THE ROLE OF THE HOLOCAUST DOCENT-EDUCATOR: A GUIDE FOR THOSE WISHING TO SERVE AND TEACH IN A HOLOCAUST MUSEUM

A dissertation submitted to the Caspersen School of Graduate Studies

Drew University in partial fulfillment of

The requirements for the degree,

Doctor of Letters

John Joseph Hagadorn, Jr.

Drew University

Madison, New Jersey

August 2019

ABSTRACT

The Role of the Holocaust Docent-Educator:
A Guide for Those Wishing
To Serve and Teach in a
Holocaust Museum

Doctor of Letters Dissertation by

John Joseph Hagadorn, Jr.

The Caspersen School of Graduate Studies
Drew University August 2019

Museums are popular places today for people who wish to learn about culture and history. After the Progressive Education Movement a century ago, the pedagogy and methodology of general education infiltrated museum education departments, bringing many progressive ideas based on John Dewey's experiential learning and inquiry methods into the teaching practice of museum educators and docents. Museum researchers George Hein, Joseph V. Noble and Peter Van Mensch later expanded upon these newer teaching methods, and others were visitor centered with the goal of extending museum services to more diverse members of the community. This project utilizes the museum setting to observe the experiences of a Holocaust docent as a primer for those who wish to become a docent in a Holocaust museum. Museum methodology and pedagogy pertaining to the teaching of the Holocaust is presented and modeled in steps from the beginning of the docent training sessions to the docent's first solo tour.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe enormous gratitude and thanks to my advisor, Dr. Sloane Drayson-Knigge. Your endless support, guidance, patience, phone conversations, tireless feedback, and constructive criticism over many years have allowed me to make completing this dissertation a reality. When I was fumbling, you picked me up and set me on course. It has been an honor and a privilege working with you. I will never forget you.

I also wish to thank Dr. William Rogers for his kindness and dedication over the years as my advisor in the graduate program and my second reader for my dissertation.

Without the inspiration you channeled to me in your World War I and II courses, this reality would never have taken place. I express to you my profoundest appreciation for all you have done.

For the countless phone calls of encouragement from friends and colleagues, I sincerely thank you, especially Sterling Hawkins, Terry Moore, and Brian McCann.

I express my grateful appreciation to the Virginia Holocaust Museum for all of the assistance rendered to me during this process. To Inga Horrowitz, with much gratitude, I say thank you for your support and use of personal family books and letters. Special thanks go to Tim Hensley and Matt Simpson for their untiring help and encouragement. To Gabriela Shelley, thank you for allowing me the privilege of sharing your mother's devotion to recording for history the lives of the women who worked in the Auschwitz Political Department.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

I remember when I was a young boy, my sisters and I would often play school. Being the oldest of five siblings, I was always the teacher. My blackboard was an old mattress covered with torn, brown paper that lay against one wall of my bedroom. The lessons I taught were simply what I had learned in school on a given day—arithmetic problems or perhaps my spelling words for the week. Even at this early age, I had a love affair with school, with learning and reading, and more important, with teaching. As I grew older, this love never waned. There was no doubt at that time that I would become a teacher.

At present, I am retired from the Chesterfield County school system in Virginia, where I taught English for thirty-seven years. However, I did not quit teaching, reading, and learning. Currently, I work as an adjunct instructor at John Tyler Community College in Richmond, Virginia. Shortly before I retired, I had considered going back to school to take courses that would satisfy my interests in subjects that I never had time to take in my undergraduate and graduate study, so I decided to research the spectrum of courses offered in the two universities located near my home. None of these courses appealed to my interests. However, in the process of this research, I discovered that Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, offered degree programs in a humanities-based curriculum called Arts and Letters. The descriptions of the requirements and course offerings enticed me to apply. Subsequently, I was accepted into that program to begin my pursuit of the DLitt degree.

My studies in the Arts and Letters program at Drew University led to an interest in the literature and history of the Modern Period, one of the DLitt concentration areas when I first enrolled. This period, a cultural movement of the late nineteenth-century, focused on scientific, political, and ideological shifts following the Industrial Revolution. A course in modern poetry taught by Prof. Laura Winters examined characteristics of the era and how they applied to poetry. The intellectual stimulation and insights I gained from both instructor and students convinced me to continue studying this era.

Adhering to my plan to concentrate on the Modern Period, my next course, taught by Dr. William Rogers, centered on World War II. Learning about the Good War held a special interest for me since several of my actor friends with whom I had worked at Swift Creek Mill Theatre in Richmond, Virginia, were veterans of the war and would often revel in sharing their war stories with fellow actors when given an opportunity. Since they were theatre people, I am sure the derring-do of some of their adventures were greatly exaggerated, but that was part of telling a good story. As I listened to these stories over the years, I detected a sadness at times in their voices as they relived adventures, thinking about their fellow comrades and the friendships they had formed. I wanted to know more about them; I wanted to record some of the stories they shared. Therefore, I signed up for the World War II course to learn more about the war and to appreciate to a greater degree the sacrifice these men had made fighting in Europe and the Pacific. In preparing for the final project in Dr. Rogers' course, I chose a book written by Richard Rhodes, *The Masters of Death*, that described the German invasion of Poland in 1939 by the *Einsatzgruppen*, composed of members of the SS, the Security Police and the Order

Police[1] created by SS General Reinhard Heydrich. In June of 1941, these units followed the German army into the Soviet Union, undertaking special tasks to exterminate Communist party members; Soviet officials; political enemies; and Jewish men, women, and children. An approximate total of 1.5 million Jewish people were killed by the *Einsatzgruppen*, making these killing squads a key component in effecting The Final Solution[2] (Rhodes 257). Reading this book sparked my interest in the Holocaust.

After completion of my coursework in the Arts and Letters program, I had to find a topic for the dissertation requirement. Since I knew I wanted to explore the subject of the Holocaust, I travelled to the Virginia Holocaust Museum. There, I met Diana Gabay, the archivist. She ushered me into a room filled with artifacts that had not been catalogued. We spent some time discussing letters and memoirs from survivors of the Holocaust. As a result of this meeting, I decided to focus on Holocaust narratives as a dissertation subject. Spending several days looking through the archives and listening to survivor narratives the museum had recorded, my preliminary research yielded no immediate results, but it did lead me to inquire about becoming a docent. If I were going to teach others about the Holocaust, I needed to develop an extensive background knowledge to understand with greater clarity what happened during the years from 1933 to the end of the war in 1945. This knowledge also assisted me much later in

---

[1]The *Einsatzgruppen* have sometimes been referred to as "mobile killing squads." Composed primarily of SS and Police units, they were charged to secure German's occupied territories as the German Army moved through Eastern Europe. They moved swiftly, often catching residents by surprise.

[2] *Die Endlösung* [The Final Solution] was a euphemism for the total annihilation of the Jews. Fifteen high-ranking Nazi officials and German government officials met at Wannsee outside Berlin, on January 20, 1942, to discuss the implementation of *Die Endlösung der Judenfrage* [The Final Solution of the Jewish problem].

understanding the context for studying women's narratives about their Holocaust experiences, a subject area of this dissertation.

I read for weeks independently; then the education director and tour supervisor gave me a list of required sources that were essential to explaining the museum exhibits: Yehuda Bauer's *A History of the Holocaust*; David Crowe's *The Holocaust: Roots, History, and Aftermath*; Nancy Beasley's *Izzy's Fire: Finding Meaning in the Holocaust*; Martin Gilbert's *Kristallnacht*; Raul Hilberg's *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Catastrophe 1933-1945,* and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's website—since this institution is referred to frequently in this project, I will use the standard abbreviation USHMM hence forward. I also attended classroom workshops sponsored by a Holocaust education organization, Facing History and Ourselves,[3] and attended lectures and participated in learning activities in the Alex Lebenstein Teacher Education Institute held each summer at the museum. After completing my independent and required reading, I began to shadow experienced docents to observe their organization and presentation of the Holocaust tour. Each docent tour offered opportunities for me to think, plan, and structure my own tour. For example, observing how different docents greeted the guests and introduced their tours provided opportunities to witness guest-responses to these various methods of beginning a tour. After a general welcome to the museum, several docents engaged guests with questions about their understanding of the Holocaust. After a few guest responses, these docents defined the Holocaust using the USHMM definition and then proceeded with the tour.

[3] Facing History and Ourselves is a nonprofit international educational and professional organization that, as described on its website, helps people "make the essential connections between Holocaust history and the moral choices they confront in their own lives."

Since the *Train Station Exhibit* begins the tour at the Virginia Holocaust Museum,[4] other docents chose to begin tours by speaking about the extensive railroad network throughout Europe which provided the Nazis the means to transport at least three million people to killing centers.[5] One docent began an effective tour by pointing to a sign written in German on top of the waiting benches in the station exhibit: *für Juden Verboten*. The translation of the information on the sign is "Jews Forbidden." He then explained that as a racial state, the Nazis studied policies used in the Jim Crow South which forbade African Americans from sitting on these benches in the public area. As a child, this docent had sat on similar benches that the museum obtained from an old train station in Richmond, Virginia, which is now the Children's Museum of Virginia. He had observed the practice of Jim Crow discrimination as a child. This incident left a lasting impression on him. After hearing "openings" such as this one, I was able to combine some of the narratives the docents used to create my own introduction for my Holocaust tours. I also, as a child, sat on those same benches waiting for trains and remember "white only" signs placed on top of the benches. From these observations of experienced docents, I now have incorporated the personal example about my experience with the Jim Crow era; then I discuss the definition of the Holocaust before starting to move to the next exhibit area. Without the assigned observation period with docents, I doubt that I would have made a connection with my personal experience as a child witnessing Jim Crow discrimination and prejudice against African Americans as an example of discrimination and prejudice against the Jews in Europe during the Holocaust.

---

[4] See Appendix C for a floor plan of the Virginia Holocaust Museum.

[5] These docent statements were fact-checked on the USHMM website's encyclopedia section titled "Deportations to Killing Centers."

Five weeks of shadowing experience led to my first practice tour with the docent supervisor who made suggestions for my improvement and complimented the aspects of the tour that worked successfully. I compare this experience to that of a teacher who spends many hours preparing and fine-tuning a lesson, only to discover that the lesson did not work as well as planned. As I conducted my practice tour, I remember thinking that the supervisor would be pleased with my organization and delivery of tour information. She informed me that I missed two very important talking points near the beginning of the tour. I did not talk about anti-Semitism or the Treaty of Versailles[6]—these are very important concepts that I did not realize I had omitted until she informed me. Later, in the same practice tour in the *Liberation Exhibit*, I stood in front of a wall of numerous copies of pictures from the National Archives, located in Washington, D.C., that documented what the Allied forces witnessed upon entering the camps in Germany in April of 1945, but I never addressed the pictures.

This exhibit is one of several places in a tour where docents talk about German citizen-collaborators who conspired with the Nazis through their silence and acceptance. Several pictures show German citizens filing past dead bodies of Jewish victims, on the orders of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, General Dwight David Eisenhower, who had wanted these citizens to witness the consequences of their indifference and silence. I filled the time in this exhibit with other important information but omitted one of the most important teaching points for museum guests. However, the supervisor did comment very positively on my narration in *The Final Solution Exhibit*

[6] The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 ended World War I between Germany and the Allied powers. Hitler particularly did not like the reparations that Germany had to pay the Allied powers for substantial loss and damage during the war.

area, noting the empathy and respect I created for the fate of the victims. Also, at the end of the tour, she complimented my closing as I recapped the lessons of acceptance and tolerance as a charge to guests to remember these attitudes when interacting with others and to remember whenever they witness hatred, prejudice, and discrimination that they should speak out against such behavior and work together to build cooperation within the community. After a few additional weeks of guiding tours and discussing with other docents and the supervisor the strengths and weaknesses of my tours, I was able to develop strategies to create more successful tours. I soon commenced giving tours each week at the museum, learning from each tour and asking questions of veteran docents, when needed, in the attempt to improve my tours. Almost two months passed before I really felt comfortable as a solo docent.

Periodically, all docents would meet to chat about various tour topics and problems or to share ideas about their approach to certain exhibits where important lessons could be inserted. These meetings were especially productive for new docents like me because I had the chance to participate in discussions with fellow docents as we worked together to improve our tours. One of these meetings proved to be a meaningful experience when I met fellow docent Inge Horowitz, who knew of my interest in stories of the Holocaust. She explained to me that her cousin, Lore Shelley, a survivor of the Auschwitz death camp, had written a book, *Secretaries of Death,* that consisted of a collection of narratives written by women with whom she had worked in Auschwitz. Inga shared with me that she had given the museum library a copy of that book and several other books that Shelley had written about her experiences in Auschwitz. Shelley had also written an additional book about her post-Auschwitz travels as a reporter for the *San*

Francisco Examiner and the *Jewish Bulletin*, covering the Frankfort Auschwitz Trial. I resolved in that moment to research Lore Shelley as a possible subject for my dissertation project. Following this conversation, Inge Horowitz contacted Lore Shelley's daughter, Gabriela, to see if she would be interested in assisting me as a resource for studying the life and work of her mother. Luckily for me, she agreed.

After consultation with my dissertation advisor, Dr. Sloane Drayson-Knigge, I developed a tentative bibliography of sources to begin my research on women of the Holocaust. First, I read the corpus of Holocaust survivor Lore Shelley's published books.[7] Her first book, *Secretaries of Death*, published in 1986, evolved from extensive interviews with women who worked with Shelley in the Political Department[8] of Auschwitz and yielded information about how prisoners' social networks acted as a form of resistance and survival.[9] This book was followed by two other works based on her experiences at Auschwitz: *Auschwitz: The Nazi Civilization* published in 1992 and *The Union Kommando in Auschwitz: The Auschwitz Munition Factory Through the Eyes of Its Former Slave Laborers* published in 1996. Shelley's study of women's unique experiences as workers in the administrative offices of Auschwitz contributes to women's studies of the historical and scholarly work about Auschwitz which was published in the 1980s and 1990s.

Reading for my dissertation interests and docent preparation studies revealed to me that the early history of the Holocaust was written primarily by men, omitting for the

---

[7] The titles of these books with descriptions of the content are listed and explained in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

[8] The Political Department of Auschwitz housed a branch of the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA), which controlled all security and police forces in Germany and kept track of prisoner records and transports. This department is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

[9] Other books by Shelley include accounts by women who did not work in the Political Department but worked in other departments and asked Shelley to record their narratives.

most part what happened to women. In the early 1980s, a movement by women scholars, organized to study the unique experiences of women during the Holocaust, culminated in the first national conference titled "Women Surviving: The Holocaust," which took place in New York City at Stern College during March of 1983. This conference was sponsored by The New York Institute for Research in History.[10] Reading the conference report (Katz and Ringelheim) introduced me to Joan Ringelheim, the Stern Conference Director and an influential scholar in women's studies of the Holocaust. I read an essay titled "The Unethical and the Unspeakable: Women and the Holocaust" in which she claims that "by looking at women's lives and understanding their experiences" as written in the testimony of survivor narratives, "scholars suggest that ways of resisting and surviving are in fact, differentiated by gender; and that women's experiences of the Holocaust were different from those of men; and that women had different survival capabilities, different work, roles, and relationships" (1). Ringelheim in her essay "Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research" raised an issue about the assumption feminist scholars make challenging traditional views of the "passivity and oppression of women which could possibly bring into question the victimization and oppression of women in the Holocaust" (384-85). Since the Stern Conference, many women scholars have explored women's experiences during the Holocaust, including Myrna Goldenberg, Marlene Heinemann, Deborah Dwork, Dalia Ofer, Carol Rittner, Judy Baumel, Marion Kaplan, and many others. At this point in my work, I had not seen the work of Lore Shelley in bibliographies of the prominent women scholars of the Holocaust. Therefore, I wanted to learn more about Lore Shelley's life leading up to her experiences at Auschwitz, her

[10] A more complete discussion of the importance of this conference can be found in Chapter 5 of this project.

survival strategies while there, and her adjustment and recovery post-Auschwitz to discover an original idea to expand upon in my dissertation.

After consultation with my advisor, we decided to use my experiences as a docent at the Virginia Holocaust Museum to craft a resource for current and prospective docents who wish to teach the Holocaust in a museum. With this approach to the dissertation, I could incorporate my research on women in the Holocaust as a medium to supplement the teaching of the Holocaust using narratives from women's experiences. I decided to keep the focus of the life and work of Lore Shelley as a component in bringing to the fore her contribution to women's studies of the Holocaust. Her experiences at Auschwitz would also become a vehicle to relate to museum visitors her story through narrative portions of my tours.

As noted previously, I discovered the joy of teaching early in my life. For me, it is an instinctive quality that reveals itself in moments when I explain a concept, give directions, or discuss issues with students. Drawn to opportunities that allow me to share knowledge, I committed myself to undertake the process of becoming a docent in a Holocaust museum. The satisfaction and fulfillment I have gained in this service is immeasurable. Therefore, my desire in this project is to share what I have learned in my journey as a docent. For the purposes of clarity and conciseness of this project, I have chosen to offer my insights, revelations, trials, and difficulties to serve as a primer for those who aspire to grow into the role of a docent in a Holocaust Museum.

Chapter 2 describes for the prospective docent a brief overview of the historical development of the role of the museum docent. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the assumption was that museum exhibits were created by the curator as an expert in the

subject field. This type of presentational model changed in the early twentieth century with the introduction of John Dewey's theories of education during The Progressive Era.

Chapter 2 elucidates some of the educational theories and methodologies that were developed by John Dewey and others, paralleling the museum educators' paradigm shift to a greater interest in visitor education and enjoyment of the museum experience by initiating programs that appealed to more diverse visitors who had never previously attended a museum.

Concurrent with these developments in museum design and education, more modern learning theories of education and methodology that are specifically geared to docent-teaching in museums were introduced by museum education scholars George Hein, John H. Falk, Lynn D. Dierking, and others. The common practice of constructivist learning in museums advocated by Hein as a preferred method of docent practice in combination with other experience-based learning theories of education centered on the museum visitor and not museum content to accommodate learners of all ages. The last part of Chapter 2 delineates the characteristics that define successful docents and describes docent responsibilities for nourishing curiosity and inspiration for museum guests in learning about themselves, cultural heritage, and the diversity of communities. This final part of the chapter also explores the responsibility of museums to provide adequate training and ongoing professional development for their docents. Formal training provides the docent with expertise in the content of the museum through rigorous classroom instruction, reading assignments, homework, and evaluations. Informal training proves to be just as valuable as formal training for docents. Much of the discussion in this section of the chapter emphasizes best practice in developing the

relationship between the docent and museum visitors. In Chapter 2, instruction on visitor engagement and learning is supplemented with discussions from the observations of docents after shadowing experiences and from conversations among docents about special problems and concerns they have based on self-evaluations of their tours. This chapter establishes a good foundation of who a docent is, what a docent does, and how a docent performs duties working in a museum.

Chapter 3 extends the discussion of docent practice; however, the focus here is specifically for those who wish to serve as a docent in a Holocaust museum. The chapter begins with an overview of the theoretical framework for teaching the Holocaust in a museum setting based on the findings of museum researchers and educators. Chapter 3 explores theories and ideas about teaching the Holocaust that present a range of topics such as curriculum development, resources, and problems in Holocaust education. The chapter then expounds upon the process of becoming a docent in a Holocaust museum by chronicling my journey from the very beginning of my training to becoming an active docent giving tours on the floor at the Virginia Holocaust Museum in Richmond, Virginia. This process will show the docent at work studying, learning, and applying research-based pedagogy and methodology to Holocaust tour planning and preparation. I include some of the information I learned in professional development sessions at the museum and offer ways to use some that information in tours. To conclude the chapter, procedures and methods of conducting a tour are outlined with commentary advice based on my experiences as a docent to serve as a primer for docents planning their own tours. These guidelines will troubleshoot some of the pitfalls that a docent might encounter during a tour and suggest possible solutions.

Chapter 4 includes an annotated bibliography of resources and guides organized by sections for convenience and presented as a quick reference for beginning docents. The first half includes an annotated bibliography of professional and educational development resources for museum docents in training and for experienced docents. The second half offers an annotated list of Holocaust history and books representing a sampling of work by women about women in the Holocaust completed in the decades following the Stern Conference that helped advance scholarly exploration of women's experiences.

Chapter 5 discusses women's survivor narratives of the Holocaust. The chapter commences with a brief introduction and overview of scholarship about the role of women in the Holocaust beginning with the 1983 Stern College Conference, the first national symposium that gave women survivors a forum to speak about their experiences with scholars and other survivors. This introduction is followed by scholarly studies of women written by women scholars, organized by a chronology in the decades following the Stern Conference to the present. Commentary follows that will be useful to the docent in studying women in the Holocaust, focusing on information that can be learned from reading women's narratives in order to supplement the Holocaust tour with the life experiences of women in Nazi Germany, the camps, the ghettos and the resistance.

The discussion then transitions to the life and work of Lore Shelley, providing examples from her research that give insights into the lives of women imprisoned in the Auschwitz camp. Much can be learned about women's experiences as Shelley records narratives from women with whom she worked as secretaries in the Political Division, which housed the Gestapo and the State Police (Kripo). In addition, she interviewed

women who worked in other administrative departments and labor details, providing the reader information about the life and activities in the agricultural division; the laundry, mending, tailoring rooms; the cleaning squad; and the supply storage facilities in the Auschwitz camp.

The last part of Chapter 5 provides an examination of theoretical scholarship that supports the use of survivor narratives to teach Holocaust history. These survivor narratives written by women "contain a wealth of new information about their social and political networks which often illuminate an entirely different dialectic of resistance and survival" extending canonical knowledge on gender-based issues on Jewish persecution and resistance (Lixi-Purcell 1). The conclusion of the chapter describes how I have integrated women's roles into my tours at the museum as a way to supplement some of the historical information on the Holocaust by introducing the survivor narrative.

Chapter 6 introduces the prospective docent to the Virginia Holocaust Museum with a brief history and location of the museum, followed by foundation guidelines for docents to consider when conducting tours. This information covers docent protocol for interacting with visitors, including an explanation of how the docent can adapt tours for various groups of visitors such as the police, military personnel, students, and senior citizens. The last portion of this chapter will describe a tour through the museum for the purpose of offering to docents a sample guide to follow as they begin to plan and organize their own individual tours, to ensure that these tours are based on research-based guidelines and best practices for the teaching of the Holocaust.

Chapter 7 concludes this dissertation. It recaps the key ideas presented in the dissertation to highlight information the prospective docent needs to think about before

he or she begins training in a Holocaust museum, such as the time commitment that it will take to learn the pedagogy, methodology, and content necessary to effectively teach the Holocaust to others. This includes both formal and informal procedures to help develop docent expertise based on my experience as a docent. I have recommended to the prospective docent the best strategies and methods of research-based pedagogies from recognized scholars in museum science and Holocaust education as he or she begins to develop their own Holocaust tours.

More important, this project provides the beginning docent with an overview of the scholarship on women of the Holocaust, focusing on women's narratives as a means to supplement a Holocaust tour with information about women's roles before, during, and after the war. This section is followed by information about Lore Shelley, an Auschwitz survivor and scholar. Several of her works are discussed as examples of sources for narratives about women.

The latter part of this chapter shares with the reader what I have learned from researching and writing this dissertation. For me, these are valuable lessons that have enhanced my expertise as a docent at the Virginia Holocaust Museum. For docents who read this work, I hope that it will serve to help you as you begin your journey as docent Holocaust educator.

Chapter 2

OVERVIEW AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROLE OF MUSEUM EDUCATOR

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have chosen to explain the theoretical and methodological framework that informs learning and teaching as a museum docent. I will begin with a brief history of how docents were used in museum education departments of the past and follow with an overview of the evolving role of the docent as a trained educator in museums. The chapter will conclude with descriptions of the characteristics, responsibilities, and training of museum docents.

The world's "oldest collections, which became the basis for museums, were connected with the development of science and research" in ancient Greece and Egypt and studied for educational purposes "in the natural sciences, astronomy, medicine, botany, zoology, and art"; however, this form of collection did not survive the ancient world (Tisliar 588). In the Middle Ages, church treasuries and the collections of monarchs and the nobility became "significant new collections," though not for science or research, but to indicate the "status, wealth and power" of their owners" (588). Independent museums were not established until the mid-seventeenth century as a way to advance scientific knowledge "to promote rational instruction, civic responsibility, and cultural nationalism" that aligned with the values of the Enlightenment, an intellectual movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that emphasized reason and individualism rather than tradition (Neill, *Museum Docents' Understanding* 38).

The very first museums in the seventeenth century were often housed collections by universities and learned societies, usually connected to great libraries "to provide a

suitable base for complex academic research" (Tisliar 588). It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that public museums like those of today emerged as educational institutions. The museums of this era were a collection of displays where visitors passed through open cathedral-like spaces, observing exhibits based on a scientific methodology aimed at preserving for the future an "intellectual paradigm based on progress" (Franco 153). The assumption was that exhibits were created by a curator who was an expert in the subject field. Therefore, museum education departments served the public by passing on the knowledge of the curator through docent lectures of interpretation about the exhibits in the collection, attempting to enrich the cultural and intellectual experience of the visitor (156). Next to each exhibit, a written narrative explained its meaning. The docent, not trained as an expert in the field, only needed the skills to communicate the curator's expertise (156). The process resulted in an intellectually cold environment. Visitors were expected to leave with a better understanding of what they had observed from their experience, but no one really cared about whether they understood the experience or not (Fertig 1). This operational model began to alter somewhat during the early decades of the twentieth century, which introduced theories of learning from John Dewey, who "theorized that 'personal experience' was a major factor in learning" and one that progresses to the "development of what is already experienced into a fuller and richer and also more organized form" (Castle, "Teaching History" 2).

As museums became more aware of their visitors' needs, museum education departments looked for ways to make the experience of visiting a museum more meaningful to all varieties of visitors (Neill, *Museum Docents' Understanding* 47). Although museums had made great strides in trying to define their missions since the

display-model of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, more needed to be done to engage the public with exhibits and programs. The Progressive Era, a response to the economic and social problems of industrialization and urbanization, was supported by proponents who believed these problems could be solved with education; safe work environments; application of scientific methodology in all fields; and reform of local, state, and federal government. All of these reform efforts altered how museum education departments trained their docents; this alteration was referred to as a paradigm shift in how museums viewed the importance of their visitors. Dewey, an educational reformer in the twentieth century, advocated that people learn best in an interactive way with experience that can be related to individual prior experience. Owing to the Progressive Era, which began in the late nineteenth century and lasted until approximately 1957, innovations and ideology like learning from "practical experience—painting, cooking, building, shop work, gardening, field trips, museum visits, etc.—[became] the basis for intellectual analysis" (Hein, "Progressive Education" 163). The idea that everyone could take advantage of new social goals meant that the whole society could "[extend] the benefits of modern culture to all the population" (Hein 163). These educational innovations were assigned to museum education departments with the cooperation of all museum staff to "transform the nature of learning and teaching in museums, making it more inclusive, more relevant, and more impactful for more members" of the museum community (Bevan and Xanthoudaki 108).

In the 1960s through the early 1980s many museum education departments began to take a more active role in the collection-design process "to ensure that exhibits [became] learning environments with greater opportunities for self-directed learning

experiences which addressed visitors' emotions as well as their minds" (Franco 156). In 1970 a former president of the American Association of Museums, Joseph Veach Noble, defined five responsibilities as an evaluative tool for museums: "to collect, to conserve, to study, to interpret, and to exhibit"; he promoted the idea that a relationship in purpose existed among all five of these responsibilities as a necessary operation of a successful museum (Weil 74). Approximately thirty years later, a simplified version of Noble's construct of responsibilities created by Peter Van Mensch emerged as a paradigm shift in museum organization, reducing Noble's five responsibilities to three essential services: "to preserve (to collect being viewed as simply an early step in that process), to study (a function that remains unchanged) and to communicate (this third function being a combination of Noble's final two)" (Weil 74-75).

In 1985, the American Association of Museums created a commission that would study the future of museums in a new century. This commission published a report called *Museum for a New Century* which claimed two essential ideas for museum education: "responsibility to collections and responsibility to learning"; the emphasis here was on "learning," which the commission wanted to substitute for museum education (Jensen and Munley 12). The authors stated that the commission participants endorsed the idea of the "learning" museum, incorporating "collections care and learning" as being "intricately intertwined functions for all museums" (12). George Hein, a noted scholar in museum education and a professor emeritus at Lesley University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, stated that the impetus for a paradigm shift for learning in museums evolved from the following social changes of the Progressive Era:

- Massive immigration and resulting social reorganization

- Industrialization, job displacement, and urbanization
- Rise of a new wealthy class
- Increase in government responsibility for education, social services, and health care
- Criticism of public schools as they struggled to accommodate the influx of immigrant children. (Hein, "Progressive Education" 162)

These causes prompted the American government to assume greater responsibility for its citizens through changes in education curriculum, shifts in school guidance to include health and welfare of students, integration of educational methodologies from the social sciences, and most important, the democratization of culture so all could participate (Hein 163). Concurrently, museums and their education departments were integrating progressive ideas into their programs with an increased focus on educational needs of all visitors in order to provide museum access to increasingly diverse populations (Falk and Dierking 215-16). Museums became committed to researching the specific nature of museum learning, stating that the "formal education mind-set" that equates learning with "facts and concepts" must be altered (Yellis 2).

Museums incorporated more technology and interactive devices into the museum experience to attract younger and more diverse visitors. Museum curators began to re-think and re-invent what a museum is and what it should become so that it would be more socially responsive to a wider range of the general public (Nold 134). Museum educators focused attention on communication of information, sharing their expertise "with educators, designers, community advisory groups and academic scholars" (Franco 156). Museums offered an opportunity for "communicating social, cultural and scientific

information, correcting misconceptions and improving attitudes and cognitive skills," thus transforming learning in museums "to be less formal, less directed and more voluntary as visitors freely explored exhibits with others" (Screven).

If museum educators "[accepted] this philosophical framework and argued the importance of visitors' learning experience, then a thorough understanding of the learner and the learning process were essential to responsible programing" (Jensen and Munley 13). Museums have traditionally thought of museum learning in relation to school learning as a "transmission-absorption model," meaning that museum visitors learn the same "types of things and in the same manner as do students at school," though they learn much less (Falk and Dierking, *Learning from Museums* 9). Learning is a difficult word to define even among experts in the area of learning, so many instead define the word by the type of learning that takes place. Therefore, the claim is made that there exists one type of learning when "remembering sensory experiences and another type, or *higher* learning, that occurs under conditions of formal instruction such as in a school classroom (9). This partially describes the difficulty in museum learning because learning scientists recognize that the transmission-absorption model of learning described above does not work in museums and some question whether it really works in schools (9). The early research of Nina Jensen and Mary Ellen Munley, educational specialists in free-choice learning research and development, claims that all museum staff need "to know more about human development, communication theory, information processing, the nature of nonverbal learning, and human responses to built environments" (13). Museums responded to this educational philosophy by incorporating into their programming newer educational theories to create better learning experiences for their visitors.

