applicable
Other

- 60. How many students, on average, have attended your symposium each year since 2010? *
- 61. Has the annual number of students changed since you first started offering the high school/secondary school symposium?*

Mark only one oval.



62. Additional comments about the high school/secondary symposium and/or attendance: *

Survivor Speakers

63. Does your initiative coordinate survivor speakers?

Mark only one oval.



64. Who do you coordinate survivor speakers for? Check all that apply.

Check all that apply.

Public schools
Jewish schools
Non-Jewish private schools

Charter schools
Jewish community/groups
Non-Jewish community/groups
Teachers (professional development)
Holocaust commemoration events Not
applicable
Other

65. Do you ever have the children or grandchildren of survivors speak about their parent's or grandparent's experience? *

Mark only one oval.

\bigcirc	Yes
\bigcirc	No
\bigcirc	Not applicable
\bigcirc	Other

It is, of course, understood that survivor communities are diverse, as are the reasons they began speaking about their experiences, and their reasons for continuing to speak about their experiences.

The following questions are intended to help those who are unfamiliar, better understand the different types of experience and reasons survivors have, and had, for talking about their experiences.

66. Where do (did) the survivors you work(ed) with originally come from? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

	Germany
	Austria
	Poland
	Former Czechoslovakia USSR
	Hungary
	Ukraine
	Romania
	Belarus
	France
	Denmark
	Holland
\square	Belgium
	Italy

Greece

Other

67. What kinds of experiences did they have during the war? Check all that apply.*

Check all that apply.

Deportations Ghettos
Einsatzgruppen
Labour camps
Extermination camps
Hiding
Resistance movements
Partisan activity
Displaced Persons (DP) Camps
Other

68. What languages do (did) they speak? Check all that apply.*

Check all that apply.

Yiddish
German
Polish
Czech
Russian
Hungarian
Ukrainian
Romanian
French
Danish
Dutch
Italian
Greek
English
Hebrew
Other:

69. When speaking to students, which languages do/did they use? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

English
French
Yiddish
Other:

70. Why did they start speaking to students? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

	Felt that by telling their story they could encourage young people to be kind, and
res	pectful of one another – particularly of one another's differences

Felt that by telling their story they could help prevent future acts of mass violence

Felt the need to tell their story as they became older

Asked by their family or friends

Asked by other survivors

Inspired by other survivor speakers

As a result of the Eichmann Trial

- As a result of the Keegstra trial
- As a result of the Zundel trial

- 71. If you selected "As a result of the Eichmann Trial", "As a result of the Keegstra trial" or "As a result of the Zundel trial", please explain further:
- **72.** What are/were their ongoing reasons for speaking to students? Check all that apply. * *Check all that apply.*

Help students understand	what happened	l during the	Holocaust
	r r r r		

Help students understand the dangers of intolerance and racism

Encourage students to be kind, and respectful of one another – particularly of one another's differences

Genocide prevention

Other

- 73. Approximately how many survivors currently live in your city? *
- 74. Anything else you would like to add about the survivor speakers you work(ed) with: *

Other Education Programs

75. Do you offer adult education programs? *

Mark only one oval.



76. If yes, please describe them briefly: *

77. Do you offer public education programs? *

Mark only one oval.

\subset)	Yes
\subset	$\Big)$	No
\subset	$\Big)$	Other

78. If yes, please describe them briefly: *

79. Are you responsible for planning the local Jewish community's Holocaust commemoration events? *

Mark only one oval.



80. Do you participate in the local Jewish community's Holocaust commemoration events? *



81. What events or dates does the local Jewish community commemorate? Check all that apply.

Check all that apply.

Yom HaShoah
Kristallnacht (November 9)
International Holocaust Remembrance Day (January 27)
Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
Not applicable
Other

82. Which of the following do you define/describe yourself as? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Museum

Education centre

____Memorial centre

Community organization

Teaching and resource development organization (professional development, textbooks, etc.)

