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TOWARDS AN IMPROVED HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM: INTEGRATING LAWRENCE KOHLBERG'S THEORY OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT INTO THE TEACHING OF THE HOLOCAUST

by

Sanford David Akselrad

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
1984

Referee, Prof. Samuel K. Joseph

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my loving wife Joni. Without her warm smile, patience, and support I would not have had the strength to work so long or hard on this endeavour.

DIGEST

The goal of this thesis is to demonstrate the need for an integration of Dr. Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development into the design and implementation of Holocaust curricula. Based upon data gathered from an analysis of 28 curricula used in Reform religious schools and public schools, this thesis illustrates how the vast majority of curricula fail to take the moral development of the student into consideration. Most Holocaust curricula are constructed and designed with little awareness of the cognitive moral developmental level of students. There is little attempt to promote moral growth despite the fact that the vast majority of Holocaust curricula express moral growth as an important goal of teaching the Holocaust. Kohlberg's theory would provide a methodology which will fill this lacuna, while at the same time enhance the relevancy and excitement with which students approach the study of the Holocaust.

Chapter One: This chapter summarizes Kohlberg's theory of moral development, including its strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter Two: A discussion of Kohlberg's theory vis-a-vis Jewish educational goals. This chapter argues that a synthesis between Reform Judaism's educational goals and the philosophy inherent in Kohlberg's theory are not necessarily contradictory, and can be complimentary.

Chapter Three: A discussion of the problems related to the teaching of the Holocaust in both public schools and Reform religious schools.

Chapter Four: This chapter discusses the implications for Kohlberg's theory for Holocaust education. This chapter illustrates how many of the problems related to the teaching of the Holocaust could be resolved through an integration of Kohlberg's methodology and theory into curricular design and implementation.

Chapter Five: This chapter provides a detailed description and analysis of 10 curricula used in Reform religious schools and 18 curricula used in public schools. The data gathered in this chapter demonstrates how most Holocaust curricula do not take Kohlberg's theory and methodology into consideration, even though most curricula do state moral growth as a goal. The data also provides useful information regarding the role of teachers, teaching methodologies which must be reexamined if Kohlberg's theory is to be successfully integrated and implemented into the design of Holocaust curricula.

Chapter Six: This chapter provides a detailed discussion of how to design and implement a Kohlberg based Holocaust curriculum for the classroom.

Chapter Seven: This chapter summarizes the significant themes of the thesis: the need for an integration of Kohlberg's theory in curriculum design and implementation; the need for teacher training; and the continued focus on the process and content of Holocaust education.

In short, this thesis argues for an improved Holocaust curriculum which would provide for the moral development of students. This thesis suggests a process by which such an integration would be possible.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, much empirical research was done in the area of moral development. The work of Dr. Lawrence Kohlberg of Harvard University has achieved wide recognition as a significant contribution to the study of moral development. Kohlberg's theory of cognitive moral development describes a six stage process through which all human beings, regardless of race, culture, or religious belief, progress. Kohlberg and his followers discovered that the rate of moral growth could be increased through continued exposure to moral dilemmas.

Kohlberg's research has tremendous implications for education in general, and Holocaust education in particular. Both Jews and non-Jews alike share the fear of another catastrophe in human history. As a result, the Holocaust is now being taught widely in Reform religious schools and in public schools. One major goal for teaching the Holocaust in both sectors is to prevent another Holocaust. Yet, as this thesis will show, few Holocaust curricula are designed and/or implemented with the moral developmental level of the student in mind. Most Holocaust curricula are ignorant of Kohlberg's findings and the import of his research.

This thesis seeks to demonstrate the need for an integration of Kohlberg's findings into the construction and

design of Holocaust curricula for both Reform religious schools and public schools. Kohlberg's research and methodological findings can serve as a tremendous aid in resolving many of the problems teachers face in teaching the Holocaust, while at the same time responding to a prime curricular goal of most Holocaust curricula: the prevention of another Holocaust.

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CHAPTER ONE

A Summary of Lawrence Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

In 1955 Lawrence Kohlberg, building upon the work of Plato, John Dewey, and Jean Piaget, described what is called a cognitive-developmental approach to the understanding of moral development. Kohlberg asserted that every individual, in all cultures, progresses through an unalterable process consisting of six stages of moral development. Though there has been much debate and criticism[1] of Kohlberg's theory over the past decades, his theory still remains as a highly regarded description[2] of how people gain moral insight and understanding.

In developing the philosophic basis for his research, Kohlberg relied heavily upon the work of Plato. Underpining his entire theory of moral development is the Platonic assertion that there is an ultimate good, and that he who knows the good will choose the good and act more justly.[3] Although Kohlberg disagrees with Plato on some issues, basically, Kohlberg's position is congruent with that of Plato.[4]

In his book, The Philosophy of Moral Development, Kohlberg describes many of the points of agreement between him and Plato as he restates the Platonic view of justice (virtue):

> First, virtue is ultimately one, not many, and it is always the same ideal form regardless of

climate or culture.

Second, the name of this ideal form is justice.

Third, not only is the good one, but virtue is knowledge of the good. He who knows the good chooses the good.

Fourth, the kind of knowledge of the good that is virtue is philosophical knowledge or intuition of the ideal form of the good, not correct opinion or acceptance of conventional beliefs.

Fifth, the good can then be taught, but its teachers must in a certain sense be philosopher-kings.

Sixth, the reason the good can be taught is because we know it all along dimly or at a low level and its teaching is more a calling out than an instruction.

Seventh, the reason we think the good cannot be taught is because the same good is know differently at different levels and direct instruction cannot take place across levels.

Eighth, then the teaching of virtue is the asking of questions and the pointing of the way, not the giving of answers. Moral education is the leading of people upward, not the putting into the mind of knowledge that was not there before.[5]

Yet, even as Kohlberg has drawn much of the philosophical basis for his theory upon Plato, he is still most indebted to the writings and research of John Dewey and Jean Piaget. The cognitive-developmental (c-d) approach to moral development was first formulated by John Dewey,[6] built upon by Piaget, and redefined by Kohlberg.[7]

The approach is called "cognitive-developmental" because it recognizes both the intellectual basis for moral growth, and the fact that moral growth takes place as movement through stages.[8] Kohlberg quotes Dewey:

> The aim of education is growth or development, both intellectual and moral. Ethical and

> psychological principles can aid the school in the greatest of all constructions--the building of a free and powerful character. Only knowledge of the order and connection of the stages in psychological development can insure this. Education is the work of supplying the conditions which will enable the psychological functions to mature in the freest and fullest manner.[9]

Dewey postulated three levels of moral development: 1) the pre-moral or preconventional level; 2) the conventional level; and 3) the autonomous level of behaviour. The pre-moral level of behaviour was "motivated by biological and social impulses."[10] The conventional level was depicted by the individual who accepts "with little critical reflection the standards of his group."[11] The autonomous level was described by behaviour in which "conduct is guided by the individual thinking and judging for himself whether a purpose is good, and does not accept the standard of his group without reflection."[12]

Jean Piaget built upon the work of Dewey and provided some of the first empirical evidence to support Dewey's hypothesis of stage development. Piaget made the first efforts to define stages of moral reasoning in children through actual interviews and observation of children.[13] Piaget further defined and clarified Dewey's theoretical construct.

Kohlberg, noting in his article, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education," synthesizes Piaget's thoughts regarding moral development:

> 1) (T)he pre-moral stage, where there was no sense of obligation to rules; 2) the heteronomous stage, where the right was literal obedience to rules

> and an equation of obligation with submission to power and punishment (roughly ages 4-8); and 3) the autonomous stage, where the purpose and consequences of following rules are considered and obligation is based on reciprocity and exchange (roughly ages 8-12).[14]

In 1955 Kohlberg began his research utilizing the philosophy of Plato, Dewey and Piaget. In particular, the empirical evidence gathered by Piaget was the basis of the first three stages of his six stage paradigm.[15] For over two and a half decades Kohlberg has continued his research through the analysis of data gathered from a variety of short and long-term longitudinal and cross sectional studies.[16] Among these studies are data gather from:

1) A 20 year study of 50 Chicago area boys, middle and working-class. Initially interviewed at ages 10-16, they have been reinterviewed at 3 year intervals thereafter.

2) A small, six-year longitudinal study of Turkish village city boys of the same age.

3) A variety of other cross-sectional studies in Canada, Britain, Israel, Taiwan, Yucatan, Honduras, and India.[17]

Using this information, Kohlberg was able to make his unique contribution to the study of moral development: a well defined and explained theory of cognitive-moral development. Though building upon the work of Piaget, Kohlberg surpassed Piaget's work by providing an empirically tested and fully elaborated theory of moral development. In a sense, Kohlberg completed Piaget's unfinished work, but in the process, he has greatly revised many of Piaget's original findings.[18]

While Kohlberg's theory must be seen in light of the

pioneers before him, his theory must also be seen in contrast to other theories of behaviour which Kohlberg has systematically rejected. As Barry Chazan points out:

> (Kohlberg) does not accept a Skinnerian notion of morality as reinforced behaviour, a Freudian notion of morality as superego identification, or the prevalent American educational psychology conception of moral character as a bag of virtues and vices which are transmitted by exhortation and practice. In place of these approaches, Kohlberg presents a developmental notion of morality ...[19]

As alluded to earlier, Kohlberg's theory of cognitive moral reasoning encompasses three levels and six stages of development roughly corresponding to those enunciated by Dewey.[20] The six stages represent a greatly expanded and more fully defined version of Piaget's earlier findings. (A full explanation of all six stages appears in Appendix A, A comparison of Kohlberg's findings to that of Piaget appears in Appendix B).

Kohlberg retains the basic categorization of Dewey. Kohlberg defines the three levels of morality as <u>pre-conventional</u>, <u>conventional</u>, and <u>post conventional</u>.[21]

The pre-conventional level typically consists of children aged four to ten who are often "well-behaved" (but not solely!) and responsive to cultural labels of good and bad. They often interpret these labels in terms of their physical consequences, (punishment, reward, exchange of favors), or in terms of the physical power of those who enunciate the rules and labels of good and bad.[22]

The second level is also described by Kohlberg as the <u>conformist</u> level, though he prefers the former. The main

characterization of this level is conforming to the expectations and rules of the individual's family, group, or nation.[23] "There is a concern not only with conforming to the individual's social order but in maintaining, supporting, and justifying this order."[24]

"The post conventional level is characterized by a major thrust toward autonomous moral principles that have validity and application apart from the authority of the groups or people who hold them and apart from the individual's identification with those people or groups."[25]

Each level (as indicated in Appendix A) is divided into two stages. These stages are labelled:

1. Punishment and Obedience Orientation
2. The Instrumental Relativist Orientation
3. The Interpersonal Concordance or "Good boy-nice girl" Orientation
4. Society Maintaining Orientation
5. The Social Contract Orientation
6. The Universal Ethical Principle Orientation[26]

Kohlberg's contention that individuals progress morally in terms of stages has several important implications:

1. Stages are "structured wholes" or organized systems of thought. Individuals are <u>consistent</u> in level of moral judgment.
2. Stages form an <u>invariant sequence</u>. Under all conditions except extreme trauma, movement is always forward, never backward. Individuals never skip stages; movement is always to the next stage up.
3. Stages are "hierarchical integrations." Thinking at a higher stage includes or comprehends within it lower stage thinking. There is a tendency to function at or prefer the highest stage available.[27]

Each stage is representative of a stage of reasoning. In keeping with Plato, at the heart of each stage is justice. As a child matures, his conception of justice changes and matures, and the child moves on to the next higher stage. While each stage presents an explanation for resolving a moral dilemma, Kohlberg argues that a child moves from one stage to the next because the next higher stage provides the child with a more complex, more complete way of resolving the dilemma. A child chooses the higher stage because human beings have a natural tendency to choose the higher good. Therefore, each stage is progressively better than the one before it.[28]

There are two main reasons why Kohlberg claims that a higher stage is actually better than a lower one (rather than being merely a <u>different</u> means of reasoning, neither better nor worse). First of all, "problems can be solved at higher stages better than at lower ones."[29] In his article "Moral Education: The Research Findings," Edwin Fenton provides us with an example:

> Take Stages 3 and 4 and a conflict between two ethnic communities ... At Stage 3, members of each community define what is good by what the majority of people in their group approve of and how they behave. Therefore, if the members of the two communities approve of different ways of life, they may come into conflict when a specific issue, such as busing to achieve integration of the schools arises. But at Stage 4, thought in both groups would orient toward maintaining the social order through obeying authorities and conforming to the law of the land. This thought pattern would be more likely to suggest a solution which could be fair and could avoid conflict if people embrace it. Stage 4 thought is better than Stage 3 thought in this case because it could solve a problem which cannot be

solved successfully at the lower stage.[30]

Secondly, higher stages are better than lower stages for they "are more differentiated, more integrated, and more universal."[31] As Fenton elaborates:

> More differentiated means that at higher stages, people draw a distinction between such different things as the value of life and the value of property. At Stage 1, people do not make this differentiation. More integrated means that at higher stages, people place such things as life and property in a hierarchy and integrate them with other items in that hierarchy, such as law or justice. More universal means that higher stages appeal to more universal principles such as the social contract or fundamental principles of justice, while lower stages stress narrow principles such as avoiding punishment for oneself or gaining a reward. Hence, higher stage thought is more consistent than lower stage thought.[32]

There are limitations though upon a child's moral developmental progress. A child's cognitive development is highly correlated to his ability to function at a higher moral level. Since moral reasoning is reasoning, then clearly advanced moral thinking depends upon a person's ability to think in more logically sophisticated ways. Kohlberg found, for example, that a person whose logical stage is only partially developed in the formal operational stage (according to Piaget's paradigm), is limited to the conventional moral stages, i.e., stages three and four.[33] Thus, a person's "logical stage puts a certain ceiling on the moral stage he can attain."[34]

Higher cognitive development does not necessarily mean that a person will be in a higher moral stage however. Kohlberg believes that most individuals are at a lower level morally than they are cognitively.[35] For instance, while

50% of late adolescents and adults, according to Kohlberg, are capable of "full formal reasoning ... only 10% of these adults (all formal operational) display principled (i.e., stages five and six) moral reasoning."[36] Thus, while children and adults appear to go through both cognitive and moral development simultaneously (i.e., there is a type of developmental unity implied), people seem to progress slightly more quickly in their understanding of the physical world than in their understanding of how to structure relations in their social world.[37] Further, Kohlberg found that a person's moral stage is more fluid than his cognitive stage. Cognitive reasoning is more fixed to its specific stage of development, while moral reasoning can be in two stages at once. That is, although the majority of his moral reasoning is at one stage, there is a percentage which is in the next higher stage, or lower, depending on how much of a transfer to the higher level has taken place.[38]

Throughout his description of stages, Kohlberg argues repeatedly for an important distinction between moral reasoning and the content behind moral decision making. Moral stages are structures of moral reasoning or judgment, the content itself is distinct from the reasoning process.[39] The stage or structure of a person's moral judgment defines what the person finds valuable in each moral dilemma, and why he finds it valuable.[40] A person's reasoning about the choice defines the structure of a person's moral judgment and determines the stage level of the individual. The choice endorsed by an individual is termed by Kohlberg to be the

content of his moral judgment in that particular situation. Thus, two people in different stages could arrive at the same content decision, but their reasoning would be radically different, reflective of their particular stage of thinking.

A moral choice according to Kohlberg "involves choosing between two (or more) ... values as they conflict in concrete situations of choice."[41] Kohlberg has enumerated 10 universal moral values or issues of concern and around which moral dilemmas revolve:

1. Punishment
2. Property
3. Roles and concerns of affection
4. Roles and concerns of authority
5. Law
6. Life
7. Liberty
8. Distributive justice
9. Truth
10. Sex[42]

In resolving a moral dilemma, an individual is actually resolving a conflict between one or more of these values. Individuals may choose the same value (i.e., content) but their reasoning would be radically different depending upon their stage of thinking.

For example, when asked if a doctor should perform euthanasia on a terminally ill woman who wishes to be allowed to die because her pain is too great, or if a desperate husband should steal a drug to save his dying wife despite the fact that it would mean that he would have to steal the drug,

respondants gave solutions all along Kohlberg's spectrum in terms of the value of human life.[43] (See Appendix C for examples of how different stages view the value of human life.)

It is this emphasis on form rather than on the content of a child's moral reasoning that allows Kohlberg to call moral development universal. Kohlberg claims that in all cultures he has found the same "aspects or categories of moral judgment and valuing."[44] Thus, in all cultures each individual must undergo the same invariant, stage development of moral reasoning. Though the content is certainly culture specific, the form of the individual's reasoning is universal and must fall into one of Kohlberg's six stages of reasoning.

The practical implications of Kohlberg's theory would be almost nil, however, if there were no relationship whatsoever between "creed and deed," between moral reasoning and moral action. There is a relationship, though this relationship is often only one of many factors that affect a person's moral action. Piaget pointed out that logical reasoning was a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for mature moral judgment. So too, in terms of the relationship between moral action and judgment, "moral judgment is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for moral action.[45] One can not act morally, if one does not understand moral principles. However, one can reason in terms of principles and not live up to those principles. There are many additional factors which impinge upon what is actually the final decision a person will make.[46]

For example, in a study on cheating, Kohlberg found that although higher staged students tended to cheat less often, 15% of higher staged students still cheated. Other factors such as "strength of will," emotions, and an individual's motives played a strong role in whether or not an individual would cheat or not.[47]

If there are so many considerations other than reasoning which affect moral action, then one might ask, why does Kohlberg devote so much of his cognitive-developmental approach to moral reasoning? Kohlberg gives several reasons:

1. Moral judgment, while only one factor in moral behavior, is the single most important or influential factor yet discovered in moral behavior.
2. While other factors influence moral behavior, moral judgment is the only distinctively moral factor in moral behavior. To illustrate, we noted that the Krebs study indicated that "strong-willed" conventional stage subjects resisted cheating more than "weak-willed" subjects. For those at a preconventional level of moral reasoning, however, "will" had an opposite effect. "Strong-willed" Stages 1 and 2 subjects cheated more, not less, than "weak-willed" subjects, i.e., they had the "courage of their (amoral) convictions" that it was worthwhile to cheat. "Will," then, is an important factor in moral behavior, but it is not distinctively moral; it becomes moral only when informed by mature moral judgment.
3. Moral judgment change is long range or irreversible; a higher stage is never lost. Moral behavior as such is largely situational and reversible or "loseable" in new situations.[48]

Elsewhere, Kohlberg gives a fourth reason:

> In our studies we have found that youths who understand justice act more justly, and the man who understands justice helps create a moral climate which goes far beyond his immediate and personal acts. The universal society is the beneficiary.[49]

There is, therefore, a relationship, an important relation-

ship, between moral action and moral reasoning. And though there are many situational factors which affect a person's ultimate decision, clearly, without a conception of what is right, an individual can not act morally, and his actions will be determined by other amoral factors.

Kohlberg's theory has tremendous implications for the classroom. Though much of Chapter Six will be devoted to the application of Kohlberg to the classroom in teaching the Holocaust, I will briefly touch upon some of the implications at this point.

1. Kohlberg has found that students can understand all stages below their level, but only at most one stage above their level. Curricula must be attuned to the moral level of its audience lest the material be inconsistent with the development of the child.

2. Kohlberg and his associates have found that moral development is a natural process. Nevertheless the rate of moral development can be speeded up. Children who are exposed to an atmosphere of interchange and dialogue, evolving around the resolution of a moral dilemma, with children who are one stage advanced beyond them, show a higher rate of moral growth.[50]

Moshe Blatt conducted classroom discussions of conflict-laden hypothetical moral dilemmas with four classes of junior high and high school students for a semester. The classes consisted of children of three stages. He encouraged interaction among the children who were one stage apart and found that at the end of the semester one-fourth to one-half of

the students in the experimental classrooms had moved up a stage, while there was consistently no change in the control group.[51] This discovery has tremendous implications for how curricula aimed at improving moral reasoning among children should be constructed. More than this; it also has implications on what the role of the teacher must be, and what type of atmosphere must be created in the classroom for moral growth to be encouraged.

Kohlberg's cognitive developmental theory of morality has, like all theories, been subject to many cirticisms. While this thesis is predicated on the ultimate validity and value of most of Kohlberg's research, I feel compelled to mention two sources of criticism: 1) criticism from the scientific community regarding Kohlberg's procedure and methodology and 2) criticism from the Jewish community whether Kohlberg's theories are in keeping with Jewish philosophy and values. In as much as this is not a scientific study focused on Kohlberg's theory, I mention the former criticisms only in passing.

In his short article, "A reply to Kohlberg," Richard S. Peters offers four main criticisms:

> 1. (Kohlberg) suffers from the rather touching belief that a Kantian type of morality, represented in modern times most notably by Hare and Rawls, is the only one. He fails to grasp that utilitarianism, in which the principle of justice is problematic, is an alternative type of morality and that people such as Winch have put forward a morality of integrity in which the principle of universalizability is problematic ...
>
> 2. He does not take "good-boy" morality seriously enough either from a practical point or from a theoretical point of view. Practically speaking,

> since few are likely to emerge beyond Kohlberg's Stages 3 and 4, it is important that our fellow citizens should be well-bedded down at one of the other of these stages ... Theoretically, too, the good-boy stage is crucial; for at this stage the child learns from the inside, as it were, what it is to follow a rule. Unless he has learned this well (whatever it means!), the notion of following his own rules at the autonomous stage is unintelligible. Kohlberg does not appreciate, either, that moral rules have to be learned in the face of counter-inclinations ...
>
> 3. ... Kohlberg, like Piaget, is particularly weak on the development of the affective side of morality, of moral emotions such as "guilt," "concern for others," "remorse," and so on.
>
> 4. Finally, Kohlberg, in his references to ego strength, sees the importance of will in morality, but offers no account of the type of habit training which encourages or discourages its growth.[52]

Kurt Bergling, in his book Moral Development: The Validity of Kohlberg's Theory, criticizes Kohlberg for the complexity of his scoring system and the ambiguity of his stage definitions which make it very difficult to duplicate and validate Kohlberg's results.[53] Berling notes that Kohlberg and his associates failed to use a hypothetico-deductive research strategy. Instead, Kohlberg and his associates employed what Kohlberg himself has termed a "bootstrapping model." The result has been a variety of stage and level definitions rather than one precise definition. Bergling includes several pages of varying definitions for identical stages that have appeared in Kohlberg's writings from 1964-1977.[54] Though the successive definitions could be considered "calibrations" of a sort of existing definitions, Bergling notes that such continual revamping and revision of definitions makes comparisons between studies very difficult.[55]

The last set of criticisms comes from those who would argue that Kohlberg's characterization of stages if inaccu-

rate. That is, the stages are not universal, but are actually culturally biased, and even gender biased. The stages are not necessarily even hierarchically related in that the lower stages are inferior to the higher stages. For example, Jack R. Fraenkel in his article, "The Kohlberg Bandwagon: Some Reservations" writes:

> Even though Kohlberg states that the six stages he has identified hold for all nine of the cultures that he has examined, this is a rather small sample from which to infer the sweeping conclusion that the description of moral development for all people in all cultures has been found, or even to infer that the concept of justice, fundamental to the reasoning inherent in the higher stages (5 and 6), is endorsed by all cultures.[56]

Fraenkel goes on to argue that there are other societies which exist which do not accept the principle of justice as their main ideal. He cites a work by Turnbull, The Mountain People which describes some of the behaviours of the Ik people of the northeastern Uganda. Fraenkel in quoting Turnbull, claims that these people do not accept basic principles of justice as the basis of their morality. Rather, survival is their primary value.[57]

Kurtines and Greif in their article, "The Development of Moral Thought: Review and Evaluation of Kohlberg's Approach," agree with Bergling, Fraenkel and Peter's criticism. In addition to decrying the difficulty of Kohlberg's scoring system (in terms of administering and validity), they also point out that in the dilemmas used in Kohlberg's scoring scale, most of the main characters are male.[58] Kurtines and Greif suggest that there is a gender bias inherent in the scoring system, which explains why females tend to score

lower than males.[59]

They argue further that the stages themselves are not necessarily hierarchical in nature. They cite other evidence which would suggest contrary conclusions.[60] In citing a three year cross-sectional and longitudinal study by Holstein, Kurtines and Greif note that:[61]

> Holstein's data provides no direct evidence that development over the three years proceeded in a stepwise fashion; they suggest that there was considerable skipping of stages and much regression among the final stages of both sexes. Furthermore, cross-sectional sex differences in modal response did not support the notion of an invariant sequence.[62]

It is neither the purpose nor within the scope of this thesis to answer all of the criticisms that have been mentioned in this section and elsewhere against Kohlberg's theory. As with all theories, there is evidence for and against the theory. Kohlberg has written amply in defense of his theory. Further, despite all of the criticisms launched against Kohlberg's research he has nonetheless made an important contribution to the field of moral reasoning. As even one major critic of Kohlberg concludes:

> Kohlberg's theory of moral development ... has found considerable support and seems to be fundamental to instructional planning throughout the school ages. From kindergarten through the compulsory years of schooling, Kohlberg's theory can be used as a starting point for development of curricula, textbooks, materials and teacher-training materials.[63]

CHAPTER TWO

Kohlberg and Jewish Education: Towards a Synthesis

In the past decade many Jewish educators, in search of guidance on the teaching of ethics, have taken a serious look at Kohlberg's theory of Moral Development. However, in the realm of Jewish education the focus is not upon the validity or accuracy of his theory, but upon his philosophic assumptions and assertions. Many Jewish educators feel that Kohlberg's theory of moral development with its universalistic elements is at odds with a philosophy of Jewish education whose goals by nature are often particularistic. It is the goal of this thesis to demonstrate that such a synthesis is not only possible, but needed particularly in the field of Holocaust education.