As part of the continuing implementation of progressive innovations, museums began to ask questions about how to better serve their communities with renewed efforts to focus on positive visitor experiences through improvements in learning outcomes. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the visitor had become all important to the institutional decisions and directions that museums incorporated into their educational design of exhibits, the training of all staff, and their community outreach programs (Bevan and Xanthoudaki 108). The idea that visitors benefited from a museum experience by simply coming to the museum moved to the background as a new area of inquiry moved to the foreground: museum educators now focused on developing ideas that examined what kinds of experiences the visitors were having and why some people did not frequent museums much at all (Rand). If museums were going to be successful in increasing visitor numbers and interest, then museums needed to provide different varieties of experiences: "aesthetic and emotional delight, celebration and learning, recreation and sociability" that are "satisfying and engaging" to draw visitors into the museum for "self-development process" (Waltl 2). Like public libraries of the past, museums no longer assumed an intrinsic value in simply maintaining their collection of varied exhibits. Museums had evolved into a business and employed the tools of business to market their exhibits, evaluate the success of programs, and tap into public interest in the attempt to inform their decisions and help determine future directions (Peck and Travers 28-29). This process of transformation of museums necessitated a push to "engage and involve" visitors in a "communication process" that allows the visitor "to relate to his or her experiences" (Waltl 1). Thus, museum learning is more than just the acquisition of knowledge; it is an active process that happens through experience and

interaction (Bevan and Xanthoudaki 110). Museums face the challenge of adjusting their educational practice away from traditional, didactic, docent-centered methods of instruction toward inquiry-based, participatory, and engaging learning strategies that meet the needs of multi-cultured museum visitors (Bevan and Xanthoudaki 111).

Museums evaluated economic and political changes that affected cultural agendas and the facilitation of learning experiences (Peck and Travers 29). As a result of these influences, the difficulty in procuring funds constrained museum education departments and administrators in their attempts to improve visitor experience, especially for marginalized communities and individuals. This created a constant struggle for museum boards trying to balance multiple agendas within the community the museum serves. These distractions hindered museum education departments in their efforts to concentrate on "learning and teaching pedagogies and the development of the learning mind" because they had to divert funds to other areas of concern (29). This frustration also limited the amount of training that could be given to docents to help them appreciate and understand cultural differences among visitors and to apply appropriate learning strategies based on sound educational theory to meet their needs. Lorraine Foreman Peck and Kate Travers, researchers in educational program development, explain the cause of this frustration by observing criteria used to successfully evaluate and analyze museums:

> The majority of benchmarks are constructed to show how museums are contributing to governmental policy initiatives, by categorizing audiences and monitoring how often services are used. These accountability concerns often distract museums from fundamental questions that museums need to address in order to deliver robust and effective opportunities. These questions include how

> museums can develop their learning ethos, their learning delivery and establish their unique offering by defining, contributing, and influencing improvements within the wider learning sector. (29)

In addition, museums must build into their operational budget resources to cover the costs for continued professional development education and training for their staff on current trends in learning theory and pedagogy and must also petition museum boards that determine operational funds to look for alternative ways to increase museum funding in these areas. The work of museum research-educators Bronwyn Bevan and Maria Xanthoudaki emphasizes the conclusion that "professional development is a long term-investment" and that "unless fundamental epistemological underpinnings of transmission models are thoroughly and constantly re-examined through ongoing professional development" for all museum educators and docents, "our theories of learning cannot and will not inform our practice and vice versa" (115). They advocate for professional development in three fundamental areas that serve "epistemological frames": knowledge, learning, and learners (115). Museums must face these challenges by developing new and innovative ways to enable their communities to understand the unique place that museums hold as educational institutions (Castle, "Blending Pedagogy" 131).

Peter Van Mensch, who introduced the idea of a paradigm shift in museum organization, gave greater importance to museum education departments and docents because of the inter-connection of exhibits with interpretation, since those who organize exhibits do so with their own values, ideas, and interpretations (Weil 77). Thus, putting Van Mensch's ideas into practice, the archivists began to work more closely with the educational specialists to determine how exhibits should be displayed in the museum.

The two formerly separate departments started to work together almost as one department, combining exhibition organization with interpretation expertise (Franco 156). This merger of the archivist and educator brought about what would become the public program for visitors, necessitating conversations that would determine what the museum wants as its purpose for the public it serves (Roberts 108). This was not an easy conversation. For museum professionals, questions from their conversations emerged: "What did they want their visitors to know? Should visitors be stimulated in some way by their visit? If so, what and how? Was it just the visitor that the museum should consider or as public institutions of authority should the museum consider the greater community also? If so, in what way and purpose?" (Koran and Koran 13). These were complicated questions, but as museum personnel explored these questions, they realized the need to conduct more research into the nature of why people want to learn, how people learn, and how to measure and evaluate what people do learn.

If museums were places where visitors come out of curiosity and a desire to learn about our world, then museums had to ask how effectively they trained staff, especially docents, to meet or challenge the needs of their communities, including those formerly left out of consideration. As museums moved away from the traditional transmission modes of teaching and learning and toward more interactive learning with a focus on the learner, not the knowledge area, the museums provided "the intellectual space for visitors to formulate their own questions and strategies, drawing on an array of tools and materials" that the museums made available (Bevan and Xanthoudaki 112). John Falk and Lynn Dierking claimed in their study *Learning from Museums* that museums needed to examine the nature of learning in a broader and more holistic way, "[the] place to

begin this investigation is with the fundamentals of how people learn through an inquiry into the roles of the personal, sociocultural, and physical contexts and how these contexts interact over time and space to affect learning (13). Where learning was concerned, John Koran and Mary Lou Koran cautioned that people learn through integrated processes and activities such as using concrete knowledge and information, prior knowledge, or applied thinking to predicted outcomes or creating analogies in response to stimuli (14). Another learning area that museum staff were advised to study centered on the identity of the museum's constituents and the integration of the museum learning experience into their lives (Falk and Dierking 71). Knowing their visitors through observed behaviors and inquiry responses, docents "utilize techniques ranging from lecture to interactive discovery and inquiry to enhance audience participation and learning…by managing the needs and interests…of visitors" from students to seniors "as well a variety of knowledge levels visitors possess about the tour content" (Grenier and Sheckley 80). In reaching these objectives, museums have sought to engage visitors in the learning process and help sustain visitor interest by adding technology interpretation-tools, such as "audio guides, computer interactivities, multi-layered text labels," film, and exhibit rooms that run continual video footage related to the subject of the exhibits (Waltl 4). Some museums are sponsoring community events centered on a variety of learning areas such as music concerts, family events, and educational lectures to bring greater numbers of people to the facility. These learning encounters present many challenges for museums and docents in their practice but also create positive experiences for visitors and encourage them to return to the museum for subsequent visits.

In meeting the challenges described above, museum education departments now often integrate educational theory and curriculum into their training programs for docents so that they will have more tools to enhance visitor learning and create inquiry-based experiences. Edward Taylor and Amanda Neill's "Teaching in SITU: Nonformal Museum Education" introduced a learning theory espoused by George Hein who assimilated what was beneficial in early learning theories and grouped them into four educational methodologies that were pertinent to museum education objectives in theory and curriculum instruction. These theories are quoted here with explanation:

1. Didactic expository education involves development of a lesson based on a particular subject matter, which is then taught or lectured, often in the style of a story narrative with few alternative or conflicting perspectives. Museums that practice didactic expository education are normally organized sequentially and utilize didactic components of written labels to achieve specific objectives. (Hein, qtd. in Taylor and Neill)
2. Stimulus-response education is grounded in behaviorist philosophy. a scientific study based on observable, quantifiable facts and not on subjective thoughts and emotions. Behaviorist exhibitions are designed to have reinforcing components that repeatedly impress the stimulus on the visitor and reward response. (Hein, qtd. in Taylor and Neill)
3. Discovery embraces experimental methods that result in a change of understanding for the museums that practice discovery learning, that have exhibitions and/or docents, that, for the purpose of exploration, do not require

a specific path; that have labels [which] pose questions, and that have adult workshops. (Hein, qtd. in Taylor and Neill)

4. Constructivist learning is that which encourages participants to construct their own meaning of the museum experience. Constructivist learning allows numerous entry points to their exhibitions, represents a wide range of viewpoints, and allows adults to connect with objects via life experiences. (Hein, qtd. in Taylor and Neill)

These educational learning theories vary and may overlap in both formal and informal museum settings and form the foundation for museum education department docent training. Some knowledge of these basic learning theories is important for museum docents who need to be educated about how the feelings, thoughts, and behaviors of student and adult visitors, who differ in maturity and education within their social and cultural backgrounds, influence the learning objectives and outcomes of their tours (Grinder and McCoy 38).

One of the most important reinventions in the training of docents in relation to "curriculum theory" and how it can aid in "training and development of docents" is derived from its incorporation into the curriculum of museum education departments (Castle, "Blending Pedagogy" 127). In Margaret Castle's study, docents described three methods used in docent-training: content information, observations of other docents, and teaching experience. Few of the docents in her study possessed sound understanding of educational learning theory that could transform the content knowledge they possessed into forms that are pedagogically powerful and yet adaptive to the variations in ability and background of museum visitors (129). Castle's study indicates that how docents

conceptualize their own learning in regard to their professional practice further elucidates the need to recognize the chasm between inquiry-based pedagogies and the training museum education departments provide to docents. Her study found two principal curriculum theories in use by docents in practice at the museums she researched: the objectivist approach and the constructivist approach to learning (128).

Objectivists believe knowledge exists independently of the learner who is studying it, so docents who believe in this approach to learning comprehend a responsibility to teach the learner knowledge content. They tend to "see absorption of more and more knowledge as the intent of training and professional development; [t]his limit[s] for them the success of endeavors such as observation and the formation of a community of practice" (Castle, "Blending Pedagogy" 128). Constructivists, on the other hand, see the learner as an active participant with them in the "purposeful reconstruction of the knowledge offered" (128). Margaret Castle advocates for the constructivist approach to museum learning because it encourages museum educators and docents to contemplate "their own processes of inquiry…and then compare and contrast them not only with those of their peers but also with formal theories of educational scholarship" (129). George Hein, referenced earlier in this section, also concurs with Castle's assumption that constructivist theory best suits museum practice because it focuses attention on the visitor and not museum content, thereby creating learning "in the mind of the learner using personal learning methods" to "accommodate all ages of learning" ("Constructivist Museum" 6-7). By consideration of these basic theories of learning, museum educators and docents can respond to the interests of those who visit the museum and maximize their potential for learning (6).

A different study by Bronwyn Bevan and Maria Xanthoudaki argued how research in educational theories for museum practices shaped professional development into "alternative conceptions of knowledge and learning" to address how conceptions of instruction can "transform the nature of learning and teaching in museums, making it more inclusive, more relevant, and more impactful for members of communities" (108). This study determined that the educational backgrounds of museum docents offered a broad range of "prior experience, professional training, skills, capacities, and interests" that can be used as powerful resources to meet objectives in reaching more diverse community members, but these resources may also hinder development owing to a "complexity and unevenness" difficult for some to admit (109). A general finding in the research on this subject of background knowledge and experience revealed that museum docents found it difficult to evolve from the teaching methodology and strategies that they themselves were taught (109). This problem is evidenced in observations of some museum education department leaders who train docents to employ newer educational pedagogies and methods but do so using lecture as their modality of teaching (108). Thus, it is not surprising that the old-school transmission mode of teaching still persists in its practice by docents on their tours.

More current research on the impact of learning in museums was conducted by Lorraine Foreman Peck and Kate Travers who used categories of various sorts of learning as generic learning outcomes based on previous work of Hooper-Greenville in 2007.[11] These categories, "Knowledge and Understanding," "Skills," "Attitudes and Values," "Enjoyment, Inspiration and Creativity," and "Activity" (Peck and Travers 34), were

[11] Hooper-Greenville, E. *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy and Performance*. Routledge, 2007.

used to evaluate the educational value of museum instruction to student school groups and originated from observation of docents as evidence for the benefits of learning in museums. However, the study was designed with accountability as a focus of the research. The study determined "beneficial learning" does take place in museums; however, disappointingly, results on the impact of a "rich and diverse kind of learning outcome that can be facilitated in a museum" could not be determined because the value categories made it "impossible and inappropriate to establish a baseline assessment of what a visitor can do or know before a visit" (35).

This study employed the advocacy of interactive learning, self-awareness, and experience as strategies to foster learning in museums that was encouraged with the use of a model of docent practice. In this model, the docent encouraged learners to participate in objective and subjective questioning and analysis of objects, experience, emotional response and connection to prior knowledge and experiences. Peck and Travers explained how this process was accomplished in three steps:

1. *Opening questions*: The [docent began] with open questioning; for example: What are your ideas/thoughts about this [subject] or object? This encourages open responses/opinions to form initial intellectual and emotional ideas to explore further in Step Two.
2. *Investigation and inquiry*: What can we learn about the [subject] or object? The concern now [was] for information-gathering, sensory and intellectual analysis of the [subject] or object through factual questioning…[and] how reliable is this information? How can we deepen our understanding through

questioning, connecting, using information from other disciplines? Step Three is concerned with personal meanings.

3. *Meaning-making and reflection*: The [docent asked] how we will apply and use this knowledge and experience to develop and communicate our thoughts. How will this influence our thinking and attitudes? What have I learned and what do I still want to find out? (36)

The model perfectly described collaborative and interactive structure and learning between docent and learners, enhanced with scaffolding questions and peer interaction. Here, learning was not just content-based but inclusive of insightful learning that was gleaned from learning strategies involving the senses with critical and reflective thinking components (39). The data was disappointing in its results, owing to problems with scheduling, uncooperative teachers and schools, access, and lack of time; researchers were forced to replace "good-quality research in an academic and conventional sense" with simply trying to complete the research in the best manner possible under the research conditions (39). One positive from this study concluded that the empowerment that docents gained through critical thinking, self-reflection, conflict solutions, and knowledge acquired improved their own practices (39). The conclusion here supports the study of Amanda C. Neill, museum science researcher, in understanding how docents' perception of their "interpretive role" and identifying what "audience-related factors impact a tour's content" can result in better educational experiences for docents and visitors, based on their "needs, interests, background" and other factors ("Providing a Tailored Educational Interaction" 69). The research of Robin Grenier and Barry Sheckley found similar significance in learning through experiences. They claim docents seek work

in museums that match knowledge they possess with the subject focus of the museum; therefore, the instruction given by museum education departments to its docents must be informed by "experience-based learning processes" that are crucial to the "long-term success of educational programs in museums" (80).

Docent, tour guide, volunteer, interpreter, and educator are terms given to those who interpret and teach visitors about museum exhibits. Docents are usually volunteers whose passion for the subject matter of the museum and the desire to share that passion with patrons inspires them to willingly give up free time to serve, thereby enriching and enhancing the museum's role in the community. In some museums, docents "do not generally work with day-to-day visitors; instead, they are called on for special programming requiring specialized knowledge" (Grenier, "The Role of Learning" 146). Docents often give lectures and guide tours that can last from fifteen minutes to two hours or more. They are "articulate people who are motivated, lifelong learners" who fulfill their need to serve their communities (Abu-Shumays & Leinhardt, qtd. in Neill, *Museum Docents' Understanding* 71). The National Docent Symposium Council's Docent Handbook states that docents are "like a spark, an interpreter, a time machine, or a link between curators and visitors" (11). They work to establish a rapport with museum visitors to "create a welcoming environment [that] situates the docent as mediator between learner and content" (Neill, *Museum Docents' Understanding* 70). Their roles in museums are "planning and offering tours; working primarily with groups; offering informed commentary; answering individual questions; and facilitating dialogue among visitors to promote discussion" (Grenier and Sheckley 80). In addition, docents are individuals who are "deeply rooted in tradition, heritage, and history" who want to "make

a difference in today's world and help others understand the world in which we live and dream" (*The Docent Handbook 2* 1).

One of the most important functions of a docent is building a relationship with museum visitors. Having studied and trained for their jobs, docents develop the ability to relate to the public, which is just as important as the content they convey. They are "friendly discussion leaders" who listen attentively to patrons' questions and readily respond to their interests and engagement with exhibits (Grenier and Sheckley 80). As docents prepare for their role, they "become more knowledgeable about exhibits" and discover diverse points of view which allow them more flexibility in interpreting content to visitors (Noe 174). Generally, docents value education and feel great satisfaction in helping their visitors by giving them "fuller learning experiences" (Noe 175). Docents generally possess expertise and interests gained throughout their careers, usually in teaching. They have developed the communication skills they will utilize in delivering lectures and presentations that employ "interactive discovery and inquiry techniques to enhance audience participation and learning" (Grenier and Sheckley 80). In most cases, docents are eager to share what they know about exhibits and artifacts with the interests of their audiences in mind, in order to foster better understanding, thus creating a more pleasurable experience for all museum visitors.

Docents are charged with the responsibilities of educating visitors who come to museums, engaging them in the content of tours, and evaluating their interests by adapting tours as necessary to achieve rapport and to mediate learning and content for successful museum experiences. Effective docents readily assess visitors' comfort, both psychologically and intellectually, to create tours that stimulate curiosity and empower

confidence with museum learning experiences (Grenier and Sheckley 80). Most museum visitors respond to kindness, respect, and attention. This means docents should determine their visitors' identity by asking opening questions about where visitors are from and what they know about the museum locale and region (*The Docents' Handbook 2* 7). Research indicates that it is not the exhibits that draw visitors to museums, but it is the whole environment—including the interaction with docents and exhibits—that proves to be the main factor in visitor attendance (Waltl 1). Interacting with visitors helps the docent create a common bond that can be shared during a tour. Researchers in learning theory state that learning from others in a cooperative environment while engaged in common interests is essential to the development of conceptual learning (Bevan and Xanthoudaki 112).

An effort to make the tour relatable and friendly demonstrates the docents' attentiveness to meeting visitors' needs and engagement based on a quick assessment of visitors' background and education in order to decide what will produce a meaningful tour (Noe 185). Docents' goal-oriented thinking to create these learning experiences "depends on actively and appropriately applying one's abilities" in adaptation and flexibility directed toward visitor diversity in informal learning situations to sustain visitor interest (Ritchhart 138). Studies show that these creative and critical-thinking docents seek to modify and improve their tours so that no one tour is like another, owing to docent reflection on strategies to make tours "more engaging, informative, and connected to the lives of the tour-goers" (Neill, "Providing a Tailored Educational Interaction" 72). This type of thinking and learning is the end goal for a successful and meaningful docent-led tour for the great diversity among museum visitors.

Another responsibility of the docent is to nourish curiosity and inspire visitors to learn more about themselves and the world. If a central aim of the museum is enriching experiences of visitors by "helping them to learn more and deepening their enjoyment" of what the docent has to offer, then tours must be "relevant to all the different community groups" (Waltl 2). The docent is the conduit of communication between the community and museum. Therefore, docents have a responsibility to think about how they talk to visitors when conveying the content with which they are charged. Society today is very much focused on the use of language, which may raise questions for the docent about assumed definitions of words that might cause some visitors discomfort. From a tour point of view, words that designate certain ethnic groups like *Native American*, *Hispanic*, or *Latino* might be interpreted negatively by some, so docents have the responsibility to be sensitive to vocabulary they use in community "groups that pose linguistic challenges" (*The Docents' Handbook 2* 13).

In addition to attending carefully to vocabulary, the docent has the responsibility to be sensitive to cultural identity and values that exist within different communities. Visitors' "self-defined cultural heritage" may influence how they view and understand what the museum is presenting and may differ from what [the docent] may have been taught by curators and scholars" (*The Docents' Handbook 2* 13). The socio-cultural context of learners "influences both the individual and the community in which that individual lives at a variety of levels"; this fact influences "the number and types of social interactions" in which individuals engage, thus "affecting perception and the processing of information" (Falk and Dierking 48). Respecting differing views while maintaining the integrity of the curators "requires acceptance of the validity of the

visitor's personal 'truth,'" in the museum setting (*The Docent's Handbook 2* 13). This situation was not problematic in the past when museums were visited by the educated, upper classes, but today as museums aim to make visitor experience assessible to broader segments of society, the docent has the responsibility to be aware of various interpretative tools to engage the visitor (Waltl 4).

Docents also undergo intensive training to learn about the museum mission statement, institutional practices, and touring techniques. The docent is the one person with whom the public has face-to-face interaction. Therefore, the docent is most influential on visitors' perceptions, learning, and the overall impression of the museum (Neill, *Museum Docents' Understanding* 70). In some museums, docents are paid a professional salary as experts in a subject area. They work specific days of the week or weekends. However, most docents are volunteers who give their time freely to the museum. Docent training sessions should help these docents develop the skills necessary to build confidence in their ability to conduct a museum tour.

The development of a training curriculum and continuing education that meet the needs of all docents, some of whom have little to no teaching experience, present a challenge for the education department (Castle, *Interpreters* 80). The prospective docent would be wise to spend some time researching the museum at which he or she wishes to work before filling out an application. A museum's website offers information about the museum's mission statement, its educational outreach programs, special programs and lectures topics, special exhibits, and its collection. Some museums even allow abbreviated virtual tours of their facility. This initial research will inform potential docents of the time and commitment needed for the job before actual training begins.

Docent training includes information about the specific museum where the docent will work. This initial training includes instruction on the exhibits, fire exits, special passage areas in case of emergencies, the archives, offices, and procedures that govern working with the public (Noe 176), but the most important training that takes place is the curator classroom instruction sessions for docents who hear lectures on information relevant to tour content (177). The length of time spent in formal training varies depending on the museum at which the docent will work. At USHMM docents undergo five months of intensive training for three hours a week with homework assignments and supplemental reading, followed by a formal evaluation at the end of formal training (Grenier, "The Role of Learning" 149). Other museums have shorter training periods, some requiring attendance for the full day on Saturdays (149). In addition, the education department at most museums provides docents with necessary educational resources including "formal educational scholarship"—the scholarly literature and empirical research on learning and teaching in museums geared to solicit "reflective rationalization for practice" by prospective docents (Castle, "Blending Pedagogy" 127).

This aspect of formal training helps to prevent misinterpretations when docents begin their tours on the floor and helps to build a foundation upon which a docent's skills can be perfected in creating content competence through "classroom preparation, small groups, and supervised practice" necessary to become an effective docent (Grenier, "Role" 153). Effective docents realize that additional formal instruction beyond the curator's presentation is necessary to mastering subject matter knowledge. Therefore, docents initiate formal learning through books recommended or required by the museum, written homework assignments, a docents' manual, college courses, and required public

lectures given by experts who come to the museum supporting the effort of docents to develop expertise that supplements content knowledge provided by the museum education department (149).

Some might argue that formal learning yields competent docents; however, meaningful informal "contextual learning" situations are also needed to reinforce and practice what the docent has learned formally in order to construct "relevant knowledge bases" in developing their expertise (Grenier, "Role" 153). Informal learning involves self-initiated sessions in association with others in an evolving "community of practice" which fosters understanding and skill as a collaborative effort of all museum staff (Allen and Crowley 101). This collaborative effort, especially important for docents, supports learning through "observation, shadowing of fellow museum docents, and the experience of teaching itself" (Castle 125). Docents admit the importance and necessity of formal training but learning from others is "clearly perceived as a more valuable learning experience" (Grenier, "Role" 149). Docents, as Grenier notes, claim that by observing special techniques used by their peers to sustain visitor interest and by shadowing fellow docents to learn or pick up new ideas, they continuously perfect their style in presenting information to their audiences (Grenier 150).

Personally, I discovered this type of learning experience to be most effective as a tool for thinking, planning, and building my tour script. The experience of shadowing experienced docents can remind all docents of forgotten information or teach them something new they can adapt for their own tours. Through shadowing, docents are given the opportunity to ask questions and develop a curiosity that will help them augment the processes "of interpreting, organizing, and conveying information" (Noe 180). Given the

opportunity to practice a tour, docents can experiment with teaching strategies to learn what works and what does not. I conducted the docent supervisor on a mock-tour, which gave me the opportunity to stop and ask questions as I experimented with my tour script, while the supervisor had the occasion to share with me best-practice strategies and suggestions when covering certain content topics.[12] This tour rehearsal through "learning by doing" consists of "repeated practice and delivery of tours" so that the docents develop flexibility when an off-script moment alters the standard tour (Grenier, "Role" 151-52).

Continual professional improvement occurs when docents can plan, organize, implement and practice tours, then meet with other docents to discuss their observations. questions, and problems. Belonging to a larger "community of practice through interactions with fellow interpreters, docents, or gallery educators" allows participants to "frame their experiences by providing models of teaching" that helps all docents develop "[confidence] in their own skills of thinking and doing" (Castle, "Blending Pedagogy" 126). By giving tours, docents learn to teach by teaching. As Robin Grenier states, "Whether purposefully observing fellow docents, watching and listening to others, or gaining knowledge through incidental means, learning from others [is] a key component to the development of [docent] expertise" (151). For this reason, Margaret Castle adds, "It is critical that new learning be deliberately reflected upon and linked to on-site teaching practice" by integrating new learning "into existing conceptual structures through reflective practice, alone and in groups" ("Blending Pedagogy" 130). Docent interactions and observations that "encouraged reflection and new comprehensions were

[12] Some examples of this type of informal learning by practice in a Holocaust museum is described in Chapter 3 of this project.

productive overall, but they could be detrimental when the structure provided for reflection was inadequate" (130). The key to successful learning for docents sharing ideas in professional training sessions is giving time and guidance for personal and group reflective practice; otherwise, docents will fall back into previous "tried and true" methods and practices (130). Well planned professional development sessions, whether formal or informal, are important to compensate for and correct inaccuracies that may have become integrated into a docent's tour, as well as to refresh forgotten material (Grenier, "Role" 148). Research indicates that museums should provide docents with training opportunities that allow learning through observation, consultation, and discovery in a similar way to how museum educators want docents to interact with visitors, by encouraging docents to link prior "knowledge and skills in a manner that makes arbitrary information become meaningful" (Grenier and Sheckley 81). The challenge of providing the experience of learning in a museum setting raises many issues that are still open for debate. However, the docents who practice their art with high levels of professionalism and enthusiasm will almost certainly present meaningful learning experiences to museum visitors.

Chapter 3

THE ROLE OF THE DOCENT AS HOLOCAUST EDUCATOR

In September of 1979, Elie Wiesel as chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust presented to President Jimmy Carter a letter that introduced the report of the Commission expressing the hope "to reach and transform as many human beings as possible" by stating the Commission's conviction that when "war and genocide unleash hatred against any one people or peoples, all are ultimately engulfed in the fire" ("President's Commission on the Holocaust" i). His letter to the President stated two guiding principles that supported the work of the Commission: the uniqueness of the Holocaust and the moral obligation to remember. These two guiding principles are core ideas of my tours at the Virginia Holocaust Museum. I will return to these two principles throughout this chapter, but for the present, they serve to inform the docent of two guiding principles upon which USHMM came into existence as a result of the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Holocaust ("President's Commission on the Holocaust" 9-10).

To help realize these recommendations, the Commission advocated for the study of the Holocaust "in junior and senior high schools and universities" and for the creation of "the development of resources for such teaching and study" ("President's Commission on the Holocaust" 12). The Commission's report also recommended "[teacher-training] as another major area for the Educational Foundation, the second section of the report, as the need had been intensified by the growth in the number of college and secondary schools teaching the Holocaust" (13). What an honor we share as docents to work together to bring Holocaust education to our museum patrons and our communities.

Therefore, my intention in this chapter is to show my journey as a Holocaust docent at work studying and planning; applying research-based pedagogy and methodology to Holocaust tour planning; and passing on to the prospective docent what I have learned from my years of experience as a docent at the Virginia Holocaust Museum. For the purposes of this dissertation, I offer a theoretical framework to understand the Holocaust, the methods and strategies for teaching the Holocaust that are research-based in current educational pedagogy, and a narrative description highlighting my thoughts, my experiences, and my practices as a docent to guide the prospective docent through the process of preparation and planning to become a docent educator of the Holocaust.

Educational researchers, Samuel Totten and Karen Riley state the position "that a study of the Holocaust must balance breadth and depth in order to facilitate meaningful learning" of a complex subject (123). Furthermore, they argue that when teaching the Holocaust, the educator "must select an appropriate framework, approach, or method as the guiding principle that will direct both the teaching and learning" of the subject (123). Every docent needs to have in mind a guiding principle or rationale that directs and focuses the Holocaust tour. For me, the two guiding principles are the definition of the Holocaust and the idea of *remembrance*. Defining the Holocaust and knowing why we should study it are contributing reasons why Holocaust education has been mandated in many school systems throughout the United States. The records, survivor narratives, letters, trial testimonies, and other forms of documentation make the Holocaust one of the most thoroughly recorded genocides. More important, it "constitutes a tragedy that was unprecedented in the annals of humanity" (Totten and Feinberg 3) for the "concept of the annihilation of an entire people, as distinguished from their subjugation, was

unprecedented; never before in human history had genocide been an all-pervasive government policy unaffected by territorial or economic advantage and unchecked by moral or religious constraints…" ("President's Commission on the Holocaust" 3).

Further, the report states the Holocaust was "a thoroughly modern expression of bureaucratic organization, industrial management, scientific achievement, and technological sophistication. The entire apparatus of the German bureaucracy was marshalled in the service of the extermination process" ("President's Commission on the Holocaust" 4). Therefore, it was a "crime [unprecedented] in the annals of human history, different not only in the quantity of violence—the sheer numbers killed—but in its manner and purpose as a mass criminal enterprise organized by the state against defenseless civilian populations" (3).

Another perspective that helps us to understand the Holocaust as an important event comes from Samuel Totten in his article "A Note: Why Teach About the Holocaust":

> There are numerous reasons as to why the Holocaust has been referred to as a novum [sic] and watershed event in the history of humanity. First, some have claimed that the Holocaust has radically altered our understanding of the human condition (or, at least it should have) by calling into question what it means to be civilized. We must remember that the Holocaust was carried out by bureaucrats, police and military personnel, construction and railroad employees, so-called "physicians," and many more. Such a situation also calls into question what it means to live and to die in a world where death was manufactured, and where companies attempted to outbid one another to build more efficient systems to kill

> masses of people as if they were no more than vermin (a term, of course, used by Nazis to ostracize, dehumanize, and isolate the Jews). And ultimately, such an over-whelming horror calls into question the very meaning of life. (3)

The framework of the definition of the Holocaust as described in this section provides an opportunity for the docent to teach the Holocaust in conjunction with other genocides, stressing the relevance it has for understanding contemporary social problems.