83. Do you have a permanent exhibit about the Holocaust? *

Mark only one oval.

C	Yes
\subset	No
\subset	Other

84. Do you create temporary exhibits about the Holocaust? *

Mark only one oval.



85. Do you host or display traveling exhibits about the Holocaust? *



Other

86. Does your initiative have a formal relationship with the Asper Human Rights and Holocaust Studies Program? *

Mark only one oval.



87. Additional Comments:

88. Does your initiative have a formal relationship with the March of the Living? *

Mark only one oval.



89. Additional Comments:

90. Does your initiative use or distribute resources from Facing History and Ourselves? *

Mark only one oval.



91. Additional Comments:

92. Does your initiative use or distribute resources from the Azrieli Foundation? *

Mark only one oval.

Use Distribute Use AND distribute I have never heard of this organization Other

93. Additional Comments:

94. Does your initiative use or distribute resources from the US Holocaust Memorial Museum? *

Mark only one oval.

Use
Distribute
Use AND distribute
I have never heard of this organization
Other

95. Additional Comments:

96. Does your initiative use or distribute resources from Yad Vashem? *

Mark only one oval.



97. Additional Comments:

98. Does your initiative use or distribute resources from the Shoah Foundation? *

Mark only one oval.

\bigcirc	Use
\bigcirc	Distribute
\bigcirc	Use AND distribute
\bigcirc	I have never heard of this organization
\bigcirc	Other

99. Additional Comments:

100. Does your initiative use or distribute resources from the Simon Wiesenthal Center? *

Mark only one oval.

Use Distribute Use AND distribute I have never heard of this organization Other:

101. Additional Comments:

102. If you use or distribute resources from other organizations, please list them here: *

103. Did your programming change at all in 2015 for the 70th Anniversary of the end of WWII? *

Mark only one oval.

Our programming changed dramatically for the 70^{th}

Our programming changed somewhat for the 70th

Our programming didn't change at all

Other

104. If your programming changed in 2015, please briefly explain how. *

Other Canadian Holocaust Education Initiatives

This section is trying to get a sense of how aware the different initiatives are of each other.

ALL ANSWERS FROM THIS SECTION WILL BE KEPT COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS. They will be referred to as general conclusions about the relationships between the different initiatives, and their awareness of each other.

Responses to the questions about the potential usefulness of a national organization that would manage a database or website for Canadian Holocaust education are not binding in any way.

105. Are you aware of the Victoria Holocaust Remembrance and Education Society? *

Mark only one oval.

Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it

Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it

Have heard of it but have not worked with it

- Have not heard of it
-) This is my organization
- Other

106. Are you aware of the Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre? *

Mark only one oval.

\frown	Have heard of it and have/had a	long-term	working rela	tionship with	ı it
	11ave neard of it and nave/ nad a	iong-term	i working ieia	uonsinp with	1 11

- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- ____ This is my organization
-) Other

107. Are you aware of the Jewish Cultural Society of the Yukon? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- ____ This is my organization
-) Other

108. Are you aware of the Jewish Federation of Edmonton? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
-) Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- \mathcal{I} Have not heard of it
-) This is my organization
- Other

109. Are you aware of Calgary Jewish Federation's Human Rights and Holocaust Education program? *

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- \bigcirc Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
- Other

110. Are you aware of the Congregation Agudas Israel Synagogue's Holocaust education program (Saskatoon)?*

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- _____ Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- _____ Have not heard of it
- ____ This is my organization
-) Other

111. Are you aware of the Beth Jacob Synagogue's Holocaust education program (Regina)? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- \bigcirc Have not heard of it
- ____ This is my organization
- Other

112. Are you aware of the Asper Human Rights and Holocaust Studies Program? *

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Bave heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- _____ Have not heard of it
-) This is my organization
-) Other

113. Are you aware of the Freeman Family Foundation Holocaust Education Centre? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Bave heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
- Other

114. Are you aware of the Holocaust Awareness Committee (Winnipeg)? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- ____ This is my organization
-) Other