In many ways the debate surrounding Kohlberg is reminiscent of earlier battles in Jewish history when ideas borne outside of the strictly Jewish realm attempted to find their place within Judaism. In some respects, this tension should be felt less in the Reform movement where there is already a significant accomodation and acceptance of modern science.[1] And too, there is an acceptance of diverse religious expression and universalism in the Reform movement.[2] Perhaps it is because of this strong accomodation that many feel the

Reform movement has gone too far astray from traditional values, and would argue against any attempt to integrate Kohlberg's theory into Jewish educational pursuits.

For example, Seymour Rossel in his article, "On Teaching Jewish Ethics" decries the secularization of religious school. He argues that Jewish educators are focusing too much on the way a subject is taught and too little on what is actually being taught.[3] Rossel argues that those who try to integrate Kohlberg into Jewish education are actually secularizing Judaism and neglecting Jewish values:

> ... when the theories of Kohlberg claim the ears of the Jewish educator and the direction of Jewish education is turned to finding ways of using these theories and fitting religious concerns to these methods, the focus of Jewish education ... is being lost.[4]

Elsewhere, Rossel argues that Kohlberg's secularization of morality actually undermines our intention to teach Jewish ethics. Rather than understanding ethics in terms of religion, the ethics will be secularized and devoid of their Jewish roots:

> Kohlberg also shows, by indirection, that we as Jews cannot afford to teach morals through "situation ethics" or "moral dilemmas." If Kohlberg is correct in his master plan for secularizing morality--a plan which undermines my beliefs as a Jew--situation ethics are the best, quickest, and most effective way of subverting the uniqueness of Judaism's teaching. Even if we appeal to Jewish principles as we teach ethics through the "moral dilemma," the students will hear our teachings on a secular level, a level devoid of G-d's presence and of mitzvah.[5]

Finally, Rossel criticizes Kohlberg's approach because it is insensitive to religious concerns and implies a type of moral eliteness which is incongruous with the Jewish

vision of morality:

> The division of human beings into discrete "stages" of morality and the implication that most of us are too flawed to reach the upper stages, are not the vision of one with religious awareness. The neshama cries out for exercise and use and even the lowliest human being can understand the imperatives of its call. Herein lies the operative definition of justice. Not according to the stage of moral development, but "According to the work is the reward."[6]

In essence, Rossel's concerns are focused not upon the scientific validity of Kohlberg's theory, but upon the theory's roots in secularism. Rossel fears that a secularly based theory which is used to transmit Jewish values ultimately weakens those values. Rossel denies that any synthesis is possible or desirable.

Though Rossel's position is shared by many Jewish educators,[7] others disagree. For example, in her article, "Toward Universal Justice: Some Implications of Lawrence Kohlberg's Research for Jewish Education," Linda Rosensweig argues:

> Developmental moral education correlates well with the aims of Jewish education because it aims to foster progress toward a more mature understanding of the concept of universal justice--a concern that is central to Judaism.[8]

Barry Chazan disagrees with her conclusions. He accuses Rosenweig's equating Kohlberg's idea of justice to that of Judaism's as reductionism.

> The problem with (her) approach is its reductionism, whereby two common terms are extracted from their natural, complex settings in order to prove similarity. Such a methodological approach neglects the fact that both Kohlberg's work and Jewish education are multidimensional educational models in which ultimate being is defined by the complex as a whole, rather than by one constituent element. Hence, to extract justice from each

> system and then equate the systems or argue that they are similar is a misleading procedure.[9]

In her thesis Joanne Katz Glosser echoes Chazan's concerns by pointing out one major difference between Kohlberg's view of justice and that of Judaism:

> In an attempt to make his theory universalistic, Kohlberg makes no room for any kind of God-concept in his model or in his philosophy. The Jewish notion of justice, on the other hand, is intimately bound up with the Jew's relationship to God.[10]

Glosser continues her critique of Kohlberg by pointing out that his emphasis on universalism can be at odds with the particularistic concerns of Judaism. She notes that although there are many universalistic trends in Judaism nevertheless, Jews have preserved many customs to foster group identity:

> While many of our moral principles would seem to express stage 6 of Kohlberg's theory, there is a trend toward group loyalty, which Kohlberg characterizes in his stage 4. We seem to have a conflict here, and in terms of educational implications, we would have to challenge the usefulness of Kohlberg's model for our Jewish priorities.[11]

I disagree with both Chazan and Glosser on several accounts. Although I agree with Chazan that it is not totally accurate to equate two notions of justice out of context, I would still challenge Chazan to find any major differences between the Reform movement's view of justice and that of Kohlberg. The Reform movement is committed to the pursuit of justice.[12] Both Kohlberg and Judaism strive to improve the quality of thinking, and action of individuals. Though Kohlberg's approach is more universalistic in nature, Reform Judaism, while recognizing particularistic concerns is also

very cognizant of universalistic concerns. The movement recognizes that there is a tension which exists:

> We must confront them (i.e., the tensions) without abandoning either of our commitments. A universal concern for humanity unaccompanied by a devotion to our particular people is self-destructive; a passion for our people without involvement in humankind contradicts what the prophets have meant to us. Judaism calls us simultaneously to universal and particular obligations.[13]

In my opinion, there is little in Kohlberg which could not be adapted for the particularistic purposes of Jewish education. Kohlberg's theory focuses upon reasoning and is descriptive rather than prescriptive of human moral behaviour. Furthermore, Kohlberg provides a model of how to promote moral growth, a vital concern to Reform Jewish education. Just as Kohlberg strives to move students to higher levels of reasoning, so too do Jewish educators strive to raise the level of reasoning of students.

The debate between Jewish educators still continues. Some will always feel that any integration of Kohlberg's methodologies is a secularization of Jewish values. Others, such as myself, will welcome the integration and adaptation of Kohlberg's theory as being in keeping with the values and goals of Reform Jewish education. As Morris Sosevsky concludes:

> While the degree of compatibility of Kohlberg's philosophy of moral education with Judaic moral education can be debated, there seems little doubt that some of his methodologies suggest a process of great potential value to Jewish education.[14]

CHAPTER THREE

An Overview of Problems Related to the Teaching of the Holocaust

The study and teaching of the Holocaust has only just recently gained a great deal of interest by educators, school districts, and the public at large.[1] Both in the public and in the private realms, there was an aversion to teaching the Holocaust. In the public schools, for example, prior to 1973 there were no organized published curricula for secondary students that focused specifically on the Holocaust.[2] Textbooks that dealt with the history of Europe gave little mention, if any, to the destruction of European Jewry.[3] Diane Roskies in her pamphlet, Teaching the Holocaust to Children, summarizes four studies concerning the Holocaust and its presentation in history textbooks. All this took place only a decade ago. Each of the studies shows again and again how inadequately the Holocaust was being treated.[4]

In one study by Michael B. Kane, he discovered that out of fifteen texts surveyed, twelve did not mention atrocities against the Jews under Hitler.[5] In another study Gerald Krefetz found that textbooks neutralized the horror of the Holocaust by avoiding basic vocabulary of the event. Words such as "master race," "antisemitism" or "genocide" were not used. When the number of Jews killed was referred to the

numbers used were always "thousands" rather than millions.[6]

Even today, these deficiencies still occur. Although there are now a plethora of curricula on the Holocaust available for Public School use, and in textbooks not solely dedicated to teaching the Holocaust, the subject still receives only cursory and inadequate treatment.[7]

In the realm of Jewish education as well, there is a marked resistance to the development of adequate curricula on the Holocaust. Writing as late as 1974 in Jewish Education magazine, Alan D. Bennett observed:

> Many teaching materials about the Shoah have appeared in recent years. Yet, none addresses the matter of a total curriculum concern for the destruction of nearly 50% of world Jewry.[8]

Over the past decade, however, in both realms, there is a vast explosion of material for teaching the Holocaust.[9] Many Reform religious schools throughout the United States now devote a special place in their school curriculum for teaching the Holocaust.[10] Many public schools use their own curricula for teaching the Holocaust, developed by the school or borrowed from other schools. One curriculum, for example, developed in Brooklyn, Massachusetts by Margot Strom and William Parsons entitled, Facing History and Ourselves, has reached over 14,000 teachers and 8,000 non-educators, allowing contact with approximately 270,000 students.[11] Dozens of colleges and universities across the country also offer courses about the Holocause or have incorporated units within established courses to teach the Holocaust.[12]

The general public, as well, seems to be more willing to learn about the Holocaust. For example, NBC's docu-drama aired April 16-20, 1978 entitled "The Holocaust" was watched by millions of viewers and served as a catalyst for many seminars and workshops on the Holocaust throughout the country.[13]

These areas of success were achieved only after many areas of resistance were overcome. In both the secular and Jewish schools, certain areas of concern by teachers, parents, and administrators had to be addressed before any Holocaust curriculum could be implemented. Moreover, as we shall see, the actual response to those areas of concern was to have an overwhelming impact upon the nature of the curricula that was developed for both secular and Jewish schools.

In many communities, the fight to implement a Holocaust curriculum into the public schools was met with political infighting among minority groups, resistance by orthodox Jewish groups and anxiety by German-Americans who thought that such a curriculum would breed anti-German feelings. Though some communities had less resistance (or little at all),[14] the case of New York City's attempt to implement The Holocaust, A Study of Genocide, typifies a worst case scenario of what occurred in some fashion in many communities throughout the United States.

On October 6, 1977, the President of the New York City Board of Education, its Chancellor and its Director of Educational Planning and Support called a press conference to announce the introduction of a new curriculum, The Holocaust,

A Study of Genocide.[15] The reaction of the public to the announcement was mixed. The Jewish community, on the whole, responded favorably to the new curriculum.[16] Yet, there were factions of the Jewish community that opposed its implementation. Some members of the American Jewish Committee, for example, felt that it would arouse latent anti-semitism. Some saw it as a potential impetus for Hitler cults arising in the high schools.[17] Others, more traditional members of the Jewish community, felt that the Holocaust was too sacred a sbuject to be taught in the public school system.[18]

The German-American community was also alarmed. They feared that such a course would only serve to perpetrate and perpetuate anti-German feelings among Americans.[19] The German-American community, in an attempt to defend itself, as well as to prevent the implementation of the curriculum, claimed that the Holocaust never happened.[20]

Arabists utilized the controversy surrounding the curriculum as a vehicle to attack supporters of Israel. They denounced the curriculum "as an attempt by the Zionists to use the city educational system for their evil propaganda purposes ..."[21]

Finally, the New York Association of Black Educators opposed the Holocaust curriculum and objected to efforts to make the curriculum mandatory.[22] They felt that a similar requirement should be instituted to teach about racism and slavery in America.[23] Moreover, at the time, there was a great devisiveness between the Black and Jewish communities over the quota issue surrounding the Bakke case before the Supreme Court. Blacks were angered at the lack of Jewish

support for the quota system, and Jews felt threatened by the challenge to the old "hiring and promoting by merit" system.[24] The attempt to implement a course on the Holocaust at this time (though it was coincidental), only served to exacerbate the tensions between the two communities even more.[25]

Though not every attempt to implement a Holocause curriculum was met with such controversy, nevertheless, any new curriculum change is subject to some forms of resistance. Political groups have to be taken into consideration. Parents' needs and students' needs must also be examined. Models of curriculum design development emphasize and illustrate just how important the needs of society, community, students are in formulating the objectives of any curriculum.[26] Hence, it is easy to see how issues surrounding the implementation and development of a course on the Holocaust are often reflective of issues and tensions inherent in society.

Quite obviously the Holocaust is a subject of special concern to the Jewish community. The Holocaust has affected almost every dimension of Jewish life today. Demographically, six million Jewish people were destroyed. Historically and culturally, almost all of East European Jewry was destroyed. Theologically, many question G-d's actions or lack of actions during the Holocaust. Personally, many lost their families. Thus, it is difficult for the Jewish community to be objective in its response to the teaching of the Holocaust. It is this personal encounter with the Holocaust which shapes the areas of concern/resistance within the Jewish community to

the teaching of the Holocaust and the development of Holocaust curricula.

In his article, "Teaching the Holocaust," Shraga Arian enumerates three of the main areas of concern.

> First of all, despite the horrors of war all around us there is a discomfort, almost an embarassment, which our parents project when confronting any aspect of death ...
>
> The second mental block revolves around the quality of passivity which the Shoah infers. We, the genus New Jew, are the embodiment of tough, indomitable Israel sabras ... We are champions, not only against Arabs, but in brainpower ... Who wants to be reminded of a time when the Jew was a pushover, a passive Holocaust victim?
>
> The third mental block is especially applicable to our teen-agers, those enthusiastic exponents of relevance. What is happening now, this moment, is significant, not what happened even as recently as 25 years ago.[27]

Related to the second concern expressed by Arian is the fear that teaching the Holocaust might have adverse psychological effects upon students.[28] Many parents and educators feel that teaching the Holocaust could lead children to feelings of self-pity, to self-hatred, or to a fear that they could be the next victims.[29]

Yet, the horror of the Holocaust cannot be ignored nor skirted. Horror is the nature of Genocide. Inherent in the subject matter itself is how to teach violence. What events should be included, what pictures and films should or should not be shown, and to which age levels.

These areas of concern in both the secular and Jewish educational realms impeded the development and implementation of Holocaust curricula over the past three decades. The

response to these concerns is reflected largely in the philosophic bent of the curricula developed. Curricula designed to be taught in the public schools almost invariably emphasized the universality of the Holocaust, viewing it as one example of man's inhumanity to man. Curricula intended for use in Jewish schools almost invariably reflected a concern for the uniqueness of the Holocaust in human history.

Public schools are faced with a more diverse community than are Reform religious schools. Thus, the uniqueness of the Holocaust as an historic event was often downplayed in order to derive universal lessons which appealed to all students. A study of 22 curricula used in public schools throughout the United States concluded that:

> In fact, the Holocaust was often used as a vehicle, or model, for the teaching of human values or related contemporary phenomenon, in high regard of what we (the Jewish authors of the study) identify as the Holocaust proper.[30]

To a large extent teachers view the subject of the Holocaust as a means of teaching about prejudice and racism in general. In a study of four major Holocaust curricula used widely in the public school stystem, the authors concluded that:

> To varying degrees, teachers characterized their educational goals in terms of having their students ... (1) learn about the causes of prejudice and racism and develop an awareness of intergroup relations ... studying about the Holocaust becomes an opportunity to explore what happens when one group is targeted for state-inspired hatred and then destruction ...[31]

Secular curricula tended to emphasize the facts of the Holocaust, as well as the historicity of the event:

--Know history: knowing the factual basis for events which led up to and then became the Holocaust;

--Understand history: being able to generalize from one set of historical events and then draw implications to relevant contemporary situations.[32]

There was also a strong emphasis upon responsibility taking and helping students to understand the complexity of decision making. Teachers characterized their educational goals in terms of encouraging students to:

--Take individual responsibility for decisions: thinking about the moral implications for personal decisions and establishing an awareness for reasoning about "what would I do if I were faced with a somewhat similar moral dilemma" as those people caught up in the Holocaust?

--Understand the complexity of decisions in terms of being able to think about justifications for actions from a number of different points of view, and to develop reasons for deciding among them.[33]

This tendency to derive universal lessons from the Holocaust, and to depict the Holocaust as an event which serves as one example (albeit the most horrendous example), of man's inhumanity to man, is characteristic of curricula designed for the public school system. In the public school curricula the universal lessons derived from the Holocaust are often put in the context of American democratic values.[34] Holocaust curricula often becomes the vehicle by which one teaches fundamental values of American society, i.e., democracy, pluralism, freedom from prejudice, individual responsibility and antiracism.[35]

This is in sharp contrast to the tendency of Jewish curricula where three issues predominate:

1) the uniqueness and/or universality of the Holocaust

2) the Holocaust as the mysterium tremendum--the awesome mystery--which dares not be penetrated but merely described or barely approached.

3) the Holocaust as the source of an absolute separateness and distinctiveness among people.[36]

Much less emphasis is placed upon the universal implications of the Holocaust, and much greater emphasis is placed upon utilizing the Holocaust to increase Jewish identity and the relevancy of Jewish education.[37]

In the literature of Jewish education, comments such as those by Judah Pilch are very common:

> The writer is convinced that if we fail to impress our children with the Jewish struggle for equality in the immediate past and with the shoah, the marginality of their lives as Jews will become greater from year to year, and their descendants may have little or no concern for their people's future ... Teaching is not only a means for a better understanding of the history and destiny of the Jewish people, but it makes for a better appreciation of what makes a Jew a Jew.[38]

Related to this concern is the stress upon remembrance. Writers on the Holocaust, including curriculum writers, maintain that Jews have an obligation to remember the six million who died for two main reasons: to pay respect to their memory, and to prevent (through knowledge of the event), another Holocaust. Typical in the literature are comments similar to those enunciated by Bennett:

> A total curriculum can and should be constructed now for many reasons ... To be sure, we must remember and our children must learn so that they may remember for at least two reasons: To remember is to help forestall and prevent repetition; To remember is to do homage to our dead.[38]

Interestingly enough, both secular and Jewish curricula

emphasize that the primary rationalization for teaching the Holocaust is to prevent another similar act of Genocide. Where they differ is in terms of their basic philosophic outlook on the event itself. Secular curricula almost invariably view the Holocaust as one example of Genocide. Facing History and Ourselves for example includes a chapter on the Armenian massacre.[40] Jewish curricula, however, shy away from any such comparisons. The Holocaust is seen as a unique event, unparalleled in human or Jewish history. To take away from this uniqueness, is seen by many, as to detract from the event itself and to minimilize the destruction that was wreaked upon the Jewish people.

This bifurcation of how the Holocaust is taught creates what some feel to be a basic confusion of interpretation of the historical event itself:

> As far as the study and teaching of the Holocaust is concerned, the problem is that one cannot have it both ways. One cannot treat the Holocaust as sacred history and also insist that it become a lesson and a warning for public discussions as well as an integrated part of our school curriculum. And throughout much of the debate about the Holocaust there is this attempt to have it both ways; to have it unique, and yet to have it as only the last example of two thousand years of persecution, to teach it as a moral lesson, and yet to make it so particular that no one else can use it. These are contradictions that must be resolved.[41]

I too would agree with this assessment. Though it is unfair and inaccurate to teach the Holocaust solely in terms of American values, so too is it inaccurate to portray the Holocaust only as a vehicle for Jewish identity. There is both a uniqueness and a universality to the Holocaust. Certainly mass murder is not new to mankind; sadly, it is a

universal phenomenon which continues until today. This is not to deny the fact that the Holocaust has a definite particular interest for the Jewish people. It is to suggest strongly, that in both the secular and the Jewish realms, greater attention should be placed upon the historicity of the event itself, and the values, universal values that can be gleaned from such a study. These values can and should be placed within a proper context of understanding for the student, but great care must be made not to mythologize the Holocaust or to use it for propaganda purposes.

Thus far, I have delineated some of the major philosophic differences between public school and Jewish curricula. I showed how these philosophic differences are also reflective of the response to concerns that both sectors had regarding the implementation of Holocaust curricula. However, these are not the only problematic areas which exist in the development of Holocaust curricula or in the teaching of the Holocaust.

Roskies touches upon some of the most important areas of concern in both the public and Jewish realms of Holocaust education:

1. Many curricula use non-specific language which often results in a confusion of terms. Ghetto, death camp and concentration camp, for example, are often confused.
2. Curricula do not adequately take into consideration a child's developmental concept of time. Often times curricula are chronologically based before a child's concept of time is secure.
3. The study of European Jewry, East and West, is ignored or only placed in the context of a Holocaust curriculum. Students have little idea of the world that was lost.

> 4. Few curricula deal with the essential nature of anti-Semitism; that it exists regardless of the Jew. The irrational character of anti-Semitism must be explained lest the student place the blame for the Nazis actions on the Jews.[42]

Beyond these concerns, one final concern must also be mentioned. There is a great need for teacher training and education on how to teach the Holocaust. As Samuel H. Blemenfield notes regarding Jewish education:

> ... whatever the subject under consideration, the theme that informs all the discussions on teacher education and teacher procurement is the critical shortage of Jewish education personnel and the inability of teachers' training schools to provide more than some 10% of the number needed.[43]

And as Yitzhak Greenberg has noted in the public educational domain:

> ... Holocaust studies are a relatively recent phenomenon in the United States. Typically there is a high degree of teacher or student initiative in introducing the course into the curriculum. Most teachers are self-taught; few have had professional training in this field.[44]

Yet, it is not enough that teachers are motivated and enthusiastic about teaching the Holocaust. They must also know the subject.[45] As the Pittsburgh study of twenty-two curricula concludes:

> It can not be stated forcefully enough that persons responsible for developing curricula (or units) on the Holocaust must be knowledgeable about the Holocaust. Intensive feelings and commitments to the necessity for teaching this event may be important, but certainly do not suffice ...[46]

One unfortunate result is that teachers who are not adequately trained to teach the Holocaust are, in fact, the ones teaching. Teachers who know little about the subject itself are consequently very dependent upon the textbook for their

source of information. They are prey, therefore, to the inadequacies and inaccuracies of the textbooks.[47] The Holocaust, as a result, is often mistaught.