The second pedagogical frame mentioned in the President's Commission on the Holocaust centers on *remembrance.* The Commission's report states the Holocaust "reveals a potential pathology at the heart of Western civilization together with the frightening consequences of the total exercise of power" (5). It was the understanding of the President's Commission that to remember the Holocaust "can instill caution, fortify restraint, and protect against future evil or indifference" through an informed "understanding of what happened and how" (5). This stated understanding ties directly into the idea about the uniqueness of the Holocaust because it defines for those who teach or study the Holocaust the justification for the obligation of remembrance:

> To remember the Holocaust is to sensitize ourselves to its critical political lessons. Nazism was facilitated by the breakdown of democracy, the collapse of social and economic cohesion, the decline of human solidarity, and an erosion of faith in the political leadership and the ability of democratic governments to function. Recalling these danger signals intensifies our concern for the health of the body politic and the processes of democracy, the forms of government, and the importance of human and social values. (5-6)

The justification for remembrance as stated is an important learning outcome for the docent as he or she begins to formulate a plan for a Holocaust tour.

When considering a rationale for teaching *remembrance*, the docent should proceed with caution. The popularity of "remembering" the Holocaust can be observed in the creative arts, entertainment venues, as well as historical, educational, cultural, sociological, psychological, and philosophical academic research, all providing a multitude of interpretations and analyses about the subject. With so much scholarly information available to Holocaust educators, the docent must be attentive to historical accuracy and to proper pedagogical balance in considering how to approach the guiding principle of *remembrance*. Words and phrases like "Remember!", "Never Again!", and "Remember Our Faces!" are uttered so thoughtlessly that over the years they have become clichés, especially when they are "not expounded upon to acknowledge the fact that genocide has been perpetrated time and again since 1945" (Totten, "Teaching the Holocaust"). These words which once had a "profound meaning by victims and survivors" have been "used as titles or conclusions of Holocaust education conferences, speeches, pedagogical pieces, and student essays" that "their impact and significance are gradually, but inexorably, being minimized" so that they "devolve into clichés…[leading] to simplistic and vacuous thinking" (Totten, "Teaching the Holocaust"). When these words are not explained in the context of what they meant to survivors and what can be learned from remembering, the situation may result in a misinterpretation of the idea of remembrance.

When remembering, we must ask ourselves about its purpose; simply remembering is insufficient unless we recall with a "deeper understanding of the past"

(Hansen-Glucklich 218). Remembrance should "allow us to universalize and to learn from the lessons of the Holocaust, namely, that the Holocaust was a human event and the threat of its recurrence continues to exist"; therefore, a critical view of memory is necessary to "maintain an attitude to the Holocaust that neither sanctifies it nor simply historicizes it" (218). For the docent, an explanation from the President's Commission on the Holocaust places phrases such as "Remember!" and "Never Again!" into a proper context for teaching *Remembrance*:

> By remembering the excesses that marked the Nazi era, we can learn again the importance of limits, of checks and balances. We can also learn that a democratic government must function and perform basic services and that human rights must be protected within the law. We can renew our appreciation for moral and philosophical guidelines, for the need to consider the human cost of scientific experimentation. We can strengthen our belief in inalienable individual rights. We can also come to understand that a universalistic ethic unbalanced by respect for particular variation is ultimately tyrannical. Tolerance for ethnic diversity and pluralism can be enhanced. (6)

Through training for docents, museum education staff will impart pedagogy and methods about how the docent should teach *Remembrance* without trivializing it as a cliché but emphasizing the reasons of how and why society failed to curtail post-war incidences of genocide. More important, through this type of education, the docent will learn how to present to museum visitors the warning signals that alert society to possible behavior which could lead to a genocide and how society should respond to help prevent future genocides from occurring. In 1946, the United Nations General Assembly created

a definition of genocide as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, including:

- killing members of the group
- causing serious bodily or mental harm to a member of the group
- deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (*Echoes and Reflections* 34).[13]

By teaching Holocaust history and emphasizing lessons that can be learned from it, docents can reveal to visitors the full range of human behavior, from acts of evil to deeds of humanitarianism and sacrifice (Lazar and Hirsch 122). These efforts in confronting behaviors during the Holocaust that perpetuated racism, discrimination, lack of tolerance, antisemitism, hatred, and cruelty play an important role in helping museum visitors develop a moral construct that will shape their own personal values and behavior and help advance human rights (122).

I wish to return to the guiding principles introduced at the beginning of this chapter: the definition of the Holocaust and the importance of remembrance. I will never forget an idea that I learned in Holocaust training at the Virginia Holocaust Museum

---

[13] *Echoes and Reflections* is a resource guide used to teach the Holocaust published by the Anti-Defamation League, USC Shoah Foundation, and Yad Vashem. The United Nations' definition of genocide referenced as 1948 was actually the date the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was approved and proposed for signature and ratification by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948. The United Nations first recognized "genocide" as a crime under international law in 1946. The term *genocide* was first introduced and defined by Polish lawyer Raphäel Lemkin in 1944 in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. Lemkin used the term in response to Nazi policies of mass murder and to previous historical events aimed at the destruction of particular groups of people. He advocated for *genocide* being recognized as an international crime ("Genocide").

concerning these two guiding principles. The museum training guide explained that when teaching the Holocaust, we should think about the "head and the heart." In reference to the "head," we were advised to teach the content information in clear and concise language that is accurate and does not misrepresent, romanticize, or sensationalize the material given to visitors who must know the facts of Holocaust history but also the "how of that history" (*Questions of Conscience* 59). Adhering to the USHMM definition throughout the tour anchors the docent's presentation of Holocaust history in researched-based accuracy. In teaching the "heart," we should emphasize that the victims of the Holocaust were "not statistics—not numbers, but ordinary people" who had families, occupations, and responsibilities to their communities" (59). They were men, women, and children in the fullness of their lives. The docent may wish to introduce survivor narratives to give visitors a sense of the humanity of the victims whom we remember.

Once the prospective docent makes the commitment to serve at a museum, a rigorous and extensive training program must be completed. Since docents directly work with museum visitors, they must have the tools and resources that meet and manage the needs and interests of visitors ranging from middle school students to senior citizens. According to Robin Grenier, effective docents need training on "a variety of knowledge levels about a given topic" related to the Holocaust ("Role" 143). Thus, Grenier's statement defines an important purpose for training docents to work in Holocaust museums. Formal training provides the tools and resources docents require to become knowledgeable about museum content and to learn how to use best practice methodologies to relay Holocaust content to varying groups of visitors (Grenier and Sheckley, "Out on the Floor" 127). My formal training at the Virginia Holocaust

Museum consisted of assigned readings from multiple resources geared toward teaching Holocaust history. The Holocaust education organization, Facing History and Ourselves, to which I have referenced previously, explained to docents how to use effective instructional strategies to teach Holocaust history and the lessons to be learned from it. These lessons included an overview of Jewish history from the first century to the present, as well as important information for the docent when asked questions about antisemitism or Jewish traditions and rituals. Owing to the time of the year that I began training, I also had the opportunity to attend a week-long summer workshop sponsored by the museum's Alex Lebenstein Teacher Education Institute, referenced in the Introduction to this project. This workshop was presented for secondary teachers who wanted training in Holocaust education to meet expectations required by the Virginia Standards of Learning (SOL) competencies for graduation certification. Docents were allowed to attend so that we had access to Holocaust scholars' lectures about the Holocaust and the interactive discussions that followed, modelling best practices in the theory of inquiry-based learning: engagement in active learning through the use of questions, problems, or situations.

Next, informal training is also an important part of the process of learning to be a docent. A study of teaching in a museum found that docents learned "primarily by acquiring information about the subject through observation, shadowing of fellow docents, and the actual experience of teaching" (Grenier and Sheckley 81). These learning activities were corroborated by another study on docent learning which said that docents learned to teach by "getting content information; observation, or shadowing, of fellow museum teachers; and the experience of teaching itself" (Castle, "Blending

Pedagogy" 125). For me, one of the most exciting and meaningful experiences came when docents were allowed to leave the classroom and observe experienced docents by shadowing their tours. The strategy of shadowing is simply following experienced docents to observe and learn their techniques of presenting information. I found this opportunity to be most valuable because I could see and hear what had been presented in the classroom actually being modeled in practice on the floor by others. "Observations of and interactions with fellow museum [docents] that encouraged reflection and new comprehensions were productive overall, but they could be detrimental when the structure provided for reflection was inadequate," according to Castle (130). The inquiry process that takes place with a prospective docent and the experienced docent after an observation is critical for learning to occur, provided time for reflection is given for "integrating new knowledge into existing conceptual structures through reflective practice, alone and in groups" ("Blending Pedagogy" 130).

Other forms of informal learning include attending lectures the museum offers; reading independently for self-gained knowledge about the Holocaust; and attending docent community of practice sessions, coming together as a group to discuss concerns and share ideas about docent practice. Another meaningful informal learning practice is writing self-reflection assessment journals. These journals can be used by docents to evaluate the effectiveness of their tours as determined by visitor responses throughout a tour, comments after a tour, and written self-reflections. A desire to learn can also be achieved through informal self-directed learning through media, films, television, internet, research, conversations, etc. The other component of self-directed learning is a method called the "practice tour," learning how to give a tour by actually conducting a

tour. The docent is usually paired with a fellow docent or museum educator who gives immediate feedback to the docent after the practice tour. Some museum educators call this pedagogical method "learning by doing," an example of experiential learning: developing skills and values as a result of direct experiences outside formal classrooms. This is a method of learning what works and what does not work during a Holocaust tour. Several of these practice tours will give the docent an assurance of confidence that he or she is able to perform the job of a museum docent. As mentioned in Chapter 1, museum docents must be adaptable. Robin Grenier and Barry Sheckley say that "[only] through experiential processes will docents develop the cognitive flexibility necessary for applying knowledge and skill in real museum and visitor situations (84).

For me, I observed and practiced tours for a couple of months before I gained self-confidence as a docent. Of course, training never really ceases for the docent. Continual education and professional development are ongoing to maintain expertise. Each year ongoing research yields new information about the interpretation and content of Holocaust history. According to Castle, museum education departments could improve learning outcomes by taking a more "thoughtful approach to their training and continuing development" of docent education; "[t]his will involve a radical shift in perspective—from one of how museum teachers may be *used* to fulfill the institutional mission, to one of how museum *teachers may be enabled* to learn and improve their practice" ("Blending Pedagogy" 131).

At the Virginia Holocaust Museum, my training started with suggested readings on Holocaust history and a variety of Holocaust topics. These sources are identified with brief annotations in Chapter 4 of this project. After completing my reading, I was given a

docent's manual[14] to study as preparation for the process of designing a tour and developing the strategies and techniques of conducting a tour. As stated previously, during this training period I attended two museum events: The Facing History and Ourselves workshop presentation on teaching the Holocaust and the Alex Lebenstein Teacher Education Institute. Both of these opportunities provided a basic framework for understanding the meaning of the Holocaust and the purposes for teaching it and for utilizing the pedagogy and methodology of teaching the Holocaust as a docent in a museum setting.

After finishing the Alex Lebenstein Teacher Education Institute, I was ready to begin my experience of shadowing experienced docents at the museum. Aligned with the research theory previously presented in this chapter, the shadowing experience was a key component of my docent training. Being on the floor of the museum in the role of a museum visitor, I had the advantage of learning how the docent presented Holocaust history through the exhibits and how visitors reacted by observing their behavior and hearing their comments to each other.

I carried a notebook in which I could record some of my thoughts and observations on each of the shadowing experiences. These notes became an important resource when I had to compose the outline and commentary for my tours. I have transcribed fragments of some of these notes from one exhibit on concentration camps as examples of the information that I thought would be helpful to me in thinking about and

[14] *Virginia Holocaust Museum: A Docent Resource Guide* is a reference for docents that includes selected articles related to museum exhibits, tour preparation and tour techniques, and VHM tour questions WWII and the Holocaust timeline, and a map titled "Two Thousand Years of Jewish Life in Europe by 1933" (Wrenn).

recalling what others talked about in an exhibit area. I would refer to these notes later when I had to compose narratives for my own tours.

Tour One:

Great enthusiasm upon greeting guests—love the introductory comments with guests about their places of residence and interests.

Docent began with a definition of the word *Holocaust*—from USHMM. Made reference to the railroad tracks connecting the exhibit rooms—linked to well-connected construction of WWII RR system. Move to concentration camp Dachau—Explained phrase *Jedem das Seine* [To each what he deserves] over the camp gate—opportunity to talk about Nazi use of ironic language.

Barracks—model for other camps. Discussed daily food rations. Roll call—discipline—stood for hours/punishment for falling/inmate control by use of psychological fear. IBM computer prototype—punch card for inmate registration/exhibit article in newspaper/tattoo on arm. Labor assigned tasks discussed/long work hours/intensive. Discussed system of classification for camp SS guards/use of colored triangles/uniforms: shirt/pant/hat (not all).

Described body lice spreading typhus/typhoid fever in camps. Health conditions lack of sanitation, poor medical care. Medical experiments in camp for German air force—altitude/freezing/torture/pain and death—severity of treatment by Kapos/from French word “caporal” meaning corporal. (Virginia Holocaust Museum, August 8, 2007; Tour Docent: R. C.)

For training purposes, I shadowed six or seven docents over a period of two months. During the intervals between these tours, I could reflect on how I would plan my tour, noting what I would stress as key points of discussion about individual exhibit areas and what I needed to research to gain more knowledge about something I had heard on these tours. Also, ongoing evaluation of what I thought worked well and what I would do differently on these tours helped me refine the tentative organization and method of delivery of content for my prospective tour. For two months, this process served my needs as a prospective docent in gaining the confidence I needed before I informed the tour supervisor that I was ready for a practice tour.

Having been a public-school teacher for thirty-seven years, I experienced the revelation that a best-planned lesson of instruction does not always work as intended. Little did I expect that the same would hold true for a Holocaust tour. I looked forward to my first practice tour with the tour supervisor at the museum. My tour, as planned, was aligned with the USHMM guidelines for teaching the Holocaust and my own tour rationale and objectives. I utilized the best of what I had learned in my formal classroom training and in my informal experience observing experienced docents. But, things did not go as I expected. First, it is difficult to give a tour to one person—a person who knows the content and methodology better than the novice docent. Second, I never questioned what a "practice tour" meant. I believed it to be a complete tour as if I were conducting a group of visitors on a regular tour of the museum. I did not consider that the tour supervisor did not have two hours to spare on a busy afternoon. At the very beginning, the supervisor said to give him a gist of what I would discuss in each exhibit room. This comment surprised me. My confusion was such that I abandoned my planned

narration and opted for an impromptu description of what I would talk about in each exhibit. The supervisor listened and nodded attentively, adding omissions of content that he thought I should consider for my tours. This was done in a most friendly and encouraging way. However, some of the content omitted existed in my narrative tour script and I would have mentioned it had I not been rattled, but other content suggestions were very appropriate suggestions that would greatly enhance my tours. According to Castle, "It is critical that new learning be deliberately reflected upon and linked to on-site teaching practice…[integrating] new knowledge into existing conceptual structures through reflective practice, alone and in groups" ("Blending Pedagogy" 130).

This practicing of a tour experience is an example of experiential learning, an empirical knowledge gained from experience, which is an informal method of self-education through learning by doing. If the docent conducts as many tours as possible while training, the experiences gained through this practice are refined as the docent learns what works well with visitors on a tour or notes when visitors seem bored or confused. The repeated practice gives the docent the time to reflect, plan, and improve each tour. Practice sometimes can be a lone walking tour where the docent becomes familiar with the floor plan, deciding where to stand and what artifacts to highlight for diverse age groups. I followed this method subsequently by practicing the tours by myself, visiting each exhibit room and reciting in my head what I would say to a group of visitors. Robin Greiner states that this approach in "practicing in preparation for a tour or gaining experience through the process of giving tours over time" leads to better docent expertise ("Role" 151). At this juncture in my training, I was granted permission to guide

tours through the museum. The time had now come for the formal preparation of my own tour narrative.

The USHMM has addressed the significance of learning about the Holocaust by stating:

> The Holocaust provides one of the most effective subjects for examining basic moral issues. A structured inquiry into this history yields critical lessons for an investigation into human behavior . . . and addresses one of the central mandates of education in the United States, which is to examine what it means to be a responsible citizen. (USHMM, *Teaching about the Holocaust*)

This explains why people come to Holocaust museums: to learn about its history, its lessons, and its impact on contemporary culture. Therefore, teaching about the Holocaust in a museum setting is a daunting task for a docent.

However, in my experience, visitors come to the museum not only to learn about the Holocaust, but also to understand how that historical knowledge has relevance and meaning in their lives. Teaching about the Holocaust includes more than the history of events in Nazi Germany; it encompasses "a lesson in what can happen when hate, extreme prejudice, ideology, and discrimination are allowed to flourish and become official policy" (*Echoes and Reflections* 19). As the docent unfolds the history of the Holocaust, he or she must weave into the narrative of the story "the failure of individuals, institutions, and governments to take a stand against injustice" in order to provide visitors "opportunities to realize the relative ease with which fundamental human and civil rights can be denied and to understand the ramifications of stereotyping, prejudice, antisemitism, discrimination, and scapegoating" (*Echoes and Reflections* 19). Any

pedagogy on teaching the Holocaust must be constructed to include multiple objectives. Holocaust educators Mary Gallant and Harriet Hartman argue that objectives should consider "specific socio-historical content concerning its development and magnitude" based on the following premises:

> [Germany] developed systematic and deliberate policies to bring about the Holocaust; mass murder of the magnitude of the Holocaust involved both the use and abuse of power; individuals played specific roles within it and must bear (and did bear) responsibility for their acts; it was connected with the disintegration of values; it was made possible because of indifference and silence towards suffering, prejudice, racism and labelling; and antisemitism, in particular, was a central formative feature in the phenomena of the Holocaust. Further, it is necessary to make the connection that nearly all these factors figure into the general model of genocide in which sectarianism and racism, like antisemitism in Europe 1933-1945, for example, constitute pre-conditions. (6)

These scholars also state the importance of teaching more than the content of Holocaust history, including *remembrance* as a critical area to make "Holocaust education truly meaningful [by applying] lessons of the past to our plans for the future…to lead students to positive attitudinal orientations as well as factual knowledge, and to help them construct action follow-throughs by way of completing the learning process" (6).

In preparing my tour plan to teach the Holocaust, I adhered to the teaching recommendations from the USHMM which are aligned with the best practices of

educational pedagogy related to Holocaust teaching. These USHMM guidelines are listed here.[15] Define the term "Holocaust."

- Do not teach or imply that the Holocaust was inevitable.
- Avoid simple answers to complex questions.
- Strive for the precision of language.
- Avoid comparisons of pain.
- Do not romanticize history.
- Contextualize the history.
- Translate statistics into people.
- Make responsible methodological choices. (USHMM, "Guidelines" 1)

Keeping these guidelines in mind, I started to develop my tour plan or narrative of the Holocaust story. Periodically, I referred to these guidelines to help prevent my tour from becoming unsound pedagogically and from teaching ideas that might form misconceptions in the minds of visitors. In a Holocaust museum, "the [historical] narrative is primary; the objects, including historical photographs and films as well as artifacts are in fact seen as evidence offered to sustain and validate the narrative… [Thus,] the museum is principally didactic in intent, providing information and descriptions of diverse events, primarily from 1933 to 1945" (Ochsner 240). The narrative is the recitation of the Holocaust story the docent tells accurately as the tour progresses. A successful narrative is constructed on a frame, a central idea that is woven into the narrative and holds it together.

[15] To view the museum commentary under each guideline, consult the USHMM website's General Teaching Guidelines: (www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust/general-teaching-guidelines).

For me, the central idea that sustains my tours at the Virginia Holocaust Museum is the USHMM definition of the Holocaust:

> The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. During the era of the Holocaust, German authorities also targeted other groups because of their perceived "racial inferiority": Roma (Gypsies), the disabled, and some of the Slavic peoples (Poles, Russians, and others). Other groups were persecuted on political, ideological, and behavioral grounds, among them Communists, Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Homosexuals. (USHMM, "Guidelines" 1)

This definition of the Holocaust establishes a solid historical and pedagogical base for the Holocaust tour: docents can ask questions or solicit dialogue about connections from the definition to the narrative story of history used in explaining exhibits, thereby encouraging critical thinking among visitors.

Once the rationale for the tour has been determined, the docent can make decisions about what history and lessons will compose the tour narrative. Several learning outcomes or objectives composed by educators, survivors, and Holocaust historians at USHMM will be useful to the docent in obtaining accuracy in the tour script. The learning outcomes are as follows:

Visitors to the museum should realize that:

- Democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained, but need to be appreciated, nurtured and protected.

- Silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can—however unintentionally—perpetuate these problems.
- The Holocaust was not an accident in history; it occurred because individuals, organizations, and governments made choices that not only legalized discrimination but also allowed prejudice, hatred, and ultimately mass murder to occur.
- The Holocaust was a watershed event, not only in the twentieth century but also in the entire course of human history. (USHMM, *Teaching about the Holocaust*)

These learning outcomes naturally lead to teaching objectives docents can emphasize as moral lessons to be learned from the Holocaust. These USHMM objectives help visitors to:

- Understand the roots and ramification of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society.
- Develop an awareness of the value of pluralism and acceptance of diversity.
- Explore the dangers of remaining silent, apathetic, and indifferent to the oppression of others.
- Think about the use and abuse of power as well as the roles and responsibilities of individuals, organizations, and nations when confronted with civil rights violations and/or policies of genocide.

- Understand how a modern nation can utilize its technological expertise and bureaucratic infrastructure to implement destructive policies ranging from social engineering to genocide. (USHMM, *Teaching about the Holocaust*)

When visitors, especially students, study the Holocaust, the convergence of "historical; social; religious; political; and economic factors" help them gain insight about what can "contribute to the disintegration of civilized values"; and that it is the responsibility of every citizen in a democracy to learn "to identify the danger signals and to know when to react" (USHMM, *Teaching about the Holocaust*).

In Chapter 2 of this project, I introduced and explained educational theories used in contemporary museums, including history museums. The fundamental message in that chapter supports the use of experience-based learning first advocated by John Dewey during the Progressive Era and still used by museums today. This pedagogy encourages a hands-on approach to learning built from visitors' experiences with the exhibits. This type of learning constrains docents in a history museum, which by its nature is a discipline-based approach to learning museum content. Very few artifacts are available for a "hands-on" experience for visitors at the Virginia Holocaust Museum. Of course, there are artifacts, but they are enclosed in cases for protection. Many of the exhibit rooms contain commentary panels that help explain the narrative of the Holocaust; other rooms contain some photographs that record the evidence of some Holocaust history. Visitors see and experience them, as docents clarify the meaning and significance of these artifacts using lecture as the main method of content delivery, accompanied by interaction through dialogue with visitors willing to participate.

John Dewey said that "by itself experience had the potential to be non-educative or even *mis*-educative" such as childhood experiences that "tend to form internal representations of history that depict historical events in terms of a simplistic good/bad dichotomy" (Castle, "Teaching History" 2). These experiences become ingrained and at times present difficulty with the interpretation of history, sometimes causing misconceptions. These misconceptions have their origin with "*presentism*, the tendency to believe that all times are like our own, and atemporality, the inability to differentiate events of an earlier time from our own" and often remain "extremely robust and therefore difficult to alter" (2). Educational philosopher Howard Gardner states that "disciplines such as history, literature, and the sciences offer the most sophisticated ways yet developed for thinking about and investigating issues that have long fascinated and perplexed thoughtful individuals," according to Castle (2).[16] If they are well informed about these modes of thought, museum docents, including those in Holocaust museums, are positioned to help museum patrons grow in their critical thinking.

Gary D. Fenstermacher, professor of educational philosophy, believes that the "purpose of teaching history is to make available the knowledge and understanding of history so that the learner can use it to free himself or herself from the constraining forces of dogma, stereotype, and convention," as Castle reports ("Teaching History" 3).[17] This aspect of museum teaching is important for docents to think about since the docent is the one who would lead visitors to the discovery of any misconceptions they had formed

[16] Castle quotes Howard Gardner, education scholar, where indicated. The ideas come from his book: Gardner, Howard. *The Disciplined Mind*. Simon and Shuster,1999. The reference is on page 122.

[17] Castle also quotes from Gary D. Fenstermacher's article titled "Philosophy of Research on Teaching: Three Aspects," which can be found in *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (3rd Edition), edited by Merlin C. Wittrock and published by Macmillan in 1986. The reference is found on page 47.

about Holocaust history. The docent then forges the learning of a corrected historical narrative about the Holocaust through dialogue and conversation as the docent builds upon visitors' prior knowledge about the event. In this sense, the docent practices constructivist learning theory as discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Using this model of learning history, the docent helps visitors who want to think critically about what they know about the Holocaust to adjust their thinking as they learn new information. This shift represents a divergent thinking process, as opposed to just learning the facts as stated by a docent or a museum guidebook, which represents a convergent thinking process.

If a docent is to be true to the progressive theory of museum teaching, then he or she should strive to get visitors actively learning and thinking about the ideas being expressed during a tour. I personally think this method of presenting the Holocaust narrative will serve to make tours more successful and meaningful for the museum visitor, especially if the visitor leaves the museum with an increased knowledge about how the Holocaust experience teaches civic responsibility to safeguard society from the warning signs of behaviors and attitudes that could possibly lead to a collapse of civic and democratic values, possibly leading to genocide.

If we as docents wish to engage our visitors in a positive, meaningful way, then we have to develop sensitive strategies to help visitors through moments of anxiousness or resistance to tragedy and suffering. Encouraging visitors to reflect on and reconsider previously held views of the Holocaust is part of our responsibility as docents. These strategies are important when difficult history "[raises] intense emotions and incites visitors' resistances to engaging in learning about a painful history… [They] resist or

refuse to look at the displays, read the labels, or listen to a tour guide; [they] look away, leave, or talk about the discomfort that the exhibit causes them" (Rose 6). This problem of resistance to difficult histories is a "phenomenon of emotional and intellectual resistance to learning difficult history that [is] framed in a teaching method called CMP" (6). The concept of CMP stands for Commemorative Museum Pedagogy, which allows docents to consider "the learner's responses to the difficult histories and allows for history workers to sensitively develop historical representations of the oppressed, victimized, and subjugated individuals and group" (6). This approach allows docents and visitors:

> [To] become more than recipients of information; they are learners who need to be allowed to express their individual forms of resistance. Their resistances are, in fact, natural responses and can be part of a productive learning experience. Learners' expressions of anger and discomfort begs [sic] history workers to responsibly help these learners who work through their feelings of resistance in the process of engaging in the newly introduced history and in making the difficult history meaningful. (6)[18]

The Holocaust story is filled with shocking and graphic images of stories that may "elevate political and personal tensions and raise anxiety" for many visitors (Rose 26). However, the docent who tries to soften the imagery and shock value of the story of the Holocaust when trying to find lessons to teach that will not offend the perceptions of visitors runs the risk of diminishing the event "[causing] it to lose its unique significance"

[18] The entire CMP model is far too extensive to discuss in its entirety here or even to give a good snapshot of what the model entails. To learn more about this method, consult Julia Rose's book *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites* published by Rowman and Littlefield in 2016.

(Schatzker 221). Even worse, it may distort the Holocaust story and lead to misconceptions. The danger of visitors' resistance to tragedy and suffering is that it may interfere with the visitors' "understanding of moral behavior and the changes to the longstanding collective memories" of traditional concepts of history that they have learned; therefore, they react with "skepticism, challenges, denials, and emotional resistance" to differing historical narratives (Rose 26). These reactions are understood in the context of how the Holocaust has turned into "a symbol which constitutes a reality in our lives and influences our consciousness and reactions in times of crisis, perplexity, and desolation" (Schatzker 220). By comparing horrific events in current events to the "Holocaust" or comparing political statements of politicians to the actions of the Nazis, "the real, historic Holocaust is emptied of all its inherent, unique meaning" (224). These false analogies using comparisons to the Holocaust are often "so simplified and decontextualized that the Holocaust ceases to be connected to the realities of human experience and becomes a distraction—a metaphor for evil—that trivializes actual human suffering" according to Devin E. Naar (Lotzer and Naar 1).[19] Instead of establishing comparisons between the Holocaust and other tragic events, these events should be contextualized with an intent to speak about ways to help people who are victimized and those who are suffer without the comparisons to the complex and difficult history of the Holocaust.

During a Holocaust tour, visitors often display varying behaviors in reaction to the horror and graphic narrative of difficult history that constitutes the Holocaust. Katrine

[19] Devin E. Naar is the chair of the Sephardic Studies Program at the University of Washington. He is the author of the 2016 National Jewish Book Award for *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece*. Michal Lotzkar is a Holocaust docent and legacy speaker at the Holocaust Center for Humanity in Seattle, Washington, and the daughter of Holocaust survivor Arieh Engelberg.

Tinning describes the relationship between a difficult history exhibit and the visitor as a "teaching-learning relation conditioned by vulnerability" and defines the crux of this relationship process as an "openness to an encounter with the Other as being different, which is conditional of an ethical transformation of existing perceptions of self, others and the world" (147). Tinning asserts that difficult history such as the images of Holocaust suffering can spark ethical transformation in visitors that causes them to participate in "a more responsible future social life" (152). As an example, she uses a reference to Holocaust museums by quoting Paul Williams[20] as arguing that "with a common mission to prevent future horrific suffering—the 'never again' imperative instigated by Holocaust remembrance—memorial museums attempt to mobilize visitors as both historical witnesses and agents of present and future political vigilance" (152). This point of view in the teaching-learning relation leads to a "transcendence of self through an encounter with the Other revealing something, which was previously unknown, which transforms the truths one lives by, one's perceptions of self, others and the world" (156). Therefore, docents expose visitors to the experiences of the Other through the graphic violence and horror of images in exhibits which make the visitors "vulnerable in the sense that it implies that [they transcend] the truths [they] live by going beyond the limits of existing perceptions towards the previously unknown" (156).

I interpret Tinning as saying that the docent has an ethical responsibility to tread cautiously on the vulnerability of museum visitors as they confront the difficult history of the Holocaust because it involves a learning situation that presents a possibility for visitor

[20] Katherine Tinning quotes from Paul Williams' article "Memorial Museums and the Objectification of Suffering" in *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics*, edited by Janet Marstine, published by London's Routledge Publishing in 2011.

growth or harm. In the twenty-first century, the ethical responsibility of a docent "to examine history through painful remembrances coupled with the increasing demands of the public's interest in histories of the oppressed, has led to the need for sensitive pedagogical strategies to interpret difficult histories" (Rose 170). By judiciously choosing what images to present to visitors and what pedagogical approach is most appropriate, the docent can guard against exploiting their visitors' emotional vulnerabilities.