115. Are you aware of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
-) Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- _____ This is my organization
- Other

116. Are you aware of the Sarah and Chaim Neuberger Holocaust Education Centre? *****

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
-) Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
- Other

117. Are you aware of Facing History and Ourselves? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Bave heard of it but have not worked with it
- \bigcirc Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
- Other

118. Are you aware of the Azrieli Foundation? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- ____ This is my organization
- Other

119. Are you aware of the Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- ____ This is my organization
- Other

120. Are you aware of the Canadian Society for Yad Vashem? *

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
-) Other

121. Are you aware of the Shoah Committee of the Jewish Federation of Ottawa? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
-) Other

122. Are you aware of the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- _____ This is my organization
-) Other

123. Are you aware of the Kleinmann Family Foundation? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- _____ This is my organization
- Other

124. Are you aware of the Saint John Jewish Museum? *

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- _____ Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
-) Other

125. Are you aware of the Atlantic Jewish Council? *

Mark only one oval.

- Have heard of it and have/had a long-term working relationship with it
- Have heard of it and have/had a short-term working relationship with it
- _____ Have heard of it but have not worked with it
- Have not heard of it
- This is my organization
-) Other
- 126. Do you think that a central organization that manages a database or website for Holocaust education in Canada, connecting Holocaust education initiatives to one another and to educators who are teaching the Holocaust, would be useful? *

Mark only one oval.



127. Why or why not? *

128. If yes, which do you think would be useful? Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

Database
Uebsite
Other

Additional Information

129. Please provide any other information that will help develop a more comprehensive understanding of how your initiative runs and what you do:

Thank you so much for your participation!

Your input is key to developing a better understanding of Holocaust education in Canada.



Appendix B: Questionnaire Consent Form

Towards a Comprehensive Understanding of Canadian Holocaust Education

McGill Research Ethics Board (REB ll) #150-0915

Questionnaire Consent Form

Principal Investigator

Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley MA Student McGill Department of Integrated Studies in Education sarah.kerr-lapsley@mail.mcgill.ca

Faculty Supervisor

Dr. Eric Caplan Associate Professor McGill Department of Integrated Studies in Education McGill Department of Jewish Studies

Purpose

This research seeks to understand the history, pedagogical approaches, and scope of Canadian Holocaust education initiatives.

You are being invited to participate in this study because your organization or initiative facilitates Holocaust education in Canada.

Study Procedures

Research participants will be asked to complete a web-based questionnaire regarding the history, pedagogical approaches, and scope of their organization or initiative. The questionnaire will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The information provided will be utilized in the writing of Sarah Jane's Master's thesis, to be submitted to the McGill Department of Integrated Studies in Education.

Confidentiality

The specificity of the history and approaches of each organization or initiative is central to this research. That being said, pseudonyms can and will be used at the request of the research participant, either to separate certain comments from the individual or organization, or to protect their identity altogether. Please note that while **every effort will be made in these cases to distance the individual comments from the organization or initiative**, given that there are a limited number of Holocaust education initiatives in Canada, there is the risk that those reading the research may none-the-less be able to determine which comments came from which research participant.

____ I would prefer that my name be used

____ I would prefer that a pseudonym be used, and that my comments are separated from the name of my organization or initiative.

_____ I would prefer that certain comments be separated from the name of my organization or initiative. Please contact me to ask permission regarding a specific portion of the questionnaire or interview, as I may or may not be comfortable with my name being used.

Data Storage + Future PhD Research

Identifiable data, including completed questionnaires and consent forms, will be stored on an encrypted, password protected external hard drive and will only be accessible to the PI, Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley.

There is a possibility that the information gathered for this Master's thesis may be revisited during her PhD research. In the event that it is included in her PhD research a new consent form will be issued, following a new ethics approval process.

For those participants who consent to their data remaining on the encrypted, password protected hard drive, it will be stored until no later than April 30, 2025. Data belonging to all other participants will be permanently deleted following the completion of this research project, on April 30, 2016.