For example, Roskie points out that many courses on the Holocaust neglect the study of Eastern European Jewry. The reason for this neglect lies not just with the textbooks,[48] but with the teachers themselves who are unfamiliar with the importance of this background information for a proper and complete understanding of the Holocaust.[49]

Any curricula, no matter how good, is not "teacher proof." The adequacy of the implementation of any curricula is only as good as the background and training of the teacher. Without such training, the curricula may serve as a useful academic exercise, but its goals will probably never be brought to fruition.[50]

CHAPTER FOUR

Kohlberg and the Teaching of the Holocaust: Towards a Synthesis

In the previous section this thesis examined many of the issues relating to the development and implementation of Holocaust curricula, and the teaching of the Holocaust. Kohlberg's theory of cognitive moral development addresses many of these concerns. Specifically, Kohlberg responds to the following:

1. How can one develop a methodology for teaching the Holocaust which enhances the moral development of the student?
2. What considerations must be taken into account to insure that a curriculum is developmentally appropriate?
3. How can the Holocaust be taught so that positive attitudes towards Jewish ethics and Jewish history are reinforced?

This section will examine Kohlberg's response to each of these concerns.

I noted in Chapter Three that Jewish and secular curricula tend to be built upon different philosophic assumptions, and directed towards different goals. Despite these differences, the two realms share a basic concern, the prevention of another Holocaust. As I will demonstrate by my analysis later in this thesis, almost all Holocaust curricula share this as a central rationale. Kohlberg's theory of cognitive moral development is important in the realization

of this goal. His theory provides not only an explanation of moral growth and development, but a methodology for promoting moral growth.

This finding is especially significant in the realm of Holocaust education where the most often suggested method for prevention of another Holocaust has been "remembrance." In other words, in both the literature of the Holocaust and in curricula, there is a basic assumption and/or assertion that by remembering the history of the Holocaust, one will be less likely to repeat such an atrocity. Santanya's quote is often repeated. This assumption is false. Knowledge and remembrance of the Holocaust alone cannot be automatic safeguards to prevent future Holocausts:

> How is it possible for American culture to sincerely claim that it has reflected seriously on the destructions that took place during the Second World War and stand by while people once again are in the process of being destroyed? Not only do we as a nation stand by while groups of people are being destroyed, we use the same language of indifference that was used by the United States and other on-looking countries during the Holocaust. How is it possible that the world is letting it happen again?[1]

There is a fundamental difference between the process of learning, and the process of integrating the meaning and implications of an important event into the consciousness and conscience.[2] The Holocaust must be taught, not only to inform, and to remember, but to:

> ... encourage moral and spiritual growth in spite and even because of the fact that those things can never be accomplished enough.[3]

Kohlberg's theory of cognitive moral growth can be tremendously important for the prevention of another Holocaust,

a primary goal of most curricula. If prevention is the goal, then clearly one primary methodology should be one which produces students who reason at higher stages of moral reasoning. Such students would tend to act more justly, and be better equipped to handle the many complex issues raised by the Holocaust. In this fashion, a Kohlbergian based Holocaust curriculum would work towards the goal of preventing another Holocaust.

In the development of curriculum and the teaching of students, developmental concerns cannot be ignored. The Holocaust is a subject which raises many complex moral issues. Students may not be ready developmentally to understand and deal with those issues.

Each stage along the hierarchy is limited in its ability to provide an understanding of a given dilemma situation. Kohlberg maintains that a higher stage is better able to provide an individual with a fuller, more complete understanding of the issues involved in a dilemma. Since moral reasoning is a form of reasoning, the ability to reason morally is also tied to a person's ability to reason logically (i.e., his position along Piaget's paradigm). (See Appendix B for a comparison of Kohlberg and Piaget.)

For example, one major difference between stage 2 and stage 3 is the ability to assume another's role or perspective in a given situation. In stage 2 a person's ability is very limited. He views the world mainly in terms of his own needs and can only take the role of one with whom he is directly involved.[4] At stage 3 there is a greater ability

to step beyond a two-party relationship and understand how a third party would react.[5]

To illustrate this point, imagine the situation of two twelve-year old girls who have a crush on the same boy. If one girl is at stage 2, her ability would be only to anticipate the reaction of the other girl to her actions at persuing the boy. If the girl were at stage 3, she would realize that not only the other girl, but others in the room would also be aware of her actions.[6]

Taking a third-person's perspective is crucial to the development of moral reasoning because it allows an individual to perceive how the group will react to his dealings with other individuals.[7] At stage 2 a person is merely pursuing his own interests without causing any undue harm to others. At stage 3, more is expected of oneself, and of others. There is an awareness that others are judging behaviour.[8]

Another distinction between the two levels is illustrated by subjects' responses to the Heinz dilemma. (See Appendix D for Heinz Dilemma as it appears in the Moral Judgment Interview.) A person at stage 2 would have a different view of his obligations to his wife than a person at stage 3. At stage 2 the person would not feel that he had any obligations to his wife per se.[9] He could certainly steal the drug to save his wife, but no one could fault him if he did not wish to steal the drug either. At stage 3, the individual would recognize that by being married to the woman, he had a basic obligation to her and should try to save her life.[10]

A further example is the difference between stage 4 and higher stages. At stage 4 Kohlberg maintains that there is no adequate means for dealing with situations in which a system of laws or beliefs comes into conflict with basic human rights.[11] Thus, if a person lives in a society whose laws are unjust, does that person have the right and/or obligation to violate those laws? Stage 4 has no adequate response to this question.[12]

Differences in stage level thinking are of extreme importance to both the teaching of the Holocaust, and the development of appropriate curricula materials. From these illustrations, it is apparent that stages view issues very differently. In the study of the Holocaust, a subject where so many issues are raised, the better the teacher can understand the position of his students, the better he will be able to anticipate their responses. In this fashion, the teacher can develop appropriate curricula materials, and help students deal more effectively with the complex dilemmas which are part of the nature of the subject itself.

In his book Promoting Moral Growth, Richard Hirsh describes the general relationship between age and moral stages:

> Among American middle-class children and adolescents, the following age-related trends have been found:
>
> 1. a) The usage of preconventional stages drops in percentage from age ten to thirteen. While ten-year olds use a mixture of stages 1, 2, and 3 in their moral reasoning, thirteen-year-olds use primarily stage 3 reasoning.
>
> b) From ages thirteen to sixteen adolescents' usage of stage 3 remains stable, and a rise

occurs in usage of stage 4 reasoning. There is some emergent usage of stage 5 as well.

c) From ages sixteen to twenty there is a consolidation of usage of stage 3 and stage 4; there is some further usage of stage 5 as a minor stage.

2. Among American middle-class adults (aged twenty-one to fifty) we find a predominant usage of stage 3 and stage 4 moral reasoning, with stage 5 reasoning accounting for 15 percent of total stage usage. Thus the conventional stages, which emerge during early adolescence, remain the core structures for adult usage. Stage 5 postconventional reasoning increases in usage, but only among a minority of American adults.[13]

It is important that teachers and curriculum designers are aware of these developmental progressions. Kohlberg found that most high school students and young students simply are not developmentally equipped for certain values that we wish to teach them. The students do not have the necessary role taking abilities and the broad social perspectives which are necessary for certain types of moral reasoning. This suggests strongly that curricula in general (and certainly in the case of the Holocaust) must take into consideration the developmental level of the student if effective learning is to take place.[14]

One other result of trying to teach students who are not developmentally ready for material in the curriculum is boredom. Kohlberg asserts that one reason why many students are bored or develop negative attitudes is due to their lacking certain developmental tools to properly understand the material. Kohlberg notes that often times students cannot understand "abstract historical concepts and they lack the full societal perspective necessary for a meaningful

study of people and events in the past."[15] By taking into consideration the moral development of the age group when designing a curriculum, teachers and curricula writers could resolve some of the problems revolving around "boredom in the classroom."

Boredom could be further counteracted by the nature of the dilemma method itself. Students find the dilemma-conflict model an exciting method which enhances the relevancy of the material while at the same time reinforcing content.[16] Students who are genuinely excited about material tend to have more positive attitudes towards the subject.[17] Thus, the utilization of Kohlberg's method helps to counteract many of the negative attitudes toward Jewish history.[18]

Beyond the reasons already cited, an integration of Kohlberg's methodology and a Holocaust curriculum would be ideal because of the congruence and compatibility of objectives which exists between Jewish educational goals in teaching ethics and that of the philosophy inherent in Kohlberg's theory.[19] As Rosensweig notes:

> Developmental moral education correlates well with the aims of Jewish education because it aims to foster progress toward a more mature understanding of the concept of universal justice--a concern that is central to Judaism.[20]

CHAPTER FIVE

An Analysis of 28 Holocaust Curricula Vis-a-Vis Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

In the previous sections we have examined some of the issues revolving around the teaching of the Holocaust and the implementation of Holocaust curricula. I have argued thus far that Kohlberg's research in the area of moral development has important implications for the development of Holocaust curricula and the teaching of the Holocaust. In this section I will analyze a sampling of Holocaust curricula to provide empirical data to further support this contention.

Purpose of this Study:

To demonstrate the need for moral education in the designing and teaching of the Holocaust by determining the following:

1. Is one of the objectives of Holocaust curricula to "prevent another Holocaust?"
2. Is the promotion of moral reasoning (i.e., cognitive moral growth as defined by Kohlberg) one of the objectives of Holocaust curricula?
3. Are Kohlberg's methodologies for promoting and encouraging moral growth an integral part of Holocaust curricula? That is:
   a. Is the role of the teacher that of a facilitator?
   b. Are dilemmas used as a means to encourage moral reasoning and discussion?

4. Do Holocaust curricula provide means for evaluating growth in moral reasoning?

The Curricula Sample:

For the purposes of this study, it was necessary to identify a representative sample of curricula designed for teaching the Holocaust to students in Reform religious schools, and public schools in the United States. The term "curriculum" is defined for the purpose of this study as:

1. A textbook with study guide questions for students and/or a teacher's guide.
2. Teacher resource manuals.
3. Study units which provided questions for inquiry, lesson outlines, and bibliography for further study.

The material for the study sample was generated through the following approaches:

1. Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Library. The library prides itself on having an extensive collection of Holocaust resources. I was able to obtain most curricula through the services of the library.
2. National Holocaust Resource Centers. I wrote to several resource centers requesting information. In particular, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Holocaust Center of Greater Pittsburgh, and the National Holocaust Resource Center were very helpful in providing names of school districts that were teaching the Holocaust.
3. Personal contacts. Many friends, knowing that I was engaged in this endeavour, acquired curricula from schools or synagogues for use in this study.

This sampling is representative because the study contains

curricula published by the major Jewish publishing houses, i.e., Behrman House, Alternatives in Religious Education, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, KTAV, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith. In addition, the curricula published by the major school districts using Holocaust curricula (New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Baltimore) are also among those gathered for this study.

An attempt was made to gather material for every age level. I was unable to locate any curricula for teaching the Holocaust below the fifth grade level. Though there are many books written for younger children, there are no curricula written for this age. Undoubtedly this is due to the nature of the subject matter and the feeling among many educators and publishers that the Holocaust is too sensitive a subject for this age group.[1]

Gathering of Data:

In addition to bibliographic information, each of the curricula were examined to determine the following information:

a. Whether the curriculum is intended for use in Reform religious schools or public schools.
b. The intended grade level(s).
c. The intended (minimum) length of time the course is to be taught.
d. A general description of the curriculum.
e. The explicit and/or implied aims and objectives of the curriculum.
f. The explicitly stated role of the teacher.
g. The explicitly stated overall methodology employed and/or learning activities of the curriculum.
h. A determination of whether Kohlberg's theory

of cognitive moral development was taken into consideration in the development of the curriculum, including the following:

1. Are moral dilemmas used as a means of encouraging moral growth, discussion and debate?
2. Are there means for evaluating the growth of moral reasoning?

Most of the information for the above categories was found in the curricula themselves, through the use of publisher's catalogs, or annotated bibligraphies. Where it was impossible to determine a discreet piece of information, it is so noted. Where I had to interpolate information, such as the length or the objectives of the curriculum, it is also noted. In determing whether Kohlberg was utilized in the construction of the curriculum, I relied on explicit statements in the curricula, letters from the authors or publishers, in some cases conversations with the author, and/or articles about the curriculum.

Analysis of Data:

Each of the curricula are listed in alphabetical order and categorized according to their primary use, i.e., public school or Reform religious school (see chart 1 on pp. 50-51). The curricula have each been given a number which will be used as a reference in every one of the tables of analysis that follow.

Each of the curricula have been individually analyzed and described. The tables contain tabulated information to specific questions. The following is a list of the questions addressed by each table:

[Note: J=curricula intended for Reform religious schools, and P=curricula intended for public school settings.]

Tables 1-J & 1-P:	Is one of the objectives or rationales of the curriculum to "prevent another Holocaust?"
Tables 2-J & 2-J:	Was Kohlberg's theory of moral development used in the development of the curriculum?
Tables 3-J & 3-P:	Is one primary role of the teacher to act as a "facilitator," engaging students in moral debate?*
Tables 4a-J & 4a-P:	Is the "moral dilemma" method* used as a means for promoting moral growth and encouraging moral reasoning?
Tables 4b-J & 4b-P:	If the moral dilemma method is used, is it the primary methodology* employed for teaching the Holocaust?
Tables 5-J & 5-P:	If moral dilemmas are not the primary means employed, what are the two most frequently used methods for encouraging some form of moral growth?*
Tables 6a-J & 6a-P:	Is the curriculum taught over a minimum period of 15 weeks?
Tables 6b-J & 6b-P:	If the answer to Tables 2 and 6a are both "yes," then does the curriculum devote at least one hour per week* to moral reasoning?
Tables 7-J & 7-P:	Does the curriculum provide or suggest means for evaluating moral growth?*

Definition of Terms:

In the above tables certain phrases were given an asterik sign (*) in order to indicate that further clarification of the term was necessary. What follows is a more precise definition of certain key terms used in the above questions:

1. "... to act as a facilitator": A teacher has many functions. This question seeks to determine whether one of

the primary functions assigned to the teacher by the curriculum is that of a facilitator. That is, a person who encourages students to interact with each other, instead of with the teacher.

2. "... moral dilemma method": This refers to the method of presenting moral dilemmas which promote cognitive-moral conflict in order to engage students in different stage levels in moral debate. For the purposes of this question the term "moral dilemma" does not refer to whether the curriculum asks individual students dilemma questions. To give a student an assignment, "Write an essay on whether you, as a non-Jewish Pole, would have aided Jews during World War II" does not serve as an example of a moral dilemma. If the question is asked of the class, then it is an example of a "moral dilemma." This question is to evaluate whether or not cognitive conflict is used to encourage moral growth and reasoning. (See chapter six for further elaboration of this concept.)

3. "... primary methodology": This question is to determine whether the dilemma method is used as a major method in the curriculum, or whether it is used simply as another "learning activity."

4. "... some form of moral growth": Although Kohlberg may not have been considered in the curriculum design, many curricula still try to promote moral values. This question is to determine which methods to promote moral growth are most often employed in the curricula. The

methods include attitudinal change, changes in values, and changes in how a student behaves. In this question "moral growth" is given a much broader meaning than in question four.

5. "... one hour per week": This question seeks to determine whether one hour per week for one semester is devoted to the promotion of moral reasoning. Kohlberg's findings indicate that this is the minimum amount of time necessary for significant stage level change to occur.[3] (See Appendix E.)

6. "... for evaluating moral growth": This refers to the definition of moral growth given in question five, inclusive of Kohlberg's definition. The means utilized for evaluating moral growth could be journals, pretests, and/or values clarification exercises. However, each of these means must be performed at various junctures in the curriculum (rather than only at the beginning, middle or end of the curriculum) in order to be considered "evaluative." To simply engage students in a values clarification exercise on a "one shot" basis, does not serve to measure any type of moral growth. Likewise, to have students take an attitude test only at the beginning of a curriculum, does not measure any sense of growth either.

CHART 1

ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF CURRICULA

Reform Religious School Curricula:

1. Altschuler, David A. Hitler's War Against the Jews.
2. Cohen, Henry. Our Struggle to Be.
3. Feinstein, Sara & Yaacov Shilhav. Flame and Fury.
4. Hoffman, Judy. Joseph and Me.
5. Holocaust Curriculum for Jewish Schools.
6. Keeping Posted.
7. Pilch, Judah. The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe.
8. Ross, Lillian. From Holocaust to Homeland.
9. Stadtler, Bea. The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance.
10. Zwerin, Raymond and Audrey Friedman Marcus. The Holocaust: A Study in Values.

*** *** ***

Public School Curricula:

1. Frydman, Ron. The Holocaust: An Instructional Guide.
2. Greenberg, Martin and Marie Grieco. The Third Reich in Perspective.
3. The Holocaust: A Compendium of Resources for Secondary School Teachers.
4. The Holocaust A Study of Genocide.
5. The Holocaust. A Teacher Resource (tentative edition).
6. The Holocaust. Human Rights: Lessons of the Holocaust.
7. Holocaust Never Again!
8. The Holocaust. Two-Week Unit for the Mandated Global History Course.
9. Koppel, Lillian, Herbert Kamins and George Rapport. Holocaust Studies Grade 10.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF CURRICULA (continued)

10. Meltzer, Milton. Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust.

11. Merti, Betty. Understanding the Holocaust.

12. The National Conference of Christians and Jews. "Lesson Plans for High School Holocaust Program."

13. Nick, Ann L. Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust.

14. Post, Albert. The Holocaust: A Case Study of Genocide.

15. Sanders, Beverly. The Holocaust: The Jewish Ordeal in Nazi Occupied Europe 1933-1945.

16. Strom, Margot Stern and William S. Parson. Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behaviour.

17. Watson, Patricia and Myron Winer. The Holocaust (8th grade).

18. IBID (11th grade).

Altschuler, David A. Hitler's War Against the Jews, New York: Behrman House Inc., 1978, 190 pages.

Scribner, Arnold. Teacher's Guide for Hitler's War Against the Jews, New York: Behrman House Inc., 1979, 108 pages.

a. Reform Religious School

b. 8-9th grades

c. The length of the course is not specified in the catalog or in the text or teacher's guide. However, since there are 21 sections each of which is suggested to be taught for one hour each, undoubably the course is designed to be used for an entire year's course if used in a religious school which meets one day per week.

d. The text is an adaptation of Lucy Dawidowicz' major work for adults. Altschuler borrows from her work the historical facts and structure for his own adaptation, yet, seeks to provide a grounding in Jewish values as well. The text is divided into two parts, "The Final Solution" and "The Holocaust." Part one describes the rise of Hitler, the rise of anti-Semitism, and the death camps operated. Part two describes how the Jews met their fate, how the Jews were deceived by the Germans, how some Jews fought back, and how and why the world ignored appeals to help the Jews.

   The teacher's guide follows the text very closely. The guide provides topics for class discussion, activities, bibliography and media sources. Quizes are provided for ascertaining student's grasp of facts and basic understanding of material.

e. Goals are stated in the teacher's guide for each unit. In the Behrman House catalog description the publishing house writes:

> Each chapter contains topics for class discussion of the Jewish values to be considered in coming to terms with what happened and making sure the world does not see its like again.[2]

   Beyond this broad objective, the specific goals stated in the teacher's guide deal with the specific factual content of the lesson. For example, in chapter 7 the teacher's guide states:

> To demonstrate that Hitler continued to push ahead with his anti-Jewish ideology despite the ever-increasing threat of war.
>
> To provide material to understand the total implications of Kristallnacht.[3]

f. The role of the teacher is not stated explicitly.

g. Methodologies employed are varied: classroom discussions, readings, films, class reports, and guest speakers.

h. There is no explicit statements regarding the moral development of the students. Most of the teacher's guide questions deal with helping the student gain a greater grasp of facts and concepts, but little is done to develop the moral growth of the student. There is no attempt to evaluate the moral growth of the student. Quizzes measure mainly grasp of facts and concepts. Even when dilemmas are presented (for ex. p. 49 of guide: "If a sixty-five year old Nazi who had committed some crime during the war was living in your community, would you advocate doing anything? If so, what? If not, why not?") the emphasis is not on the reasoning as Kohlberg would suggest, but on the content of the response. Further, there is little attempt to present the dilemma model suggested by Kohlberg.

Cohen, Henry. Our Struggle To Be, New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1977, Unit one 35 pages, Unit three 47 pages.

[Note that I was only able to obtain two of the four units of this experimental course. I felt though that the two units were sufficient enough to evaluate the curricula for our needs.]

a. Reform Religious School

b. 8-10th grades

c. The four units encompass 18 one hour lessons. The author does not specify any other time schedule. (Could be 18 weeks, 1 hour per month.)

d. This curriculum is only in experimental form and has not been formally endorsed and published by the UAHC. It is part of the experimental Educational Editions department which considers new material for publication.

The curricula is divided into four units. The titles of the units are: 1. Roots of Anti-Semitism 2. Dawn and Disillusion 3. The Holocaust 4. Israel and the Arabs. In turn, each unit is divided into individual lessons. I obtained units one and three.

Unit one deals with the origins of Anti-Semitism from the time of Jesus until medieval times. In addition, the effects of Anti-Semitism are discussed. The teacher's guide is contained in the first 16 pages of the unit. The remainder is devoted for the student.

Unit three, "The Holocaust" deals with several topics: a. From Anti-Semitism to Genocide; b. The reasons behind the Holocaust; c. The world's response; d. Jewish resistance; e. The meaning of the Holocaust for Jewish life today. The first 27 pages are devoted to serving as the teacher's guide. The remainder is for the student.

The author suggest that two books be used as texts for the students: I. H. Levinger, Story of the Jew by Behrman House and/or A. Eisenberg, et. al., Eyewitnesses to Jewish History by UAHC.

e. The author's main objectives are to confront four issues:

1. What are the causes of anti-Semitism and what can we do about it?
2. How shall we reply to charges that Zionism is racism?
3. How could the Holocaust have happened and could it happen again?
4. How can the conflict between the Arabs and Israel be resolved fairly?

In turn, each lesson has its own set of individualized goals. In Unit one the goals focus primarily upon exploring the historical roots of anti-Semitism and helping the student gain a greater insight into the causes of anti-Semitism and what it feels like to be a victim and an oppressor.

Unit three's goals focus primarily on helping the student gain insights into the causes of the Holocaust, who is responsible for the Holocaust, preventing another Holocaust, development of an understanding as to why more Jews did not resist, and why the world did not help. Finally, the unit focuses upon a discussion upon the implications of the Holocaust for Jewish identity and survival, Jewish views towards non-Jews, and Jewish beliefs in God and humanity.

f. The role of the teacher is not stated explicitly.

g. The author employs a variety of lesson methodologies which are specifically stated for each unit. Among these are discussion, filmstrips, movies, drama, simulations, and lectures.

h. The findings of Kohlberg are not taken into account. There is no attempt to evaluate moral growth among students. There is an attempt though, through the various methodologies to alter students' attitudes and to help them learn about the nature of prejudice and become less prejudiced themselves. There is too an attempt to teach students the consequences of prejudice and individual responsibility for the actions of their government. The methodologies employed, for the most part, are not those of Kohlberg. Debate is encouraged, but the focus is on concepts rather than on "moral dilemmas" as Kohlberg emphasizes.