Another sensitive area the docent must be attentive to when communicating with visitors is the use of language. Because the Holocaust is so complex to understand, there is a risk that docents may, unintentionally, distort facts and instill in visitors misconceptions (USHMM, "Guidelines"). This is especially true when using qualifiers before words and phrases— "all concentration camps were killing centers" or "all Germans were collaborators" (USHMM, "Guidelines"). Language is highly nuanced. Words have denotative and connotative meanings that can be interpreted differently by visitors, which in some cases could cause confusion, misunderstanding or distortions of facts.

For example, the word *resistance* may refer to an unwillingness to accept or comply. The word also refers to preventing something from happening through action or argument. In the Holocaust, the word could refer to the "smuggling of messages, food, or weapons; sabotage; actual military engagement"; or it could refer to "willful disobedience, such as continuing to practice religious and cultural tradition in defiance of the rules or creating fine art, music, and poetry inside the ghettos and concentration camps"; for others, the word implies the "will to live in the face of abject brutality" as an act of "spiritual resistance" (USHMM, "Guidelines"). Docents should distinguish

multiple levels of meaning, in these examples, by defining the various types of human behavior called *resistance* so that visitors understand the nuances of definition.

The docent should also be aware of using language that could reinforce inadvertent stereotypes or that could engender misrepresentations. Instead, the docent should employ distinctions and qualifiers that give a more accurate historical depiction. For example, to say that "all Germans supported the Nazis" is a distortion of history; it should be qualified for accuracy as: "some or many Germans supported Nazis" (USHMM, "Guidelines"). No nationality can be "reduced to a singular or one-dimensional description" (USHMM, "Guidelines"). In alignment with this idea, docents should make clear distinctions about the participants in the Holocaust who can be grouped into four categories: "victims, perpetrators, rescuers, and bystanders" (USHMM, "Guidelines"). The caution here is to treat all members of these groups as individuals who are "capable of making moral judgment and independent decision-making" when delineating the "actions, motives, and decisions" for museum visitors (USHMM, "Guidelines").

What makes the Holocaust difficult to teach to museum visitors is that the event is so distant to the reality of the visitors' world that the "ethical responses to commemorate the suffering of others should nevertheless not diminish"; therefore, the docent's task is to represent and interpret Holocaust history so that it becomes relevant and important for the visitor to invest interest (Rose 173). Cultural awareness and understanding of social practices such as prejudice, religious discrimination, hatred, and racism should be examined through difficult histories that at times will cause visitor resistance to begin a slow transformation of "[change which] unfolds with receptive starts and resistive

retrenchments" (173). This represents the beginning of another paradigm shift for history museums in presenting "[historical] representations of difficult histories that have the power to awaken a passion in learners by asking them to look at history from multiple viewpoints; viewpoints that can reveal the struggles for a more just and compassionate moral order" (173).

For me as a docent, reading what Rose and Tinning have said about teaching difficult histories in the twenty-first century stresses the importance of being historically accurate in what is presented as Holocaust history and judicious in the use of language descriptions that are used to tell the story of the Holocaust. Museum audiences are diverse, representing many cultures and peoples, but with issues of racism, poverty, and religion, the docent should give enough information in a wide context to make it relevant to other groups and avoid introducing stereotypes related to ethnicity, race, and religion (USHMM, "Guidelines").

Holocaust denial is another difficult issue the docent will confront in teaching the Holocaust. Denial is a term used to describe the position of some people who claim the Holocaust never happened or was greatly exaggerated; for other deniers, their racist antisemitic feelings about Jewish people is born out of hatred, political, or other strategic reasons (USHMM, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*). Still others argue that the "supposed hoax" serves the purposes of those who wish to attack the legitimacy of Israel or those who wish to see a "resurgence of Nazi racism" and seek to "attract new followers to a new Nazi movement" (1). These persons masquerade as academics to give credibility to their points of view of the revisionist version of Holocaust history, which they claim exists "within the larger context of legitimate historical inquiry, which may entail scholarly

debate and differences of opinion but does not, of course, reject the fundamental facts of the Holocaust" (Beorn 1). Occasionally, a visitor will ask a question about denial, providing the docent an opportunity to share the USHMM statement about Holocaust denial without additional elaboration.

There are many implications, or lessons, for the work of Holocaust museums and educational institutions to teach the Holocaust to the public. The Holocaust teaches us when a group or a government oppresses and ostracizes a specific "other," the first step toward genocide has begun. This idea serves as one of the lessons that docents must teach to all visitors. There have been genocides following the Holocaust; "the suffering of the victims is the same," for murder, rape, torture, starvation, disease, and humiliation are present in all "mass murders" and "no genocide is better or worse than another one" (Bauer 4). All genocides are now carried out with the "best technical and bureaucratic means at the disposal of the perpetrators" but during the Holocaust, a difference is "that it happened at the very center of European and world civilization, and that it was unprecedented" (4). However, "while all elements of each genocide are repeated in some other genocides" elements exist in the Holocaust "that cannot be found in genocides that preceded it" because the Nazis and their collaborators "tried to find, register, mark, humiliate, dispossess, concentrate and murder every person …for the crime of having been born a Jew" (5). This genocide was to be spread "everywhere in the world, so that for the first time in history there was an attempt to universalize a genocide" (5). The Nazi ideological principle was not as pragmatic as it was in all other genocides because it was not a struggle for power within the Nazi government or an invading force from another country; for the Nazis, "the pragmatic elements were minor" (5). Jews were not killed

because the Nazis wanted their property; they were "robbed…in the process of getting rid of them, first by emigration, then by expulsion, and in the end by murder…because that was where their ideology led them" (6). These are lessons that are important for docents who teach the Holocaust. If visitors, at the end of a tour, have an understanding of the full definition of the Holocaust and the lessons derived from it and have an understanding of the importance of remembrance, then the tour has been a successful one.

Chapter 4

TRAINING SOURCES FOR THE BEGINNING DOCENT

Education for the prospective docent in a Holocaust Museum involves a commitment of time and dedication to the exploration of sources independent from those the docent will study in formal museum training. My intention in this chapter is to provide a framework of sources devoted to helping prospective docents maneuver through a plethora of materials and information about docents working, learning, and teaching in Holocaust museums. This chapter provides an annotated bibliography of sources as a guide to be used as a reference for those on the journey to becoming a docent. I have included in this chapter a representation of some of the most informative texts and articles. A complete bibliography of sources not annotated appears in the Appendix.

Professional and Educational Development for the Museum Docent

The following sources explain the educational theories and methodology docents use in museums and how they may be utilized and adapted to teach the Holocaust.

Anderson, Gail, editor. *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*. Altamira Press, 2004.

This work is a collection of essays written about the paradigm shift in museum science. The essays discuss a variety of issues surrounding the traditional view of the museum and the reinvented view defined in the text. Chapters describe the challenges of the twenty-first century dealing with public interaction with the museum and its role as an educational institution with the increasing diversity of

visitors coming to the museum, with the financial planning and responsibility in all facets of museum management, and with the leadership that keeps the museum focused on its mission to keep museums relevant in the twenty-first century.

Castle, Margaret, C. "Blending Pedagogy and Content: A New Curriculum for Museum Teachers." ***Journal of Museum Education*****, vol. 31, no. 2, 2006, pp. 123-32. www. jstor.org//stable/40479552.**

The focus of this article is an examination of the question of how museum teachers learn to teach. The challenges and complexities of teaching in a museum are analyzed to find and develop various pedagogies for effective instruction. What docents will find especially helpful is the section on the characteristics of effective museum teachers, especially the section on objectivist and constructivist theories of education.

---. ***Interpreters, Docents, and Educators: Ways of Knowing, Ways of Teaching in a History Museum, an Art Gallery, and a Nature Center*****. 2001. U of Toronto, PhD dissertation. www.collectionscanada.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp05/NQ63617.pdf. Accessed 4 Apr. 2017**

This dissertation explores museum educators' approach to pedagogy and teaching in an era during which museums were re-inventing themselves. Museum educators and curators redesigned exhibits to offer more experience-based learning for museum visitors. The study examines how an understanding of docents' interaction with their trainers, their learning experiences, and the

contexts which inform their teaching methodology will improve their expertise as docents.

The intent of this study is to find out what informs the docent's content knowledge, pedagogy, and interpretation of that pedagogy when conducting a guided tour. The dissertation also examines the training curriculum and professional development instruction for museum docents.

---. "Teaching History in Museums." ***Ontario History*****, vol. 94, no. 1, 2002, pp. 1-18.**

The author discusses various ways of interpreting history via docents teaching history through a history museum-directed approach or a history-directed approach to informing visitors about exhibits. These two approaches are research-based pedagogies of interpretation, providing that the interpreter is also aware of the usefulness of both approaches. The key to understanding these approaches is centered on how docents are influenced by their own understandings of history and museums based on their personal experiences (1). The explanation of "presentism"—the tendency to believe that the past is like our own time; therefore, it is difficult for us to differentiate events of an earlier time from the present—makes reading this article worthwhile in light of current discussions on history.

Falk, John H., and Lynn D. Dierking. ***Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*****. Altamira Press, 2000.**

How people learn in museums is the focus of the chapters in this text. Issues of theory and research are applied to the learning process and how these processes work for museums in understanding how visitors make sense of their experiences.

Once the museum staff comprehends how people learn, they can better design exhibits to maximize the benefits to the community the museum serves. What makes this text useful is that it addresses learning in museums specifically.

Grenier, Robin S. "Do As I Say, Not As I Do: A Case Study of Two Museum Docent Training Programs." ***Adult Education Research Conference*****, 2005, pp. 1-6. http://neprairiepress.org/aerc/2005/papers/35. Accessed 12 Aug. 2017.**

This conference paper discusses the use of a contextual model of learning as applied pedagogy in teaching visitors to engage in learning experiences that will promote discovery learning. The job of applying this pedagogy belongs to the museum docent who wants to create an interactive experience for visitors. However, Grenier states that it is appropriate for theories of museum learning to be consistent with museum docent training but questions if this is indeed the case. Therefore, this study centers on how theory and practice interact in the docent training programs at two museums: an art gallery and a history museum.

---. "Practicing What We Preach." ***Journal of Interpretation Research*****, 2008, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 7-26.** ***EBSCOhost*****, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ehh&AN=34384435&site=eds-live&scope=site.**

This article states that museums are engaged in educational and interactive visitor experiences as the core of their educational mission; however, Greiner wants to test whether the educational theory used for visitor learning is the same theory by which the museum education departments train their docents. She uses an art museum and a history museum as research sites for her study. After collecting

data consisting of interviews, training and promotional materials, and observations, she discovers that learning theory imparted to docents for use with visitors is not applied by museum educators during training. She concludes that it is necessary to align educational philosophy at museums with training practices to assess the impact of such alignment on docent training and delivery of content knowledge.

---. "The Role of Learning in the Development of Expertise in Museum Docents." ***Adult Education Quarterly*****, vol. 59, no. 2, 2009, pp. 142-157. doi:10.1177/0741713608327369.**

Robin Grenier designed a study to determine how docents developed expertise within the context of their work in history museums. For her study, she chose twelve representative docents who had good reputations from four history-themed museums to understand how expertise is developed in docents working in an informal setting. She interviewed these docents in the following areas: formal training and continuing education and informal and incidental learning. Greiner's research determined that formal learning through classroom preparation, small groups, and supervised practice was essential to becoming a competent docent because it laid a foundation upon which skills are fine-tuned. Informal and incidental learning of docents were also necessary for competency and expertise. Her overall conclusions about developing expertise centered on the notion of multiple learning approaches rooted in the context of docents' experience.

Grenier, Robin S., and Barry Sheckley. "Out on the Floor: Experiential Learning and the Implications for the Preparation of Docents. ***The Journal of Museum Education*****, vol. 33, no. 1, 2008, pp. 79-93.** ***JSTOR*****, www.jstor.org/stable/40479606.**

The authors present developments in theory and research on experiential learning and address how it can benefit the professional development of docents. Using theories of adult learning and professional development, they show how "this type of learning can enhance learning in museums by using experiential learning interventions in the preparation of docents," suggesting ways to apply this pedagogy to staff learning. An evaluation of portfolios to assess docent learning is presented to emphasize how docents can self-regulate skills in application to their own learning.

Grinder, Alison L., and E. Sue McCoy. ***The Good Guide: A Sourcebook for Interpreters, Docents, and Tour Guides*****. Ironwood Publishing, 1985.**

As a reference source for docents, this text helps explain interpretative training on how people learn in the museum with cognitive theories as the framework of presentation of various interpretative techniques such as lecture, inquiry, and guided discovery. This work explains how these techniques apply and vary with the type of tour group that comes to the museum. For example, tours for senior citizens are planned differently than are tours for middle school students. This book emphasizes flexibility of the docent, since he or she must be able to adapt to special considerations such as touring with the handicapped or with families, the hearing impaired, the speech and language impaired, the visually impaired and the

mentally challenged. The text includes an excellent section for docents on developing style and appropriate verbal communication.

Hansen-Glucklich, Jennifer. ***Holocaust Memory Reframed: Museums and the Challenges of Representation.*** **Rutgers UP, 2014.**

Some history museums have creative representations that reflect the mission statement of the institution, whether it be docents in costume giving demonstrations or telling stories. However, it is a greater challenge for the Holocaust museum to find a creative means to teach the horrors of the Holocaust without betraying respect for Holocaust victims and their suffering. The author chooses to present representations of the Holocaust in three locations: Germany's Jewish Museum in Berlin, Israel's Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. Museum staff have the challenging task of presenting the Holocaust information in its exhibits in a creative way in order avoid depictions of Holocaust victims in a cliched or dehumanizing way. This book investigates the representations of these three major museums. Hansen-Glucklich distinguishes the historical and cultural contexts of Holocaust narratives such as the Yad Vashem, where a narrative is rooted in a redemptive, Zionist story of homecoming to a suffering people who seek renewal in the Jewish homeland. In the Jewish Museum in Berlin, broken lines, and voids provoke the idea of absence for a people torn by the loss of a Jewish past and a current multicultural ethos. USHMM presents in its exhibits a sense of sacrifice, one of the civil ideals of American democracy.

Hein, George E. "The Constructivist Museum." ***Journal for Education in Museums*****, no. 16, 1995, pp. 1-8. www.gem.org.uk/pubs/news/hein1995.html. Accessed 18 Dec. 2018.**

Hein discusses the educational theory of constructivism and how it relates to teaching in a museum. He believes that knowledge is constructed in the mind of the learner. Learners construct knowledge as they learn; they don't simply add new facts to what is known, but constantly reorganize and create both understanding and the ability to learn as they interact with the world, according to Hein's theory. Application of this theory in museum learning would then allow the visitor to make connections with familiar concepts and objects. For visitors to make meaning of their experience, docents need to be able to connect content with what they already know.

---. "Progressive Education and Museum Education: Anna Billings Gallup and Louise Connolly." ***The Journal of Museum Education*****, no. 3, 2006, pp. 161-173.** ***JStor*****, www.jstor.org.ezproxy.drew.edu/stable/40479559.**

This article is an interesting historical description of museum education and the progressive education movement about a century ago. Museum educational theory is based on ideas that originated during the period with John Dewey's educational theory. Museum education and progressive education reform merged during this time period. Hein's delineation of how progressive education evolved in response to worldwide social and political issues that arose from the Industrial Revolution helps to explain the paradigm shift in museum science teaching strategies.

Johnson, Anna, et al. *The Museum Educator's Manual*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.

This book is a manual for those who work in museum education departments. Chapters two, three, and four focus on volunteers, docent training, and building effective tours. The chapter on docent training explains the museum's perspective on the role of the docent. Several types of training programs that vary in content and purpose are presented, so that educators can adapt classes to fit a museum's needs and space limitations. All training emphasizes the importance of the visitor and the tour. Education programs are discussed, stressing the importance of pedagogy.

Neill, Amanda C. "Providing a Tailored Educational Interaction with Cultural Treasures: A Study of Museum Docents." *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2010, pp. 67-82. doi:10.1177/147797141001600206.

Amanda Neil conducts a qualitative study to examine docent strategies used for educational activities and attempts to make them more relevant and interactive. One important benefit for the prospective docent is the presentation of methods of assessing visitor place of residence; prior knowledge about content; reasons for a museum visit; and observations about their body language, facial expressions, and general physical response to what is being said. Findings of usefulness to docents include that the more docents get visitors to interact with the museum educator through questions and dialogue to determine where visitor interests and needs lie, the more tours generally improved. Assessing visitors' needs is a highly nuanced and complex activity. Neil cautions docents against stereotyping visitors either

deliberately, by omitting content on tours because of docent judgments about visitors' educational levels, or inadvertently, by teaching to one gender rather than directing education to all visitors present.

Rose, Julia. *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Docents in a Holocaust museum will find this book an interesting and thought-provoking text about initiating conversations about difficult subjects. This book is particularly instructive in how to discuss and present issues that make visitors uncomfortable. Rose offers suggestions for dealing with visitors' uncomfortable statements or questions. These suggestions that Julia Rose maks help the docent form a response to such comments and will mitigate the feeling of intimidation that arises as a result of such statements.

Tinberg, Howard, and Ronald Weisberger. *Teaching, Learning, and the Holocaust*. Indiana UP, 2014.

This text is written by two professors with experiences in teaching the Holocaust. They assess challenges and approaches to teaching about the Holocaust through the subjects of literature and history as a form of interdisciplinary teaching, with a specific focus on the community college setting. Offering insights and methods, the authors discuss the ways people learn and what makes an effective teacher. They use probing Holocaust questions to foster critical thinking about history.

Holocaust History and Related Topics

Arad, Yitzhak. ***Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps.*** **Indiana UP, 1998.**

This book chronicles the events that took place during a three-year period from 1941 to 1943, known as Operation Reinhard, a secret Nazi plan to murder Jews who lived in the General Government of Poland and other countries in Europe and the Soviet Union. As chief of the Reich Main Security Office (the Gestapo, the Kripo, and SD), Reinhard Heydrich was one of the main architects of The Final Solution and chaired the January 1942 Wannsee Conference in Berlin in which the orders to implement the Final Solution to the Jewish Question were issued. Scholars debate whether this operation is named after Reinhard Heydrich or someone else. The book describes the layout of the camps and the process of extermination of victims. Arad describes many of the events that took place in the three death camps of Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka from the building of the camps to the time when they were dismantled. Of particular interest to readers will be the descriptions of the transports, the manner of deaths, a chapter on women prisoners, and the Ukrainian guards of the camp. Using references to court transcriptions of witness testimonies, court records, German documents, and work recorded by the Underground contacts, the reader can study the original sources.

Baer, Elizabeth R, and Myrna Goldenberg. ***Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust.*** **Wayne State UP, 2003.**

This text explores the experiences of women in the Holocaust, as discussed at the 1997 Annual Holocaust's Scholar's Conference which featured two special panels

on women and the Holocaust. The book, divided into four sections, is a collection of essays that spans a wide range of women's issues and scholarship in the field of women's experiences during the Holocaust. This book includes experiences from both Jewish and non-Jewish women, with an emphasis on the organization of the social networking women created for survival, their memories, and the portrayal of those memories.

Bauer, Yehuda. *History of the Holocaust*. Franklin Watts, 2001.

This Holocaust history text provided background knowledge for training at the Virginia Holocaust Museum. I found the chapter headings and sub-headings in bold print and a larger font easy to read. The sentence style and syntax were appropriate for a general audience without any previous study of the Holocaust. For this reason, this book's conciseness and clarity allowed me to read the information it presents quickly. A Bibliography for each chapter appears at the end of the book. The Appendix in this text only includes one source: Himmler's "Reflections on the Treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East."

Baumel, Judith Tydor. *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust.* Vallentine Mitchell, 1998.

Judith Baumel examines the Holocaust from a gender perspective in this collection of essays divided into seven sections, each presenting discussion between gender and identity. The author gives a brief review of the historical developments of the research in the 1980s that centered on experiences unique to women. She states that in the 1990s, the focus of studies on women's issues in the Holocaust shifted, attending to women who were neglected in earlier research.

This text provides the reader with a good summary of current scholarship on the "differential impact of gender under the Nazis."[21] It explores various aspects of women's social interaction under Nazi rule, prompting many to leadership roles and to exemplary courage through adversity.

Czech, Danuta. *Auschwitz Chronicle.* Henry Holt & Company, 1989.

This work is an 864-page volume on Auschwitz written chronologically from August 22, 1939, to January 26, 1945. The Nazis destroyed most of the documents about Auschwitz as they deserted the camp when allied Soviet forces were approaching. However, Danuta Czech, the former head of the research department at the Auschwitz Museum, started to gather documents from a variety of sources to compose the history recorded in this volume. The first attempt to reconstruct a historical record of the camp involved the Russian military and Polish authorities who tried to gather evidence of the crimes that took place there, forming a foundation for all future research. Every chapter is devoted to a year's chronology of camp operation. The three years of 1943, 1944, and 1945 witnessed the enlargement of the camp and intensified exterminations. Commentary sections highlight the importance of activities in the camp's operation during those significant years. There is no general subject index and no illustration index; the lack of these tools would make it difficult to use this text for quick reference. A brief biographical sketch of key Auschwitz officials appears at the end of the text, followed by a glossary of general and camp terms and a bibliography.

---

[21] This is quoted from page 95 of a review written by Atina Grossmann for Judith Baumel's book *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust* published in the 2002 spring edition of *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, V16 N1.

Dwork, Deborah, and Robert Jan Van Pelt. *Auschwitz.* W.W. Norton & Company, 2008.

This text is a very readable history of Auschwitz. Written by a historian and a professor of cultural history, this text offers many visual aids, such as the use of blueprints and architectural drawings to accompany the story of the building of the Auschwitz complex. The historical section of the book begins with a brief history of the town Auschwitz leading up to its choice as a site to build a concentration camp named after the town. The camp's significance to the Third Reich is explained as well as the ideological views of some of the key Nazi figures associated with the camp. The chapter on Birkenau is one of the most interesting chapters in the book, as the authors trace its conception first as a women's camp to its critical function during The Final Solution.

Goldstein, Phyllis. *A Convenient Hatred: The History of Antisemitism*. Facing History and Ourselves, 2012.

The nonprofit organization Facing History offers educational and professional development services to school, museums, and community organizations. The book surveys the history of antisemitism from the beginning in the early years before the Common Era to the present day. The chapters on Jews in the Enlightenment and WWI present the assimilation of Jews into the mainstream of full participation in their societies. Ideas presented in the text explain the negative stereotypes of Jews throughout history and how the Nazis used these prejudices in propaganda campaigns to turn non-Jewish Germans against the Jewish people.

Greenspan, Henry. ***On Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Recounting and Life History*****. Praeger Press, 1998.**

Greenspan's book is not the typical memoir collection of survivor testimonies. Rather, it is based on his theory of recounting, a series of conversations he started twenty years before his subjects recounting appear in this text. In the twenty-year span he has been collecting these narratives, he has amassed a substantial record which reveals a new story that emerges through repeated conversations. Like a psychologist, he analyzes the significant reflections over time to learn what has changed and what has been added and why. Greenspan introduces the word "recounting" to mean the telling and re-telling of a person's recollection of an event recalled from memory. "Recounting" is that same memory told repeatedly over time to gain a perspective on the complexities and contradictions that make each "telling" slightly different in order to gain a better understanding of the various forms of individuality in the experiences so that these narratives can be comprehended truthfully.

Grunwald-Spier, Agnes. ***Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*****. Amberley Publishing, 2018.**

This work is a recent publication written by Agnes Grunwald-Spiers who was a Holocaust survivor, having been born in 1944. This book, published in 2018, delineates how the hardships and difficulties women faced during the Holocaust were different from men, especially in how the women coped when men were arrested, leaving responsibilities for providing food and medical needs for the children and elderly relatives to the women who became the heads of the

household. They also had to assume the care of their personal needs, even when they were pregnant. In the camps, some chose abortions or were subjected to horrific medical experimentation. In addition, Grunwald-Spier examines various accounts of women who fought for or worked in the resistance, such as Zivia Lubetkin in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Another profile highlights the work of Dr. Gisella Perl, who served as a physician in Auschwitz under the notorious Dr. Josef Mengele. Some narratives describe the courage of young women who acted as couriers between ghettos in the underground resistance.

Hayes, Peter, editor. *Lessons and Legacies.* Paragon Press, 1991.

Peter Hayes makes a case for keeping the Holocaust relevant as it moves further from the realm of experienced events and into recorded history. He places essays into this work that give readers insight as to what makes the Holocaust incomprehensible to so many, especially when people say that Nazi evil did not make sense for the level of its barbarity in a civilized world. An intriguing concept that runs through several essays in Hayes' collection is that society must guard itself from the seduction of an event like the Holocaust where ordinary people find ways to justify avoidance of moral duty. He claims it results in a rationalization that provides an escape from responsible and civil behavior, confusing our understanding of the past and endangering the present.

Heinemann, Marlene E. *Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust.* Greenwood Press, 1986.

This book is a product of the early groundbreaking work in women's issues in the Holocaust, which makes it an educational source for docents to help them

understand the evolution of Holocaust women's studies. Content provides information on women's inmate relationships, self-identity, female autonomy, and most important, women writers' quest for authenticity. Heinemann raises some important questions in her belief in the need for more scholarship to resolve disputes about whether the prisoners helped one another in significant ways. Heinemann feels that if the extreme collective suffering of women is a dominant motive for writing narratives, then these women should overcome personal and cultural inhibitions against self-display in autobiographical writing in order to fill the gap in women's history of the Holocaust (7). This book is her attempt to find some responses to the questions she poses.

Katz, Ester, and Joan Ringelheim, editors. ***Proceedings of the Conference on Women Surviving the Holocaust, March 21-22, 1983. Occasional Papers from the Institute for Research in History Conference.*** **Institute for Research in History, 1983.**

The topic of the conference concerned the examination of the role of women's experiences in the ghettos, in the concentration camps, and the resistance. Attendees included Holocaust survivors, feminist scholars, children of survivors, and the general public. More important, it provided a forum for women who were reluctant to discuss what had happened to them or had never had a platform for discussion like this event. This publication provides helpful information on topics such as religious women versus nonreligious women, survival rates of women compared to those of men, work as a means of survival, and the unique vulnerabilities and strengths of women.

Levi, Primo. *Survival in Auschwitz.* Simon and Schuster, 1958.

Levi, a trained chemist, was a prisoner in the Auschwitz camp. His story is powerful in its imagistic detail. He finds solace and resilience in telling his story of fighting to live while he was dying. As a chemist, he considered himself lucky to be assigned to a branch of the I. B. Farben Company, synthetic rubber plant located in Auschwitz III called the Monowitz factory. According to him, a person living in Auschwitz could only survive by one of three ways: being strong and powerful, being ruthless and violent, and possessing a skill the Germans needed. What is stunning in his account of suffering, trying to maintain his humanity, is his conclusion that as absolute happiness is impossible, so is absolute unhappiness. People adjust to dehumanization.

Miller, Joy Erlichman. *Love Carried Me Home: Women Surviving Auschwitz*. Simcha Publishing, 2000.

This book examines the role of gender in the Holocaust through sixteen survivors' eyewitness accounts of Holocaust experiences of women. Like other writers of women's Holocaust experiences, Miller centers on "coping strategies and adaptation mechanisms" women used in the Auschwitz camp. The women's "wisdom, insights and warnings provide an important guide for future generations" because through survivors' own words, "their feelings and their predictions serve to warn future generations" (xiii).

Ofer, Dalia, and Lenore J. Weitzman, editors. *Women in the Holocaust.* Yale UP, 1998.

This collection of essays focuses on Jewish women and the special problems and vulnerabilities they encountered under Nazi persecution. Through testimonies of Holocaust survivors and chapters by eminent historians, sociologists, and literary experts, Ofer and Weitzman's collection, divided into four sections, reveals insights about the daily life of women in the ghettos, the Jewish resistance movement, and the concentration camps by presenting their courage and resourcefulness amidst their horror and suffering in the Holocaust. The book deals with questions about how gender leads to a fuller understanding of the Holocaust by exploring the different ways men and women responded to everyday life during the Holocaust.

Ritner, Carol, and John K. Roth, editors. *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust.* Paragon House, 1993.

The editors of this book have collected essays they thought important in elucidating the gender and sexual differences that had been neglected in the scholarship about those who survived the Holocaust. It gathers twenty-eight voices of survivors as well as observations and analyses of historians, philosophers, and theologians into one book that is divided into three main sections. The authors state that the experiences of women were not necessarily worse than men's experiences, but they were different. This anthology contains a representative cross-section of some of the notable names among scholars and survivors writing about the Holocaust.

Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death*. Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, 2002.

Rhodes in this text writes about the role the Einsatzgruppen—the professional killing squads deployed in Poland and the Soviet Union. It was Rhodes' belief that the crimes of the *Einsatzgruppen* were underestimated, so he set out to prove his theory by using the Nuremberg Trial documents like other historians before him. His research provides a graphic portrayal of two plans for genocidal murder of Jewish civilian populations on the eastern front during the first plan Operation Barbarossa in July of 1941 and the killing Jews on the western front in December of 1941. The way Rhodes develops his narrative, the gradual escalation of violence and mass murder that the Einsatzgruppen troops quickly embraces, completes the story of The Final Solution. An important inclusion in the book concerns his view of the psychology of "why" these men killed.

Strom, Margot Stern. *Holocaust and Human Behavior*. Facing History and Ourselves, 1994.

Most of the history of the Holocaust is presented through a critical thinking lens in this workbook for students and teachers studying the Holocaust in groups. This resource shares ideas and activities such as fables, cartoons, role playing, videos, and music to reinforce themes related to the Holocaust such as identity, tolerance, and stereotyping.

Tec, Nechama. *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust.* Yale UP, 2003.

Partisan groups' resistance during the war is the subject of this book. Nechama Tec interviews many women survivors in Europe, the United States, and Israel,

and as she does so, she tries to elicit gender differences from her interviewees and notices that the experiences they relate overlapped with men's experiences. She then expands her investigation to include interviews with men in order to gain a fuller view of gender experiences. Based on her interviews, she verifies that the coping strategies and experiences between men and women are distinct as related to cooperation, bonding, class, and power.

Chapter 5

SURVIVOR NARRATIVES

For approximately the first forty years after the Holocaust, most of the history books and memoirs depicted everyday life in Nazi-controlled Germany and occupied territories through the eyes of men, among them, Raul Hilberg, Yehuda Bauer, Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel, and many others. These male voices are powerful and compelling in the use of language that set the agenda for Holocaust study. While their histories and narratives included references to women, the collective focus was communicated through male perspectives. Fewer people know the names of survivors Nechama Tec, Danuta Czech, or Agnes Grunwald-Spier who have written about women to give a fuller and more nuanced understanding of the complexities of the Holocaust. For many years, women were seldom the subject of academic studies.