____ I consent to my data remaining stored on an encrypted, password protected external hard drive until the completion of the PhD project. ** *You may revoke this consent at any point, at which time your data will be permanently deleted ***

____ I would prefer that my data be permanently deleted immediately following the completion of this Master's research project.

Any questions can be directed to Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley <u>sj.kerr-lapsley@mail.mcgill.ca</u>, or her thesis supervisor Dr. Eric Caplan at eric.caplan@mcgill.ca.

Consent

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the project at any time.

Your signature below indicates that you agree to participate in this research interview and have received a copy of this consent form for your records. Please indicate whether you give permission for your name to be used, whether you would prefer a pseudonym, or whether it would depend on what specific portion of the interview was being discussed and/or quoted.

Signature

Date

Printed Name

Appendix C: Interview Consent Form

Towards a Comprehensive Understanding of Canadian Holocaust Education

McGill Research Ethics Board (REB ll) #150-0915

Interview Consent Form

Principal Investigator

Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley MA Student McGill Department of Integrated Studies in Education sarah.kerr-lapsley@mail.mcgill.ca

Faculty Supervisor

Dr. Eric Caplan Associate Professor McGill Department of Integrated Studies in Education McGill Department of Jewish Studies

Purpose

This research seeks to understand the history, pedagogical approaches and scope of Canadian Holocaust education initiatives.

You are being invited to participate in this study because your organization or initiative facilitates Holocaust education in Canada.

Study Procedures

Research participants will participate in a 40-60 minute interview, consisting of semi-structured interview questions relating to the history, pedagogical approaches and scope of their initiative. The interviews will be audio recorded, and the recordings will be used for transcription purposes only. The information provided will be utilized in the writing of Sarah Jane's Master's thesis, to be submitted to the McGill Department of Integrated Studies in Education.

Confidentiality

The specificity of the history and approaches of each organization or initiative is central to this research. That being said, pseudonyms can and will be used at the request of the research participant, either to separate certain comments from the individual or organization, or to protect their identity altogether. Please note that while **every effort will be made in these cases to distance the individual comments from the organization or initiative**, given that there are a limited number of Holocaust education initiatives in Canada, there is the risk that those reading the research may none-the-less be able to determine which comments came from which research participant.

____ I would prefer that my name be used

____ I would prefer that a pseudonym be used, and that my comments are separated from the name of my organization or initiative.

_____ I would prefer that certain comments be separated from the name of my organization or initiative. Please contact me to ask permission regarding a specific portion of the questionnaire or interview, as I may or may not be comfortable with my name being used. **Data Storage + Future PhD Research**

Identifiable data, including audio recordings, transcripts and consent documents, will be stored on an encrypted, password protected external hard drive and will only be accessible to the PI, Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley.

There is a possibility that the information gathered for this Master's thesis may be revisited during my PhD research. In the event that it is included in my PhD research a new consent form will be issued, following a new ethics approval process.

For those participants who consent to their data remaining on the encrypted, password protected hard drive, it will be stored until no later than April 30, 2025. Data belonging to all other participants will be permanently deleted following the completion of this research project, on April 30, 2016.

____ I consent to my data remaining stored on an encrypted, password protected external hard drive until the completion of the PhD project. ** *You may revoke this consent at any point, at which time your data will be permanently deleted ***

____ I would prefer that my data be permanently deleted immediately following the completion of this Master's research project.

Any questions can be directed to Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley <u>sarah.kerr-lapsley@mail.mcgill.ca</u>, or her thesis supervisor Dr. Eric Caplan at eric.caplan@mcgill.ca.

Consent

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the project at any time.

Your signature below indicates that you agree to participate in this research interview and have received a copy of this consent form for your records. Please indicate whether you give permission for your name to be used, whether you would prefer a pseudonym, or whether it would depend on what specific portion of the interview was being discussed and/or quoted.

Signature

Date

Printed Name