Feinstein, Sara (editor), and Yaacov Shilhav (compiler). Flame and Fury. New York: Jewish Education Press of the Board of Jewish Education Inc., 1962, 108 pages.

a. Reform Religious School

b. Not stated.

c. Not stated.

d. The curriculum is divided into four parts. Part I deals with life inside of the ghetto. Part II deals with Jewish resistance and self-defense. Part III deals with personal experiences of children who wrote poems, stories, etc. about their experiences while inside the ghettos and death camps. The fourth part deals with suggested approaches to teach the Holocaust and the general aims of the curriculum.

Each part, (except IV), consists of a selection of readings. None of the readings is followed by questions or suggestions for use by the teacher. Only at the end of each section are there suggested activities and questions. At most, one question is suggested for some of the readings. Other activities and questions deal with readings not included in the text itself.

e. The aims of the curriculum are as follows:

1. A familiarity with the Holocaust Period in the Perspective of the continuum of Jewish existence.
2. A recognition of the strengths and resistance, both active and passive, of the Nazi victims.
3. An appreciation of the cultural heritage of the period in terms of documentation and testimony--and a knowledge of its availability and sources.
4. An awareness that any time one hates others because of their race, color of skin, religion or way of life, he is repeating a Nazi idea.[4]

f. Not stated.

g. Discussion, films, readings, writing compositions, field trips, art projects, oral reports, skits and dramatizations are among the suggested list of learning activities of this curriculum.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. There is no attempt to measure moral growth and no attempt to improve moral reasoning ability of students.

Hoffman, Judy. Joseph and Me: In the Days of the Holocaust. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1979, 80 pages.

Schechter, Jay. A Guide for Teachers for Joseph and Me: In the Days of the Holocaust. Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1980.

a. Reform Religious School

b. 6th grade

c. Two weeks. (Though not stated, since there are 10 lessons I assume that this course was designed for a school meeting every day. Assumably it could be adapted to fit a 10 week period of a once a week religious school).

d. The author describes the true experiences of two Jewish children living in hiding with Christian Dutch foster families during World War II. The book describes the traumatic experiences of the children and focuses on the larger issue of Nazi atrocity. There is a glossary of terms at the back of the text.

The teacher's guide divides the curriculum into 10 lessons. Study guide questions are given as well as suggested activities.

e. Each lesson has its own "aims" as mentioned in the teacher's guide. In the introduction to the teacher's guide the following overall objectives are provided:

Children will learn these concepts:

1. Racism and discrimination can lead to genocide.
2. A flourishing Jewish culture existed in Europe before 1983.
3. Anti-Semitism was widespread and deeply rooted in European culture.
4. Jews in Nazi Germany were subjected to physical violence, segregation, economic penalties, and expulsion.
5. Organized violence against German Jews increased after Kristallnacht, November 9-10, 1938.
6. The Nazis devised a plan to kill every Jewish man, woman, and child in Europe, which they called the "Final Solution."
7. The Jews attempted to maintain human dignity under brutalizing and dehumanizing circumstances.
8. The Jews resisted persecution and genocide with both spiritual and armed resistance.
9. Survivors of the Holocaust established "new lives" in the United States and Israel.

10. The creation of the State of Israel is a significant event in the history of the Holocaust.

11. The study of the Holocaust can contribute to a more humane world and can help prevent genocide.[5]

f. Not stated.

g. No overall methodology is specified. Each lesson has suggested approaches, study guide questions for discussion, and suggested activities. Most discussions center around acquisition of facts and content information. Most of the activities center around affective goals and comprehension of material.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. There is no attempt to employ his methodology nor to engage students in any sort of moral dilemma. There is no attempt to stimulate cognitive moral growth nor any means of measuring moral growth in this curriculum.

Holocaust Curriculum for Jewish Schools. Jewish Education Service of North America, Inc., New York.

This curriculum consists of ten units of study, each of which includes a teacher's guide. I was unable to obtain all of the guides and texts because they are no longer in print. The following is a listing of those units and their authors. In cases where I have not obtained that section of the curriculum I have placed an asterik (*) next to the unit.

1. "The Nazi Totalitarian State" by Lucjan Dobroszycki
*2. "The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945"
3. "Civil Self-Defense" by Isaiah Trunk
*4. "Armed Resistance" by Isaiah Trunk (Could not obtain the teacher's guide).
*5. "The Response of the Free World" (Could not obtain the teacher's guide).
*6. "The Uniqueness of the Holocaust" by Efraim Zuroff (Could not obtain the teacher's guide).
7. "The Righteous Among the Nations" by Franklin H. Littell
8. "What it Means to be a Jew After Auschwitz", symposium with Eliezer Berkovitz, Gerson D. Cohen, Emil L. Fackenheim, Immanuel Jakobovits, Norman Lann, Andre Neher and Seymour Siegel.
9. "The Antecedents of Nazi Anti-Semitism" by Jack Wertheimer.
10. "The World That Was" by Yehezkel Wyszkowski, Steven Bayme, and Max Nadel

Most of my information on this curriculum came from a short article about it entitled "Holocaust Curriculum Project" which appeared in the March 1982 edition of The Pedagogic Reporter. The curriculum itself gives no specific information regarding objectives, age, or length of course.

a. Reform Religious School (Day School)

b. 9-12th grade

c. The length of the course is not specified in the curriculum or the article. Each of the units though has enough information provided for at least a week. Therefore, at least 10 weeks would be necessary to cover all of the units in this curriculum in a day school situation.

d. This curriculum consists of ten units of study, each of which contains a teacher's guide. Except for the last unit, a documentary approach is used, with introductions

and connective explanations provided by outstanding scholars.[6]

The teacher's guide contains follow up questions and activities which correspond to the documents provided in the student text and teacher's guide. Many of the units have been field tested and are designed for inclusion in various courses of study, such as literature, world history or social studies.[7]

e. Goals and objectives are not stated explicitly. In the article mentioned above there is a summary of the objectives of this curriculum project as formulated by the project's steering committee:

1) On the Cognitive Level

a) Students will demonstrate an understanding of the specific nature of anti-Semitism in its Nazi manifestation as distinguished from whatever attitudes Nazis may have harbored or given expression to in their relationship to other peoples and nationalities.

b) Students will give evidence of an understanding of the dangers inherent in a totalitarian system.

c) Students will demonstrate an understanding of the anti-Jewish bias inherent in church teachings as a precursor of modern anti-Semitism and Nazism.

d) Students will give evidence of their understanding of the particular situation of the Jew in Eastern Europe, where an ingrained "tradition" of anti-Semitism preceded the rise of Nazism.

e) Students will be capable of giving evidence of an appreciation of the reasons accounting for the general passivity of the Nazi victims as a result of the systematic dehumanization to which they were subjected by their tormentors.

f) Students will be familiar with expressions of armed resistance carried out by Jews in ghettos and in camp settings. Likewise, they will be familiar with the affirming attitudes of Jews under Nazi oppression.

2) On the Attitudinal Level

a) Students will have internalized a repugnance for the forms of hatred, racial and national, as well as personal.

b) Students will see the Jewish experience as one that exemplifies the striving to overcome evil, and, therefore, leads to life affirmation rather than despair.

c) Students will give evidence of appreciating the faith of Judaism and the message of Judaic heritage as the source of strength and hope that sustained the victims of the Holocaust and that can offer a basis for a future to the Jew who affirms his heritage.

d) Recognizing man as an agent responsible for his actions, students will view the events associated with the Holocaust not as manifestations of cosmic disorder, but rather as a catastrophe for which the responsibility lies with man and society.

3) On the Behavioral Level

a) Students will shun the notion of revenge in thought and action.

b) Students will aspire to a lifestyle in which affirming one's Judaism and Jewishness will be seen as the most appropriate personal response to Nazism by every Jew.

c) Students will appreciate the State of Israel, built and developed by many of the Nazi victims, as a haven for the oppressed and as a tangible manifestation of the indestructibility of the Jewish spirit.

d) Students will want to remember the Jewish past, for by remembering the past the Jew assures his people's future. In the words of Reb Naman of Bratzlav, "Forgetting leads to galut: remembering leads to redemption."[8]

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. A variety of methodologies are employed: discussion, class reports, additional readings, and lecture. By far the most prevalent method used to teach the Holocaust is the reading of documents followed by class discussion.

h. Kohlberg was not used in the construction of this curriculum. There is no means to evaluate moral reasoning nor is there a use of Kohlberg's dilemma method.

Keeping Posted. "Art of the Holocaust" [teacher's edition], Volume XXIII, Nu. 4, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York, 1978, 23 pages.

Keeping Posted. "Aspects of the Holocaust and Hitler's War Against the Jews," [teacher's edition], Vol. XXI, Nu. 5, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1976, 23 pages.

Keeping Posted. "Children of the Holocaust," [teacher's edition], Vol. XXV, Nu. 2, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York, 1979, 23 pages.

Keeping Posted. "The Christian Conscience" [teacher's edition], Vol. XXIV, Nu. 2, 1978, 23 pages.

Keeping Posted. "Wanted! For Crimes Against Humanity," [teacher's edition], Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York, 1980, 23 pages.

[Note: Though each of the above editions is intended to be used as an individual study unit on an aspect of the Holocaust, for the purposes of this study, I will discuss them all together. Because they are from the same magazine and of similar format, I feel that it is easier and logical to group them together in this study.]

a. Reform Religious School

b. 7th grade-adult

c. None of the units provides any suggested time period required to teach the unit.

d. Each of these units includes study guide questions, bibliography, and articles by prominent authorities on an aspect of the Holocaust. The teacher's edition contains the student's version as well.

"Art of the Holocaust" contains a detailed summary of the history of the Holocaust by historian Lucy Dawidowicz. Dawidowicz then guides the leader through a selected group of paintings, and drawings from the Museum of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz in Israel. Douglas Kahn provides an essay about the phenomenon of "cultural resistance" against the Nazis.

"Aspects of the Holocaust and Hitler's War Against the Jews" contains excerpts from Lucy Dawidowicz' book, The War Against the Jews 1933-1945. The articles in this unit deal with Hitler's dementia; the war he planned against the Jews, and how the death camps were operated. Other articles deal with how the Jews fought back and tried to maintain their honor and sanity in an insane world.

"Children of the Holocaust" tells the story of the more than two million Jewish children destroyed in the Holocaust. Most of the articles deal with memoirs and recollections of children. Moshe Finker and Anne Frank's are among the children discussed.

"The Christian Conscience" discusses the heroic efforts of the small minority of non-Jews who aided Jews during the Holocaust. Dina Abramowicz, a survivor of the Vilna Ghetto, tells the story of the legendary Anna Simaite, who rescued ghetto children and smuggled in arms for the resistance. William Harter, a Presbyterian pastor, discusses the post-Holocaust relations between non-Jews and Jews.

"Wanted! For Crimes Against Humanity" details the actions of Nazi hunters who have sought to bring Nazi war criminals to justice. Charles R. Allen, Jr., a journalist and author of nine books, writes on the existence of Nazi war criminals in America and how the Government tacitly allowed them into the country after WW II.

e. Some of the units provide a statement of "issues to be addressed." In summarizing these issues, I feel that the main objectives of these units are:

   1. To teach the Holocaust as a unique event in human history and an event unparalleled in Jewish history.
   2. To give the student an understanding of the events leading to the Holocaust and the reasons why the Holocaust occurred.
   3. To understand the effects upon human life, and the tremendous cost to humanity the Holocaust has wrought.
   4. To prevent another Holocaust from happening again.

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no overal methodology suggested by the editors of Keeping Posted. Each teacher's edition though includes, in addition to the readings, study guide questions for further thought.

h. Kohlberg's theories are not taken into consideration. There is no attempt to make use of the "moral dilemma" model. However, in the study guide questions given for teacher use, there is an attempt to ask questions that are complex and of higher order than mere comprehension. There is no attempt to evaluate or measure moral growth.

Pilch, Judah. The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe. New York: The American Association for Jewish Education, 1968, 230 pages.

Spotts, Leon H. The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe. Guide To Teachers and Group Leaders. New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1968.

a. Reform Religious School

b. 9-12th grade

c. Four to five months when studied once a week for an hour session.

d. This curriculum provides the teacher with a very complete educational tool for teaching the Holocaust. Though designed for primarily a Jewish setting, the curriculum can easily be adapted to the public school (as hoped by the editors of the curriculum). The guide provides suggested responses to the most often asked questions: 1. How could a good G-d have allowed the Holocaust to occur? 2. Why didn't the Jews actively resist their Nazi tormentors; why, instead, did some Jews assist and collaborate with them? 3. What should be our attitude to the German people and to the (west) German state today?[9]

The guide provides ample suggestions on how the text should be taught, bibliographic information and suggested films.

The text itself is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter 1 - "Jewish Life in Europe between the Two World Wars (1919-1939)"--by Alexander S. Kohanski.

Chapter II - "The 'Jewish Question' in the Third Reich"--by Alexander S. Kohanski.

Chapter III - "Years of Holocaust: The Factual Story"--by Judah Pilch.

Chapter IV - "Resistance--'The Few Against the Many'"--by Abraham H. Foxman.

Chapter V - "From the Literature of the Holocaust"--by Irving Halperin.

Chapter VI - "The World Knew and Was Silent"--by Judah Pilch.

Chapter VII - "The Years That Followed"--by Meir Ben-Horin.

e. The objectives for the curriculum are stated in terms of rationales for teaching the Holocaust. In summary these are:

1. Totalitarianism is an important lesson to teach.

2. As Jews we have an obligation to remember our past. To remember is not only to sanctify the memory of the "Qedoshim" but to help avert a future Holocaust.
3. To educate for Non-Violence.
4. To educate the student towards a better understanding of the Contemporary Jewish Scene.
5. To educate the student towards a better understanding of contemporary developments relating to Human Rights.
6. To understand the magnitude of the loss of 6 million Jews to the Jewish people and to society in general.
7. To profit from past mistakes. The Holocaust has universal implications. To learn what happened will help to prevent another Holocaust.
8. To develop a deeper appreciation of American democracy.
9. To insure faith in the future of the Jewish people and Jewish survival.

f. The role of the teacher is specified in many ways. The teacher must understand thoroughly the entire text and guide. He must familiarize himself with all of the materials related to the course, and preview all films and filmstrips. The teacher is responsible for culling appropriate sections of the book and choosing appropriate methods for presenting the material. The teacher is not to indoctrinate the students, but to encourage the students to reason their own solutions to problems presented by the course material. The teacher is to provide the pupils with a variety of "responsible views" regarding what occurred.[10] The teacher is to insure that discussions are free and open and to try and direct the class towards a general consensus of opinion, and where this is not possible, to recognize divergent viewpoints.[11]

g. The curriculum is to be utilized only as one educational tool for teaching the subject matter. Though no single methodology is recommended, the guide provides the teacher with many concrete suggestions: Additional readings, diaries of victims and survivors, talks by survivors, visits to local monuments and exhibits.[12] The teacher is asked not to read the text out loud and to conduct discussions in an open, accepting manner. Though the teacher is asked to try and arrive at a concensus, divergent opinions are also acceptable and encouraged when thought through by the student. In addition, the guide suggests many films and study questions for the teacher.

h. Kohlberg's theories of moral development is not taken

into account. There is an emphasis on openness of the classroom which is part of Kohlberg's methodology for promoting moral growth. However, the dilemma-discussion method is not suggested by the curriculum. There is more than most curricula available a tendency to encourage students' reasoning and development. However, there is no attempt to measure or evaluate cognitive moral growth and development of the student.

Ross, Lillian. (editor) From Holocaust to Homeland. Florida: Central Agency for Jewish Education, 1977, 64 pages.

a. Reform Religious School

b. No grade level is specified.

c. An outline is provided for a 3 to 8 week mini-course.

d. This curriculum provides the teacher with a confusing array of material. The editors of this edition have borrowed material from many different sources in order to provide material for a course on the Holocaust. The mini-course outline is borrowed from The Holocaust: A Case Study of Genocide by Albert Post. Beyond the outline, however, there is only suggested readings, simulations, chronologies which are left for the teacher to utilize as he sees fit. Material is also provided for a Yom Hashoah memorial service.

e. The objectives for this curriculum are unclear. Buried in the middle of the curriculum is a copy of objectives from a course offered at Hampshire College. I assume that the editors of this curriculum accept those objectives for this curriculum. These goals are:

   1. Provide the general historical background necessary for a proper perspective and understanding of the (Holocaust) ...
   2. Familiarize the student with and generate an appreciation of the culture of both the victims and perpetrators of the Holocaust necessary for an understanding of the implications of this unique event for the modern world ...
   3. To personalize and reduce history to an individual level, supplementing cold data with warm blooded humanity ...[13]

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated in terms of the curriculum as a whole. For individual exercises of socio-drama the teacher is given procedural instructions.

g. No overall methodology is suggested. Instead a variety of methodologies, or strategies for teaching the Holocaust are offered. These include discussion, readings, socio-drama, role playing, and values clarification exercises.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into consideration. Though there is an attempt to reach the emotions of the students through simulations and drama, the simulations themselves are not included in an integrated curriculum. They are isolated units into them-

selves, suggested tactics that a teacher might employ. There are values clarification exercises which try to help the student not only clarify his values but what course of action he might take in a given situation. Unfortunately, like the simulations, this material is presented as an isolated tactic and is not part of a given overall structured curriculum. Though there are attempts at developing moral reasoning, the curricula does not provide these exercises with an integrated base in the curriculum itself or as part of an overall methodology. There is little attempt to measure or evaluate cognitive moral growth.

Stadtler, Bea. The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance. New York: Behrman House, Inc., 1974, 210 pages.

Karkowsky, Nancy. Discussion Guide for The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance. New York: Behrman House, Inc., 1976, 54 pages.

a. Reform Religious School

b. 5th-6th grades

c. The length is not specified. There are 22 chapters with 22 related sections in the teacher's guide. I would assume that the course was designed for one year of religious school (in a once a week program).

d. The text is the winner of the National Jewish Book Award for the best children's book of the year. It deals sensitively with the subject of the Holocaust. The text gives background information of how the Holocaust began, the emergence of the Final Solution, and a good description of the historical forces involved. The author focuses on why some Jews resisted and why some did not; why some Gentiles aided Jews, and others did not. In particular, the Danish rescue is focused upon. The book concludes with a discussion of the Nuremberg trials, the emergence of the State of Israel, and the morality of those who were involved in the Holocaust. At the end of each chapter are study guide questions.

   The discussion guide accompanies the text book very closely. The guide gives a summary of the chapter, major themes, questions to ask the students, suggestions on how to make the material more relevant to the students, and where to find additional source material.

e. Nowhere are the goals and objectives of the course clearly stated. In the discussion guide Karkowsky writes in her introduction justifications for teaching the course. It is from her reasons that I surmise the inherent goals of the course. The goals would therefore be:

   1. To teach the Holocaust as a momentous period in Jewish history, which has deep relevance and meaning for us as Jews living today.
   2. The Holocaust is an example of man's inhumanity to man.
   3. Teaching the Holocaust will help insure that it will never happen again.
   4. To instill in the children a knowledge of good and evil so that they will not only prevent evil from occurring, but will act more justly themselves.[14]

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no single methodological approach suggested. The teacher's guide does not give any activities for the teacher other than suggested questions for discussion, and material which allows the teacher to give the students more information of the historical events.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. There is no attempt to promote moral growth or to evaluate moral growth as Kohlberg's theory would suggest. The curriculum does try to encourage students to examine their feelings and to give opinions regarding why Nazis, Jews, bystanders, etc., acted the way they did. For example, in chapter six of the guide, question three states?

> How did Rabbi Marcus Melchior of Denmark respond to the Nazi threat? How did living in Denmark help Rabbi Melchior make this response? Why didn't rabbis in other countries respond as he did?[15]

However, asking opinions and focusing on moral reasoning specifically in order to clarify values and promote moral growth are different. While the text is certainly sensitive to the age level in content and reading level, there is little awareness of Kohlberg's contributions to moral development and growth.

Zwerin, Raymond. The Holocaust: A Study in Values, [Leader's Guide]. Denver, Colorado: Alternatives in Religious Education, 1976, 21 pages. (revised edition)

Zwerin, Raymond, and Audrey Friedman Marcus. The Holocaust: A Study in Values, [Student Manual]. Denver, Colorado: Alternatives in Religious Education, 1976, 16 pages.

a. Reform Religious School

b. 9th grade-adult

c. 5-10 hours

d. This short mini-course contains five "interviews" with Germans who "lived" through the Holocaust. After reading through each of the cases, each of which deals with a different aspect or perspective on the Nazi period, the student is given additional information pertinent to the case at hand. The student is then asked a series of questions which force him to clarify his values and decide what he would have done. Additional aspects of the case are also discussed in terms of their universal and contemporary relevancies.

   The leader's guide provides additional insights into the case, particularly with respect to Jewish values as they pertain to the case at hand. Also included in the guide are bibliographic references and suggested projects and strategies to use.

e. The objectives of the course are:

   The participant will be able:

   1. To express in his or her own words some of the attitudes and positions vis-a-vis moral issues which were held by many of the German people during the years 1933-1945.

   2. To list specific historical facts and complex underlying conditions which influenced the decisions of individuals living in Germany at the time of the Holocaust.

   3. To compare present day moral problems with those dilemmas and decisions confronting individuals who lived during the Holocaust.

   4. To employ some of the moral dictates of the Jewish tradition in determining the guilt or innocence of representative individuals who lived during the time of the Nazi era.

f. The role of the teacher is to facilitate discussion and understanding of the dilemmas presented.

g. The overall methodology of this curriculum is to rely

upon values clarification based upon presented case studies and dilemmas. Each case is presented (either read aloud, or via a dramatized cassette recording), and then discussed by the students in small groups in terms of the information related to the case. Following the discussion of facts, the students respond to a series of questions related to the case. Ultimately, students are asked to pass judgment with regard to the action taken by the person in the case. This is done individually, and as a group. Each student in the end must defend his disagreement with the group's decisions.

h. Kohlberg's theory was not taken into account in this curriculum's design. (See Appendix F, a letter from Audrey Friedman Marcus which states that neither she nor Rabbi Zwerin were aware of Kohlberg's findings at the time they wrote the curriculum). Nevertheless, the methodology employed is very similar to that suggested by Kohlberg. Students must reason and defend their opinions which come in conflict with the group. The "indictments" handed over by the students needn't be "black and white," rather the scale calls for varying degrees of culpability. Students are encouraged to think about situations and not settle for easy answers. Though there is an attempt to encourage moral growth and reasoning, the course is too short to have a significant effect. There is also little concern for evaluating a student's progress or moral reasoning.