Scholarly exploration, as well as memoirs, oral histories and related chronicles serve to more clearly delineate aspects of Jewish life before, during and after the war. Women's accounts reveal much about the differences between the lives of women and those of men, especially how women thought about themselves, family, religion, sacrifice, power and loyalty. Their thoughts, feelings, and ideas are representative of the scope of information that a study of survivor narratives can bring to a more complete understanding of Holocaust history.

The first section of this chapter will present an introduction to and overview of the scholarship on women's experiences in the Holocaust, beginning with scholarly work before the first national conference on women's issues during the Holocaust held at Stern

College in New York City, March 21-23, 1983 and ending with a sampling of some of the major works by women in each decade up to the present.

The next section will give docents a theoretical foundation on the usefulness of incorporating women's narratives as a teaching tool during their tours to supplement the teaching of the Holocaust. The final section of this chapter presents material on Lore Shelley and discusses her work, providing a more complete view of her as a survivor who drew her experiences in Auschwitz as resources for researching, collecting, and editing several collections of Auschwitz survivor narratives that have become a part of the Holocaust canon.

Introduction to Women's Narratives

The Early Years Following the Holocaust

Women's autobiographical narratives about existence in Nazi Germany and its territories barely existed before the mid-1980s. Early Holocaust scholarship written during the post-war years when the "world still shuddered from the impact of 'The Final Solution,'" consisted of works about "systematic annihilation and Jewish leadership under Nazi rule," relying on German documentation which did not take oral history into account, even though in the 1940s some "survivor interviews were already available" (Baumel, "You"). Historian, Emmanuel Ringelblum, founder of the *Oneg Shabbat* Archive in the Warsaw Ghetto, assigned journalist and translator, Cecelia Slepak, to interview a cross spectrum of women in the Ghetto—among them, were cleaning women,

professionals and performers.[22] However, his work was never finished and his archives, discovered in ruins during the 1950s, were never published, remaining in the "Jewish Archives in Warsaw and later in the Yad Vashem Archives in Jerusalem" (Jacob Sloan, qtd. in Baumel, "You"). Additionally, few women's diaries and autobiographies existed in the late 1940s and 1950s, and at that time there was little scholarship dealing with how women perceived the Holocaust (Saidel). In a footnote to her article "Women's Experiences During the Holocaust," Rochelle Saidel gave only six examples of women's autobiography and memoir published during this era covering their experiences during the Holocaust.[23] Existing academic studies of the Holocaust written by women barely existed. Some names stand out like Nora Levin, who published *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry* in 1968, a general history of the Holocaust, and Lucy Dawidowicz, a historian, who wrote *The War Against the Jews*, published in 1975, which examined the historical context of the Holocaust by studying the Jewish response to the Nazis' Final Solution while the world remained indifferent. Another work, written about her experiences in Auschwitz during the war, was Anna Pawelcznska's *Values and Violence in Auschwitz: A Sociological Analysis*, published in 1979. She claimed in the

---

[22] Information on Emmanuel Ringelblum found on the Yad Vashem website (Yad Vashem "The Continuation and Renewed Role of the Jewish Wife and Mother" n.p.). www. yadvashem.org /articles/ general/women-warsaw.html. Footnote continues on the bottom of page 98.

Conducted from December 1941 to June 1942, Slepak's incisive research laid open the encroaching realities of the war, life in the Ghetto, and the everyday struggle for survival. Ringelblum, who had personally chronicled events since the invasion of Poland in October 1939, put together a clandestine group from various backgrounds to document the historical life of the Warsaw Ghetto. A voluminous collection of material including such items as underground newspapers, tram tickets, and drawings were included with the records and writings. Known as the *Oneg Shabbat* (Joy of the Sabbath) *Archive*, it was hidden in 1943 before the Warsaw uprising. Only two of the three caches were found, one in 1946, the other in 1950 (The Jewish Women's Archives *Encyclopedia* n.p.). www.jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/ slepak-ceclia.

[23] Berg, Mary. *Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary*, L. B. Fischer, 1945; Hart, Kitty. *I Am Alive*. Abelard-Schumann, 1946; Lengyel, Olga. *Five Chimneys: The Story of Auschwitz*. Ziff-Davis, 1947; Perl, Gisella. *I Was a Doctor at Auschwitz*. International Universities Press, 1948; Frank, Anne. *The Diary of a Young Girl*. Doubleday, 1952; and Weissman-Klein, Gerda. *All But My Life*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1957 (1).

introduction to her book that she needed thirty years' removal from the events in Auschwitz to write this analysis. In my opinion, she was not writing about women's experiences to address gender differences; instead, she wrote about the Auschwitz camp, remaining neutral using the collective noun *prisoners* rather than referring specifically to women. This "general reference" to gender neutral experiences seemed to be the norm in Holocaust writing for both men and women during this time.

These early narratives by women who had survived the Holocaust centered on experiences unique to women's culture at a time when such works did not "conceptualize gender"; these works for the most part emphasized the role of "female self-help and mutual assistance in their author's survival… a key to survival which would later help scholars in analyzing women as historical subjects in wartime" (Baumel, "You").

A Watershed Event

The feminist movement in the 1960s ignited a "rethinking of the traditional separation of gender and family from other social institutions …to [introduce] gender as an analytic category" (Baumel, *Double Jeopardy* ix). Out of this rethinking about women's issues, scholarship slowly emerged as a tool to examine the roles of women in the Holocaust that had been lacking in previous scholarship on the subject. The first national conference on "Women Surviving: The Holocaust" took place at Stern College in New York City in 1983, sponsored by the Institute for Research in History. The conference was headed by Conference Director Joan Ringelheim and Conference Coordinator Esther Katz, with the purpose of examining "the role of women in the ghettos; in resistance groups; in hiding; passing and escaping; and in the concentration

camps of Nazi-occupied Europe" (Katz and Ringelheim 1). "We're trying to open a new dimension, but it is difficult to separate the women's issues out of the Holocaust in general," stated Joan Ringelheim. "There are no statistics on how many women were selected for survival and on how many died" (Brozan).

This animating event brought together diverse groups such as survivors, children of survivors, scholars from various fields of expertise, and interested community members to interactively share with one another how they were impacted by the Holocaust (*Stern Conference Report* 1). For academicians, the conference would cast light on a new area scholarship in Holocaust studies, and for women survivors, it would provide a platform to speak where none had existed previously (1). The conference consisted of blocks of questions that survivor panelists answered, guided by a panel moderator. According to a news article written by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, panel questions centered on the "premise that women had experiences in or responses to the ghettos, concentration camps and resistance groups that were different from those of men" ("Focus on Issues"). In her opening remarks to the conference, Director Joan Ringelheim said something that I think would benefit all docents who teach the Holocaust. She exclaimed, "The Holocaust is a little bit like trying to change the Ten Commandments. It is a term that seems written in stone and which can't be changed" (*Stern Conference Report* 24). She is referring to the idea that "The Holocaust" does not exist as one event, but as many individual experiences for which survivors had no language to describe "what they were going through at the time" (24). I think this is important since it focuses the docent on the individual lives of those women who experienced the Holocaust.

For the docent unfamiliar with the Stern Conference, I will present a few of the notable Holocaust scholar-participants, highlighting some ideas in their presentations. I begin with Dr. Sybil Milton (1941-2000), one of the leading scholars on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, who "explored new dimensions of the Holocaust through her historical consideration of gender issues, non-Jewish children, the fate of Gypsies, postwar trials, and the problem of memorials in Germany and Austria" (Butler). She was also the author of *The Camera as Weapon and Voyeur: Photography of the Holocaust as Historical Evidence, Genocide: Critical Issues of the Holocaust*, "where she fully developed her analysis of the role of photography as historical evidence and the problems that visual images pose for interpretation of the Holocaust" (Butler). Other works include *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials*, and many critical essays that appear in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, such as "Women and the Holocaust: The Case of German and German-Jewish Women."

Milton spoke to the conference about the victimization of German and German-Jewish women who were political activists, Socialists, Communists, and liberal parliamentary deputies who were beaten, intimidated, and in some cases killed (11). This pattern of abuse and intimidation was applied to non-political wives "to gain leverage against absentee male relatives (husbands, fathers, brothers) already in flight or hiding," emphasizing how women at the very beginning of Nazi rule were vulnerable, "since the politically active male members fled first and women's responsibilities to their [children and the home] increased their "vulnerability to reprisals" (12). She presented a lengthy description of Nazi jails that were overcrowded with unsanitary conditions where "capricious violence became typical," adding that these inhuman conditions portended

later conditions in the concentration and transit camps and ghettos of Eastern Europe (14). In addition, Milton related to attendees some incomplete research conclusions on gender-specific distinctions between men and women that were gleaned from medical records from several ghettos, memoirs, and administrative reports (17).

Another participant, Vera Laska, a non-Jewish survivor and an academic was born in Czechoslovakia, where she worked for the underground beginning in 1938 at the age of 15, escorting POWs and Jews across the border. She and her friends "hiked and skied the trails in southern Slovakia, so they knew the area well" (McDonough). Eventually, Vera was caught by the Nazis, "interrogated and put on a train to be brought to the police for 'supervised residency.' When changing trains, her guard allowed her to go to the ladies' room, where she shed her coat, made an apron out of a scarf, grabbed a broom, and exited through a window" (McDonough). Laska remained "on the Nazis' most wanted list until they took her mother to Auschwitz, whereupon Vera surrendered. She arrived at Auschwitz on the day they gassed her mother" (McDonough). Her experience was included in her book titled *Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust* published one month after the Stern Conference by Greenwood Press.

Laska commenced her panel talk on Resistance and Non-compliance, with a description of her work smuggling people from Poland to Slovakia, from Slovakia to Hungary, and from Hungary to Yugoslavia. Her role as a woman made her feel no difference because people needed help, and she was doing the same work as men, sometimes in the company of a man because couples were not stopped by authorities for identification as a single man would be (*Stern Conference Report* 60). Her observation of women was that they could do things men could not because women possessed a "wilder

imagination" which enabled them to sense possible danger and avoid it (60). Dr. Laska made an interesting comment that women formed "certain bonds in prison that were not the same" as those formed from ladies' groups or bridge clubs (62). When women worked together, they were successful in their resistance tactics. She observed that women were very "respected for their mental abilities and for writing propaganda" (68). Laska's work reinforces the conclusion that Bridenthal, Grossman, and Kaplan found about women in the resistance in their text, *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, written a year later after the conference.

The conference report also includes unnamed audience participants who would randomly comment during panel discussions. This section on the Stern Conference ends with a summary of a participant's comment on the Auschwitz concentration camp because it gives insights into what this woman's memory recalled forty years after the event, with emotions that were reawakened at this point in the panel discussion on "Concentration Camps" proceedings:

> You were speaking about being dead. I had that feeling when I first came from the ghetto, and after the cattle train came to the camp. They told us to undress. I was young. There were men standing around. I just couldn't help myself. I wanted to hide myself. What do I hide first? My whole body? You can't hide your body. And then they shaved us and took us to the A-Lager which meant quarantine, so to speak. And we were naked—no hair. In the meantime, they were burning our families in the crematorium. By the time we'd gotten into the camp, it was at night and all the lights were on and I thought I was dead and in hell. That was the only explanation for the experience and for the sight. Can you imagine men

> watching you to get undressed and trying to push? Everyone was trying the same thing, to get back, but you can't go further back than the barracks walls. I thought I was dead and I'm in hell, only in hell they burn. This is how I associated the situation. (171-72)

For this woman, being able to share this information with a sympathetic group of scholars and other survivors became a cathartic moment of reflection. The conference provided women like her a platform and an audience so that she could talk openly and honestly about horrific memories, without judgment.

There are four main questions raised by participants in question and answer sessions after the conference presentations that came up repeatedly. First, were women more or less vulnerable during Nazi rule? Second, what survival strategies did women utilize? Third, what was the nature of women's resistance? Fourth, what were relationships between and among women like? questions became the subject of scholarly research by women after the conference. A sampling of these works follow in the next section.

Women's Holocaust Studies After the Stern Conference

After the Stern Conference, several books appeared in the 1980s to augment the scholarship to advance women's issues in Holocaust studies. The book, *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, appeared in 1984, edited by Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossman, and Marion Kaplan, consisted of a collection of essays written by feminist scholars and historians who were activists from the student movement and the New Left of the late 1960s. The thesis of this book argued that Nazism

did not arrive in Germany with threats of war and gas chambers, but came slowly, using propaganda techniques such as love for country, promises of employment, and restoration family values. The writers question how Germany, one of the great democracies of Europe, could fail so badly that it would allow someone like Hitler to ascend to the chancellorship so rapidly and how concentration camps such as Auschwitz could exist in a civilized society. These questions were important for the writers for both political and personal reasons. Their essays show the burden of women in tension with public and private life in demanding protection, independence, and freedom based on their distinct feminine characteristics.

An additional book published in 1986, *Gender and Destiny* by feminist author and scholar, Marlene Heinemann, examined comparisons between non-fictional narratives by men and women, some containing a mix of fiction and nonfiction that explored critical approaches common to the women's perspective of gender in literature. The texts she chose for analysis were written after the end of the Holocaust; however, their publication dates span twenty-three years, which would allow for some differences in perspective and descriptive details. Her book centered on four basic areas of study: themes of women's experiences in Nazi camps, characterization differences in the texts, "comparisons of male and female" inmate relationships, and consideration of "credibility and authenticity" in comparison with the differences in men's prose depicting the Holocaust (Heinemann 8). Though constructed with a good deal of literary analysis, her book made a significant contribution to women's feminist Holocaust studies, challenging the idea that experiences of men and women were the same.

The research on women in the Holocaust during the decade of the 1990s generated a flurry of texts on numerous issues important to women that had been either neglected in previous scholarship or grew out of participation and criticism at the Stern Conference. Research came about that dealt not only with the public aspects of women's Holocaust experiences but also with their personal and emotional experiences. These studies featured survivor accounts, finally allowing women to "speak for themselves" through their own histories, many of which addressed political, cultural, and religious life of European Jews or traditional roles of women's sacrifices for their families and communities, largely missing from the Stern Conference proceedings (Baumel, "You").

In 1993, Deborah Dwork, an American historian and Holocaust scholar, published *Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe* that explores experiences of children and young women under Nazi rule. The book examines the lives of these children beginning before the war and following them through the deportations, finally ending in Auschwitz. A central story chronicles the young lives of four-year old twins, Evichka and Hanka, who were cared for by a sixteen-year old girl and her sister who became surrogate mothers. This book was one of the first books to address one of the most vulnerable groups in the Holocaust—the children. Dwork's scholarly research with survivors who were children at the time of the Holocaust is explored not only in interviews but also through primary documents such as diaries, photographs, letters and family albums. She reconstructs and analyzes varieties of experiences children endured, such as antisemitism, hiding, and those who faked documents, claiming they were gentiles. Because most of the people who helped these children were women, this text contributes to an under-standing

of another dimension of resistance, as gentile neighbors and others reached out to help Jewish victims.

Also, in 1993 *Different Voices: Women of the Holocaust*, written by Carol Rittner and John Roth, provided an anthology that included a collection of eyewitness testimonies, scholarly interpretations, histories, maps, literary pieces, philosophical and religious writings. The content of these collections focused on insights and implications of women's experiences during the Holocaust, divided into three sections: Auschwitz, voices of interpretation, and voices of experience and interpretation. In addition, the authors provided bibliographies in each section of the book for readers to explore independently. Rittner and Roth argue the thesis that gender-based studies of Holocaust memoirs and narratives do not limit Holocaust studies to a gender-based point of view but adds contributions to the collective understanding of the Holocaust experiences of both men and women.

Mary Felstiner received her B.A. degree at Harvard, her M.A. at Columbia and her Ph.D. at Stanford. She taught history at San Francisco State University until her retirement in 2006. In 1995, her examination of the diary of a young painter, Charlotte Salomon, led to the publication of *To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era*, which was an example of painted autobiography and oral history becoming a way to document women's experience. Felstiner's subject, Charlotte Salomon, escaped from Nazism living as a refugee in Villefranche located on the French Riviera. After having experienced Nazi oppression, she soon discovered that eight members of her family had committed suicide, which eventually led her to think about her own suicide but dismissed the act as insanity. Felstiner focuses attention on the insights of the artist Charlotte

Salomon and how, during the time of Nazi oppression of Jewish people, the young had to grow up fast. The story of Charlotte's life shows the intensity with which she lived her life one year before her death, drawing events of her life through art, thus making this book a valuable resource not only for Holocaust scholars but for artists, psychologists, and the interested reader (Sassen 1)

Judith Tydor Baumel is an American-Israeli historian with a specialty in modern Jewish history and the Holocaust. Her book, *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust*, published in 1998, contains a historical overview of women's works centered on gender and the Holocaust. Its thesis argues that the experiences of Jewish women have been narrowly framed by male historians who have ignored a thorough analysis of women's roles in the Holocaust, choosing instead to idealize male behaviors. Divided into seven sections, each one focusing on varying perspectives of gender and identity, the collection addresses women's roles during the war such as leadership, martyrdom, and social interaction and communication. Several essays explore the heroic stance of women taken to protect and provide for their families; other essays examine women's experiences during the post war era. In these various sections, Baumel emphasizes the "double jeopardy" of Jewish women, meaning their persecution as Jews and also as women. The last section of Baumel's text uses *The Diary of Anne* Frank as a gender study for teachers of the Holocaust. Her academic analysis of gender and family studies of the Holocaust, including an entire overview of women's Holocaust literature from the beginning through the time of the book's publication, make this book an excellent resource for the docent-educator who wants a general understanding of the contributions of women to this area of Holocaust studies.

The year 1998 witnessed the publication of another significant anthology on women's studies edited by Dalia Ofer and Lenore Weitzman and titled *Women and the Holocaust*, which argues that asking questions about gender, reading narratives of women, and probing the differences in how men and women experienced the Holocaust will greatly enhance and expand knowledge about the event. The collection includes oral narratives by survivors that highlight the differences in gender roles of Jewish men and women. Additional assorted essays in this collection are written by historians, sociologists, theologians, and literary critics who address women's lives before and during the war in both the camps and the ghettos. A few essays address women who were active in the resistance. For the purpose of advancing women's roles in the Holocaust, the authors argue the thesis that as Jews in Europe faced Nazi persecution, Jewish women were met with unique gender-based problems that make them especially vulnerable to Nazi oppression and cruelty. The book analyzes the complexities and varieties of gender differences in the Holocaust by citing examples of women's adaptations of traditional women's role to protect self and family during the reign of Nazi persecution and oppression.

Marion Kaplan, Skirball Professor of Modern Jewish History, New York University and the Sara and Asa Shapiro Scholar in Residence at the USC Shoah Foundation, developed her interests in women's studies while a graduate student at Columbia University. Her study of the Jewish middle class in *Between Dignity and Despair* (1998) claims that Nazi persecution and victims' survival strategies were gender-based. The book concludes that women took the early warning signs of trouble more seriously than men. She aligns her belief with that of Vera Laska in claiming that women

adapted to their situation and assumed traditional male roles as heads of households when forced to, after husbands, fathers, and brothers were arrested and removed from their homes. Kaplan strongly advocates in her thesis for the integration of gender analysis into the mainstream of Holocaust history, emphasizing race, class, geography, and age analysis wherever these ideas intersect with gender in people's experiences in the Holocaust. This book, despite other similar books in this decade, fulfills an important function because it presents a view of Holocaust history from an angle that had been previously overlooked. The perspectives of women who actually experienced Nazi victimization are poignantly portrayed through their feelings of abandonment, efforts to emigrate, daily hardships, and brutal assaults that Marion Kaplan captures through a different interpretive context using the viewpoint of women.

The 2000s continued to add to the canon of women's Holocaust studies, exploring and investigating issues related to the psychological, sociological, and physiological nature of women's experiences in connection to family life, fear, protection, and personal responses. The new millennium has added nuances to previous academic study by analyzing women's experiences compared to those of men. *Resilience and Courage* by Holocaust survivor Nechama Tec, published in 2003, examines women's gender issues as she investigates how both women and men coped with the hardships of survival during the Holocaust. As a survivor herself and a sociologist, Tec possessed the necessary analytical skills of a trained sociologist along with her own experiences of survival that enabled her to write a comparative analysis of both men and women in the camps, ghettos, forests, and resistance. By applying her expertise in sociology to learn social status and other factors about Nazi victims, Nechama Tec determined differences in

men's and women's experiences as means of survival. Her conclusion is that although the Nazis pursued Jewish men and women with equal ferocity, women had the extra burden of motherhood, pregnancy, the tearing apart of their families, and the threat of sexual violence, while the men tended to be more concerned with financial stability, business affairs and physical assault.

A book dedicated to the late Sybil Milton (1941-2000), *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust* by Elizabeth R. Baer and Myrna Goldenberg, also published in 2003, grew out of the 1997 Annual Holocaust Scholars' Conference. Baer and Goldenberg's text is a welcomed text, beginning with its excellent introductory history of gendered approaches to the study of women in the Holocaust contained in a multi-discipline anthology—religion, comparative literature and history being among its plethora of disciplines. Throughout its theoretical framework—in experience and expression—is the multivalent notion of memory. This work advances the knowledge about women as well as provides areas of interests to future scholars who wish to study women in the Holocaust, such as rescue and resistance, the treatment of the Roma and Sinti, women workers, women in medicine, and the portrayal of women in art, music, film, and literature. Because of the variety of works in several disciplines offered in the collection, this book would serve as an excellent text in a course on women in the Holocaust.

Myrna Goldenberg and Amy H. Shapiro's *Different Horrors, Same Hell*, published in 2013, compiles essays that show the depth and breadth that feminist studies have contributed to Holocaust studies through thorough analysis of survivor narratives, interviews, and criticism that brings significance to women's roles and family structures

before and after the Holocaust. The anthology represents a wide cross-section of noted Holocaust scholars writing across diverse disciplines and drawing on varied methods of gender analysis of the Holocaust to find ways in which the some of the limitations of sociological research about women in the Holocaust could be overcome. Interviews with survivors and their descendants revealed that much could be learned from studies of women, gender, and sexuality to explain the Holocaust more fully and honestly.

Dr. Beverly Chalmers' *Birth, Sex and Abuse: Women's Voices Under Nazi Rule*, published in 2015, concludes twelve years of studying women's history, Holocaust studies, social science, and medicine to understand sexuality and reproduction during the Nazi era. This book uses historical records and eyewitness survivor narratives that reveals the hardships, cruelty, and torture perpetrated against innocent children and women of the Holocaust. For the designated victims of Nazi policy, no nationality was immune to the dehumanization, sexual violence, torture, abuse, and murder of Jewish and non-Jewish women under Nazis rule. Since the author has medical and sociological experience, her focus expands the knowledge base about Nazi abuses of childbearing women, children, and medical experimentation. The bibliography and explanatory notes make this work a valuable educational source for those studying Jewish women and their plight during the Nazi years.

Another current book of interest is *Women in the Holocaust: A Feminist History*, written by Zoë Waxman and published in 2017. This text examines traditional feminist theories used to understand women of the Holocaust before, during, and after the war. For Waxman, the feminist lens illumines her views about the social and cultural importance of gender in understanding Holocaust history. All Jewish men and women

were targeted for death under The Final Solution decree, but pregnant women and those with children were immediately gassed upon arrival at the camps. The gender characteristics of women were exploited by Nazis for the purposes of humiliation and dehumanization, which contributed to a greater chance that women would not survive. This book challenges the assumptions of those who claim that gender distracts from understanding a racially motivated genocide. Waxman advocates for gender consideration is studies of history, including the Holocaust.

Women's Experiences in the Holocaust: In Their Own Words, written by Agnes Grunwald-Spier and published in 2018, uncovers the problems women had when men were taken away from them, leaving them to fend for themselves in protecting and providing for their families, often having to assume different roles. From the early work of women scholars to the most recent, women's lives are no longer absent from Holocaust history. This text expands and clarifies why the difficulties of women were different from men. Though women have always had to protect their children and care for their families, this text shows how women used Jewish traditions to assume leadership positions and formed social and political groups in many of the occupied countries of Europe, where previous to the Holocaust, women had been excluded from these roles in Jewish life. Written from a survivor's perspective, this author presents women's experiences as profiles in endurance and courage.

Docents' Takeaways from Studies on Women in the Holocaust

Through all of the intellectual, historical, and scientific information that can be gleaned from scholarship on the Holocaust, what underlies it all is emotion and

personhood—and this understanding is an essential concept for those who teach the Holocaust in museums. Of course, a successful docent wants visitors to understand the historical facts of the Holocaust, but just as important, the docent wants the visitors to know how to "feel" about the historical facts. Emotion is central to this aspect of Holocaust teaching. Integrating survivor narratives into the general Holocaust tour can be an effective way for docents to bring about emotional responses in visitors to help them "feel" what they are learning about the history.

Holocaust educator Rachel N. Baum conceived the term "pedagogical emotion" as a tool to help college students understand the Holocaust. She, like many docent educators, was bothered by her students' silence in response to Holocaust content. She observes, "Sometimes my students seemed stilled by the material—not hostile, not bored, not apathetic—just silent" (Baum 2). She wanted to understand "this emotional silence—to understand this kind of silence as an emotion—more deeply" concluding her students did know "what to do with their emotions" (2). I, too, have observed this reaction among visitors at the museum, who are so overwhelmed with emotions on a tour that they are stunned into silence. For Baum, "pedagogical emotion" described the "cognitive forces of emotions, through which we make judgments about ourselves, others, and the culture around us," affirming that emotion is "distinct from thought, but is essential to the ways we make sense of our world" (2).

People learning about and experiencing historical events through the voices of people who actually lived through those events can help visitors empathize, emotionally and intellectually, with Holocaust survivor narratives to gain a better understanding of themselves and the event. Dr. Simon Sibelman, former executive director of the Virginia

Holocaust Museum, during a lecture to Holocaust educators at the museum, argued that understanding is the single most important endeavor of those who study history. To that end, he further stated that witnessing historical events through the eyes of those who experienced them suggests that Holocaust learning should be shaped by materials such as biographies and testimonies and expert witness statements. These memoirs and narratives provide opportunities to develop a situational emotion, empathy, as part of the human experience, for without some form of empathy, we could not connect to the lives of others. Holocaust education "relies fundamentally on empathy—on the viewer /reader /learner's vicariously seeing through the victim's eyes" (5). Jeshajahu Weinberg, writing as director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, argues that the museum "does not have to indoctrinate moral conclusions" because they are "inherent in the historical story which the museum relates to solicit an emotional response to Holocaust history" for open-minded and receptive visitors "to ponder how they would have acted had they found themselves in the position" of survivors telling their stories (qtd. in Baum).

As discussed earlier in this project, some visitors come to the museum and face a difficult history that confuses them, so they do not know how to empathize with the narratives many survivors tell. Some visitors want clear moral stories where none exist. Others are overwhelmed by the historical facts, asking how humanity could do such things? Still others who understand the facts want to know what they are supposed to do? In their turmoil, they are using empathy as a means of trying to make sense of the past relevant and useful to the present and future. When docents teach them that ordinary people did horrible things to others, we help them see that they too could possibly do

such things. This situation might account for the silence docents hear on some tours. My advice is to use this silence to re-introduce the lessons to be learned from the Holocaust to safeguard freedoms and prevent the disintegration of democratic values.

Lore Shelley: Her Life and Her Work

My interest in and dedication to Lore Shelley and her life has spanned many years, since I began my studies in Drew University's Arts and Letters Program. My first introduction to her was referenced in Chapter 1 of this project. My purpose in the last part of this chapter is to present Lore Shelley as a Holocaust survivor of Auschwitz who compiled source material for four collections of narrative studies about women who were fellow prisoners and co-workers at the Auschwitz camp. The source material found in Shelley's work can provide the docent with many samples of narrative fragments that can be used to supplement a Holocaust tour with women's survivor narratives. I will begin with biographical information that relates events in Shelley's life to the Nazi control of Germany leading to her arrest. Then, I proceed to Shelley's life at Auschwitz, followed by a discussion of her work recording women's narratives.

Shelley was born in Lüebbecke, in the province of Westphalia, Germany, on February 19, 1924. Her paternal great-grandfather, Moses Bendix Weinberg, moved from Werther to Lübbecke in 1842 and founded the M. B. Weinberg Company, which remained in her family until Kristallnacht in November of 1938 (Shelley, *Secretaries* 92).[24] On May 12, 1887, Shelley's grandmother, Therese Windmüller of Beckum,

---

[24] Kristallnacht (Night of the Shattered Glass), was a pogrom in Germany and incorporated countries against the Jews and their property on November 9-10, 1938, instituted on the pretext of the assassination of German official, Ernst vom Rath, by a young Pole, Herchel Grynzspan.

married Bendix Moses Weinberg of Lübbecke, the son of Moses Bendix Weinberg. They inherited the Weinberg dry goods store. Sadly, in 1907, her grandfather died, leaving her grandmother with four small children, of whom the youngest was her father, a nine-year old boy (Shelley, Family history 174). When he reached eighteen years of age, her father volunteered for service in WWI in 1916. In early November of 1918, he was seriously wounded, which enabled him to receive from the German government a single grant of money (Shelley, *Secretaries* 93).

On February 19, 1924, Lore Shelley was born. Later in the same year, her twenty-six-year-old father was killed in a motorcycle accident, when Shelley was barely six months old. Her mother assumed the responsibilities of the business and "devoted less and less time to the piano which she had loved since her conservatory days" (Shelley, Family history 174). As a child, Shelley had few children to play with "since the segregation and persecution started very early in her hometown, and there were no Jewish children [her] age in the community" (Shelley, *Secretaries* 93).

Her daughter, Gabriela, sent me an email about these early years in Shelley's life in which she describes information that she obtained from a diary of Lore Shelley's Aunt Grete, who had two sons, Herbert and Walter, born in 1924 (the same year as Shelley) and 1926 respectively. Gabriela states: "It's remarkable how attuned Grete was to her children and how observant she was…and the extent of devotion to and love for her sons" (personal communication 4 Apr. 2017). Her cousins, Herbert and Walter, were Shelley's playmates and best friends, especially in the beginning of 1931, when friends began to shun the six-year-old Lore, according to Gabriela. The antisemitic sentiment in Werther was not as severe as in Lübbecke, so Shelley enjoyed visiting her cousins and

even some non-Jewish children, which would not have been the case in her hometown (Shelley, Family history 7). According to Shelley, "the whole atmosphere was relaxed. My aunt Grete and uncle Alfred (my mother's brother) still associated with non-Jews. They were optimistic about the future and believed that the current situation would not last and that soon the Nazis would be out of power" (7). Growing up as a tomboy, Shelley recalled an amusing story about an experience at a county fair. She describes riding a merry-go-round with suspended chain-seats that would spin at "dizzying speeds in the air without any restraints," making her wish to become a circus horseback rider (Shelley, *Secretaries* 93). Owing to her vivid imagination and isolation in childhood, she spent much of her time reading, exploring wooded areas, hunting for strawberries and blueberries, and bicycling on the weekends with her wirehaired terrier to see relatives in Werther. Lore's creativity, independence, and courage at this time were seeds in her youth that would blossom later in life (93).