Frydman, Ron. The Holocaust: An Instructional Guide. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Unified School District, 1979, 67 pages.

a. Public School

b. 9-12th grades

c. The length of the course is not specified. The length of the course would assumably vary depending upon its use. The course is designed to be used as an elective mini-course, or as part of an overall World History course. Ultimately the time is left up to the teacher.

d. This curriculum serves as an instructional guide for teaching about the Holocaust. The curriculum is designed to supplement existing history courses in the public schools and/or become a mini-course or elective. An extremely brief overview of the Holocaust is presented followed by a detailed chronology of the Holocaust. The chronology is divided into three sections: 1. The Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany; 2. Persecution and the Holocaust; 3. Jewish Response to the Nazi atrocities. Following the chronologies there is a suggested plan for placing the information in six instructional units. The last section of the curriculum consists of a glossary of terms and an annotated bibliography.

e. The general objectives of the curriculum are clearly stated:

> In accordance with his or her capacities, the student grows in ability to:
>
> - Read and comprehend the content of instructional materials used in this course.
> - Develop basic history skills, such as those involved in the use of interpretation and evaluation of sources, analyzing sources, library research, and critical thinking.
> - Develop higher cognitive history skills, such as those of developing vocabulary, analyzing propaganda techniques, tracing cause-effect relationships, and hypothetical problem-solving.
> - Apply historical analogies to present-day world political and humanitarian problems.
> - Apply inquiry skills to historical situations in which several causes must be integrated to comprehend the total event.
> - Enable and encourage students to understand and respect individual and cultural differences and similarities.

- Understand the important events of the Holocaust, 1933 to 1945, and examine their moral implications.
- Understand the concept of "genocide," which is the deliberate extermination of a people.
- Analyze the Nazi plan of genocide against the Jews, and thus realize that it was unique in terms of scope, deliberate planning, and technological and mechanized execution.
- Explore the concepts of guilt, responsibility, passivity, and resistance.
- Develop the ability to make value judgments and research conclusions about the various historical ramifications of the Holocaust.[16]

f. Not stated.

g. Not stated.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. There is no suggestions at all as to how the moral development and growth of the student could be taken into account. Despite the fact that one of the six instructional units suggested is "moral implications"[17] there is no suggestion as to what this means. Curriculum does not attempt to evaluate moral growth.

Greenberg, Martin and Marie Grieco (editors). The Third Reich in Perspective. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 1981, 23 pages.

a. Public School

b. The age group is not stated. However, since the resource unit is written to fill a void in secondary school textbooks, I assume that it is to be used in grades 9-12.

c. Designed to supplement an existing course of study in history. No time therefore is specified.

d. In response to a study by the Anti-Defamation League which indicated that textbooks were severely lacking in material on the Holocaust in the public schools, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) published this resource manual. Though short, its intent is to fill the void in most history textbooks on this historical period. The resource unit supplies some basic facts about Nazi Germany and Hitler's destruction of European Jewry.

e. The aim of the resource manual is to supplement existing history textbooks on this period. In so doing, the authors hope that students will reject "the swastika and what it implies."[18]

f. Role of teacher is not stated.

g. No single methodology is suggested. Various learning activities are suggested, for example, role-playing, writing, group discussions, reading and lecture.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. There is no attempt to adopt any of his methodologies to improve moral growth and reasoning of the students. There is no attempt to measure cognitive moral growth.

The Holocaust: A Compendium of Resources for Secondary School Teachers. Compiled by Jewish Community Relations Council of the Greater East Bay, Oakland, CA, 1980, 40 pages.

a. Public School

b. 9-12 grades

c. Not stated

d. A curriculum compiled by the Jewish Community Relations Council of the Greater East Bay. Much of the material in this curriculum comes from two other curricula: The Holocaust: A Teacher Resource, The School District of Philadelphia and The Holocaust: A Study of Genocide, The Board of Education of the City of New York. Both of these curricula are reviewed in this thesis. The curriculum covers most of the essential aspects of the Holocaust but was not designed to serve as a complete guide to the study of the Holocaust. The curriculum is designed to be used in conjunction with other high school disciplines such as English, Political Science, History, Psychology and Sociology.[19] A glossary of terms, bibliography, and a brief chronology of the Holocaust are provided. The curriculum is divided into eight lessons. The lessons consist of brief readings followed by study guide questions, and/or activities.

e. Thirteen aims and objectives are clearly delineated:

1. To develop an understanding that genocide is a threat to all humanity and can result in the destruction of a rich heritage of tradition and contribution.
2. To instill a realization that injustices exist today and that tolerance of these injustices encourages their growth.
3. To draw parallels between the forces and events which gave rise to Nazism, and contemporary events and issues which relate to the Holocaust.
4. To motivate an appreciation of the cultural heritage and contributions of European Jewry in Western society.
5. To aid in the development of understanding of how the laws and institutions of Nazi Germany reflected a rejection of democracy and other values of Western civilization.
6. To aid in understanding of how industrial technology can lead to the destruction of man, and the need for responsible control of this technology for the benefit of mankind.

7. To offer insight into the difficulty of maintaining human dignity under the cruel, barbaric and dehumanizing policies of Nazism.
8. To bring about an appreciation of the physical and moral courage required to resist the destructive forces of genocide.
9. To help Americans understand the relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel, and its continuing struggle for survival.
10. To reveal how the world reacted to the Holocaust, and to reemphasize that man's inhumanity to man must be resisted by all humankind.
11. To help students understand the nature of prejudice, and the methods used to gain acceptance of racism and anti-Semitism by National Socialist Germany and other societies.
12. To help students understand the meaning of the Nazi banner which waves today in Chicago, the Bay Area and other places.
13. To instill a sense of personal responsibility, and to inspire students to incorporate a reverence for humanity in the decisions and actions of their daily lives.[20]

f. Not specified.

g. Discussion, role play, reading, lecture, and values clarification.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. There is some attempt at role playing in the lesson "Nazism and its Philosophy,"[21] however, there is no guidance to the teacher as to how to handle the role play. There is no attempt at promoting or measuring cognitive moral development or growth.

The Holocaust, A Study of Genocide. Board of Education of the City of New York, New York, 1979, 587 pages.

a. Public school

b. Aimed primarily at the 10th grade, though could also be used in intermediate, junior and senior high schools at other grade levels.

c. When used in its entirety the curriculum is approximately an 18-week course of study. The curriculum provides information for the teacher who wishes to adapt the course to a two-to-five week unit or a nine-week unit.

d. A comprehensive, well thought out curriculum which provides the teacher with very detailed content outline, calendar of lessons, readings, and an extensive briefly annotated bibliography and index.

The curriculum bulletin is divided into two parts. Part I contains the scope and sequence of the introduction to the Holocaust and the additional seven unit themes. Part II contains detailed lesson plans and readings to be used to implement the scope and sequence of the learnings outlined in the first part. Each chapter includes a brief overview, a list of chapter objectives and the detailed lesson plan. The core of each lesson plan consists of readings taken from documents, diaries, eyewitness accounts, secondary source material, poems, and pictorials.[22]

e. The curriculum provides the teacher with three sets of objectives, depending upon the length of time and the subject being taught. There are objectives for a two week English course and a nine week literature course, and overall objectives for when the curriculum is used in its entirety in a history course. In as much as the overall objectives subsume the objectives of the shorter courses (though goals specific to the nature of the course are not such as: "Student will learn how authors use literary devices such as foreshadowing,"[23] I include here only the overall objectives:

> To understand that genocide is a threat to all humanity, and can result in the destruction of a rich heritage of tradition and contribution.
>
> To draw parallels between the forces and events which gave rise to Nazism, and contemporary events and issues which relate to the Holocaust.
>
> To appreciate the cultural heritage and contribution of European Jewry in Western Society.
>
> To help students understand the nature of prejudice, and the methods used to gain acceptance of racism and anti-Semitism by the Germans and other societies.
>
> To develop an understanding of how the laws and institutions of Nazi Germany reflected a rejection of

democracy and other values of Western civilization.

To understand how modern technology can lead to the destruction of man, and the need for responsible control of this technology for the benefit of mankind.

To gain insight into the difficulty of maintaining human dignity under the cruel, barbaric, and dehumanizing policies of Nazism.

To appreciate the physical and moral courage required to resist, against overwhelming odds, the destructive forces of genocide.

To understand how the world reacted to the Holocaust and to realize that man's inhumanity to man must be resisted by all humankind.

To understand the relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel, and its continuing struggle for survival.

To understand that injustices exist today and that toleration of these injustices encourages their growth.

To instill a sense of personal responsibility, and to inspire students to act with greater humanity in the actions and decisions of their daily lives.[24]

f. The role of the teacher is suggested: "... teachers select the reading or readings most appropriate for emphasizing a particular aspect of the topic, and best suited for students' interest and skills."[25] The teacher, therefore, in addition to being the presenter of information is also called upon to assume the role of choosing which selections are to be read and which objectives most fit the needs of the students.

g. There is no single methodology stated in the curriculum. The curriculum gives many suggestions on how a teacher might approach a certain topic which included lectures, discussions, role play, simulations, filmstrips and movies.

h. Kohlberg is not explicitly taken into account. However, there is an attempt at various junctures in the curriculum to engage the students in moral reasoning. Though this is not a consistent emphasis of the curriculum, there are lessons (few though) which provide a dilemma model similar to that which Kohlberg would offer. For example, in Theme VI, lesson 30,[26] the curriculum describes "Helga's dilemma." This dilemma, given in its entirety later in this thesis, deals with the situation of a young Aryan girl who is confronted with the dilemma of whether or not she should hide her best friend, a Jewess, from the Nazis. If she does, she is breaking the Nazi law and endangering her family. The curriculum also

gives suggestions, albeit in limited form, as to how the teacher should handle dilemma when presenting it to the class. Unfortunately, since the dilemma model is not one of the primary methodological models of this curriculum, the dilemma itself becomes merely a discussion of opinions by the students and there is no real attempt to instruct the teacher how to engage the students in moral conflict so as to promote moral growth and reasoning.

There is an attempt though by the curriculum to raise students towards certain higher values in order to prevent another Holocaust. Though the methodology is not what Kohlber would recommend, the values are very similar to what Kohlberg would relate to stage 6 concerns. In Theme VI the curriculum specifically delineates objectives which are stage 6 in reasoning:

> ... Human beings have moral obligations to others of different ethnic, racial, and religious identities. These obligations include:
>
> 1. The need to understand the value system of our neighbors, which may be different from our own.
> 2. The need to allow our neighbors to pursue their values and life styles in peace.
> 3. The need to appreciate the values of human freedom and dignity.
> 4. The obligation to speak out and act forcefully and early against any actions based on prejudice.[27]

Unfortunately, however, aside from class discussions and the usual methodologies (see above) employed by teachers, little use is made of the dilemma method. Further, there is little attempt by the curriculum to measure whether these objectives have been achieved. While there is an emphasis upon moral growth as stated in the above objectives, there is little means of evaluating moral growth, or promoting cognitive moral reasoning.

The Holocaust, A Teacher Resource (Tentative edition). The School District of Philadelphia, PA, 1977, 129 pages.

a. Public School

b. Designed to be incorporated in various courses at the 7th-12th grade levels.

c. This curriculum is designed to serve as a resource to a pre-existing history, sociology, geography or government course. As such, the teacher could refer to it throughout the entire year. The curriculum is also designed to be developed into a mini-course of its own, of unspecified length.

d. The Holocaust curriculum is designed to incorporate material on the Holocaust into the Social Studies program. Six units of study are clearly delineated: 1. Stereotypes, prejudice, and violence 2. Antecedents of the Holocaust: A Survey of Anti-Semitism Through the Ages 3. The Holocaust 4. World Reaction to the Holocaust 5. Jewish Resistance to the Holocaust 6. The Consequences of the Holocaust. There are two bibliographies, one of which is annotated, and the other is coded according to the age level of the readings. Unfortunately, the lessons themselves are not specified according to age. Since the unit is to be used on several grade levels, there is the possibility of needless repetition of content and activities from one year to another.

e. There are no overall goals and objectives described for the curriculum. In the introduction "Why Learn About the Holocaust" the authors state one main reason to teach about the Holocaust is to prevent another Holocaust from happening (p. ix). There are individual learning objectives given for each of the six units:

Unit 1

To enable students to:

1. Explore some aspects of prejudice.
2. Understand that prejudice and bigotry, left unchecked, can result in human destruction.
3. Understand that once what is deemed impossible cruelty becomes possible, it can happen again, and it can happen to any group. No one is immune.[28]

Unit 2

To have students understand that:

1. In ancient times, Jewish faith in their monotheistic religion and their insistence on observing its precepts often resulted in conflict with the civil authorities, particularly when the majority of people

in the countries involved practiced a different type of faith.[29]

Unit 3

To have the students understand:

1. The methods employed by the Nazis to carry out their plans.
2. The magnitude of the Holocaust.
3. The Jewish experience during the Holocaust and develop empathy with it.[30]

Unit 4

To enable students to:

1. Understand the lack of involvement existent in the world community concerning the persecution of Europe's Jewry.
2. Understand that apathy in the face of evil is evil.
3. Understand the moral implications of the failure to act in the face of evil.[31]

Unit 5

To have the students know:

1. That there was Jewish resistance to persecution throughout history.
2. That there was Jewish resistance during the Holocaust.
3. The various forms this resistance took during the Holocaust.
4. The great difficulties involved in resistance during the Holocaust .

Unit 6

To have students understand:

1. The Nazis did not stop with the destruction of the Jews. They extended their slaughter to non-Jewish peoples they considered "inferior" or "dangerous."
2. The Holocaust was unique because the advancements of modern technology were applied to the total destruction of the Jews and other peoples.
3. The nature of the crime of genocide, as defined by the Geneva Convention of 1948.
4. The Nuremberg Trials and subsequent war crimes trials ferreted out and punished many, but not all, war criminals. Some are still fugitives.
5. The relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel.

6. The United Nations created the State of Israel as a national homeland for the Jews.

7. Some heroic Christians played a distinguished role in protecting Jews from the Holocaust.[32]

f. The role of the teacher is not specified.

g. There is no specific methodology for the curriculum. Instead, there are learning activities suggested for each of the units. These activities include films, filmstrips, discussions, values clarification, pre-tests, and reading.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. Although in unit I there is an attempt to allow students to explore their feelings towards stereotypes, and to examine their own prejudices, there is no attempt to measure or evaluate cognitive moral growth and reasoning of the students. There is no usage of the conflict-dilemma model.

The Holocaust. Human Rights: Lessons of the Holocaust. Wichita Public Schools, Wichita, Kansas, 1980, 73 pages.

a. Public School

b. 5th-6th grades

c. Not mentioned.

d. The curriculum provides brief background information on the Holocaust for pupils and teachers. The lessons are focused on four major topics of the curriculum: 1. Stereotyping 2. Differences in Cultures 3. Prejudice and 4. The Holocaust. Only a small portion of the curriculum is centered around the subject of the Holocaust itself. The majority of the curriculum is devoted to creating a background of information and emotional support for confronting the Holocaust itself.

e. The objectives are clearly stated:

The student will:

1. Develop a better understanding of the destructive potential of the modern state in the absence of clear ethical/moral standards.
2. Develop a greater understanding of historical processes.
3. Develop a better understanding of the role of prejudice in shaping behavior.
4. Be encouraged to seek positive ways to relate to other people that reflect a respect for human dignity.
5. Be able to open avenues of two-way communication with those who represent differing cultural heritages.[33]

In addition, each major section has its own specific objectives stated in behavioral terms. Example: "Given a list of specific questions concerning your cultural background, describe the important aspects."[34]

f. Not stated.

g. No specific methodology is stated. Instead, suggested activities are given. Readings of young children's books, having students write down and share feelings relating to the topic of discussion, brainstorming, oral reports, discussion, and values clarification.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. Though there are many exercises designed to explore students' feelings and values, there is little attempt to record the progress of moral growth or to increase cognitive moral growth in

a Kohlbergian dilemma-conflict model. There is very little emphasis on moral reasoning. Most questions have to do with the students expressing their feelings and interpreting material learned in the lesson.

Holocaust Never Again! Sanford, Florida: Seminole County Schools, 1982, 8 pages.

a. Public School

b. Age is not stated. I obtained the name of the curriculum though from the Hausdorf & Kuperstein study of curricula for American Secondary School Youth.[35] I assume, therefore, that the curriculum is designed for 10th grade.

c. Length is not specified.

d. This curriculum is designed to be a brief unit on the Holocaust. Many of the suggested readings come from The Holocaust Years: Society on Trial by Jack Spencer and Roselle Chartock. The curriculum covers briefly four main topics. 1. Hitler's rise to power 2. Issues that led to the Holocaust 3. Events which occurred in Nazi Germany and 4. Implications that can be drawn for today.

The unit consists of brief objectives followed by a series of suggested activities. There is an unannotated bibliography and a suggested list of 16mm films at the conclusion of the curriculum.

e. The goal of the curriculum is:

> The purpose of this unit is to creat an awareness of the values and prejudices which prevailed during the war years, 1933-1945, and culminated in the Holocaust, the persecution and genocide of millions of Jews and non-Jews.[36] With this awareness, another Holocaust will be less likely.

The stated objectives are:

> The student will:
>
> 1. Examine the Holocaust as a compelling case study of human potential for extremes of both good and evil.
> 2. Analyze cause and effect relationships in the growth of Nazism and "the final solution."
> 3. Related the events of the Holocaust to the broad theme of Man's Inhumanity to Man.
> 4. Make generalizations about the role and responsibility of the individual in society.

f. Role of teacher is not stated.

g. There is no specific methodology suggested. Various learning activities are suggested to achieve general course objectives. Activities include, for example, readings from Society on Trial, filmstrips, reviewing photographs of the Holocaust provided by the Anti-Defamation League, collages, scrapbooks on the Holocaust,

and classroom discussions.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. There is no attempt to include any of his theories or methodologies. There is no attempt to engage students in any discussions involving moral dilemmas. Nor is there a focus upon moral growth and development of the student. There is, therefore, no evaluative measure of cognitive moral growth either. At the most, students are asked to create a scrapbook or collage which expresses their feelings towards the unit on the Holocaust.

The Holocaust, Two-Week Unit for the Mandated Global History Course. Board of Education of the City of New York, New York, 61 pages. [I used a preliminary draft]

a. Public School

b. 10th grade

c. Two weeks

d. This course was designed to be integrated into the format of the already offered, global history course of the New York City public school system. The teacher is referred for more in depth information to The Holocaust: A Study in Genocide. The Holocaust is portrayed as a unique historical event of a universal phenomenon. As such, the Holocaust is compared to the Armenian and Cambodian situations. The curriculum utilizes an interdisciplinary approach to teaching the Holocaust, relying upon readings from poetry, films, literature, and photographs. The unit is divided into 16 subunits, labelled "strategies" on approaching the subject. Each strategy has its own readings and worksheets provided. There are a total of 22 worksheets provided. The concepts taught "move from the nature of prejudice, through the intervening states of unthinking social prejudice, through deliberate 'institutionalized' prejudice, to the final extension of prejudice--genocide."[37]

e. The overall rationale for the curriculum is to see the universal implications of the Holocaust as one example of prejudice, which could happen again.

Beyond this general objective, the curriculum provides a set of performance objectives:

Student will be able to:

Define individual prejudice, stereotyping, institutionalized racism, collective guilt, scapegoating, genocide.

Trace the progressive stages of the Holocaust.

Describe Nazi racist ideas.

Recognize the brutality and scope of the Holocaust.

Analyze factors that contributed to the Holocaust.

Recognize the spectrum of Jewish responses to the Holocaust and the reasons for the differences.

Evaluate individual and world responsibility for the Holocaust.

Choose a personal position, given a hypothetical situation based on the Holocaust.[38]

f. Role of teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no specific methodology delineated. Rather there are worksheets, films and suggested activities for the students to utilize. The curriculum also makes extensive use of values clarification exercises.

h. Kohlberg is not taken into account. However, though Kohlberg's dilemma model is not used, the curriculum does provide many other values clarification exercises which are designed to urge students to examine their values and to place themselves in the role of a Jew during the Holocaust, and today. Students are forced to decide how they would react to various instances of anti-Semitism if they were Jewish, and how they would react to anti-Semitism in America if they were not Jewish. Though there is no emphasis at all on Kohlberg's dilemma-conflict method, students' moral reasoning, I feel, is promoted. There is no attempt to measure cognitive moral growth or to employ Kohlberg's stage definitions in creating the values exercises.

Koppel, Lillian, Herbert Kamins and George Rapport. Holocaust Studies Grade 10. Bellmore-Merrick Central High School District, Merrick, New York, 1978, 27 pages.

a. Public School

b. 10th grade

c. "A few weeks"[39]

d. This curriculum provides the teacher with a detailed outline of the Holocaust. The topics included are:

1. The Importance of Studying the Holocaust
2. Nazi Germany: A Case Study of Genocide
3. The Rise of Nazism
4. The Implementation of Nazi Racial Policies
5. World Reaction Before 1945
6. Aftermath
7. Neo-Nazi Movements Today
8. Other Movements of "Genocide" Today

Each of these topics is outlined in detail. In addition, the curriculum contains basic vocabulary words, a pretest, and a detailed chronoloby of events of the Holocaust.

e. Goals and objectives are not stated. I would assume that the one major objective of the curriculum is to sensitize students to the issues raised by the Holocaust to insure that it will not happen again. I base this assumption on the fact that under "evaluation" the curriculum suggests that the teacher not concentrate on rote memorization of names, place, dates and details, but rather:

> the degree to which the student understands that the problem of man's inhumanity to man is one that is universal, long-standing and takes many forms. The student should realize that, in order to prevent a recurrence of a 'Holocaust' as exemplified by the Nazi 'Final Solution,' one must be informed, as well as alert.[40]

f. The role of the teacher is not stated explicitly.

g. There are no methodological suggestions at all, other than to administer to the student a pretest which would be used to determine "student growth."[41] There are no suggested activities or study guide questions.

h. Kohlberg's theory and his methodology are not taken into account. There is some attempt to measure attitudinal change with respect to moral action and the question of

moral responsibility. The pretest includes questions which cause the student to clarify how he would act in a given situation and how he would support a leader who's views he disagreed eith. The pre-test though also includes many questions of a factual nature. There is little in the curriculum itself which would suggest any methodology to promote cognitive moral growth and there is little in the curriculum which demonstrates that the moral development of the students was taken into consideration.

Meltzer, Milton. Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust. New York: Harper & Row, 1976, 217 pages.

Nadel, Max. A Teacher's Guide to the Paperback Edition of Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1978, 31 pages.

[I examined the hardcover edition].

a. Public School

b. 9th-12th grades

c. Depending on how the text and the guide are used, Nadel suggests a course on the Holocaust of anywhere from a few days to an eight week mini-course.

d. The text was originally written to fill the void existent on the Holocaust in public school textbooks. The author intended to write a complete but easily read history of the Holocaust. Meltzer's history is personal. He concentrates a great deal upon individuals and their memories, i.e., diaries and transcripts from trials after the war. The text is divided into three books which deal with three topics: 1. The history of anti-Semitism in Germany 2. The Destruction of the Jews and 3. The ways that Jews resisted against the Nazis.

The teacher's guide was written by Nadel because he felt that Meltzer's account was excellent and very appropriate for use in secondary schools. Nadel provides, in the guide, a one sentence summary of each chapter, study guide questions, and suggested activities. In addition, Nadel provides short bibliographies for students which correspond to the themes of the three books in the main text.

e. There are no objectives explicitly stated. Meltzer writes in his book:

> My purpose was to write a short book, a book that could be read by young and old, by people who know little or nothing about the Holocaust ...
>
> My focus is the human experience; what happened to the Jews of Europe, what it meant to them, and what it means for all the rest of us, Jews and non-Jews alike.[42]

In the guide, Nadel states that one of the goals in teaching the humanities is to make students aware of the ethical and moral forces that must govern man's relationships with his fellow man if humanity is to survive. To keep humanity safe, students need to learn of the human devastation wrought by Nazi racial theories and Nazi savagery.[43]

The central objective of this curriculum is to teach the facts of the Holocaust in order to prevent a like catastrophe from happening again.

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no overall methodology suggested. In the teacher's guide, Nadel provides the teacher with a list of suggested activities and questions to ask the students. Some of the activities include oral reports, mock trials, filmstrips, films, and small group discussions.

h. Kohlberg's theory of cognitive moral development is not taken into consideration. The focus of the text, in addition to providing the reader with the facts of the Holocaust, is to instill in the reader the urgency of preventing another Holocaust, and the need to remember what happened. There is no attempt to engage students in dilemma discussions. Most of the questions suggested in the guide are on the level of comprehension and do not require the student to engage in moral reasoning. There is no attempt at evaluating moral growth and development.

Merti, Betty. Understanding the Holocaust. Portland, Maine: J. Weston Walch, 1982, 295 pages.

a. Public School

b. 8th grade

c. There is no specification of any length. I estimate that the course would take 13 weeks to cover. Each of the chapters contains sufficient material for one week.

d. This curriculum is a student worktext. Each chapter contains readings, a brief review, various exercises, topics to research, suggested books to read, and various projects that the student could engage in to supplement the course readings. Answers to the exercises are provided at the back.

Chapters include "Religious Anti-Semitism," "Why Germany?," "The Third Reich: A Terror State, 1933-1945," "Jewish Resistance," "Post-War Response to the Holocaust," and "Jews in Today's World."

e. The "objectives" are provided at the conclusion of the curriculum. The author presents them as lessons which are worth remembering:

1. Be aware that anti-Semitism and other deadly prejudices are just under the surface waiting to be fanned alive.
2. Know that politicians use scapegoats during times of trouble.
3. Be wary of demagogues, power-hungry leaders who stir up people by appealing to their prejudices.
4. Realize that uncontrolled power in the hands of a few can wipe out human rights.
5. Face up to the reality that prejudice and and has moved modern, civilized, highly educated people to extremes such as murdering innocent men, women, and children.
6. Realize how and why the Holocaust occurred and know that similar tragedies can happen again at any time, at any place, and to any minority group because they are basically small and defenseless.
7. Understand that morally we all should be our "brother's keepers," and that to remain indifferent to others' suffering and mistreatment is wrong--just as wrong as committing the act of evil ourselves.[44]

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no single methodology stated. Each chapter makes ample use of readings, discussions, filmstrips, art pro-

jects, tests, sentence fill-ins, and vocabulary reviews.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into consideration. Though there is an attempt to assist students in learning the reasons behind historical events, there is little focus at all on the moral development of the student. Study questions are mainly to test comprehension, and projects are to gain deeper factual knowledge of the material. When the projects are expressive of feelings, the project is devoid of any conflict-dilemma expression. For example: "Picture [i.e., create a poster] what you think a Nazi concentration camp looked like when the Allies discovered it."[45]

When there are attempts at promoting moral reasoning there is no attempt at emulating Kohlberg's dilemma conflict model. The potential is there, but the curriculum uses such questions only as a means of reinforcing material of a cognitive level and making it more relevant to the student. Example: "Assuming you were a jobless, hungry German listening to Hitler's promises, how do you think you would have responded?" [46] Posing such a question requires moral reasoning and thought, but does not challenge the student. Likewise, there is no attempt to evaluate moral growth or development.

The National Conference of Christians & Jews, "Lesson Plans For High School Holocaust Program," Santa Clara County Region, California, 1981, 8 pages.

a. Public School

b. 9th-12th grades

c. Five days

d. The curriculum consists of an outline and training manual for teachers interested in integrating a course on the Holocaust into their curriculum. The program is modeled on the National Conference of Christians and Jews Holocaust Program which has reached over 15,000 students since its inception in 1981. During the five days students learn about five main topics dealing with the Holocaust: 1. The nature of the Holocaust 2. The roots and growth of Nazism 3. A film, "Genocide" [not the Simon Wiesenthal movie] 4. A discussion with a survivor of the Holocaust and 5. Can it happen again? A discussion of the ramifications of the Holocaust and how a future Holocaust could happen again.

   There is no bibliography provided. There is very little historical information provided for the teacher. The teacher is left to find material on his own. However, there are detailed instructions given as to how to use the suggested films and how to discuss each of the above topics.

e. The goals and objectives for the curriculum as a whole are not specified. From the questions to be focused upon though, several implicit objectives of the curriculum are apparent:

   1. To involve the students in the atmosphere of the event.
   2. To show how the Holocaust stands unique in the events of human history.
   3. To discuss how Hitler could exterminate six million Jews.
   4. To discuss the role of the world in allowing the Holocaust to occur.
   5. To discuss how another Holocaust could happen again and methods to prevent it from happening.[47]

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no overall methodology stated for this curriculum. The methods of instruction consist mainly of discussion, lecture, film presentations, and the account of a survivor.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into consideration. There is no attempt to evaluate or to encourage the moral growth of students using Kohlberg's methodology. The focus of the program is upon allowing the students to obtain a quick but intelligent grasp of how the Holocaust could happen. There is little emphasis upon detailed acquisition of facts, or a complex understanding of the dilemmas and conflicts of values that the study of the Holocaust raise. There is an attempt to understand the human condition, but little attempt to promote moral reasoning and development in keeping with Kohlberg's methodology.

Nick, Ann L. Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust. Evanston, Illinois: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 1977, 39 pages.

a. Public School

b. 9th grade

c. Four or five days

d. This curriculum is a guide for the teacher planning on teaching a brief course in the Holocaust. Lesson outlines are provided, along with suggested activities and reading. Many of the readings are from Society on Trial by Chartock and Spencer.[48] In addition, suggested films, books and a brief history of the Holocaust are provided. Also included are a brief annotated bibliography and glossary of important terms.

e. The rationale for the curriculum can be summarized as follows:

1. To help young people become effective adults through an understanding of human nature.
2. To learn skills and generalizations from the study of the Holocaust which can transfer over to other struggles. If we are to prevent another Holocaust, we must understand what happened.
3. The Holocaust is a relevant issue for today. The Nazi banner is still being waved, survivors still live.[49]

In addition to these reasons for learning about the Holocaust, both Cognitive and Affective skill objectives are provided:

Cognitive Skill Objectives

1. Getting main ideas and details from reading; recalling information.
2. Reading for point of view and hidden assumptions.
3. Separating fact from opinion.
4. Developing vocabulary.
5. Chart skills.
6. Map skills.
7. Analyzing propaganda techniques.
8. Evaluating evidence for a given viewpoint.
9. Tracing cause-effect relationships.
10. Hypothetical problem-solving.
11. Making sound generalizations.[50]

Affective Skills

Students will be able to:

1. Recognize value problems and opposing viewpoints.
2. Take a stand on controversial or personal issues.
3. Support a viewpoint with fact and logic.
4. Identify the effects of emotion and personal needs on political events.
5. Describe their own reactions to traumatic events, such as concentration camp films.
6. Display empathy for suffering people.
7. Make personal value judgments.

f. The role of the teacher is "to raise issues and awareness--not to preach." The teacher will also choose "which purposes the unit should serve."[51]

g. The teacher is assumed to choose their own approach to teaching the Holocaust.[52] The author suggests various activities to aid the teacher: visual aids, readings, pretests, films, and topics for discussion.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into consideration. Though the curriculum strives to have students examine their own values and to develop empathy with the victims of the Holocaust, this is achieved mainly through films and discussions. There is no attempt to engage students in moral dilemma discussions. Further, the author admits that "it may be unrealistic to expect great attitudinal changes" in the students.[53] There is little attempt to measure moral growth or development.

Post, Albert. The Holocaust: A Case Study of Genocide. A Teaching Guide (Experimental edition). New York: The Commission on Jewish Studies in Public Schools of the American Association for Jewish Education, 1973, 67 pages.

a. Public School

b. Grades 7-12, and advanced 5th and 6th graders.

c. Minimum, one week. A more developed outline is provided for those who wish to spend three-eight weeks on the subject.

d. This curriculum is a guide for teachers who wish to teach the Holocaust as a mini-course. It includes strategies for school-wide programming as well. Five lessons are provided, with study guide questions and readings for inquiry and discussion. Selected books, audio-visual media, and films are recommended for those who wish to study the subject in greater depth.

e. The aims and objectives of the curriculum are stated as:

> To gain some understanding of the unprecedented nature and scope of the deliberately planned annihilation of the Jewish people in Nazi Germany and German Occupied Zones of Europe during World War II. (This planned annihilation is frequently referred to as "The Holocaust.")
>
> To learn about the historical background which led to the rise of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party in Germany and to understand how the Nazi leaders used Anti-Semitism as their primary propaganda instrument.
>
> To gain insight into the difficulty of maintaining human dignity under a cruel, barbaric and de-humanized policy which first identified, segregated, then destroyed its victims.
>
> To appreciate the physical and moral courage required to resist the machinery of destruction against overwhelming odds.
>
> To gain some insight into the relationship of the Holocaust to the establishment of the State of Israel.
>
> To realize that genocide is a threat to all humanity and to understand why it has been outlawed by the United Nations Convention on Genocide.
>
> To inspire a present generation of youth to help build a world in which genocide whall not again occur.[54]

In addition, each lesson has its own specific aims stated.

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no overall methodology stated by the curriculum. Each lesson has a section termed "motivation" in which the teacher is given suggested activities-readings, poems, guest speakers, etc., which could be used to fulfill the aims of the lesson. In addition, questions to promote discussion are provided in each lesson to serve as the basis of class discussion and inquiry.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into consideration. There is no attempt to employ any of his methodologies. There is some attempt to promote moral growth in the student, though not in a fashion that is suggested by Kohlberg. For example, one inquiry question asks:

> What understanding about ourselves and the world in which we live can be gained from studying the Holocaust?[55]

There is no use though of the dilemma model recommended by Kohlberg. And there is no attempt to evaluate moral growth and development.

Sanders, Beverly. "The Holocaust: The Jewish Ordeal in Nazi Occupied Europe 1933-1945," New York Teacher Magazine. New York, 1974.

a. Public School

b. 9th-12th grades

c. No length specified or suggested

d. This curriculum is a resource unit for teachers. Sanders provides the teacher with a brief, but detailed history of anti-Semitism, the Final Solution, resistance, and the aftermath of WW II. In addition, she provides the teacher with study guide questions, suggested activities, and a brief bibliography on the Holocaust.

e. The purpose of this unit is "to introduce high school students to the basic events of the Holocaust and to raise with them the many questions that still haunt us about the tragic episode."[56]

f. The role of the teacher is to "make sure that the students are exposed to some of the eyewitness accounts of those who endured the Holocaust, as well as the factual outlines of the period."[57]

g. There is no overall methodology suggested. Sanders does give suggested activities and study guide questions. Some of the activities include having the student read eyewitness accounts, present class reports, view photographs of the Holocaust, and discussions.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into account. There is no attempt to engage the students in moral dilemmas or to encourage their moral growth and development. The questions asked are directed towards thinking about the Holocaust and understanding the material. However, there is no attempt to move the student beyond concepts and comprehension of facts. There is no attempt to evaluate moral growth and development.

Strom, Margot Stern & William S. Parsons. Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior. Brookline School System, Brookline, Massachusetts, 1978, 405 pages.

Drew, Margaret. Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior, Bibliography/Filmography. Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 1982, 98 pages.

a. Public School

b. 8-12th grades

c. Depending upon how the curriculum is used, the authors recommend that the course be taught for 8-10 week unit or a more involved seventeen week unit (p. 18).

d. This curriculum was written to fill a perceived gap by two social studies teachers, Margot Strom and William Parson, in the presentation of history. Finding no curriculum materials or guidelines available they decided to create their own. Although the first model was used in the social studies curriculum of the eighth grade, the completed curriculum has since been used and adapted for inclusion in art, history, English and Law classes in high school settings.[58]

An integral part of this curriculum is staff development. Extensive teacher training is needed for the proper implementation of this curriculum.

The text is divided into 12 chapters: "An Introduction," "Society and the individual," "Antisemitism: A Case Study of Prejudice and Discrimination," "German History: World War I to II," "Nazi Philosophy and Policy," "Preparing for Obedience," "Victims of Tyranny," "The Holocaust," "Who Knew? Individuals, Groups, and Nations," "Judgment," "The Armenians," and "Facing Today and the Future." Chapters are divided up into readings and activities, but not into descrete lessons.

Part of this curriculum includes a detailed and extensive annotated bibliography and filmography. The bibliography includes books of fiction and non-fiction, for both children and adults.

e. Perhaps due to the emphasis of the curriculum's designers upon teacher training, there are no overall objectives explicitly stated either for the curriculum itself or for individual lessons. However, in the overview, introduction and section entitled, "rationale," the editors give many reasons why the curriculum is designed the way it is, which could be construed as the objectives of this curriculum:

> To present students with an opportunity to think about effective ways to prevent abuse of power, or to bring about change in society.[59]
>
> To realize that the Holocaust could have been prevented.[60]
>
> To promote awareness of the history of the Holocaust and the genocide of the Armenian people, an appreciation for justice, a concern for interpersonal understanding, and a memory for the victims of those events.[61]
>
> To foster growth and understanding by continually complicating students' simple answers to complex questions. To increase affective learning by providing opportunities for psychological insight, empathy, and moral commitment.[62]

f. The role of the teacher is defined in great detail at the teacher training workshops which are a necessary component for the proper implementation of this curriculum. Specifically stated in the curriculum itself are that the teacher will engender attitudes of trust and mutual respect in the classroom. The teacher will not allow put-downs or ridicule.[63] The teacher's role in promoting moral discussions and making sure that students do not accept "simple answers" to problems is also stressed.

g. Methodology for this curriculum has been developed to

> encourage students to understand more than on perspective in a dilemma, to place themselves in the position of another person, and to be willing to express ideas in class without fear of ridicule. Lessons are designed to encourage students to think about history and its relationship to their lives and to consider the consequences of decisions and actions as they explore the roles and responses of individuals and groups confronting moral issues and dilemmas.[64]

Readings and films have been selected with this goal in mind. Teacher training and staff development are also necessary to fulfill this goal. The text itself does not detail specifically how a teacher is to adopt this methodological approach. In addition to workshops, there is also a newsletter and an extensive support system available to those who purchase this curriculum. The project is recognized by the National Diffusion Network as a model program. There are NDN facilitators whose role is to provide guidance and support to teachers utilizing this curriculum.[65]

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development has been taken into account to some degree in the creation of this curriculum. There is a stress on developing the students' moral reasoning and growth. There is a means of measuring this growth, through the use of journals in partirular. The journal is intended to provide the student

with a tangible means of expressing his insights and attempts to resolve difficult problems.[66] There is also a stress on the dilemma method. Unfortunately, Kohlberg's theory is not detailed in the curriculum, nor is it readily apparent how the readings themselves correspond in any manner to the developmental of the student considering the wide range of potential users of this curriculum.

Watson, Patricia & Myron Winer. The Holocaust. Baltimore City Public Schools, Baltimore, Maryland, 1979, 116 pages.

a. Public School

b. 8th and 11th grades: Two separate units are provided for each respective grade. What follows is a separate analysis for each course.

8th grade (pages 73-116 of text)

c. The length is not specified. The curriculum is designed though to serve as a "mini-unit" as part of United States history course.

d. Designed as a mini-unit, this curriculum provides the teacher with nine lessons on the Holocaust. Each lesson includes an objective, materials needed, motivation, development (i.e., film, study questions, readings), a brief summary of the main points of the lesson, and a homework assignment for the students.

The curriculum is divided into eight chapters: "What is Prejudice," "Examples of Prejudice in the United States," "Rise of the Nazis to Power in Germany," "Comparison of Prejudice: Nazi vs. Jim Crow," "Life in Europe's Ghettoes During World War II," "The Final Solution," "Resistance of the Jews of Europe Against the Persecution of the Nazis," and "Reactions of Germans and Others in the World to the Nazi Persecution."[67]

At the conclusion of the curriculum there is a brief bibliography provided for both the 11th and 8th grade curriculums. In addition, various handouts are provided for the teacher's use.

e. The objectives of the course are stated in performance terms for each of the lessons. In addition, there are overall objectives for the curriculum:

Students will be able to:

Define the word prejudice.

Identify and assess the damaging effects of prejudice on human beings.

Explain how the Nazis were able to gain control of Germany.

Identify and describe the similarities and differences in the prejudice encountered by the Jews in Germany and Blacks in the United States.

List and define the various forms of persecution faced by the Jews in Europe during the Nazi era.

Describe the resistance of the Jews against Nazi persecution.

Hypothesize the difficulties and dangers involved in protesting unfair and inhumane conditions.

In addition to these stated objectives, a stated rationale for the curriculum is to "reduce the possibility of a recurrence of the horrors of the Holocaust."[68]

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly stated.

g. There is no overall methodology stated for this curriculum. Each lesson is provided with various suggested activities for the teacher to utilize: readings, films, filmstrips, discussion questions, research projects and written reports.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into consideration. The questions provided for class discussion do not challenge the student to think in higher levels of reasoning. The questions in the main ask the student questions on a comprehension level. There is no use of Kohlberg's dilemma model. There is no attempt to measure or evaluate moral growth and development.

11th grade

c. The length of the curriculum is not specified.

d. Designed as a mini-unit for includsion in a U.S. history course, this curriculum provides the teacher with detailed lesson plans for teaching a more thorough approach to the history of the Holocaust than the 8th grade course. Each lesson contains behavior objectives, materials needed, motivation for class discussion, suggested activities and readings, and homework assignments. A chronology of the main events of the Holocaust is provided, as well as an annotated bibliography (for use for both curriculums).

There are five areas that are studied in this curriculum: "Rise of Nazism in Germany," "Why were Jews the Principal Victims?" "The Process of Genocide," "Response (of the world and of the Jews)," and "Implications of the Holocaust."[69]

e. In addition to the behavior objectives stated for each lesson, a list of overall objectives is provided:

As a result of utilizing this mini-unit on the Holocaust, senior high school students will be able to:

> analyze the historical events between World War I and World War II which led to the rise of Nazism in Germany.
>
> recall and summarize the religious, economic and political components of European anti-Semitism.
>
> trace orally and in writing the process of genocide from the legalization of anti-Semitism in Germany (1933) to the Nazi "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem."
>
> compare, analyze and make generalizations about the nature of the responses of victims to the Nazi efforts at genocide.
>
> compare and analyze the nature of United States and world-wide response to the persecution of Jews prior to and during World War II.
>
> discuss and analyze the political factors which led to the founding of the State of Israel.
>
> recall, compare and analyze events in our own past which illustrate destructive policies directed against particular minority groups.
>
> draw inferences as to whether another event such as the Holocaust could occur again.[70]

f. The role of the teacher is not explicitly defined.

g. There is no overall methodology stated for this curriculum. Each lesson is provided with a list of suggested

activities to further the students' understanding of the material, as well as to motivate the student to learn the material. Activities include films, discussions, learning centers, readings, and values clarification exercises.

h. Kohlberg's theory of moral development is not taken into consideration. However, more so than in the eighth grade curriculum, there is an attempt to encourage the student to think and reason about problems raised by study of the Holocaust. There is an attempt to move beyond mere recitation of facts, and to help clarify values and to apply higher taxonomy levels of reasoning. For example, one homework assignment asks: "If you were a ghetto fighter, would collective responsibility have encouraged you from persuing your drive to fight the Germans? Explain?"[71] Nevertheless, there is minimal consideration for the evaluation of moral growth and the encouragement of moral growth as suggested by Kohlberg's theory.

Question 1: Is one of the objectives or rationales of the curriculum to "prevent another Holocaust?"

TABLE 1-J

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
YES	X	X		X	X	X	X		X		7	70
NO			X					X		X	3	30

TABLE 1-P

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	%
YES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	17	95
NO															X				1	5

These tables indicate that in both realms there is a strong emphasis upon teaching the Holocaust in order to prevent another Holocaust from occurring again. This is a stated objective or rationale of the vast majority of curricula. The moral justification for teaching the Holocaust is of prime importance to the vast majority of curricula. Most of the exceptions were intended for resource material and clear rationales of any sort were not stated. This is the case, for example, of curricula 3-J, 8-J, and 16-P. (See chart 1, page 50 for actual names of curricula).

Question 2: Was Kohlberg's theory of moral development used in the development of the curriculum?

TABLE 2-J

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
YES											0	0
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10	100

TABLE 2-P

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	%
YES																X			1	5
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	17	95

Only one curriculum took Kohlberg's research into consideration, Facing History and Ourselves. That this curriculum utilizes Kohlberg's research is not surprising as Margot Strom, one of the authors, was a pupil of Kohlberg. In as much as Kohlberg's theory and methodology are a product of the scientific world (rather than a Jewish educational discovery), it is surprising to find so little endorsement of his methods in the design and implementation of Holocaust curricula in the public school. In any case, the lack of Kohlberg's influence in both realms is surprising because most curricula claim that they want to "prevent another Holocaust," but provide little means for promoting moral growth.

Question 3: Is one primary role of the teacher to act as a "facilitator," engaging students in moral debate?

TABLE 3-J

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
YES										X	1	10
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		9	90

TABLE 3-P

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	%
YES																X			1	5
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	17	95

It is not surprising that curricula 10-J and 16-P are the curricula which stress the role of the teacher as being that of a facilitator. 16-P was designed with Kohlberg's methodology in mind. 10-J utilizes a values clarification model for promoting moral discussion among students. In some respects, the values clarification model is similar to that of Kohlberg's. The two differ philosophically, however, Values clarification, by definition, seeks merely to clarify values, and is value neutral. Kohlberg is not value neutral. He insists that certain values are better than others.

Other curricula stress that the teacher should strive for "openness" in the classroom, such as 6-J. For the most part though, the role of the teacher is to lead discussions and lecture to students. One major conclusion from this data is that if Kohlberg's methodology is to be employed success-

fully by teachers, then a great deal of teacher training must be done to retrain teachers into behaving in another mode than they are used to. This is extremely important because even if moral dilemmas are used to promote moral growth, if the teacher is not acting as a facilitator, no moral growth will transpire.[72]

Question 4a: Is the "moral dilemma" method used as a means for promoting moral growth and encouraging moral reasoning?

TABLE 4a-J

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
YES										X	1	10
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		9	90

TABLE 4a-P

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	%
YES				X												X			2	11
NO	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	16	89

Question 4b: If the moral dilemma method is used, is it the primary methodology employed for teaching the Holocaust?

TABLE 4b-J

	10	Total	%
YES	X	1	100
NO		0	0

TABLE 4b-P

	4	16	Total	%
YES			0	0
NO	X	X	1	100

The vast majority of curricula do not utilize the moral dilemma method as the primary means for promoting moral growth or teaching the Holocaust. 10-J uses the dilemma method, but as mentioned above, does so only to clarify students' values, and not to promote moral growth in the Kohlbergian sense.

Other curricula, such as 4-P make use of the dilemma method on an extremely limited scale. Only one dilemma is used, "Helga's dilemma." This is a dilemma developed by the Melton Research Foundation as one example of how a teacher could promote moral growth. Except for 16-P and 10-J, no curricula attempts to create original dilemmas or to integrate the dilemma method throughout the curriculum.

What is significant about this data is that some teachers will have some degree of familiarity with the dilemma method, albeit in limited form. Clearly though, this is not the majority. Kohlberg's methods are very tempting to use as "learning activities" or "techniques" to stimulate a bored class. This approach should be avoided. Kohlberg's methodology is based upon a philosophy which should be clearly understood by the teacher. If the dilemma method is used sporadically, and without intentionality, no moral growth will take place.