Life changed for Shelley in 1938, before the German deportations when she had to quit school and attend Jewish schools in southern Germany and later in Berlin. This was an important formative moment for her because it was a signal of not being able to do what she wanted to do: the forced circumstances placed on Jewish people after Kristallnacht (*Secretaries* 94). By the end of 1941, all Jewish families in Lübbecke had left, either emigrating or moving to larger cities. After her school closed in May of that year, Shelley worked for two years in a camp called Kersdorf, where she labored in forestry, agriculture, and factory work. Shelley was subsequently sent to Auschwitz on April 20, 1943 (95). A separate section will be devoted to Shelley's life at the Auschwitz camp.

After liberation, the Russians sent Shelley to an American field hospital in Germany, where she received a diagnosis of pulmonary tuberculosis. She was moved several times to different recovery centers, finally ending up in Grottaferrata located near Rome. Here in the rehabilitation facility, fate would turn Shelley's life in a more positive direction; she met Sucher Shelley (Isy), a slight man with an infectious smile who was able to chat with great ease to any stranger he met (Katz 18). He was the youngest of six siblings from a devout Polish-Jewish family. Like Lore Shelley, he was liberated from a concentration camp, Ebensee, too ill and emaciated to stand; both Lore and Sucher were the sole members of their families to emerge from the Holocaust alive (Katz 18). The couple married in August of 1951.

While living in Grottaferrata, Sucher Shelley had taken an ORT course (an organization to develop vocational training for Jews) in watch making and repair, which enabled him to procure a job in New York City's diamond district as a watchmaker (Shelley, *Secretaries* 102). He moved to San Francisco in 1957 to start a watch import business, the West Coast Swiss Watch Company (102).

Pursuing her academic studies, Lore Shelley received a scholarship to study psychology at the graduate level with the faculty of the New School for Social Research[25] (Shelley, *Secretaries* 102). She completed her MA degree in 1958 and moved to San Francisco to help Sucher build their business, living in an area above their store without

[25] The New School was founded in 1919 by the likes of John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen, among other intellectuals and progressive educators. In 1933, as a response to the Nazi effort to rid German universities of Jews and political opponents, The University of Exile was set up to afford teaching opportunities and support for more than 180 individuals and their families. It was incorporated into The New School in 1934 which later became The New School for Social Research. www://www.newschool.edu/nssr/history/

heat or hot water until they could afford their first house in 1960. The couple gave birth to their first child, a daughter, Gabriela in 1965, on Lore Shelley's 41st birthday (102).

Lore Shelley received her MSW from San Francisco State University in 1978. She continued her studies, obtaining her PhD in Human and Organizational Development from the Fielding Institute, a private university in Santa Barbara, California, in 1983. Her dissertation title was *Holocaust Survivors' Attitudes toward Contemporary Beliefs about Themselves.* Her work with survivors extended throughout her life as she would minister to the needs of Holocaust survivors, especially in Israel (Shelley, *Secretaries* 102-03).

Lore's husband Sucher Shelley died in 2009. Two years later on February 21, 2011, Lore Shelley died in New York City and was buried on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. The legacy of her scholarly work and her devotion to helping and healing others is a testament to her strong will and courage.

To better understand the context of the narratives of fellow prisoners that Lore Shelley writes about, it is necessary to give some background information on the Auschwitz camp and its Political Department, where Shelley served as a secretary beginning in April 1943, until the evacuation of Auschwitz in January of 1945.

In May of 1940, about thirty German criminal prisoners from Sachsenhausen, the official concentration camp of Berlin opened on July 12, 1936 (USHMM, "Holocaust Encyclopedia"), were assigned serial numbers, making them the first prisoners of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp (Gutman and Berenbaum 10). Their arrival coincided with a visit from chief organizer Rudolph Höss and five of his advisors from the Reich Central Security Office (RSHA) charged with the responsibility of setting up the camp that Höss would head as commandant ([Walter] Lanquer, qtd. in Czech xx). The land on

which this camp was built had been a Polish military base consisting of sixteen one-story buildings which the German army maintained but had since transferred to the SS (Gutman and Berenbaum 10). This undertaking did not go well. The camp was plagued with problems, such as the inability to obtain sufficient barbed wire to enclose the facility. So, Höss managed to find old, "second-hand barbed wire" in an abandoned prisoner of war camp and ordered the thirty German prisoners to construct a "new steel gate" modelled after the gate at Dachau, the first concentration camp built in 1933, with the famed words above the gate "*Arbeit macht frei*—Work will set you free" (Dwork and Van Pelt 169). On June 14, 1940, Polish prisoners, numbering 728, arrived from the town of Turnow to become the first inmates of the camp (Gutman and Berenbaum 10).

The exact number of those killed at Auschwitz is not known, but estimates range from one to four million; when transports of the sick, elderly, weak, children, and many women arrived, approximately 90% of those individuals or more were sent to the gas chambers (61-62). The higher figure of four million was an early estimate based on a Polish commission investigating deaths at Auschwitz. The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum reassessed the four million figure in 1990, concluding that at least 1.1 million people were killed (Gutman and Berenbaum 62). This number of 1.1 million people killed at Auschwitz is what USHMM lists on its website. Hundreds of thousands of others died from the illnesses contracted from the unsanitary conditions of the camp, grotesque medical experimentation, and unclean water (Gutman and Berenbaum 25-27).

The Nazis tried to destroy information about what took place in the camps; however, much information about mass murder operations and types of prisoners in the camps survives in written and oral testimony of victims and German personnel during the

Nuremberg trials, especially from memoirs and testimony from Rudolf Höss. who described in detail the blueprint and operations of Auschwitz; from Dr. Johann Paul Kremer, SS doctor who kept a diary describing selections; from SS Pery Broad of the Political Department whose sworn affidavit details mass murders; from Danuta Czech who provides a detailed chronology of the camp's day-to-day operations; and from the Sonderkommando[26] whose recollections were buried near the crematoria in hopes of discovery after their death or who were lucky enough to have survived to testify at the Auschwitz trials (29). A camp the size of Auschwitz was a highly operational center with varied offices and departments that kept day to day operations functioning. This was done in a "neutral and aseptic" use of language to reduce the most horrible examples of torture and murder to euphemisms (Czech xxi). For example, the following euphemisms were used to describe the "murder" of Jews: "cleansing," "elimination," "evacuation," "treated appropriately," and "resettlement."

The Political Department called Section II was controlled by the political police (Gestapo) and by the criminal police (the Kripo) that maintained six departments: Registry/Documents, Civil Registry, Interrogation, Legal, Reception, and Photography (Shelley, *Secretaries* 3). The Political Department IIb, "entrusted with wide powers, including the power to arrest any member of the camp staff," monitored the behavior of camp personnel and "processed transports of victims consigned for immediate extermination" (Gutman and Berenbaum 275). The SS men who worked in the crematoria reported directly to their superiors, the *Standesamt*, Recorder's Office or Civil Registry (590).

---

[26] Sonderkommando prisoners collected the belongings and disposed of the bodies of other prisoners who had died or been killed.

The Political Department of Auschwitz, under its chief Maximilian Grabner, was one of the most feared places in the camp. The Political Department was located in the southern corner of the prisoner compound known as Block 11, which housed two floors of large communal cells where as many as a "hundred people were crowded together" (Dwork and Van Pelt 174). Block 11, the punishment section for prisoners, was used as a "holding area" for anyone in the camp reported to the Gestapo for suspicious behavior by "inmate informants" to the SS (Gutman and Berenbaum 378). There existed in this section a group of mostly Jewish women who were secretaries who completed the paperwork required for the department. They were chosen for this coveted job based on language skills and their ability to pass a typing test. Some women were transferred into the department because they had worked for SS men in other departments. As secretaries, they would perform a variety of clerical tasks such as typing, notetaking, translating, and transcribing for SS men in the department. This is the department where Lore Shelley was assigned to work as a secretary from about June 1943 to the evacuation of the camp in January 1945 (Shelley, *Secretaries* 95).

These women who worked in the Political Department were "privy to large amounts of information about the camps and its genocidal activities" because they would "transcribe and translate" documents for the Gestapo and Kripo (Wittmann Part I 2). Like Lore Shelley, most of them spoke German as well as other languages. They were called the "Himmelfahrts Kommando, German inmate slang for a '[Kommando] on the way to heaven' because of what they knew" (Wittmann Part I 3). According to Holocaust scholar, Rebecca Wittmann, questions existed as to why they were allowed to live to the

end and then march out, rather than shot.[27] She speculates that it may have been the decision of Wilhelm Boger, who had an affinity for them.[28] These women's memories of the Political Department were vital for prosecutors in the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial held in Germany beginning on December 20, 1963, and ending on August 19, 1965 (USHMM, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*). Much of the operations of the Political Department were not known until the activity of this department was revealed in testimony, much of it from the secretaries who worked there. Lore Shelley covered part of this trial for the *San Francisco Examiner* and the *Jewish Bulletin* from February 20, 1964, to March 6, 1964. Not only did she report to her paper the events of the trial, but she also rendered comfort to fellow secretaries, one of whom, Maryla Rosenthal, was distraught over the experience of testifying (Shelley, *Post-Auschwitz Fragments* 46). The testimonies of the secretaries give accurate accounts that enabled the court to convict a few defendants, like Wilhelm Boger, because their testimonies aligned with other evidence found in documents and sources presented as evidence.

The introduction to the Political Department establishes the context to integrate Lore Shelley's contribution into women's studies of the Holocaust. Shelley's book *Secretaries of Death* is a collection of narratives by thirty-one women out of the approximately sixty women who worked with Shelley in the Political Department at Auschwitz (Shelley, *Secretaries* xvi). The narratives are from ordinary women with ordinary lives who were swept up in the life of Auschwitz and through these stories bear

---

[27] Holocaust scholar and professor, Rebecca Wittmann participated with other scholars in a collaborative workshop sponsored by the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at USHMM in 1999. Other scholar participants were from the Auschwitz-Birkenau, Madjanek, and Theresienstadt museums, the sites of former Nazi concentration camps.

[28] Wilhelm Boger who inspired fear in those around him for his cruel treatment of prisoners served as an SS sergeant in the Political Department.

witness to the horror of Section II, the Political Department. This department had six divisions. Section IIb was called the Civil Registry, where secretaries had to record the death certificates of those who died of natural causes, gas, or murder.

Several narratives give a glimpse of pre-war and post-Auschwitz life of those who survived, providing socio-cultural insight into the past and their social and psychological adjustments. Shelley states that twenty-three of the narratives were penned by the survivors themselves, two were compiled from information given to Shelley, one was an updated published article, another was transcribed from a tape, and yet another one created from newspaper clippings. Additional narratives from a few non-Jewish Polish male prisoners round out the collection (Shelley, *Secretaries* xvii). A few sample narratives follow from women who not only contributed to Shelley's book but also gave testimony at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial.

Maryla Rosenthal, secretary to Wilhelm Boger, interpreted interrogations of Polish prisoners and typed protocols of the proceedings. "The first thing he told me was, 'Everything you see and hear here you have neither seen nor heard—otherwise you pay with your life!'" (Shelley, *Secretaries* 148). Since Boger was the chief of the Political Department, she witnessed his interrogations that at times necessitated the use of the "Boger-swing," a torture device where prisoners were tied and beaten until they were ready to confess (149).[29] After one or two hours of this punishment, she said that the

[29] At the Auschwitz trial of Wilhelm Boger, Maryla Rosenthal was called as a reluctant-witness. According to Holocaust scholar Rebecca Wittmann, Rosenthal was struck with fear to the point where the court and others, including Shelley, were concerned about her health. She eventually testified but said Boger was kind and treated her well. This agitated prosecutors because they needed evidence of this man's cruelty, which she confirmed, reluctantly. The prosecutors thought her testimony unstable, but in the end, it proved to help convict Boger because they used her fear and nervous behaviors in court as evidence against the accused. Wittmann thought this fear represented the deep scars that many women still carried long after the war. The fact that Rosenthal did testify several times was an act of women's courage as a form of resistance (Part III—page 2).

prisoners "could neither stand or walk and that their faces were unrecognizable" (149). This next thought, in my opinion, says one thing but means another, if Rebecca Wittmann's theory is accurate. Her kind words about a man so cruel is unusual:

> Boger behaved very humanely toward me. He gave me his canteen filled with food from the SS kitchen, which was prohibited, ostensibly for cleaning purposes. Together with two friends, we locked ourselves in the restroom and shared the food. During the cold winter months, Boger provided shoes and warm clothing for me. Once he told me, "I have nothing against Jews. I only hate these damned Pollacken," an offensive slang for a person born of Polish descent. And, again, it was Boger who actually saved my life. Our Kapo denounced me because of careless dusting and I was destined to be sent to the punishment kommando, which would have meant certain death in less than four days. Boger transferred me to the Gypsy camp in Birkenau, where I continued to work as his secretary. (149)

After Auschwitz was evacuated, Rosenthal was put into the Death March and was sent to Ravensbrück where she was liberated in May of 1945.

Another secretary, Dounia Wasserstrom, interpreted for the Political Department also. She worked primarily for Hans Andreas Draser, an SS sergeant, in the welfare and legal division of the Political Department. Known as an interpreter in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and French, Wasserstrom described in vivid detail her fear of marching to the Political Department each morning accompanied by guard dogs that "never left [her]," not knowing whether she would make it back to the barracks at night. She also lived in fear interpreting words from prisoners which she could not divulge on penalty of death, a

fate that her SS bosses constantly voiced (Shelley, *Secretaries* 270). Occasionally, she would work for Wilhelm Boger, and as a result, appeared as a witness against him in the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial; her composed testimony revealed that she had witnessed prisoner punishments conducted by Boger many times, claiming that most of them "died as a result of the abuse" (Wittmann Part III 2).

The court found her testimony vague at her pre-trial testimony concerning Boger's use of force because they could tell that "she was controlling her emotions." However, the prosecution decided to call Wasserstrom as a witness, which ultimately proved a good move, owing to a sensational testimony about a little boy that Boger "splattered against a wall" to a stunned, silent courtroom (Wittmann Part III 2). The newspapers went wild with the story. Shelley claims her testimony was so impressive that part of it was used by Peter Weiss, a German playwright, in his play *The Investigation*, depicting the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial (Shelley, *Secretaries* 268). The defense attorneys objected to this "added" remembrance not heard in the pre-trial hearings. Wasserstrom, in a calm and controlled manner, refuted the objections, stating that this was a private matter since she no longer wanted to have children and that she was embarrassed "to look at children without crying," so remained silent. Her story had to be verified by nearly all other women in the Political Division who had correspondence with Wasserstrom post-Auschwitz (Wittmann Part III 3). Judge Hofmeyer, in an interrogation, asked fellow prisoner of the Political Department, Raya Kagan, if she could verify the truth of Wasserstrom's story since the court sensed it was not getting the whole truth. Kagan supported Wasserstrom's story as one that had been told to her in Paris in 1947 (Wittmann Part III 3). This situation was problematic for the court because these were

sensitive matters of testimony by traumatized witnesses to these experiences they had survived with Bolger.

At night, [Wasserstrom] screams and cries from nightmare dreams about the "interminable roll calls at dawn in ice and snow, not being able to move or speak," or take a shower without "praying that water comes out, not gas," "smelling the odor of burnt flesh" (Shelley, *Secretaries* 270). Wasserstrom did manage to escape during the evacuation death marches and was liberated by the Russian army. She returned to Paris, her home, remarried and emigrated with her husband to Mexico (268).

The final narrative from Shelley's co-workers' testimonies is that of Raya Kagan. Within two days of her arrival after the Gestapo's arrest in 1942, Kagan's language abilities in Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, and French landed her a job in the Political Department at Auschwitz, where she witnessed the brutality of the beatings and the executions of political prisoners (Shelley, *Secretaries* 265). Her testimony told with "meticulous, well-detailed accounts of life of women in the Political Department" was invaluable not only to the court trial but also in stating that a mission in "surviving was a driving purpose to bear witness to the crimes of the SS guards" (Wittmann Part III 4). The prosecution wanted to know what she could give the court concerning the work of Wilhelm Boger because she remembered "many specific descriptions of his actions" (4). She narrates a memory of actually seeing the "Boger-swing" for the first time because few had the opportunity:

> He ordered him [Boger] to bring a "swing" in. I decided that I had to see for myself if this story was correct. . . In the morning I asked Leo to send me into the blockhouse. Screams and cries of pain filled the air. . . I felt ashamed that I had

> come to see their (inmates') torture and I hurried into the blockhouse. Screams and cries of pain filled the air. . . I stood as though nailed down, my legs as heavy as lead, my heart as though it had been hollowed out. Suddenly, the door to my left opened, and I thought quickly enough to move back, just as a body came flying out of the room and then lay motionless on the ground. Before the door closed again, I threw a glance into the room. A low trestle stood there, with an iron rod on its back; there was a person tied to the rod by his hands and feet, and his head was hanging over. (Rosenthal, qtd. in Wittmann Part III 5)

Kagan, like other witnesses, never entered the room that Boger used for interrogations, so she could not truthfully say "whether anyone died on the swing" (5).

In the research on women in the Holocaust, many scholars state that women survived because they formed lasting bonds with one another. Lore Shelley says, "It was Raya who often kept our spirits up in Auschwitz when everything seemed hopeless" (*Secretaries* 265). The other twenty-eight secretaries who appeared as witnesses sent transcripts to Shelley, or gave permission to use information from other printed sources, When they were needed for the group or to comfort individuals, they were present.

One of the Holocaust's most respected scholars, Yehuda Bauer, professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, wrote the Preface for *Auschwitz: The Nazi Civilization* in which he exclaims that Lore Shelley presents the Holocaust experience "from an angle that is different, and in a real sense, new." He further states that the accounts recorded in this book "are not haphazardly collected…but deal with a number of issues, and are checked for accuracy, as far as possible, against the known development of the camps that together makeup the Auschwitz complex" (Bauer vii). What Bauer recognizes as

value in Shelley's book is the unique contribution she makes to the "female experience in the camps," as she enlightens for the reader the "general issues that were common to all inmates." He closes the Preface with a tribute to the writer: "Lore Shelley has made another important contribution to our knowledge of that darkest period, so far, in human history" (vii).

Shelley's *Auschwitz: The Nazi Civilization* is a collection of twenty-four personal, eyewitness accounts from women who worked in various administrative offices and labor details, SS-enterprises, and workshops catering to the comfort of the SS personnel. This text also contains accounts from perpetrators but told through the eyes of the inmates. These stories give insights into living conditions, survival strategies, and tribulations and obstacles inmates confronted each day to stay alive. Shelley limits her focus to the women's work-details of twenty-four women who relate their narratives which "are often of an extremely personal nature and contain many varied recollections, insights and reactions" (ix).

At the request of some of Lore Shelley's friends who knew about the success of her *Secretaries of Death* and wanted their work-detail experiences recorded just as she had done for her co-workers in the Political Department, Shelley began work on *Auschwitz: Nazi Civilization*. As Shelley explains in her Introduction, contacting over one hundred and fifty women and travelling to many countries gathering information from survivors, the task of compiling this book was not an easy one. Some survivors were reluctant or unwilling to talk about their experiences; other survivors could not be found or had died before she commenced her research (ix). In her preliminary work, she gathered fifty-seven stories, of which twenty-four were chosen for this book. This

daunting task of collecting narratives was carefully and respectfully conducted with her intent of maintaining survivors' original voice, style, and vocabulary without imposing any subjective judgments or interpretation on her behalf. Since this book is also a part of her memoirs, she describes her process:

> [A] few attempted to tell about, or sometimes only enumerate, as many of those that perished as they could remember, to tear them out of the anonymity of the Six Million, to give them a face, a voice and a name and to enact a sort of roll of the dead; some concentrated on recounting simple survival, some on helping others, sabotage, resistance or solidarity among inmates; some recalled the terrible letdown of the liberation period after the initial euphoria had subsided when most of the outside world proved to be unable and unwilling to emotionally assist the survivors, so marked by their experience that total integration into everyday life was a semblance; others wrote about the post-Holocaust era, the psycho-social adjustment problems and the difficulty in coming to terms with a world that had not changed in the direction many of us in camp had idealistically hoped it would. (x)

I hear in those words Shelley's compassion and desire to lift these survivors up so their voices could be heard—the voices of women who had not heretofore had that opportunity, which most likely prompted their request of Shelley to write their stories as she had done for "the secretaries." Also, her nature was such that she chose to study the field of social work and psychology, which became her career path post-Auschwitz.

I now provide a sample of a narrative from *Auschwitz: Nazi Civilization*. I have chosen this sample to give the prospective docent an idea of what to expect in this text

and how it differs from *Secretaries of Death.* I omitted narratives from the administrative offices since these have been introduced elsewhere. This story begins in the Agricultural Division at Auschwitz which resulted "from the evacuation of the existing population and the confiscation of their farms and agricultural land," with the addition of houses and some abandoned livestock and farm equipment left after the evacuation (43).

The representative woman prisoner, Edita Maliàrova, from Prague describes her experience when she was transported to Auschwitz on March 31 or April 1, 1942. The next day she was assigned to a gardening detail supervised by a German prisoner kapo with a green triangle (this meant one who had committed petty crimes) who took a work squad to perform spring work in the gardens of the SS who had requisitioned houses of former Polish owners (Shelley, *Auschwitz* 63). She writes that she had been ordered to sit in a meadow near railroad tracks when a transport of human cargo arrived and overheard a conversation of her kapo with another female prisoner (63). Edita fell sick and spent about a week in sick bay. Upon her release, her garden detail position had been filled by another person, so she was transferred to a work detail of the agricultural enterprise division doing exhausting field work. In June of 1942, when her work detail had finished and she returned from the field, they were stopped at a gate and made to stand barefooted on the graveled square in front of the commandant Rudolph Höss' house for a roll call, only to discover later that it involved the death of Reinhard Heydrich. Heydrich, Reich Protector of Bohemia-Moravia and head of the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA), died on June 4th of wounds from an assassination attempt by Czech patriots several days earlier. Only women prisoners from Czechoslovakia were punished in this roll call that lasted over two hours (63). Another incident Edita describes concerns the German

physician, Prof. Carl Clauberg, who personally conducted sterilization experiments on Jewish inmate women, and an SS official she calls Caesar, no first name given. She writes:

> After being used, these female guinea pigs were sent to Birkenau to their deaths. Caesar not only exploited male and female prisoners as laborers who had to work like slaves until complete exhausted, but he knew and concurred that after their last bit of strength had been sapped or after they were not needed anymore, or during the winter months when less manpower was required…they were liquidated…through gas, injections, transfer to Birkenau with its frightful conditions of hunger, cold, and rampant infectious diseases. (67)

This narrative, like all narratives of the Holocaust, reveals and verifies, to an extent, history and human attempts to understand and explain to others their experiences. From just this brief narrative about one woman, the reader learns about work details in Auschwitz, the killing of Reinhard Heydrich, the name of the commandant of Auschwitz, and the medical experiments of sterilization performed on women inmates. These examples represent the usefulness of narratives as docents can weave them into their tours to supplement the teaching of Holocaust history.

The last Lore Shelley book on Auschwitz describes an incident at the Munitions Factory at Auschwitz and complements the narrative described in the previous paragraph because the setting is not an administrative office. The full title of this book is *The Union Kommando in Auschwitz: The Auschwitz Munition Factory Through the Eyes of Its former Slave Laborers*. Subsequent references to this title will be condensed to *The Union Kommando*. Because of the mention of the Munition Factory in the title, I will

discuss the revolt of workers in the Crematoria. Jewish resistance in Auschwitz has been chronicled by many survivors. In this book, Shelley gathers testimony of resistance, an abstract but heroic event that becomes real (Laub, qtd. in Shelley, *Union Kommando* xii).

The Sonderkommando, a special prisoner work detail forced to work in the gas chambers and crematoria, led an uprising in the Munition Factory on October 7, 1944, when the inmates discovered that the SS was to liquidate most of the work detail squad (USHMM, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*). Therefore, the kommando units of Crematorium IV decided to revolt, setting fire to the crematorium and attacking the SS guard. Seeing the smoke and flames, members of Crematorium II saw it as time for action and killed several SS men and the Kapo. Approximately, two hundred and fifty prisoners were killed and another two hundred later executed. When the SS investigated the revolt, they traced gun powder from the "Union" factory, arresting four inmates: Ella Gärtner, Ester Wagcblum, Regina Satfirsztain, and Rósa Robota. These four women were arrested and tortured because they refused to name women who had smuggled gunpowder to men who worked in the Crematoria. On January 6, 1945, they were hanged before all of the women who worked in the munitions' factory (USHMM, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*). This summary provides the background for the narrative information that follows.

Eugenie Langer highlights specific remembrances working at the Union factory that yield insight leading to the Auschwitz revolt. A fellow inmate, Regina Sapirstein, tells the "girls" of the detail squad that she had contact with men of the resistance movement, warning, "Girls, we have to organize gunpowder for a planned uprising" (Shelley, *Union Kommando* 130). Only Regina Sapirstein, Ester Wajcblum, Rose Gruenapfel, and Eugenie Langer had agreed to participate in the smuggling, but kept it

secret because this was wise in a place like Auschwitz. They would put "a tiny quantity of powder into a piece of paper and put it into our pockets" (130). If there were guards present they received a warning, so they "took the powder out of their pockets and threw it away" (130). However, if there were no guards present, they "transported the powder to Birkenau and handed it over either to Esther or Regina" (130). Langer had no knowledge of what was done with the powder.

This practice lasted for approximately two or three months, from July 1944 to September 1944 (Shelley, *Union Kommando* 130). The plot was investigated, leading to the arrest of Regina and Esther. Eugenie recalled, "To this day I do not know why Esther was taken and neither Rose nor myself. Regina was our leader and she was responsible for the entire powder room. But why Esther?" (130). The two women arrested were "interrogated by the Political Section and placed in a bunker for several days, returning in "a horrible condition." After another few days, they were taken away again. Langer continues,

> One day…we returned earlier from work. En route we encountered the night shift and they asked us, "Do you know where you are going?" They would not reveal more—and we did not understand them and did not know that two of the women involved in the smuggling had already been hanged. She fainted. Upon recovery and her return to work, Lottie, a German asocial prisoner with a black triangle[30] said directly, "Where were you yesterday? Don't worry, your verdict will also arrive in a few days." (131)

[30] The black triangle refers to the triangle patch prisoners had to wear on their jackets in the concentration camp that indicated to the SS the nature of their crimes. "Black" meant the inmate was imprisoned for being mentally ill or mentally disabled, alcohol or drug addict, or "asocials" including Roma, nonconformists, vagrants, and other groups (USHMM, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*).

Eugenie replies, "I will never forget those words." Nothing, however, happened because less than two weeks later, Auschwitz was evacuated.

This narrative incident is part of Auschwitz history recited through the words of a survivor. Words were important to Eugenie—she never forgot them. This represents the power that can be found in the eyewitness Holocaust narratives that Lore Shelley has shown here in recording the danger and secrecy of Jewish resistance in Auschwitz. All of the books written by Shelley introduced in this project are presentations of sources of witnesses, told by those who lived it. The final words of this chapter will be those of Lore Shelley:

> The accounts offer different points of view and perspectives which frequently pertain to the same occurrence—almost in Rashomon fashion.[31] At the same time, they complement, corroborate, and resemble each other closely, describing identical atrocities and identical horrors. They lend credence to some scholars' belief that "eventually a consensus version of Holocaust history may emerge from these personal accounts" (Hartman).[32] Hopefully, they forever disprove some academic historians' narrow view that survivor memories can never serve as primary material for history. (Shelley, *The Nazi Civilization* x)

[31]The "Rashomon Effect" derives from Akira Kurosawa's 1950 thriller, *Rashomon*, wherein four people give contradictory descriptions of the same event.

[32] Geoffrey Hartman, an author, teacher, scholar and literary critic, also co-founded The Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University. www://fortunoff.library.yal.edu/

Chapter 6

THE VIRGINIA HOLOCAUST MUSEUM

In 1997, the first Virginia Holocaust Museum opened in the former education building of Temple Beth El, a conservative Jewish congregation in Richmond, Virginia. The relocated present museum building opened to the public in 2002, in a newly renovated, abandoned American Tobacco Company Warehouse that was purchased for one dollar from the Commonwealth of Virginia as a lease on the facility. The museum was founded by Richmond businessmen Jay M. Ipsen, Mark Fetter, and Al Rosenbaum.

The Virginia Holocaust Museum's current location proudly stands inside one of Richmond's oldest neighborhoods, the Churchill community. The facade of the building rests alongside the winding Kanawha Canal, surveyed, planned, and constructed by George Washington in 1785. The Edgar Allan Poe Museum is located one block north and one block west of the Virginia Holocaust Museum. St. John's Church where Patrick Henry gave his "Give me liberty or give me death!" speech sits on top of Churchill, one of seven major hills upon which the city of Richmond rests. This historic church is just a few blocks away from the museum.

This museum mediates Holocaust history through the eyes of Virginia survivors, most of whom are no longer with us. We honor them by four cornerstones of our mission statement: To remember them, the victims and heroes who lived through or perished during the Holocaust; To combat intolerance, antisemitism, prejudice, and hate; To provide educational materials in Holocaust education; To increase awareness and understanding of the Holocaust within the general community.

The purpose of this chapter is to weave a tour of the Virginia Holocaust Museum into guidelines for prospective docents seeking a primer to follow as they adapt what is presented here into their planning and development of their own tours. The first section will introduce general guidelines for conducting successful tours and touch upon some suggested ways to troubleshoot possible problems. The latter section of the chapter will describe a tour through the museum for the purpose of showing prospective docents a planned tour of a Holocaust museum.

Every docent wants a successful tour. Here are some foundation guidelines for docents to consider when conducting tours, as presented to me in training at the Virginia Holocaust Museum. Some of the suggestions below are the result of collaborative work by museum staff who first assembled a basic docent guide titled *Virginia Holocaust Museum: A Docent Resource Guide*. The contributing members are Femke Bünsow, Michelle Dove, Molly Maffei, Anne Ragan, Matt Simpson, and Elliot Wrenn.

In addition, I have delineated in these guidelines information based on my reading for this project and my experience as a docent.

Visitor Guidelines

1. Visitors expect a wonderful experience. Treat them in a friendly, respectful manner. Be aware of their needs for physical comfort—clear orientation, adequate space, location of the rest rooms, exits, water fountains and benches on which to sit. Are there any special needs of individuals or the group? Try during the introduction to the tour to assess their knowledge level and adapt

tours to the level of your audience—this is often the case if you have special needs groups, young children, or students.