Question 5: If moral dilemmas are not the primary means employed, what are the two most frequently used methods for encouraging some form of moral growth?

(See charts on following pages)

TABLE 5-J

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Discussion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	8
Lecture										
Media		X								1
Role play										
Simulation								X		1
Values Clarification								X		1
Other (specify)	Readings		Readings		Readings	Readings			Reading	5

TABLE 5-P

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
Discussion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	18
Lecture	X				X				X						X				4
Media							X					X	X			X	X		5
Role Play																			
Simulation																			
Values Clarification			X			X		X											3
Other (specify)		**W			*R					*R	*R				*R			*R	6

*R = Readings

**W = Writing

Tables 5-J & P:

The data indicates that the three most commonly used methods for encouraging moral growth are discussion, reading, and media. In the public school realm, media has a somewhat greater emphasis, perhaps because money is more readily available for media than in the private sector. Discussion is clearly the most used form of promoting values. Teachers engage students in questioning which seeks to stimulate their thinking. Reading is the second method used by teachers. Students are asked to read "stirring" selections about the Holocaust. Selections which dramatize the inhumanity and horror of the Holocaust. Through the readings, students learn what values were destroyed in the Holocaust. Media, graphically reemphasizes what the students have discussed and read about. Unfortunately, these methods do not serve to stimulate a student's ability to reason morally. In a study done of four major Holocaust curricula (4-P, 5-P, and 16-P in my study. The other curriculum studied was Social Studies--Holocaust Curriculum, Great Neck Public Schools, 1976, and not included in my study),[73] Mary Glynn found that in classes using these curricula there was no significant moral growth. Glynn measured the moral growth using a scale developed by James Rest, which is correlated to Kohlberg's scoring system.[74] In trying to account for the lack of moral growth among students who had studied the Holocaust, Glynn speculated:

> ... One can certainly argue that the traits measured by this instrument (Rest's Defining Issues Text) are not specifically those taught by individual curricula and thus that the test lacks external validity. One can also argue that the

> test lacks external validity. One can also argue that the traits measured are basic psychological processes that are unlikely to be advanced by a short-term educational intervention ...
>
> Finally, one suspects that sensitizing students to moral questions may be part of a different kind of educational process than simply judging moral issues in the abstract ...[75]

In her analysis, though, Glynn failed to understand fully the importance of the role of the teacher and the methodology of the "moral dilemma." In looking at her analysis of the methodologies employed by teachers using these curricula, without fail, the vast majority of teachers continued using their standard approaches to teaching: discussion, lecturing, and homework. Many teachers also brought in guest speakers, but this is again a form of "lecturing." Thus, I maintain, that a significant reason why no moral growth occurred, especially in the Facing History and Ourselves curriculum, which specifically emphasizes Kohlberg's methodology, was that Kohlberg's methodology was not used. This is additionally supported by the fact that in another study, students did grow in terms of their moral reasoning after having completed Facing History and Ourselves with Kohlberg's methods correctly employed.[76] In short, the teacher must be a facilitator, not a lecturer. To try and inculcate values simply does not work. Moreover, moral dilemmas by themselves do not serve to promote moral growth. The classroom atmosphere must be free and open, and students must be directed to engage in debate with students at different moral levels. Without this sense of cognitive conflict, moral dilemmas remain only a "gimmick" and do not promote moral growth.

Question 6a: Is the curriculum taught over a minimum period of 15 weeks?

TABLE 6a-J

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
YES	X	X					X		X		4	40
NO				X	X			X		X	4	40
N.S.*			X			X					2	20

TABLE 6a-P

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	%
YES																			0	0
NO				X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			10	56
N.S.*	X	X	X		X	X	X										X	X	8	44

N.S.* = Not specified nor was it possible to interpolate.

Question 6b: If the answer to Tables 2 and 6a are both "yes," then does the curriculum devote at least one hour per week to moral reasoning?

Neither curricula from the public school nor from the Reform religious school could answer "yes" to the two questions posed in Tables 2 and 6a. The import of this data is that even those curricula which are based upon Kohlberg's theory, such as 16-P, will not effectuate significant stage level change unless the curriculum allows for one hour per week of moral discussion--debate over the period of a semester. This is the minimum amount of time that Kohlberg and his followers found to be effective in promoting sustained moral growth. The data clearly shows that the public schools are not inclined to devote an entire semester to the study of the Holocaust. Even among curricula intended for use in Reform religious schools, only 40% are at least 15 weeks in length. If an integrated Holocaust curriculum is to be successful in promoting moral growth, then more time must be alloted to the study of the Holocaust. Another alternative, of course, is to retain the length of time devoted to the Holocaust, but integrate Kohlberg's methodology into other subjects as well. In this fashion, students would receive a sufficient exposure to the moral dilemma method for permanent sustained stage level change to occur.

Question 7: Does the curriculum provide or suggest means for evaluating moral growth?

TABLE 7-J

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
YES											0	0
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10	100

TABLE 7-P

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	%
YES									X							X			2	11
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	16	89

The final table points out the clear deficiency in almost all Holocaust curricula in evaluating the moral growth of their students. Kohlberg is partly at fault. His scoring system is not readily available and difficult to administer. Nevertheless, other more simplified methods could be used by teachers. The one curriculum that did evaluate moral growth, 16-P, did so using journals. Students related their feelings through the course in their journals.[77]

> Much is required of the students who prepare to "face history and themselves." The curriculum goals include such formidable behavioral objects as "to foster growth and understanding by continually complicating students' simple answers to complex questions. To increase affective learning by providing opportunities for psychological insight, empathy, and moral commitment." The journal remains a constant throughout these pursuits and culminates in a tangible account of the delicate and painful process that can lead first to insight and eventually to understanding.[78]

Other methods of evaluation are possible, of course.

Teachers could use pre-tests to measure students' attitudes and values. These tests could be repeated in varying form throughout the course so that teachers could observe how students are growing morally. Without this continual evaluation, a teacher trying to promote moral reasoning while teaching the Holocaust, would never know how well he was succeeding.

Conclusions:

Based upon the data gathered, it is possible to make several major conclusions about the need for moral education in teaching the Holocaust, and what needs to be done if Kohlberg's methods are to be seriously considered by teachers of the Holocaust and curriculum writers. First of all, there is a need for moral education. Almost all of the curricula professed the need to prevent another Holocaust as one main objective or rationale of the curriculum. Prevention can occur only if humans learn to reason at a higher moral level. Kohlberg maintains that "he who knows the good, will choose the good." I agree. Although, it is perhaps impractical to hope that by teaching using Kohlberg's methods, we can raise the world to stage six, nevertheless, Kohlberg's methodology does provide us with a method for promoting moral growth, and thus, helping to assure that students will act more justly. This is one of the objectives of teaching the Holocaust.

Secondly, Kohlberg's theory and methodology are for the most part ignored in terms of Holocaust curriculum design and development. If Kohlberg is to be integrated into teaching the Holocaust, then clearly new curricula have to be written with this purpose in mind. Very few curricula have adapted Kohlberg's theory to the teaching of the Holocaust. Facing History and Ourselves is an exemplary attempt at such a synthesis. However, the curriculum could be helped if a teacher's guide was developed to provide in written format information which at present is provided only at the training seminars. Teacher training is important, in order to insure

that teachers know the content and the process of teaching the Holocaust. Even so, having readily at hand a more complete and detailed format for using the curriculum would make Facing History and Ourselves much easier to use.

Thirdly, teachers must be trained to apply Kohlberg's theory and methodology to the classroom. The data presented in this chapter clearly indicates that most teachers rely upon traditional methods for promoting moral growth in the classroom. This will not work. Having a curriculum that incorporates Kohlberg's methodology will only serve to promote moral growth if the teacher re-examines his role as a teacher. Handbooks are avilable to further this process, but workshops and training seminars are ultimately the best approach. Kohlberg's methodologies require what for many teachers would be a radical departure from their normal role as teacher. Kohlberg's methodology also implies some skill in evaluating moral stage levels and in promoting cognitive conflict among various stage levels in the class. Without some guidance and experience, this will be difficult for the average teacher to do effectively.

Finally, the data clearly indicates a strong need for the creation of evaluative devices to measure moral reasoning and growth in the class. The vast majority of curricula did not have any means of evaluating any progress in moral reasoning at all. Without such measurements a teacher is at a loss to know the predominate stage levels of his class and how best to construct and conduct moral dilemmas. Without such evaluation, the teacher is also unable to judge the success of his curriculum, and the progress of his students.

CHAPTER SIX

Applying Kohlberg to the Classroom

Much of this thesis has been dedicated to demonstrating that a synthesis between Kohlberg's theory and methodologies is compatible with Jewish educational objectives in general, and Holocaust education in specific. In the previous chapter my study showed how it is rare that a Holocaust curriculum in either the Jewish or secular realm utilizes Kohlberg in its design or implementation. No curriculum satisfactorily has integrated Kohlberg's findings into both its design and implementation. This chapter discusses how an integrated Holocaust curriculum using Kohlberg's methodology and theory could be designed and implemented. (See Appendix G for an annotated bibliography of further resources.)

Designing a Curriculum:

In his book, Promoting Moral Growth, Richard Hersh interviewed teachers who had integrated Kohlberg's theory into their curriculum. He found that a pattern emerged. Teachers who had successfully integrated Kohlberg's theory into practice went through a series of ten steps. These steps bear repeating here as a suggestive approach to designing an integrated Holocaust curriculum:

1. Develop a rationale
2. Identify moral issues in the curriculum

3. Relate the moral issues to students' lives
4. Use material that promotes role taking
5. Expose students to more adequate reasoning structures
6. Encourage students to be curriculum developers
7. Work with another colleague
8. Do a pilot test of material
9. Examine materials beyond textbook data
10. Develop experiences in which students can act on their reasoning.[1]

1. Develop A Rationale

Hersh states that though this is often a frustrating task, it is an essential step.[2] The teacher must begin by finding a comfortable integration of Kohlberg's theory and methodology which will ideally meet the established goals of the curriculum. The rationale is "a personal translation of the theory and is required for enhancing clarity in the curriculum-building process."[3]

2. Identify Moral Issues in the Curriculum

Moral issues can be found in a variety of places. Literature, media, and other curricular resources can be examined for relationships between people or between people and institutions which will provide a good dilemma format.[4] The dilemmas must fit the developmental level of the student and the student's ability for social role taking.[5]

3. Relate the Moral Issues to Students' Lives

The dilemma must bear some relationship to what is important to the lives of the students. Students should be asked, "Have you had a similar experience in your life?" or "What did you do when faced with a similar dilemma?"[6]

4. Use Material That Promotes Role Taking

Role taking means taking another person's perspective. By developing this ability, the student learns to clarify his values. Perspective taking also aids in making the dilemma more real and concrete. Moral development requires that a person be able to assume the perspective of another. By role taking, "the students can move from a self-centered view of the world to the point where they can see themselves from an external perspective."[7] Through role-taking, a student learns that others feel and think differently about issues than he does. This often engenders conflict within the student, and conflict resolution is at the heart of moral growth.[8]

5. Expose Students to More Adequate Reasoning Structures

Kohlberg states that moral growth is promoted when a person is challenged by a stage one level higher than his own. For most people, such exposure creates cognitive conflict and initiates the process necessary for the construction of new stage level reasoning.[9]

6. Encourage Students to be Curriculum Developers

Students will soon learn the nature of a dilemma and be quick to point out conflicts and dilemmas.[10] This should be encouraged by the teacher as it allows the students to become more involved with the curriculum and it encourages the students' sensitivity to moral dilemmas.

7. Work With Another Colleague

Hersh points out that we can all learn from each other.

What another does can be emulated. And often what another says jogs something in our own mind. The result is a better curriculum for all concerned. Applying Kohlberg's methodology can be very risk-taking for a teacher, at first, and mutual support of colleagues will lessen the anxiety involved in trying something which is new.[11]

8. Do A Pilot Test of Material

The use of mini-units may provide a good test of beginning efforts. With the help of another colleague's advice, one's own self-criticism, and student reaction, changes can be made which will make the curriculum more effective in teaching content and promoting moral growth. There are many variables to Kohlberg's method. For example, were the discussion groups set up properly? Were they too small? Was the dilemma made specific enough? Did the teacher ask enough probe questions? With enough practice and experience, the teacher will find a comfortable manner to apply Kohlberg's method in the classroom.[12]

9. Examine Materials Beyond Textbook Data

More than just textbooks can serve as sources for moral dilemmas. Moral dilemmas can be found everywhere--television, novels, poetry, art, etc.[13] This advice on the part of Hersh is especially relevant to the Holocaust, where so many different kinds of resources are available, though as I have shown, most teachers still fall back upon the use of lecture and discussion.

10. Develop Experiences in Which Students Can Act On Their Reasoning

This provides the ideal culmination of a moral reasoning curriculum. Students should be encouraged to transfer their reasoning in the abstract into concrete actions. Hersh feels that it is crucial to such a synthesis and to provide time in class to talk about it.[14] This is especially relevant to a Holocaust curriculum where many curricula strive for attitudinal change and enhanced moral behaviour as one goal of the curriculum.[15]

Curriculum Implementation:

There are many factors which go into the proper implementation of any curriculum. This section discusses those characteristics peculiar to a Kohlberg based curriculum. These characteristics are: 1. The role of the teacher as "facilitator." 2. The construction of moral dilemmas. 3. A model for conducting moral discussions in the classroom. 4. Sample dilemmas, and 5. Towards a methodology for evaluating moral growth.

1. Role of the Teacher:

In moving from the realm of the theoretical to the world of practice, teachers play a central role in the proper implementation of Kohlberg's methodology. Without the knowledgeable, thoughtful, and dedicated participation of the teacher, moral reasoning is not promoted in the classroom. As this thesis noted earlier, even when a curriculum which includes Kohlberg's methodology is used, if the teacher does

not alter his teaching methods, no moral growth will take place. Thus, teachers must rethink and re-examine what their role is in the classroom if they are to become moral educators. That role is to create cognitive conflict and to stimulate social perspective taking in students.[16]

For many teachers, adapting to this new role is very difficult to do. Many teachers are not used to being "facilitators," rather the focal point of attention. As previously noted, most teachers use discussion as the primary method for promoting moral education in the classroom. In a discussion, however, the teacher is the center of attention and the source of "authority and wisdom."

In one study, which examined teachers who were just beginning to adopt some of Kohlberg's methodologies, frustrations were felt by teachers who ultimately realized that utilizing Kohlberg's methods also meant a re-examination of their own value systems and their own egos. For example, one teacher had difficulty because she was used to perpetrating the notion in the classroom that she was the sole source of wisdom, and this discouraged the students from questioning each other. Another teacher had difficulty viewing dilemmas from a variety of points of view, and so her questions lacked depth. And yet another teacher forced the classroom to converge on one answer which she felt was "the right answer," thereby stifling any form of cognitive conflict among the students![17]

In his book Promoting Moral Growth from Piaget to Kohlberg, Richard Hersh writes that in order for teachers to

become effective moral educators, they must become aware of three major assumptions of Kohlberg's approach to moral education:

> 1. ... the necessity of increasing our own awareness of moral issues before we can expect students to do so,
> 2. the recognition that many teacher and student interactions have a moral dimension, and
> 3. the realization that certain kinds of social interaction are more conducive than others to moral development.[18]

Each of these assumptions implies a dramatic reassessment of style, method and self on the part of the teacher. Yet, if moral growth is to be effectively encouraged in the classroom, such reassessment is necessary.

2. Constructing A Moral Dilemma

In order to fullfil this new role, a teacher must "set into motion certain patterns of social interaction" among the students.[19] The most frequently used method involves the use of a moral dilemma. Kohlberg defines a moral dilemma as "a state of social disequilibrium characterized by the unresolved conflicting claims of individuals."[20] Moral dilemmas may stem from a variety of sources. From history, literature, films, contemporary society, and the classroom itself. Almost all of these sources could be used to construct moral dilemmas dealing with the Holocaust.

In their book, Galbraith and Jones enumerate five essential ingredients which a dilemma story must include:

> 1. Focus: The situation in the dilemma should focus on the lives of the students, the course content, or contemporary society. The dilemma should be considered genuine.

2. Central Character: The dilemma should involve a central character or primary group of characters around which the dilemma remains focused. Students make moral judgments about what the central characters should do.

3. Choice: The story or situation must involve a choice for the central character. The character in the dilemma should have two action alternatives which present a definite conflict. Neither action choice should represent a culturally approved "right" answer ...

4. Moral issues: Moral dilemmas revolve around key moral issues. Kohlberg identifies some of these issues:

Social Norms	Property
Civil Liberties	Roles and Issues of
Life	Acceptance
Sex	Authority
Personal Conscience	Punishment
Contract	Truth

5. A "Should" Question: Each moral dilemma ends with a specific question which asks about what the character should do in the situation. Asking the 'should' question keeps the discussion centered on moral judgments in a dilemma ...

   A discussion of what someone would do, although often interesting and sometimes relevant to moral considerations, often promotes an exercise in psychology, rather than morality.[21]

3. Conducting Moral Discussions:

Galbraith and Jones provide a detailed discussion of the four major steps necessary to conduct moral discussions in the classroom. (See Appendix H for a chart summarizing the four steps.) What follows is a brief summary of the four steps.

A. Confronting a Moral Dilemma

A teacher begins the process by presenting the moral dilemma. Care is taken prior to this step to establish a classroom atmosphere which is conducive to moral discussion. That is, that the classroom allows for free exchange of ideas, and

mutual respect of peers. The dilemma can be presented by a variety of ways, film, role playing, or a printed handout are only a few methods suggested. The primary purpose at this juncture is to present students with a central character who faces a difficult social or moral problem.[21]

The teacher notes the circumstances of the dilemma. Who are the characters? What is happening to the central character? What are the facts of the story?[23] The teacher continues by clarifying any terms which are unfamiliar to the students. The teacher can either (ideally) have the students define the terms for each other, or provide the definitions to the class. Finally, the first step concludes as the teacher states the nature of the problem for the central character. Ideally, someone in the class should be able to summarize the main dilemma faced by the character.

B. Stating a Tentative Position

The teacher allows each student a few moments to reflect on the nature of the problem. Each student is asked to formulate an opinion on what action the main character should take. One way of helping a student to clarify his opinion is to have him write down his response on a piece of paper. This also helps to avoid any peer pressure from influencing him. If a student is committed to his response, he will be much more likely to defend his position and engage in the classroom debate which ensues.[24]

After each individual has formulated a tentative position, the teacher establishes the opinion of the class as a

whole. This can be done through a show of hands.[25] Finally, the teacher asks the students the reasons behind their responses and notes the reasons on the chalkboard. At this juncture, the teacher is merely preparing students for the small group discussion which will take place. In addition, the teacher is also noting that people have different reasons for recommending particular actions. If there is no real conflict apparent in the class concerning what the main character should do, the teacher may go on to alternative dilemmas/plans. However, a teacher should not abandon a dilemma too quickly. This is an opportunity to explore the students' reasoning in a brief but thorough manner.[26]

C. Examining the Reasoning

Before the entire class discusses the dilemma, the teacher breaks the class into small groups to give students a chance to examine more fully their reasons for endorsing a particular course of action. A small group has several advantages. First of all, it gives each student the opportunity to participate. Secondly, it gives the class more time to think about the dilemma and to "test out" reasoning strategies. Thirdly, this approach maximizes the likelihood that students will hear differing points of view. Key to Kohlberg's methodology is that students of differing stage levels will have the opportunity to interact with each other. A student grows in his ability to reason morally by the exposure he is given to a stage higher than his own. Finally, working in small groups allows students to accomplish a specific task, to develop listening skills, and to learn to

work with other children. Though these tasks are not central to the development of moral reasoning per se, they are, nevertheless, important to the development of the child.[27]

As the discussion moves from the small groups to the entire class, the dilemma story may be analyzed in several different ways. For example, a dilemma can be analyzed in terms of its issues. Each moral dilemma involves a number of specific moral issues which must be confronted. If the students have not discovered the issues, then the teacher, using a probe-question, could direct students to the issues involved.[28]

Another example would be to refer students to analogous dilemmas or to a previous dilemma. An analogous dilemma is one which relates to a dilemma which is similar in terms or circumstances and involves the same moral issues.[29] An analogous dilemma serves to add greater dimension and applicability to the issues at hand. Noting previous dilemmas is also a good way of adding greater depth and scope to the dilemma being discussed. Often times a student will recall a dilemma discussed earlier in the year. A teacher, noting the analogy of the two dilemmas, and a change in reasoning, could question the student over the reasons for his change. This is also a helpful way for the teacher to notice the progress of moral growth in the classroom.

D. Reflecting on an Individual Position

The final stage of a class discussion emphasizes one final period of reflection for each individual.[30] Thus far,

the positions which the teacher has asked the student to take have been tentative. This final phase is an opportunity to solidify those positions and to clarify further the reasoning involved. The final phase, therefore, includes time set aside to summarize the reasoning of students, and to state one final time the reason given for the action position held by the student.[31] Students could be asked to write down their reasons or to record any changes in their reasons from the beginning of the exercise to the end.[32]

One other method of ending a class discussion is to ask students how real they felt the dilemma was in terms of their own lives. This question gives the teacher an opportunity to judge the effectiveness and relevancy of the dilemma chosen.[33]

4. Sample Dilemmas For Use In A Holocaust Curriculum:

The Holocaust as a subject lends itself to a vast variety of possible dilemmas. As mentioned in the previous chapter, several curricula have dilemmas as one aspect of the curricula's learning activities. In particular, two curricula make significant use of the dilemma method. One dilemma is repeated in several of the curricula and is worth repeating here. It is called Helga's dilemma and was originally developed by Carnegie Mellon University.

> Helga and Rachel had grown up together. They were best friends despite the fact that Helga's family was Christian and Rachel's was Jewish. For many years, this religious difference didn't seem to matter much in Germany, but after Hitler seized power the situation changed. Hitler required Jews to wear armbands with the Star of David on them. He began to encourage his followers to destroy the property of Jewish people and to beat them on the street. Finally, he began to arrest Jews and deport

them. Rumors went around the city that many Jews were being killed. Hiding Jews for whom the Gestapo (Hitler's secret police) was looking was a serious crime and violated a law of the German government.

One night Helga heard a knock at the door. When she opened it, she found Rachel on the step huddled in a dark coat. Quickly Rachel stepped inside. She had been to a meeting, she said, and when she returned home she had found Gestapo members all around her house. Her parents and brothers had already been taken away. Knowing her fate if the Gestapo caught her, Rachel ran to her old friend's house.

Now what should Helga do? If she turned Rachel away, the Gestapo would eventually find her. Helga knew that most of the Jews who were sent away had been killed and she didn't want her best friend to share that fate. But hiding the Jews broke the law. Helga would risk her own security and that of her family if she tried to hide Rachel. But she had a tiny room behind the chimney on the third floor where Rachel might be safe.

Question: Should Helga hide Rachel?[34]

The dilemma is followed by a series of questions for use in the dilemma discussion with the class:

1. What is the most important thing that one friend owes to another? Why?
2. Should a person ever risk the welfare of relatives for the welfare of friends? Why?
3. Should a person ever risk his or her own life for someone else? Why?
4. What could justify the hiding of someone who is fleeing from the authorities?[35]

If there is no disagreement among the class about what Helga should do, the authors suggest that an alternative dilemma be used. If the class agrees that Helga should hide Rachel, then the following dilemmas could be used to provoke disagreement:

(a) Suppose Helga had met Rachel only once and did not know her well. What should she do in that case?