2. Psychological comfort is important to visitors, especially if they are not accustomed to visiting in a museum. Make them feel welcome by smiling and maintaining eye contact. Explain movement from one area to another before you begin to travel to a new area. If you talk while you walk, people may not be able to hear you or keep up with your pace. This will make them uncomfortable.
3. Most visitors to museums come to learn something new. Be open to a dialogue exchange with visitors; show respect for their ideas; correct factual errors to avoid distortions; in open-ended questions with inappropriate responses, don't correct. For example, if you, as a docent, ask a school group, "What does the word 'Holocaust' mean?" and a member of the group replies, "Death!", respond by affirming that people died in Holocausts, but you are looking for another word that might have an association with the crematoria. Here, you have encouraged the student and have gotten him or her to actively participate. Then, you have the option to give the answer (destruction by fire) or explore other answer possibilities with different students. Be supportive. Use positive comments like "yes," then build on their response and work accurate information into the context of the tour. Ask open-ended questions where visitor opinions are neither right nor wrong. Give positive reinforcement, coaching them to critically think. This can be done by giving visitors "wait time" to think of a response to a question.

4. To encourage interactive dialogue, don't be afraid to give up some of your authority. If visitors are interacting with one another, they are enjoying the tour. If visitors have expertise in an area you are discussing, let them participate by sharing their knowledge with the group.
5. Holocaust history involves some lecture; however, a successful docent breaks up the "talking points" with questioning, asking visitors to move closer to an exhibit and share what they are thinking. For example, in our "Concentration Camp Exhibit" area we have prisoners in traditional camp clothing uniforms resting or sleeping on four tiers of a bunker in the prisoner barracks. I ask groups to examine the uniforms, the prisoners, and their environment. I allow a few moments for thinking; usually people start giving responses immediately. They most always observe the triangle patches on the uniforms, the bowls under some of the prisoners' heads, and other prisoners sleeping on their stomachs. This is active involvement where the docent can "teach" about these observations by explaining each one. The process of inquiry solicits active involvement.

Know Your Audience

Public and private school groups comprise the largest number of groups touring the museum. The groups are usually large, often dividing into groups of twenty to twenty-five, requiring docents to begin at odd places in the Holocaust story. A beginning docent will usually be given the chronological tour beginning with events leading up to 1933 and following. Other starting points may require docents to begin in the middle.

This takes experience and practice before you, as the docent, will feel comfortable. The following strategies and techniques represent best practice in communicating the Holocaust to students.

Middle School

- These students enjoy fun, laughter, and independence. Socializing is of great importance to them, and they love questions. Use this energy to your advantage by allowing them one minute to explore an exhibit room before you begin to talk. Then, have them sit on the floor as you begin.
- Middle school students want to know what they are supposed to learn on the tour and what should be accomplished; they want a meaningful experience.
- Set rules for the tour and for discussion before the tour begins.
- A prepared tour with a focus on discovery and inquiry is essential for a meaningful tour.

High School

- Teenagers can be a terrific museum audience—if you are prepared to accept them as equal partners in your tour and discussions.
- Approach them as adults and treat them with respect—and accept that they may act like children at any given moment. Teenagers can sound rude, expressing themselves in their own language, and yet they are eager to connect and embrace new ideas and experiences.

- Body language of the docent should show acceptance and tolerance. For excessive talking and unruly behavior of students, let the teachers and chaperones handle the situation. If you begin to feel stress, stop talking and smile. Teenagers don't like this silence. A few times waiting for their attention, in a friendly way, will soon teach them to give you the respect you have given them.
- Give teenagers the opportunity to discuss their interests, knowledge and understanding of the subject matter. Shift focus back and forth between your goals for the tour and their insights and ideas by developing creative questioning. Value their opinions. Let them know you are learning from each other. Their suggestion might give you additional ideas for your tour.
- Focus on questions that require decision making and explore the reasoning behind the decisions. Choose specific questions that are of interest to teenagers. Try asking questions that evoke feelings.
- Don't talk down to young people; don't be condescending; don't act intimidating. A good combination of humor and laughter; clear, sophisticated language; and a relaxed, friendly attitude will narrow the gap between you and your young audience and assure a rewarding experience.

Questioning Techniques for Middle and High School Students

Why ask questions?

- It keeps students interested and motivated in the tour.
- It enables students to become invested in their own learning.

- It engages students in intellectual conversations among their classmates and adult learners.

The museum promotes critical thinking over rote learning. In the process of education, students need to know facts, but they need to know for what purpose they have acquired them. It is necessary to teach accurate, factual, knowledge about the Holocaust to prevent distortions. However, facts must be interpreted in a context in order to have meaning. Ask them to think about how to use Holocaust information.

- When a correct answer is given, acknowledge this. ("Great!" "Fabulous! "You've got it!")
- When you receive partial answers, say "We're getting there! Who else can help us out?" (Give more hints).
- Some open-ended questions do not get a quick response because students believe you are looking for the one correct answer. Say "There is no 'one-correct-answer' here. Give me your thoughts."
- When a student responds to a question incorrectly, let him or her know the answer is wrong, but do it in such a way as to minimize his embarrassment and encourage further questions by him and others.
    a. "Not exactly. Think again about…" (and offer a hint).
    b. "Good thinking, but we need more on-target information. Can anyone else help us?"

Special Tour Adaptations

Senior Citizens

These groups can be some of the most delightful tours you will have. They express an interest in the subject matter and will ask interesting and probing questions. The docent should assess the group as they arrive to observe the physical mobility of its members.

- Some senior citizens fatigue quickly and will need to sit in designated areas with benches. You may have to alter tour plans when several visitors leave the group because of fatigue; you may perhaps speed up the tour by cutting certain exhibits.
- This group pace is a bit slower than regular tour groups; allow time for all of them to reach the exhibit area before you commence the tour.
- Senior citizens frequently talk to each other while the docent is speaking. Remember they are museum guests; accept this behavior as part of the senior experience. Often, they are clarifying what you have said or explaining your message to those who have difficulty hearing.
- Speak clearly and project with appropriate emphasis to assist those who are hard of hearing.
- Seniors usually have varying emotions about Holocaust content. Some may misinterpret information on the tour making statements that do not adhere to the museum message of tolerance, particularly in relation to religious and social issues discussed in the “difficult topics and encounters” section in Chapter 3. Follow museum protocol by showing your tolerance and

acceptance of different opinions as a model for the group. Remain neutral and avoid showing preference for a particular belief.

Military and Police

For locations that have military installations nearby, docents may adapt tours accordingly by emphasizing facts related to law and order, justice, duty, etc. for this group. Also, many state and local police departments send their academy members to the Holocaust museum as part of their training. These groups tend to be respectful, quiet, and expressionless. I once asked a captain in the Richmond Police Department why his men were so quiet and expressionless. His reply was that the behavior was part of their training; they were on the job drawing a salary; they are also being observed in their adherence to department protocol as part of their qualification score. This explanation helped me to understand their reaction.

- Service members are given information about the Nazi build-up of the armed forces, especially the German Navy, the German Army, and the German Air Force. These visitors have read previous to the tour an outline of notes to be discussed in a classroom session after the tour. You may need to do some special research if you do not have a general knowledge about these topics.
- Recruits and police officers are given information about the use of the police under the command of SS General Reinhard Heydrich, creator of the *Einsatzgruppen* and SS Reichsfuhrer Heinrich Himmler, who tied the German police forces to the SS which allowed for immense power and authority.

- In my tours with these groups, I mention briefly the ethics and morality issues the Holocaust raises through open-ended questions designed to prompt critical thinking. Time is limited on the floor; however, these groups often go to the museum lecture and classroom area where they receive more detailed information about the use of the military and police from the museum historian Dr. Charles Sydnor or archivist Tim Hensley.

The Tour of the Virginia Holocaust Museum with Commentary

You pass through the main entrance of an old warehouse with closed green shutters and doors that have been renovated to make the building appear as if it were a concentration camp. A replica of a German transport cattle car rests silent and empty, except for the glow of memorial candles in honor of the six million dead. The entrance is situated on the west corner of Cary Street, where you walk up a few steps to a long, grated walkway to the main entrance, reminiscent of gates at the entrance to Auschwitz. Turning to the left, you see scenes of deportations as you pass by cobblestones from the Treblinka death camp to the mock shattered-glass doors within a covered alcove leading to the entrance desk enclosed in a large square area by four giant, dark-stained oak beams supporting the upper structures. Beyond the desk, you glance at the gift shop, but the voices of greeters interrupt to welcome you to the museum and suggest you begin your tour by viewing a ten minute video on a brief overview of the Holocaust explaining Hitler and the Nazi Party's rise to power and its implementation of the Final Solution. Next, you are directed to begin your tour at the Train Station where you are greeted by your docent.

The following tour will not be a literal, word-for-word tour of the museum. Instead, this tour is the working script that I use for the organization and implementation of my tours at the museum. This guide will serve as a model for your planning purposes.

Fig. 1. The Railway Car at the Virginia Holocaust Museum. Used with permission.

For reference purposes, the location of museum exhibits is noted on a floor plan found in Appendix C.

The Railway Station

This is the location where all tours begin unless large groups are present, necessitating certain groups begin in various locations. The items of discussion are the

essential teaching points for docents as required by the museum education department headed by Megan Ferenczy and assisted by Guest Services Director Matt Simpson. The docent has some flexibility to expand or shorten these required topics if a situation warrants it. Brief discussions follow describing each exhibit area, with bulleted talking points for visitors as indicated.

Introduction

The tour begins with the docent introducing himself or herself to visitors. Usually all visitors have been greeted by the tour supervisor who has explained where restroom facilities and water fountains are located, exits, coat room, etc. After viewing an introductory film, the docent begins the tour with the following essential information. The docent decides the order in which he or she wishes to introduce essential teaching ideas. The docent may include additional information if time and interest allow.

a. the definition of the Holocaust: Use the USHMM definition

b. tour goals and objectives/open with connections to Jim Crow laws

c. train station symbolism of tracks that direct visitors to the exhibit areas; the network of tracks here symbolizes the European railroad network that enabled an event like the Holocaust to take place—transporting millions of people in the deportations/torn up roots/loss of a homeland

d. antisemitism: definition and how it fueled Nazi hatred of the Jews.

e. end of WWI/treaty of Versailles/anger over reparations/rise of Nazi Party

f. propaganda: have visitors examine the three posters at the front of the museum.

g. anti-Jewish legislation: merchants/freedom

Dachau

Before entering the Dachau site, docents may wish to direct visitor attention to the German phrase over the gate: Jedem das Seine, which means "To each what he deserves." The Nazis used language for propaganda purposes. Dachau, the first concentration camp, opened in March of 1933, three months after Hitler was installed as Chancellor of Germany. The purpose of the camp was to house activists opposing Hitler and the Nazis and their policies. Inmates were dehumanized by shaving their heads bald; wearing prison uniforms that did not fit; having no names, only numbers; and wearing a triangular patch that indicated their "crime." Life was brutal in this camp. Starvation and forced labor eliminated many inmates, whose families were told lies about the manner of their loved one's death, such as "heart attack" instead of "starvation." Inmates worked long days performing difficult tasks with little food for nourishment. Disease and filth were rampant—as were body lice, which spread typhus in this unsanitary camp.

The following points are essential.

a. emergence of the concentration camps

b. dehumanization—how this leads to the Final Solution, starvation diets, excessive labor, medical experiments, and T4 Euthanasia/health conditions

c. first prisoners (political, taking out opposition, Jehovah Witnesses)

d. labeling of different groups, triangle patches, Kapos, punishment for infractions

e. docent begins laying the foundations of tolerance, prejudice, acceptance, etc.

Hyde Farmlands

Dr. Curt Bondy establishes opportunities for Jews not able to immigrate out of Germany and for those forced out of employment because of anti-Jewish Nazi policies. Prior to Kristallnacht, Dr. Bondy arranged for Jews between fifteen and twenty-five years of age to acquire "hands-on" agricultural experience at a farm in Gross-Breesen, Germany. Out of 200 students, 150 did emigrate from Germany. The Thalhimer family of Virginia granted thirty-six of these students a position to work at Hyde Farmlands in Burkeville, Virginia. This farm gave the young people in Bondy's program a place to go when emigration quotas were established. These students were given work visas to bypass U.S. immigration policies.

a. upstanders: be an upstander, NOT a bystander

b. Virginia connections to the Holocaust/survivors/Thalhimer family

c. Dr. Curt Bondy/Gross-Breesen

d. hidden, little-known stories/Jews who settled in Virginia/Rescue

e. Jewish resistance

Kristallnacht

A flashpoint for WWII; A Polish-German Jewish teenager living in Paris upset over the deportation and treatment of his parents goes into to a rage, stating that he was going to kill the German Ambassador to France. When he could not locate the ambassador, he sees a man in uniform in a different office and assassinates him. The individual was Ernst vom Rath, Third Secretary to the Third Reich. This event leads to an attack on Jewish communities in Germany and Austria on November 9 and 10, 1938. The

members of the SA (Brownshirts) and other Nazis pillaged Jewish residences, setting many on fire, while German firefighters used their hoses to save only buildings associated with non-Jews. Jewish cemeteries were desecrated. Jewish men, women, and children were attacked on the streets or taken from their homes, beaten, and some killed. Nazi propaganda described Kristallnacht as the German people's spontaneous reaction to the assassination of vom Rath. In reality, this event had been planned by leadership well in advance of the assassination. The violence resulted in the destruction of thousands of businesses and synagogues and the deaths of approximately ninety-one Jews. Many more were seriously injured, and 30,000 Jewish men were sent to concentration camps.

a. Jews as scapegoats/anti-Jewish policies

b. increasing civilian and police violence against Jews, state-supported pogroms

c. collaborators/indifference/silence/contribute to violence against Jews

d. Alexander Labenstein narrative (VHM docent whose name is used in connection with the teacher education sessions in the summer) / his life story, any other narratives as time and interest allows

e. immigration becomes more difficult after the event / the deportations

f. Herchel Grynszpan's act of murder

g. reparations from Jewish community for damage and destruction on this night

h. antisemitism/isolationism outside of Europe

St. Louis

Departed Hamburg Dock for Cuba in May 1939 with 937 passengers on board. Cuba refused admission to all but twenty-eight passengers. The ship sailed to Florida.

The ship's captain, Gustav Schroeder, and a passenger committee requested help from the United States, but none was given. The ship turned back toward Europe. Belgium, England, France, and the Netherlands agreed to take passengers, but within months Nazi-ruled Germany would eventually conquer much of western Europe. The only passengers to survive were those who went to England; the remaining two-thirds became victims of the Holocaust.

a. difficulty leaving Germany/it was home/chance to escape as form of resistance

b. U.S. response/World's apathy/Roosevelt/propaganda

c. What happened to the people on board after the ship returned to Europe?

d. indifference to plight of the Jews

e. war begins in September 1939; pact with Stalin; break with Stalin; invasion of Lithuania in June 1941.

Kovno Ghetto

Conditions similar to concentration camp/Dr. Elkhanan Elkes was head of the Judenrat, a Jewish council elected by the Jewish community, not the Germans. Rabbi Avraham Tory collected items that express Jewish culture and hides them in large trunks to preserve them for future societies. Starvation, sickness, and hard labor made life in the ghetto difficult. Jay Ipson, one of Richmond's youngest survivors, was a six-year-old child in the Kovno Ghetto. Sanitation was poor, and lice were abundant. Kovno was the location of the Nieh Shul (New Synagogue), of which a copy can be seen in the auditorium.

a. Ipson Family Saga/job skills/selections/escape/hiding

b. emergence of and life in the ghettos/Rabbi Avraham Tory/buried five crates with diaries and records of the Kovno Ghetto

c. involvement of local populations in killing in occupied territories

d. Judenrat council/Dr. Elkhanan Elkes maintained civic structure by whatever means possible/saved lives

e. diversity of ghettos/resistance/hiding places for valuables

f. civilian mistreatment of Jews/garage massacre/collaboration of ordinary citizens

Democratic Square

The Kovno Ghetto Democratic Square was a dangerous place for Jewish men. Sergeant Helmut Rauca's selections liquidated the ghetto by sending Jewish men who did not possess work skills that the Nazis needed to their deaths. At one selection in October 1941, he sent approximately 9,200 Jewish men to their deaths at the Ninth Fort, the execution location of those selected for death (USHMM, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*). They were taken to mass graves, stripped of clothing, shot to death, and placed in shallow graves.

a. ghetto clearing/Kovno becomes a concentration camp/liquidation—*Great Aktion*/Rauca/the intelligentsia killed

b. mass shootings and how ordinary people could participate in such things

c. Edna and Jay Ipson not in second roundup

d. Israel Ipson avoids death in selection/lies to save his life/says he is a mechanic

e. Kovno narratives/Kovno hospital fire/The Little Lion

f. Mech, teenage friend of the Ipsons, killed for trying to escape the Ghetto

Paskovskis' Farm

Polish-Catholic family of mother, father, and son. They agreed to house three Jewish runaways—the Israel Ipson family—by letting them dig a living area between two potato holes. There they stayed for approximately ten weeks until they were rescued by the Russians. Jay Ipson, six years old, was one of the three Jewish runaways. He is one of the founders of the Virginia Holocaust Museum.

a. experience of hiding—Ipsons in the potato hole for only 10 weeks

b. righteous individuals/upstanders

c. Yad Vashem/Hall of the Righteous/notables on wall

d. Ipson family (museum connections)

e. Non-Jews as rescuers/Marchuk and other farmers risked lives to save Jews

Partisans

The Partisans launched surprise attacks on the Nazis and their collaborators by exploding train tracks and German convoys, preventing necessary materials and goods from getting to the German army. They lived in the forests of Europe as resistance fighters. They were always at risk of being caught. Other forms of warfare included forging documents, distribution of anti-Nazi literature, and aiding Jewish escapees.

a. active resistance (Why didn't Jews fight back? They did!)

b. what partisans did and their effectiveness/varying forms of resistance

c. "Holocaust by Bullet"/upstanders vs. bystanders

d. Einsatzgruppen/mobile killing squads

e. rescue/partisan narratives

f. Nazis needed more efficient way to kill large numbers/used gas in Hitler's T4 Program effectively/created the gas chambers in the killing camps

g. Alex Keisch family—survivor narratives/Ruth Marcus

Children's Remembrance/Children's Memorial

Innocent children did not escape the killing intentions of the Nazis. One and a half million children were murdered during the Holocaust. Theresienstadt was the so called "model ghetto," an effort of Nazi deception; the death rate in the ghetto-camp and by deportation was significant. One purpose of the camp was to serve as a transit camp for deportation to the "east," Auschwitz being one stop.

The art work along the wall was drawn by children in the camp, depicting images of sorrow, fear, hope and courage.

a. fate of children in the Holocaust

b. expression of children's experience through art

c. Red Cross visit at Theresienstadt/model camp

d. deportations

Final Solution

The Wannsee Conference in January 1942 clarified and discussed the blueprint for the "Final Solution" which was to be the elimination of all Jews in Europe. The killing in the East was proceeding too slowly, so a more efficient method of mass murder

was needed—gas chambers. Mobile killing squads called Einsatzgruppen would gather Jews of a region and shoot each victim—man, woman, or child.

a. Nazi emphasis on efficiency—industrialized killing/collaboration of German industrialists and businessmen

b. why and how the Final Solution came to be

c. box cars/transports/conditions

d. gassing/showers/dressing room/crematoria process

e. destroying evidence of mass killing

f. Clare Daniels narrative

Liberation

On July 23, 1944, the Russians liberated Majdanek. They also freed other camps in the East, including Auschwitz. They told the Allied forces what existed, but it fell on deaf ears—Eisenhower dismissed their observations as Russian propaganda. It was not until the Allied forces reached Berlin in March of 1945 that they realized what had happened.

a. what liberators saw when they entered the camps

b. Eisenhower, the decision to document Nazi atrocities, and its legacy/his actions/made German people witness what their indifference and silence caused

c. Jewish prisoners have no place to go/homes had been taken

d. how to keep starving/dehydrated people from dying/lack of military training

Displaced Persons Camps

Where would Jews go after the war? Those in hiding or who had been in camps often had no homes to go back to. Other survivors did not want to return to lands that had mistreated them. Many had no family. Those who did go home faced harsh antisemitism in European communities. Some survivors were held in Cyprus well into the early 1950s.

a. conditions in these camps/inferior/overcrowded

b. needed segregated camps for Jewish people who still faced prejudice and violence

c. Jewish people continued to die in displaced persons' camps

d. struggle of Europe's Jews does not end when the war ends

Exodus 1947

Jack Bernstein and Israel November, two Jews living in Richmond, and friends of theirs in Richmond and Baltimore bought the *President Warfield*, a steamship from the Chesapeake Bay and donated it to the Haganah, the precursor to the Israel Defense Force. The ship took 4,500 survivors to Palestine for illegal entrance, but the British turned the ship away—then eventually boarded the ship, killing at least three passengers and injuring more than 150.

a. leaving Europe and difficulty of this even after the war

b. immigration to Palestine/refused admission/survivors held as prisoners

c. British control Palestine/British Navy board the ship/four Jews killed and 150 injured

c. how this particular story influenced support for Israel's creation

Palestine/Israel

Forced emigration and deportation of Europe's Jewish population in the early twentieth century was not the first. In A.D. 70, during Roman rule, Jews were forced from Israel and scattered across the Roman Empire. The homeland from which they had been exiled holds a strong attachment for many Jewish people.

a. debate over creation of a Jewish state

b. how the Holocaust propelled the creation of Israel

c. lasting legacy/terrorism

Nuremberg

First international military tribunal in history/twenty-two war criminals were brought to justice. Verdicts resulted in twelve death sentences, three life imprisonments, four prison sentences, and three acquittals. Many Nazis never stood trial. Fled to America, Argentina, Canada, Great Britain, and other countries.

a. seeking justice after the war

b. first International Military Tribunal in history

c. Robert Jackson/devised four charges for defendants/crime of conspiracy

d. new nature of these trials/following orders as justification of actions

e. American Nuremberg trials/defendants were SS/doctors and nurses/German businessmen and industrialists/American Nuremberg trials

f. legacy of this trial regarding how war criminals are dealt with in the post-WWII world

g. review lessons to be learned from the Holocaust/ask visitors what they will remember/what was the most important part of the tour for visitors

Conclusion

I hope this guide will be useful to the prospective docent as a planning resource on how to design a Holocaust tour that includes essential talking points that align with the discussion in Chapter 2 about rationale, goals, and objectives. The teaching of the Holocaust in a Holocaust museum is a fulfilling experience, largely because of the interactive elements of this type of work and the ability to help others broaden their perspective through interaction with the museum docent.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

At this point near the completion of my project, allow me to recap some main points about what I have done, in order to highlight how this dissertation serves as a guide for prospective docents at Holocaust museums. Having been a student in the Arts and Letters Program for some time, I have come to realize how important the humanities are as subject areas to me personally. Majoring in music education in undergraduate school, I was able to appreciate the beauty of sound and rhythm and what these elements can produce. In my master's program at Virginia Commonwealth University, I learned how literature mirrors life, showing readers truth that masquerades as fiction. In the Arts and Letters Program at Drew University, I synthesized beauty and truth to teach me something new, something I had never pondered deeply. Unexpectedly, I found this "something" through my work on this project about teaching the Holocaust.

Chapter 1 of this project commenced with a narrative of a boy teaching his sisters what he had learned in school on any given day. I said then that I knew I would be a teacher. However, my career as a full-time teacher has come to a close, but not my desire to learn and to share with others. Before my time at Drew, I possessed only a familiarity with the Holocaust. As I leave Drew, I have learned much about how that event has affected and influenced countless people over many years for a variety of reasons. I teach others about the Holocaust at least once or twice a week. I observe how people respond with reverence, fear, sadness, inquiry, disbelief, and more. Why does the Holocaust have such strong and varied effects on them? The answer is probably the same one I would give for myself: The Holocaust can teach us what it means to be human. To understand

tolerance and acceptance of others and to dispel prejudice, hatred, stereotypes, discrimination, and injustice safeguards our humanity, a responsibility that is a profound mission entrusted to Holocaust museum docents.

This project evolved out of my experiences as a docent working in a Holocaust museum. What I have learned from my tour experiences and the research for this project has resulted in a resource guide that I have provided for docents wishing to work in a Holocaust museum. In developing my dissertation, I have shared strategies and methods docents can employ to deliver tours that are built on research-based pedagogies from recognized scholars in museum science and Holocaust instruction. I have revealed tour problems that docents encounter and have offered solutions based on my collaboration with other docents in communities of practice to determine what strategies work best when a tour goes off track. More important, I have given the beginning docent information in Chapters 3 through 6 that has synthesized information and insights for teaching the Holocaust from USHMM, Yad Vashem, and the Facing History and Ourselves organization into central documents for easy and quick reference as beginning docents plan and develop their Holocaust tours.

This project has also provided the beginning docent with current information on women and the Holocaust through a chronological overview of works by women scholars, some of whom are Holocaust survivors, such as Nechama Tec, Agnes Grunwald-Spier, Joan Ringelheim, Danuta Czech, and others writing about women of the Holocaust, beginning in the 1940s to the present. This study is followed by an introduction to Lore Shelley, a Holocaust survivor and author. Establishing background biographical knowledge about her life in Nazi Germany makes the transition into her

experiences at Auschwitz more comprehensible to readers as they read several of her books that are collections of women's narratives from secretaries with whom she worked in the Political Department at Auschwitz and also women laborers who worked in various worksites within the Auschwitz camp. Examples of strategies to explain the use of women's narratives to supplement a Holocaust tour have been explored to show how the lives of ordinary women augment the teaching of the human element within a Holocaust tour.

As a convenience for docents, the addition of an annotated bibliography in Chapter 4 highlights some of the most informative sources I used for the completion of this project. In addition, I have compiled a general bibliography of museum and Holocaust books, articles, and essays in the Appendix, which also includes items of interest related to the content of this project.

Working on this dissertation has taught me several things that I would like to share with the reader. First, this project has made me a better docent in my service to the Virginia Holocaust Museum. When reading studies, theories, and pedagogies, I found myself wanting to experiment with various techniques to determine if I would have similar success. As an example of one such experiment, I practiced the "inquiry" method advocated by Robin Greiner. This model of using questions to involve visitors in active participation proved successful for me, based on my personal observations, visitor comments after tours, and correspondence that appreciative visitors sent to the museum. In addition, written questions, which I use and review as necessary, help me keep the focus on my tour-rationale and objectives in each of the exhibit areas whenever I conduct a tour through the Virginia Holocaust Museum.

Sharing with docents and staff is another practice that works well for successful tours. These communities of practice are enjoyable, especially when the forum meets outside the museum. We do this fairly regularly at the Virginia Holocaust Museum, and it helps strengthen the bonds of comradery and professionalism, allowing docents to share best practices and to troubleshoot problems as a group. Many docents claim this practice has a beneficial effect on their tours.

The docent teaches the Holocaust to museum visitors to help them not only understand a complex history but may also lead better lives by internalizing the lessons that can be learned from the Holocaust. My intent for those reading this dissertation is to foster an interest in joining the staff at a Holocaust museum by serving as a docent in order to educate museum visitors about important lessons concerning acceptance of others, tolerance for ideas and beliefs that differ from their own, eradication of prejudices and stereotypes that hurt or condemn groups of people, and most important, the creation of bridges to communication within local communities that safeguard societies from attitudes and behaviors that may possibly be the beginning step to genocide—what a profound mission for all of us who work as docents in Holocaust museums.

APPENDIX A

Bibliography of Resources for Docents

Primary Sources:

Shelley, Lore, editor. *Auschwitz: The Nazi Civilization*. UP of America, Inc., 1992.

---. *Criminal Experiments on Human Beings in Auschwitz and War Research Laboratories: Twenty Prisoners' Accounts*. Mellen Research UP, 1991.

---. *Post-Auschwitz Fragments*. Morris Publishing, 1997.

---. *Secretaries of Death*. Shengold Publishers, Inc., 1986.

---. *The Union Kommando in Auschwitz: The Auschwitz Munition Factory Through the Eyes of Its Former Slave Laborers*. *Studies in the Shoah*, vol. XIII. UP of America, Inc., 1996.

Secondary Sources:

Allen, L. B., and K. J. Crowley. "Challenging Beliefs, Practices, and Content: How Museum Educators Change. *Science Education*, vol. 98, no. 1, Jan. 2014, pp. 84-105. *Wiley Online Library*, doi:10.1002/sce.21093.

Anderson, Gail, editor. *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift.* Altamira Press, 2004.

Arad, Yitzhak. *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*. Indiana UP, 1998.

Baer, Elizabeth Roberts, and Myrna Goldenbery, editors. *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust*. Wayne State UP, 2003.

Bauer, Yehuda. *History of the Holocaust*. Franklin Watts, 2001.

Baumel, Judith Tydor. *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust.* Vallentine Mitchell Newbury House, 1998.

---. "'You Said the Words You Wanted Me to Hear but I Heard the Words You Couldn't Bring Yourself to Say': Women's First Person Accounts of the Holocaust." *The Oral History Review*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2000, pp. 17-56. https://doi.org/10.1093/ohr/27.1.17.

Castle, Margaret, C. "Blending Pedagogy and Content: A New Curriculum for Museum Teachers." *Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2006, pp. 123-132. https://doi.org/10.1080/10598650.2006.11510539.

---. *Interpreters, Docents, and Educators: Ways of Knowing, Ways of Teaching in a History Museum, an Art Gallery, and a Nature Center*. 2001. U of Toronto, PhD dissertation.

---. "Teaching History in Museums." *Ontario History*, vol. 94, no. 1, 2002, pp. 1-18.

Crowe, David M. *The Holocaust: Roots, History, and Aftermath*. Westview Press, 2008.

Custalow, Elisabeth Anne. *To See, To Feel, To Know: Experiencing the Holocaust Through the Virginia Holocaust Museum*. The Donning Publishing Company, 2005.

Czech, Danuta. *Auschwitz Chronicle.* Henry Holt & Company, 1989.

Dawidowicz, Lucy. "How They Teach the Holocaust." *Commentary*, vol. 90, no. 6, Dec. 1990, p. 25.

Des Pres, Terrence. *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps.* Oxford UP, 1976.

Dwork, Deborah, and Robert Jan Van Pelt. *Auschwitz*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2008.

Elmore, D. L. *Evaluating a Multifaceted Tolerance-training Program: Using the Holocaust to Increase Knowledge, Promote Tolerance, and Prevent Prejudice*. U of Houston, PhD dissertation.

Evans-Palmer, T. "Raising Docent Confidence in Engaging Students on School Tours." *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 38, no. 3, 2013, pp. 364-378.

Falk, John H., and Lynn D. Dierking. *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. Altamira Press, 2000.

---. "Museum Education Research: Future Directions." *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1986), pp. 2-11. *JStor*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40478676.

Franco, Barbara. "The Communication Conundrum: What is the Message? Who Is Listening?" *The Journal of American History*, vol. 81, no. 1, 1994, pp. 151-163. https://doi.org/10.2307/2080997.

Goldstein, Phyllis. *A Convenient Hatred: The History of Antisemitism*. Facing History and Ourselves, 2012.

Greenspan, Henry. *On Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Recounting and Life History*. Praeger Press, 1998.

Grenier, Robin S. "Do As I Say, Not As I Do: A Case Study of Two Museum Docent Training Programs." *Adult Education Research Conference*, 2005, pp. 1-6. http://neprairiepress.org/aerc/2005/papers/35. Accessed 12 Aug. 2017.

---. "Practicing What We Preach." *Journal of Interpretation Research*, 2008, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 7-26. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ehh&AN=34384435&site=eds-live&scope=site.

---. "The Role of Learning in the Development of Expertise in Museum Docents." *Adult Education Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 2, 2009, pp. 142-157. doi:10.1177/0741713608327369.

Grenier, Robin S., and Barry Sheckley. "Out on the Floor: Experiential Learning and the Implications for the Preparation of Docents. *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2008, pp. 79-93. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40479606.

Grinder, Alison L., and E. Sue McCoy. *The Good Guide: A Sourcebook for Interpreters, Docents, and Tour Guides*. Ironwood Publishing, 1985.

Grossmann, Atina. "Women and the Holocaust: Four Recent Titles." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2002, pp. 94-108. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/16.1.94

Grunwald-Spier, Agnes. *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust: In Their Own Words*. Amberley Publishing, 2018.

Hansen-Glucklich, Jennifer. *Holocaust Memory Reframed: Museums and the Challenges of Representation.* Rutgers UP, 2014. *EBSCO*.

Hayes, Peter, editor. *Lessons and Legacies.* Illinois, 1991.

Hein, George E. "The Constructivist Museum." *Journal for Education in Museums*, no. 16, 1995, pp. 1-8. www.gem.org.uk/pubs/news/hein1995.html. Accessed 18 Dec. 2018.

---. “Progressive Education and Museum Education: Anna Billings Gallup and Louise Connolly.” *The Journal of Museum Education*, no. 3, 2006, pp. 161-173. *JStor*, www.jstor.org.ezproxy.drew.edu/stable/40479559.

Heinemann, Marlene E. *Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust.* Greenwood Press, 1986.

Jensen, Nina, and Mary Ellen Munley. “Training for Museum Education Professionals.” *The Journal of Museum Education*, no. 4, 1985, pp. 12-15. *EBSCOhost*.

Johnson, Anna, et al. *The Museum Educator’s Manual*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.

Kaplan, Marion A. *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*. Oxford UP, 1998.

Katz, Ester, and Joan Ringelheim, editors. *Proceedings of the Conference on Women Surviving the Holocaust, March 21-22, 1983*. *Occasional Papers from the Institute for Research in History Conference*. Institute for Research in History, 1983.

Koran, John J., and Mary Lou Koran. “A Proposed Framework for Explaining Museum Education Research.” *The Journal of Museum Education*, no. 1, 1986, pp. 12-16. *EBSCOhost*.

Levi, Primo. *Survival in Auschwitz*. Simon and Schuster, 1958.

Linquist, D. H. “Defining the Shoah: An Opening Lesson for a Holocaust Unit.” *Social Studies*, vol. 104, no. 1, 2013, pp. 32-37. doi:10. 108/00377996.2012.660212.

Lipstadt, Deborah E. "Why Is the *Wall Street Journal* Now Devaluing Women's Holocaust Experiences?" *Lilith*, 30 Sep. 1998. *Ethnic NewsWatch*; *GenderWatch*. Accessed 11 Nov. 2012.

Marsh, Caryl. "How to Encourage Museum Visitors to Ask Questions: An Experimental Investigation," *Informal Learning*, no. 39, Jan. 1999, pp. 1-5. *EBSCOhost*.

Miller, Joy Erlichman. *Love Carried Me Home*. Simcha Publishing, 2000.

Neill, Amanda C. "Providing a Tailored Educational Interaction with Cultural Treasures: A Study of Museum Docents." *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2010, pp. 67-82. doi:10.1177/147797141001600206.

Ofer, Dalia. "Everyday Life Under Nazi Occupation: Methodological Issues." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1995, pp. 42-69.

Ofer, Dalia, and Lenore J. Weitzman, editors. *Women in the Holocaust.* Yale UP, 1998.

Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death*. Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, 2002.

Ringelheim, Joan. "Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research." *Women in the Holocaust*, edited by Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, Yale UP, 1998, pp. 748-761.

Ritner, Carol, and John K. Roth, editors. *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*. Paragon House, 1993.

Rose, Julia. *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Rylko-Bauer, B. "Introduction: Bringing the Past into the Present: Family Narratives of Holocaust, Exile, and Diaspora." *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 78, no. 1, 2005, pp. 7-10.

Schatzker, Chiam. "The Teaching of the Holocaust: Dilemmas and Considerations." *The Annals of the Museum Docents' Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 450, pp. 218-26. *JStor*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1042571.

Screven, C. "Museums and Informal Education." *CMS Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1993, pp. 36-66.

Short, Geoffrey. "The Holocaust Museum as an Educational Resource: A View from New York City." *Journal of Holocaust Education*, vol. 9, no. 1., 2000, pp. 1-18.

Smith, Lyn. *Forgotten Voices of the Holocaust: A New History in the Words of the Men and Women Who Survived.* London: Ebury Press, 2005.

Strom, Margot Stern. *Holocaust and Human Behavior*. Facing History and Ourselves, 1994.

Suedfeld, Peter, et al. "Coping Strategies in the Narratives of Holocaust Survivors." *Anxiety, Stress, & Coping*, vol. 10, 1997, pp. 153-179. *Google Scholar.* Accessed 7 July 2007.

Taylor, Edward W. "Making Meaning of Local Nonformal Education: Practitioner's Perspective." *Adult Education Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 291-307.

Tec, Nechama. *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust*. Yale UP, 2003.

Tinberg, Howard, and Ronald Weisberger. *Teaching, Learning, and the Holocaust*. Indiana UP, 2014.

APPENDIX B

(Reprint of: Katz, Leslie. "Love, Business, and Holocaust Bind Unlikely Couple in S.F." *The Jewish News of Northern California*, 12 Apr. 1996.)

The adulation pours from Sucher Shelley's lips like wine flows from a bottle at Purim.

"She speaks six languages. She has a basement full of books. She's not a minute without a pen. She's a very responsible person."

Shelley is talking about his wife, Lore, a Ph.D. in human and organization development whose latest compilation, "The Union Kommando in Auschwitz," has just been published. A description of the Auschwitz munitions factory through the eyes of its slave laborers, "Union" is one of five books edited by Lore Shelley that delve into the horrors of Auschwitz.

"I am not a scholar by nature," Sucher Shelley says. "She does nothing but study…everything."

Despite an obvious affection nurtured by a common experience as Holocaust survivors and a marriage of some 45 years, Lore and Sucher Shelley seem an unlikely couple.

He was the youngest of six children in a devout family of Gur Chassidim in Poland. To this day he remains deeply observant, praying twice daily at his synagogue, Adath Israel in San Francisco.

She was an only child in a liberal German Jewish family in which, she says, "we used to eat bread on Pesach and eat on Yom Kippur." These days, she attends synagogue much less frequently than her husband.

Shelves in the couple's sunny San Francisco dining room brim with the books he reads — the Torah, the Mishnah, the Gemara. Her study down the hall overflows with hundreds of books on the Holocaust as well as works by eminent psychologists and social scientists. She has several degrees. He, though a learned man, never received a formal education.

"We're exactly what we call opposites," Sucher Shelley says.

Watching this couple interact in their Sunset District home on a recent afternoon, it doesn't take long to see that.

Sucher Shelley, a slight man with an ebullient smile, chats with the ease of a television talk-show host. Lore is a sturdy woman with a humble, reserved air, one who chooses her words with great care.

It takes little prodding to evoke heart-wrenching stories of his Holocaust experiences. Lore, a former board member of the Holocaust Center of Northern California, seems more comfortable speaking of the Shoah in more academic terms; her scholarship on the subject, she says, has been motivated by a fervent drive to counter those who deny the Holocaust's truths.

Still, it is clear that profound bonds transcend such differences. Both Sucher and Lore Shelley — now in their early 70s — survived Auschwitz and other concentration camps. At the end of the war, she endured one of the Nazis infamous death marches, and he was liberated from Ebensee too ill and emaciated to stand. Both were the sole members of their families to come out of the Holocaust alive.

"In that sense, I think they understand one another better than anyone else could ever understand them, in spite of the fact that they come from very different worlds," says their only child, 31-year-old Gabriella Shelley, a Harvard-Yale educated psychiatrist.

There are other powerful links between this husband and wife. They share a deep passion for Israel and travel there often; he makes annual visits to study in a yeshiva for married men.

For much of the couple's marriage, they have also split the labor at the West Coast Swiss Watch Co., the watch sales and repair shop they own on Second Street in downtown San Francisco. It is here that the synchronicity of the Shelleys' union becomes particularly apparent.

As Lore sits quietly in the back of the shop tabulating receipts on an old adding machine, her nattily suited husband works the front, chatting with customers about the ins and outs of their days between charming them with jokes and bits of watch trivia. Every so often, he turns to ask his wife a question, always addressing her as Schatze, German for "dear."

"My mother's the organizer, my father's the business force," Gabriella says, "although when it comes to big business decisions, he's never made one without her. It's the best business partnership that ever existed."

Sucher Shelley finds another way to describe what keeps the business duo humming so smoothly. "I am not good for the books, she is not good for the sale," he says. "This is what heaven puts together."

The store is a heaven of its own kind — that rare, Old-World operation where the customer comes first and work is done by hand. The store exudes homeyness, from the faded signs that hang on its walls to the Shelleys' gray poodle Mickey, who nestles in a display of old silver watches near the shop's front window.

As long as their health permits, the Shelleys hope to keep their store open. Although they long made a profit from the business, they now lose up to $4,000 a month. But they can't imagine life without it.

“It keeps me alive,” Sucher Shelley says of the shop, whose losses are countered by returns from downtown real-estate investments. “I like people very, very much. I couldn’t live without them.”

From the stories the watchman tells, it appears customers also seem to relish their contact with him. “I bring people up,” he says in a thick Polish accent, leaning over the glass counter in his shop to emphasize his point. “How many times have people told me, `You made my day. You made my day.’”

But before he takes too much credit for the store, Sucher Shelley makes sure his wife gets her due. “Without her, it wouldn’t last a day,” he says. “She knows everything from A to Z.”

The Shelleys met several years after the end of the war in a rehabilitation center in Italy, where they were both recovering from severe war-related illnesses that included tuberculosis. They married in Rome in 1951, and in 1956 moved to New York.

There, while Sucher Shelley got his start in the watch manufacturing business, Lore Shelley began advance study in psychology at the New School for Social Research, from which she received a master’s degree in psychology in 1958. She earned another master’s degree, in social work, from San Francisco State University in 1978.

In between the two degrees came a move to San Francisco, where the Shelleys established their watch business and watched it mushroom. In 1965, on Lore Shelley’s 41st birthday, Gabriella was born.

During a break from work at a Brooklyn hospital, Gabriella speaks of her parents both from the perspective of one who has studied the human mind and as a child of Holocaust survivors.

“I can’t say it hasn’t been painful, in the sense that I can never make up to them what they’ve lost and the pain they’ve suffered,” she says. “And there will always be a gaping hole there…I’ve never had the chance to meet people who are my family members.”

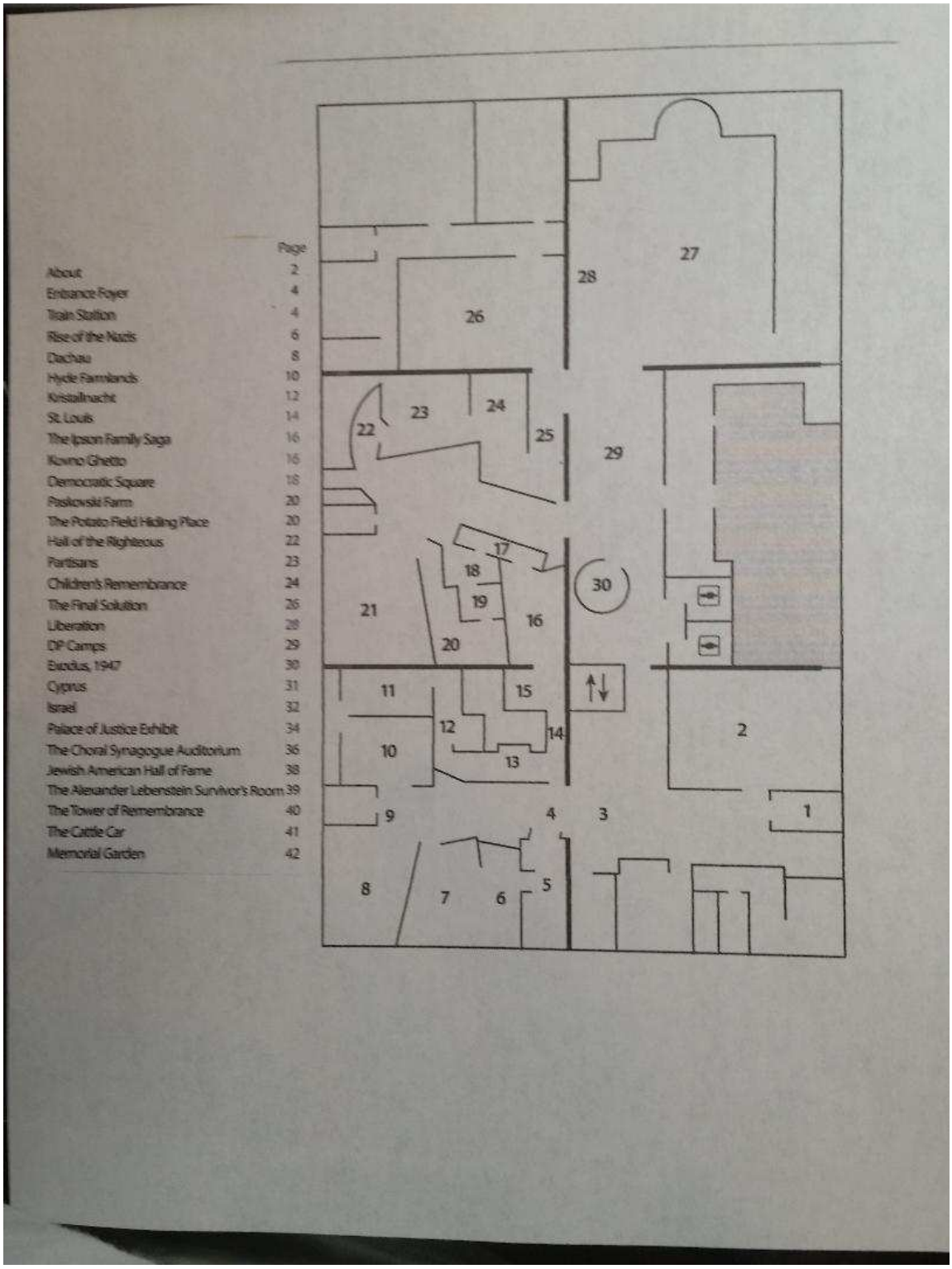
Such loss, however, has not dimmed Gabriella’s sense that she is privileged to have been raised by Lore and Sucher Shelley.

From them, Gabriella says, she has learned compassion, determination and an unwavering sense of morality. And she has a sense of identity that she believes is stronger than most.

“I am very clear about how important Israel is to me and Judaism is to me,” she says. “I think it’s pointless and very unhealthy to lose sight of who you are.”

APPENDIX C

Floor Plan of the Virginia Holocaust Museum



	Page
About	2
Entrance Foyer	4
Train Station	4
Rise of the Nazis	6
Dachau	8
Hyde Farmlands	10
Kristallnacht	12
St. Louis	14
The Ipsen Family Saga	16
Kovno Ghetto	16
Democratic Square	18
Paskowski Farm	20
The Potato Field Hiding Place	20
Hall of the Righteous	22
Partisans	23
Children's Remembrance	24
The Final Solution	26
Liberation	28
DP Camps	29
Exodus, 1947	30
Cyprus	31
Israel	32
Palace of Justice Exhibit	34
The Choral Synagogue Auditorium	36
Jewish American Hall of Fame	38
The Alexander Lebenstein Survivor's Room	39
The Tower of Remembrance	40
The Cattle Car	41
Memorial Garden	42

WORKS CITED

Allen, L. B., and K. J. Crowley. "Challenging Beliefs, Practices, and Content: How Museum Educators Change. *Science Education*, vol. 98, no. 1, Jan. 2014, pp. 84-105. *Wiley Online Library*, doi:10.1002/sce.21093.

Anderson, Gail, editor. *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift.* Altamira Press, 2004.

Baer, Elizabeth Roberts, and Myrna Goldenbery, editors. *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust*. Wayne State UP, 2003.

Bauer, Yehuda. "On the Holocaust and Its Implications." The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme, 2006. https://www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/docs/pdf/Volume%20I/On_the_Holocaust_and_its_Implications.pdf. Accessed 18 Nov 2018.

Baum, Rachel N. "'What I Have Learned to Feel': The Pedagogical Emotions of Holocaust Education." *College Literature*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1996, pp. 44-57, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25112273.

Baumel, Judith Tydor. *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust*. Vallentine Mitchell Newbury House, 1998.

---. "'You Said the Words You Wanted Me to Hear but I Heard the Words You Couldn't Bring Yourself to Say': Women's First Person Accounts of the Holocaust." *The Oral History Review*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2000, pp. 17-56. https://doi.org/10.1093/ohr/27.1.17.

Beorn, Waitman W. "Holocaust Denial." *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, edited by Patrick Mason, 2nd edition, Gale, 2013.

Bevan, Bronwyn, and Maria Xanthoudaki. "Professional Development for Museum Educators." *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2008, pp. 107-119. https://doi.org/10.1080/10598650.2008.11510592.

Bridenthal, Renate, et al., editors. *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*. Monthly Review Press, 1984.

Brozan, Nadine. "Holocaust Women: A Study in Survival." *The New York Times*, 23 Mar. 1983, np. *The Times'* print archive, www.nytimes.com/1983/03/23/garden/holocaust-women-a-study-in-survival.html.

Butler, Deidre. "Holocaust Studies in the United States." *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*. Jewish Women's Archive, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/holocaust-studies-in-united-states. Accessed 8 Aug. 2019.

Castle, Margaret, C. "Blending Pedagogy and Content: A New Curriculum for Museum Teachers." *Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2006, pp. 123-132. https://doi.org/10.1080/10598650.2006.11510539.

---. *Interpreters, Docents, and Educators: Ways of Knowing, Ways of Teaching in a History Museum, an Art Gallery, and a Nature Center*. 2001. U of Toronto, PhD dissertation.

---. "Teaching History in Museums." *Ontario History*, vol. 94, no. 1, 2002, pp. 1-18.

Czech, Danuta. *Auschwitz Chronicle*. Henry Holt & Company, 1989.

Dwork, Deborah, and Robert Jan Van Pelt. *Auschwitz*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2008.

Echoes and Reflections: *Teacher's Resource Guide*. Anti-Defamation League, USC Shoah Foundation, and Yad Vashem, 2014.

Facing History and Ourselves. https://www.facinghistory.org/.

Falk, John H., and Lynn D. Dierking. *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. Altamira Press, 2000.

---. "Museum Education Research: Future Directions." *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1986), pp. 2-11. *JStor*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40478676.

Fertig, Barbara. "Evaluating Docents." *Museum Education Roundtable*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1979, pp. 1-3. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40478375.

Franco, Barbara. "The Communication Conundrum: What is the Message? Who Is Listening?" *The Journal of American History*, vol. 81, no. 1, 1994, pp. 151-163. https://doi.org/10.2307/2080997.

Gallant, Mary J., and Harriet Hartman. "Holocaust Education for the New Millennium: Assessing Our Progress." *Journal of Holocaust Education*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2001, pp. 1-28. *EBSCOhost*, doi:10.1080/17504902.2001.11087125.

"Genocide." *United Nations*. 2019. https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml. Accessed 18 July 2019.

Grenier, Robin S. "Do As I Say, Not As I Do: A Case Study of Two Museum Docent Training Programs." *Adult Education Research Conference*, 2005, pp. 1-6. http://neprairiepress.org/aerc/2005/papers/35. Accessed 12 Aug. 2017.

---. "Practicing What We Preach." *Journal of Interpretation Research*, 2008, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 7-26. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ehh&AN=34384435&site=eds-live&scope=site.

---. "The Role of Learning in the Development of Expertise in Museum Docents." *Adult Education Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 2, 2009, pp. 142-157. doi:10.1177/0741713608327369.

Grenier, Robin S., and Barry Sheckley. "Out on the Floor: Experiential Learning and the Implications for the Preparation of Docents. *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2008, pp. 79-93. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40479606.

Grinder, Alison L., and E. Sue McCoy. *The Good Guide: A Sourcebook for Interpreters, Docents, and Tour Guides*. Ironwood Publishing, 1985.

Grossmann, Atina. "Women and the Holocaust: Four Recent Titles." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2002, pp. 94-108. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/16.1.94

Grunwald-Spier, Agnes. *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust: In Their Own Words*. Amberley Publishing, 2018.

Gutman, Yisrael, and Michael Berenbaum. *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*. Indiana UP, 1994.

Hansen-Glucklich, Jennifer. *Holocaust Memory Reframed: Museums and the Challenges of Representation.* Rutgers UP, 2014. *EBSCO*.

Hein, George E. "The Constructivist Museum." *Journal for Education in Museums*, no. 16, 1995, pp. 1-8. www.gem.org.uk/pubs/news/hein1995.html. Accessed 18 Dec. 2018.

---. "Progressive Education and Museum Education: Anna Billings Gallup and Louise Connolly." *The Journal of Museum Education*, no. 3, 2006, pp. 161-173. *JStor*, www.jstor.org.ezproxy.drew.edu/stable/40479559.

Heinemann, Marlene E. *Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust.* Greenwood Press, 1986.

Jensen, Nina, and Mary Ellen Munley. "Training for Museum Education Professionals." *The Journal of Museum Education*, no. 4, 1985, pp. 12-15. *EBSCOhost*.

"Focus on Issues." *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*.

Kaplan, Marion A. *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*. Oxford UP, 1998.

Katz, Ester, and Joan Ringelheim, editors. *Proceedings of the Conference on Women Surviving the Holocaust, March 21-22, 1983*. *Occasional Papers from the Institute for Research in History Conference*. Institute for Research in History, 1983.

Katz, Leslie. "Love, Business, and Holocaust Bind Unlikely Couple in S.F." *The Jewish News of Northern California*, 12 Apr. 1996.

Koran, John J., and Mary Lou Koran. "A Proposed Framework for Explaining Museum Education Research." *The Journal of Museum Education*, no. 1, 1986, pp. 12-16. *EBSCOhost*.

Lazar, Alon, and Tal Litvak Hirsch. "An Online Partner for Holocaust Remembrance Education: Students Approaching the Yahoo! Answers Community." *Educational Review*, vol. 67, no. 1, 2015, pp. 121-134. dx.doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2013.839545.

Lixi-Purcell, Andreas. "Memoirs as History." University of North Carolina. 2015. htttp://www.uncg.edu/~lixipurc/publications/yearbook.html. 2 June 2018.

Lotzer, Michal, and Devin E. Naar. "Should We Compare the Holocaust to Current Events?" *Jewish in Seattle Magazine*, Apr/Jun 2017, http://mag.jewishinseattle.org/article/2017/4/5/should-we-compare-the-holocaust-to-current-events.

McDonough, Chris. "Vera Laska." The International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation, http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/general/vera-laska/. Accessed 2 Aug. 2019.

National Docent Symposium Council. *The Docent Handbook 2*. Puritan Press, Inc., 2017.

Neill, Amanda C. *Museum Docents' Understanding of Interpretation*. 2010. Pennsylvania State U, DEd dissertation.

---. "Providing a Tailored Educational Interaction with Cultural Treasures: A Study of Museum Docents." *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2010, pp. 67-82. doi:10.1177/147797141001600206.

Noe, Jeungmin. *Docents Being Museum Visitors*. 2006. U of Iowa, PhD dissertation.

Nold, Carl R. Review of *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*, edited by Gail Anderson. *The Public Historian*, no. 1, 2006, pp. 133-35. *EBSCOhost*.

Ochsner, Jeffrey Karl. "Understanding the Holocaust Through the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum." *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 48, no. 4, 1995, pp. 240-49. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1425386.

Peck, Lorraine Foreman, and Kate Travers. "What Is Distinctive About Museum Pedagogy and How Can Museums Best Support Learning in Schools?" *Educational Action Research*, vol. 21, no.1, 2013, pp. 28-41. doi.org/10.1080/096507922.2013.761924.

"President's Commission on the Holocaust Remarks on Receiving the Final Report of the Commission. September 27, 1979." *American Reference Library—Primary Source Documents*. Western Standard Publishing Company, 2001. *EBSCOhost*.

Questions of Conscience, Alex Lebenstein Teacher Education Institute, Virginia Holocaust Museum.

Rand, Judy. "The Visitors Bill of Rights." *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*, edited by Gail Anderson, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004, pp. 158-59.

Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death*. Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, 2002.

Ringelheim, Joan. "Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research." *Women in the Holocaust*, edited by Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, Yale UP, 1998, pp. 748-761.

Ritchhart, Ron. "Cultivating a Culture of Thinking in Museums." *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2007, pp. 137-153. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40479584.

Ritner, Carol, and John K. Roth, editors. *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*. Paragon House, 1993.

Roberts, Patrick. "Am I the Public I Think I Am? Understanding the Public Curriculum of Museums As 'Complicated Conversation.'" *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2006, pp. 105-112. *JStor*, www.jstor.org/stable/40479550.

Rose, Julia. *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Rylko-Bauer, B. “Introduction: Bringing the Past into the Present: Family Narratives of Holocaust, Exile, and Diaspora.” *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 78, no. 1, 2005, pp. 7-10.

Saidel, Rochelle. “Women's Experiences During the Holocaust—New Books in Print.” *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 28, 2000, pp. 363-378.

Sassen, Robyn. “A Theatre of Truth.” Review of *To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Saloman in the Nazi Era* by Mary Lowenthal Felstiner. H-Holocaust, H-Net Reviews, Jun 1999, www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=3157

Schatzker, Chiam. “The Teaching of the Holocaust: Dilemmas and Considerations.” *The Annals of the Museum Docents’ Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 450, pp. 218-26. *JStor*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1042571.

Screven, C. “Museums and Informal Education.” *CMS Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1993, pp. 36-66.

Shelley, Lore, editor. *Auschwitz: The Nazi Civilization*. UP of America, Inc., 1992.

---. Family history. *The Windmüeller Family Chronicle*, edited by Fred Walter Windmüeller, 1938, pp. 174-75.

---. *Post-Auschwitz Fragments*. Morris Publishing, 1997.

---. *Secretaries of Death*. Shengold Publishers, Inc., 1986.

---. *The Union Kommando in Auschwitz: The Auschwitz Munition Factory Through the Eyes of Its Former Slave Laborers*. *Studies in the Shoah*, vol. XIII. UP of America, Inc., 1996.

Strom, Margot Stern. *Holocaust and Human Behavior*. Facing History and Ourselves, 1994.

Taylor, Edward W., and Amanda C. Neill. "Teaching in Situ: Nonformal Museum Education." *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, vol. 21, no.1, Sep 2008, pp. 19-36, *EBSCOhost*, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=edo&AN=48616480&site=eds-live&custid=s8475574.

Tinning, Katrine. "Vulnerability As a Key Concept in Museum Pedagogy on Difficult Matters." *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, vol. 37, no. 2, Mar 2018, pp. 147-165. *EBSCOhost*, doi.org/10.1007/s11217-017-9579-y.

Tisliar, Pavol. "The Development of Informal Learning and Museum Pedagogy in Museums." *European Journal of Contemporary Education*, vol. 6, no. 3, 2017, pp. 586-592. ERIC no. EJ1154708.

Totten, Samuel. "A Note: Why Teach About the Holocaust." *Canadian Social Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, 1997, pp. 176-77. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=&AN=EJ554637&site=eds-live&scope=site.

---. "Teaching the Holocaust: The Imperative to Move Beyond Cliches." *Canadian Social Studies*, vol. 33, no. 3, 1999, pp. 84-87. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=EJ602459&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Totten, Samuel, and Stephen Feinberg. "Teaching About the Holocaust: Rationale, Content, Methodology, & Resources." *Social Education*, vol. 51, no. 6, 1995, pp. 1-15. *EBSCOhost,*

search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=J516992&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Totten, Samuel, and Karen Riley. "Authentic Pedagogy and the Holocaust: A Critical Review of State Sponsored Holocaust Curricula." *Theory and Research and Social Education*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2005, pp. 120-41. *EBSCOhost*. doi.10.1080/00933104.2005.10743274.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). "Guidelines for Teaching About the Holocaust." 2019. https://www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust/general-teaching-guidelines. Accessed 18 July 2019.

---. *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. 2019. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/. Accessed 18 July 2019.

---. *Teaching about the Holocaust*. 2019. www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust. Accessed 18 July 2019.

Waltl, Christian. "Museum for Visitors: Audience Development." *New Roles and Missions of Museums: Proceedings of the Intercom 2006 Symposium, Taipei, Taiwan, 2-4 Nov. 2006*.

Weil, Stephen. "Rethinking the Museum: An Emerging New Paradigm." *Reinventing the Museum*, edited by Gail Anderson, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004, pp. 74-79.

Wittmann, Rebecca Elizabeth. "Resistance Reconsidered: The Women of the Political Department at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Parts I, II, III, and IV." The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Presentation Panel on "Jewish Resistance at the Concentration Camps," July 1999.

Wrenn, Elliott, editor. *Virginia Holocaust Museum Guide*. Virginia Holocaust Museum, n.d.

Yellis, Ken, editor. "Museum Education Research: Future Directions." *The Journal of Museum Education*. vol. 11, no. 1, 1986. *JSTOR,* www.jstor.org/stable/40478676.

VITA

Full name: John Joseph Hagadorn, Jr.

Place and date of birth: Richmond, Virginia; July 21, 1950

Parents' names: Ann Williams and John Hagadorn

Educational Institutions:

School	Degree	Date
Secondary:		
John Marshall High School	High School Diploma	June 1968
Collegiate:		
Virginia Commonwealth University	Bachelor of Music Education	May 1973
Graduate:		
Virginia Commonwealth University	Master of Arts	May 1985
Drew University	Doctor of Arts and Letters	August 2019