(b) Suppose Helga knew that she and her family would be punished severely if she were caught hiding Rachel. What should she do in that case?[36]

If the class agrees that Helga should not hide Rachel, then the following dilemmas could be used:

(a) Suppose that several of Helga's friends were also hiding Jews from the Gestapo. What should Helga do in that case?

(b) Suppose Helga heard the Gestapo coming and knew that Rachel would be shot on sight within a few minutes if she did not hide her. What should she do in that case?[37]

"Helga's dilemma" is just one example of the multitude of dilemmas which could be constructed for a Holocaust curricula. (For another example, see Appendix I for a dilemma developed by Linda Rosensweig.) The dilemma method serves not only to promote moral reasoning, but to reinforce content. Helga's dilemma was a common one during this period. To understand one very real aspect of the Holocaust, and what it meant in human terms, a student must understand the difficult decisions which the "everyday" person had to make. The integration of the dilemma method into a Holocaust curricula should emphasis this synthesis between content and moral conflict. To do so makes the Holocaust something much more relevant to a student, something whose message transcends time.

I offer here some additional examples of my own:

1. In 1940 the Germans invaded Poland and within a short span of time, conquered much of Poland. Life changes dramatically in Poland, and for Jews, life itself hangs on a thin balance. You are a widower with a six year old son. You have heard stories that the Nazis are rounding up Jews and sending them off to forced labor camps. The stories are difficult to

believe, but you have no choice but to try and protect yourself and your son. You soon realize that it will be impossible to save yourself, but there is a chance to save your son. He is young and blond haired. He looks very Aryan. You devise a plan to have him adopted by a Gentile family who will raise him as a German. You know that if you follow through with this plan, you will never see your son again. Your son will be raised as a Nazi and eventually he will join the Nazi youth. Yet, you feel that this is the only opportunity you have to guarantee the safety of your son. What should you do? Why?

Questions for further thought:

1. What are the duties of a parent to a child?
2. What are one's obligations to one's religion? Are there instances when one would rather choose death over conversion?
3. Would your answer change if you knew that the German parents who would be adopting your son were fervent Nazis? If so, how and why? If not, why not?

2. You are a pilot for the Allied forces during World War II. You have learned that the Nazis have established concentration camps where they are daily killing thousands of Jews. You have been sent on an important mission to bomb a munitions depot several miles west of a concentration. You know that if you make a slight detour you could bomb the railroad tracks leading into the concentration camp which would save thousands of lives and delay at least temporarily the destruction of more lives. Yet, you are under strict orders not to do so. You are to bomb the munitions depot as soon as possible and return immediately to home base. You are torn, and

think about disobeying your orders. If you do, however, you risk being court marshalled and you place your own mission in jeopardy. What should you do? Why?

Questions for further thought:

1. At what point does one disobey the obligations of the law?
2. Would your answer change if you had only enough bombs to complete one of the missions? Which would you choose and why?
3. Would your answer change if you thought you would not be discovered by your superiors if you disobeyed their orders and bomb the railroad lines? Is an action still "wrong" even if we are not discovered?
4. Though destroying the munitions depot did not entail saving lives immediately, his superiors felt that the mission was ultimately helping to save lives by allowing the Allies to win the war that much quicker. What would happen if in the armed services everyone did what they felt was right?

3. You are in a death camp. Your children have been taken from you and killed. Your wife has been separated from you, and you have not seen her for months. Through the "grapevine" you learn that your wife is very sick, and will die soon unless she receives medical attention. You have also learned about an attempted escape of two fellow prisoners. You think that if you inform on them that you could strike a deal with the Nazis to provide medical aid for your wife. You are desperate, what do you do? Why?

Questions for further thought:

1. When does loyalty to one's family overcome regard for the rights of others?
2. Would your answer change if you knew the other prisoners and they were good friends of yours?
3. Would your answer change if you knew that the prisoners had an excellent chance of escaping,

while your wife had only a slim chance of surviving, though without the medicine she would surely die? If so, how would your response change and why? If not, why not?

These are examples of dilemmas which could easily serve as the basis for a cognitive-developmentally based curriculum on the Holocaust. The dilemmas touch upon many issues. Loyalty to friends and family, obedience to the law, and the value of human life. In each of the dilemmas there is no easy answer. Yet, each of the dilemmas is based upon an actual historic incident. The Holocaust was not filled with easy answers. The dilemma method, therefore, not only serves to retain the complexity of the event, but it brings the dilemmas of the Holocaust, and the content of the event itself, to the student in a very vivid and relevant manner. The decisions made during the Holocaust may have been more difficult because the stakes were higher, but the issues involved are very much like those we face today in our everyday life. The stakes are lower, the circumstances are less frightening, but the issues remain the same.

5. Towards a Method for Measuring and Evaluating Moral Growth

Kohlberg has been rightly criticized for not having published his scoring system for evaluating moral growth.[38] In addition, his scoring system is difficult and expensive to use.[39] It is very difficult to use for a large group, as each individual must be evaluated separately by a trained (trained by Kohlberg or one of his disciples) scorer.

At the present time there is only one test available

which can be administered feasibly to large groups of students and scored economically; this is the Defining Issues Text developed by James Rest.[40] This test has a high correlation (.68) with the Kohlberg scoring system. Rest modelled his test after Kohlberg's.[41]

Another method, of course, is for the teacher to develop his own evaluative device.[42] A teacher could pre-test students at the outset of the course. The pre-test could give the teacher valuable insight as to what levels of moral reasoning are represented in the class, and the stage level of individual students. This information, of course, is not to "judge" students on how moral they are, but rather to enhance the teacher's ability to create effective dilemma discussions and to enhance the progression of moral growth in the classroom.

Pre-tests could consist of one or two dilemmas which would be analogous to dilemmas which would be offered later in the curriculum. In this fashion, the teacher could evaluate the progression of moral reasoning of the class, and individuals.

A teacher would score the pre-test by noting the type of reasoning employed by the student, rather the the content of the response. For example, if "Helga's dilemma" (or an analogous one) were used in the pre-test, a student who responded that Helga should not hide Rachel because if she did, she would be punished, would be exhibiting reasoning characteristic of stage 1.[43] If the student said yes, she should hide Rachel because if Helga didn't hide Rachel, Rachel would be very angry with her, then this student would be responding

at stage 3. Stage 3 responds in terms of anticipated disapproval of others.[44] With enough practice, a teacher should easily be able to arrive at a general sense of the level of students.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This thesis examines the necessity for integrating moral development into the design and implementation of Holocaust curricula in the Reform religious school and the public school. In contrast to only a decade ago, the Holocaust is now widely taught in both realms. Each domain has its own specific concerns. Reform religious schools teach the Holocaust with a primary emphasis on Jewish identity and values. Public schools teach the Holocaust with a primary emphasis upon learning democratic values. Both agree though on one central goal for teaching the Holocaust: the need to prevent another similar catastrophe in human history. Yet, both realms fail to provide any coherent methodology or theoretical basis in the design and implementation of their curricula which would bring this goal to fruition.

Kohlberg's theory of moral development provides a theoretical and methodological solution to this goal. By suggesting the dilemma-conflict model as a means for promoting moral growth, Kohlberg and his followers have shown that moral reasoning can indeed be encouraged. Further, the relationship between moral reasoning and moral action is strong, which suggests the compatibility of Kohlberg's methodology and the goal of preventing another Holocaust.

Beyond the usefulness for encouraging moral reasoning, are the keen insights Kohlberg's theory provides into the nature of students' cognitive and moral growth. These insights provide the teacher and curriculum designer with information vital to the proper construction and implementation of a developmentally appropriate curriculum. A curriculum which considers the various developmental stages of the student will more effectively transmit concepts and values to students. This concern, though not of sole importance to Holocaust education, is especially relevant to Holocaust curricular design and implementation because of the sensitivity of the subject matter itself. Inasmuch as the Holocaust deals with man's inhumanity to man in very graphic and brutal terms, the cognitive, moral and emotional development of the student can not be ignored.

Unfortunately, as my study has shown, most curricula do ignore the findings of Kohlberg. At best, Kohlberg's work has been used in the construction of the curriculum, but ignored in large part in implementation. This is the case for example of Facing History and Ourselves. At worst, Kohlberg's theory, indeed, the whole notion of moral growth is not even provided for in the curriculum. This is the case of the most of the curricula in this study.

This deficiency in Holocaust education needs to be rectified. Teachers must be educated with respect to Kohlberg's work and its relevancy for Holocaust education at all educational levels. Teachers should be encouraged to familiarize themselves with all aspects of Kohlberg's theory in addition

to learning how to develop and construct moral dilemmas. The philosophic underpinnings of Kohlberg's work should be stressed as an important part of the proper implementation of Kohlberg's moral dilemma model. Teachers should not ignore the basics of Kohlberg's theory in favour of learning some "quick, entertaining teaching techniques." Nor should Kohlberg's methodology be seen as a way of filling an otherwise dull hour of school. As Kohlberg and his followers have shown, at least one semester of one hour per week moral-dilemma based discussion is necessary to bring about stage level change.

Finally, an integration implies just that, an integration. The content of the subject matter itself should not be forgotten or ignored. A Kohlberg based Holocaust curriculum is not a curriculum whose sole purpose is to promote moral growth with no attention paid whatsoever to the subject matter at hand. There is no substitute for a teacher's thorough and complete understanding of the content of the Holocaust itself. As this thesis argues, Kohlberg's theory and methodology are not ends to themselves, but means to an end. Kohlberg's theory is useful because it provides teachers with a methodology for resolving many of the difficulties which they face in teaching the Holocaust.

The Holocaust is perhaps the most gruesome chapter in human history. Certainly, it is the most devastating event in Jewish history. If it is the duty of the Jew to remember the Holocaust in order to pay homage to the memory of the six million, it is the duty of us all to remember the Holocaust so that it will never be repeated. But remembrance must be

more than commemoration and stereotyping of historical events. The Holocaust must be taught not just to instill democratic or Jewish values in students. The Holocaust rather must be taught as a subject filled with uneasy questions and impossible solutions. It must be taught as a subject filled with moral dilemmas which challenge and engage the student to ever higher levels of moral reasoning; dilemmas which lead the student with but one sure answer: the Holocaust must never happen again.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Lawrence Kohlberg, The Philosophy of Moral Development Moral Stages and the Idea of Justice, Vol. 1, pp. 408-412

Appendix. The Six Stages of Moral Judgment

Level A. Preconventional Level

Stage 1. The Stage of Punishment and Obedience

Content

Right is literal obedience to rules and authority, avoiding punishment, and not doing physical harm.

1. What is right is to avoid breaking rules, to obey for obedience' sake, and to avoid doing physical damage to people and property.
2. The reasons for doing right are avoidance of punishment and the superior power of authorities.

Social Perspective

This stage takes an egocentric point of view. A person at this stage doesn't consider the interests of others or recognize they differ from actor's, and doesn't relate two points of view. Actions are judged in terms of physical consequences rather than in terms of psychological interests of others. Authority's perspective is confused with one's own.

Stage 2. The Stage of Individual Instrumental Purpose and Exchange

Content

Right is serving one's own or other's needs and making fair deals in terms of concrete exchange.

1. What is right is following rules when it is to someone's immediate interest. Right is acting to meet one's own interests and needs and letting others do the same. Right is also what is fair; that is, what is an equal exchange, a deal, an agreement.
2. The reason for doing right is to serve one's own needs or interests in a world where one must recognize that other people have their interests, too.

Social Perspective

This stage takes a concrete individualistic perspective. A person at this stage separates own interests and points of view from those of authorities and others. He or she is aware everybody has individual interests to pursue and these conflict, so that right is relative (in the concrete individualistic sense). The person integrates or relates conflicting individual interests to one another through instrumental exchange of services, through instrumental need for the other and the other's goodwill, or through fairness giving each person the same amount.

Level B. Conventional Level

Stage 3. The Stage of Mutual Interpersonal Expectations, Relationships, and Conformity

Content

The right is playing a good (nice) role, being concerned about the other people and their feelings, keeping loyalty and trust with partners, and being motivated to follow rules and expectations.

1. What is right is living up to what is expected by people close to one or what people generally expect of people in one's role as son, sister, friend, and so on. "Being good" is important and means having good motives, showing concern about others. It also means keeping mutual relationships, maintaining trust, loyalty, respect, and gratitude.
2. Reasons for doing right are needing to be good in one's own eyes and those of others, caring for others, and because if one puts oneself in the other person's place one would want good behavior from the self (Golden Rule).

Social Perspective

This stage takes the perspective of the individual in relationship to other individuals. A person at this stage is aware of shared feelings, agreements, and expectations, which take primacy over individual interests. The person relates points of view through the "concrete Golden Rule," putting oneself in the other person's shoes. He or she does not consider generalized "system" perspective.

Stage 4. The Stage of Social System and Conscience Maintenance

Content

The right is doing one's duty in society, upholding the social order, and maintaining the welfare of society or the group.

1. What is right is fulfilling the actual duties to which one has agreed. Laws are to be upheld except in extreme cases where they conflict with other fixed social duties and rights. Right is also contributing to society, the group, or institution.

2. The reasons for doing right are to keep the institution going as a whole, self-respect or conscience as meeting one's defined obligations, or the consequences: "What if everyone did it?"

Social Perspective

This stage differentiates societal point of view from interpersonal agreement or motives. A person at this stage takes the viewpoint of the system, which defines roles and rules. He or she considers individual relations in terms of place in the system.

Level B/C. Transitional Level

This level is postconventional but not yet principled.

Content of Transition

At Stage 4½, choice is personal and subjective. It is based on emotions, conscience is seen as arbitrary and relative, as are ideas such as "duty" and "morally right."

Transitional Social Perspective

At this stage, the perspective is that of an individual standing outside of his own society and considering himself as an individual making decisions without a generalized commitment or contract with society. One can pick and choose obligations, which are defined by particular societies, but one has no principles for such choice.

Level C. Postconventional and Principled Level

Moral decisions are generated from rights, values, or principles that are (or could be) agreeable to all individuals composing or creating a society designed to have fair and beneficial practices.

Stage 5. The Stage of Prior Rights and Social Contract or Utility

Content

The right is upholding the basic rights, values, and legal contracts of a society, even when they conflict with the concrete rules and laws of the group.

1. What is right is being aware of the fact that people hold a variety of values and opinions, that most values and rules are relative to one's group. These "relative" rules should usually be upheld, however, in the interest of impartiality and because they are the social contract. Some nonrelative values and rights such as life, and liberty, however, must be upheld in any society and regardless of majority opinion.
2. Reasons for doing right are, in general, feeling obligated to obey the law because one has made a social contract to make and abide by laws for the good of all and to protect their own rights and the rights of others. Family, friendship, trust, and work obligations are also commitments or contracts freely entered into and entail respect for the rights of others. One is concerned that laws and duties be based on rational calculation of overall utility: "the greatest good for the greatest number."

Social Perspective

This stage takes a prior-to-society perspective—that of a rational individual aware of values and rights prior to social attachments and contracts. The person integrates perspectives by formal mechanisms of agreement, contract, objective impartiality, and due process. He or she considers the moral point of view and the legal point of view, recognizes they conflict, and finds it difficult to integrate them.

Stage 6. The Stage of Universal Ethical Principles

Content

This stage assumes guidance by universal ethical principles that all humanity should follow.

1. Regarding what is right, Stage 6 is guided by universal ethical principles. Particular laws or social agreements are usually valid because they rest on such principles. When laws violate these principles, one acts in accordance with the principle. Principles are universal principles of justice: the equality of human rights and respect for the dignity of human beings as individuals. These are not merely values that are recognized, but are also principles used to generate particular decisions.
2. The reason for doing right is that, as a rational person, one has seen the validity of principles and has become committed to them.

Social Perspective

This stage takes the perspective of a moral point of view from which social arrangements derive or on which they are grounded. The perspective is that of any rational individual recognizing the nature of morality or the basic moral premise of respect for other persons as ends, not means.

APPENDIX B

Piaget's Eras and Stages of Logical and Cognitive Development

Era I (age 0-2) Sensorimotor Intelligence

Stage 1--Reflex action.
2--Coordination of reflexes and sensorimotor repetition (primary circular reaction).
3--Activities to make interesting events in the environment reappear (secondary circular reaction).
4--Means/ends behavior and search for absent objects.
5--Experimental search for new means (tertiary circular reaction).
6--Use of imagery in insightful invention of new means and in recall of absent objects and events.

Era II (Age 2-5) Symbolic, Intuitive, or Prelogical Thought

Inferences carried on through images and symbols that do not maintain logical relations or invariances with one another. "Magical thinking" is the sense of (a) confusion of apparent or imagined events with real events and objects and (b) confusion of perceptual appearances of qualitative and quantitative change with actual change.

Era III (Age 6-10) Concrete Operational Thought

Inferences carried on through system of classes, relations, and quantities maintaining logically invariant properties and referring to concrete objects. Such logical processes are included as (a) lower-order classes in higher-order classes; (b) transitive seriation (recognition that if $a>b$ and $b>c$, then $a>c$); (c) logical addition and multiplication of classes and quantities; (d) conservation of number, class membership, length, and mass under apparent change.

Substage 1: Formation of stable categorical classes.

Substage 2: Formation of quantitative and numerical relations of invariance.

Era IV (Age 11-adulthood) Formal-Operational Thought

Inferences through logical operations upon propositions or "operations upon operations." Reasoning about reasoning. Construction of systems of all possible relations or implications. Hypothetica-deductive isolation of variables and testing of hypotheses.

Substage 1: Formation of the inverse of the reciprocal. Capacity to form negative classes (e.g., the class of all not-crows) and to see relations as simultaneously reciprocal (e.g., to understand that liquid in a U-shaped tube holds an equal level

because of counterbalanced pressures).

Substage 2: Capacity to order triads of propositions or relations (e.g., to understand that if Bob is taller than Joe and Joe is shorter than Dick, then Joe is the shortest of the three).

Substage 3: True formal thought. Construction of all possible combinations of relations, systematic isolation of variables, and deductive hypothesis-testing.

Relations* Between Piaget Logical Stages and Kohlberg Moral Stages

Logical Stage	Moral Stage
Symbolic, intuitive thought	Stage 0: The good is what I want and like.
Concrete operations, Substage 1 Categorical classification	Stage 1: Punishment-obedience orientation.
Concrete operations, Substage 2 Reversible concrete thought	Stage 2: Instrumental hedonism and concrete reciprocity.
Formal operations, Substage 1 Relations involving the inverse of the reciprocal	Stage 3: Orientation to inpersonal relations of mutuality.
Formal operations, Substage 2	Stage 4: Maintenance of social order, fixed rules, and authority
Formal operations, Substage 3	Stage 5: Social Contract, utilitarian law-making perspective.
	Stage 6: Universal ethical principle orientation

*Attainment of the logical stages is necessary but not sufficient for attainment of the moral stage.

Note: These charts are used in the Education I Class at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati. The original source for these charts is unknown.

APPENDIX C

Lawrence Kohlberg, The Philosophy of Moral Development Moral Stages and the Idea of Justice, Vol. 1, pp. 118-120.

Six Stages in Conceptions of the Moral Worth of Human Life

STAGE 1

Definition:

There is no differentiation between the moral value of life and its physical or social status value.

Example:

Q.: Why should the druggist give the drug to the dying woman when her husband couldn't pay for it?

TOMMY (age ten): If someone important is in a plane and is allergic to heights and the stewardess won't give him medicine because she's only got enough for one and she's got a sick . . . friend in back, they'd probably put the stewardess in a lady's jail because she didn't help the important one.

Q.: Is it better to save the life of one important person or a lot of unimportant people?

TOMMY (age ten): All the people aren't that important because one man just has one house, maybe a lot of furniture, but a whole bunch of people have an awful lot of furniture and some of these poor people might have a lot of money and it doesn't look it.

STAGE 2

Definition:

Value of a human life is seen as instrumental to satisfaction of the needs of its possessor or others. Decision to save life is relative to, or to be made by, its possessor. (There is differentiation of physical and interest value of life, of its value to self and to others.)

Example:

Q.: Should the doctor "mercy-kill" a dying woman requesting death because of her pain?

TOMMY (age thirteen): Maybe it would be good to put her out of her pain, she'd be better off that way. But the husband wouldn't want it, it's not like an animal. If a pet dies you can get along without it—it isn't something you really need. Well, you can get a new wife, but it's not really the same.

RICHARD (age thirteen): If she requests it, it's really up to her. She is in such terrible pain, just the same as people are always putting animals out of their pain.

STAGE 3

Definition:

Value of a human life is based on empathy and affection of family and others toward its possessor. (Value is based on social sharing, community, love; differentiated from instrumental and hedonistic value applicable also to animals.)

Example:

Q.: Should the doctor "mercy-kill" the woman?

TOMMY (age sixteen): It might be best for her, but her husband—it's a human life—not like an animal, it just doesn't have the same relationship that a human being does to a family. You can become attached to a dog, but nothing like a human, you know.

STAGE 4

Definition:

Life is conceived as sacred in terms of its place in a categorical moral or religious order of rights and duties. (Value is in relation to a moral order, differentiated from value to specific others in family, and so on. Value still partly depends, however, on serving the group, the state, God, and so on.)

Example:

Q.: Should the doctor "mercy-kill" the woman?

RICHARD (age sixteen): I don't know. In one way, it's murder, it's not a right or privilege of man to decide who shall live and who should die. God put life into everybody on earth, and you're taking away something from that person that came directly from God, and you're destroying something that is very sacred, it's in a way part of God, and it's almost destroying a part of God when you kill a person. There's something of God in everyone.

STAGE 5

Definition:

Life valued both in terms of its relation to community welfare and in terms of being a universal human right. (Obligation to respect the basic right to life is differentiated from generalized respect for the sociomoral order. General value of the independent human life is a primary autonomous value, not dependent on other values.)

Example:

Q.: Should the doctor "mercy-kill" the woman?

RICHARD (age twenty-two): Given the ethics of the doctor, who has taken on responsibility to save human life—from that point of view he probably shouldn't, but there is another side, there are more and more people in the medical profession who are thinking it is a hardship on everyone, the person, the family, when you know they are going to die. When a person is kept alive by an artificial lung or kidney, it's more like being a vegetable than being a human who is alive. If it's her own choice, I think there are certain rights and privileges that go along with being a human being. I am a human being and have certain desires for life, and I think every-

body else does, too. You have a world of which you are the center, and everybody else does, too, and in that sense we're all equal.

STAGE 6

Definition:

Human life is sacred because of the universal principle of respect for the individual. (Moral value of a human being, as an object of moral principle, is differentiated from a formal recognition of his or her rights.

Example:

Q.: Should the husband steal the drug to save his wife? How about for someone he just knows?

RICHARD (age twenty-five): Yes. A human life takes precedence over any other moral or legal value, whoever it is. A human life has inherent value whether or not it is valued by a particular individual.

Q.: Why is that?

RICHARD (age twenty-five): The inherent worth of the individual human being is the central value in a set of values where the principles of justice and love are normative for all human relationships.

APPENDIX D

Name:_____ School:_____

Birth Date:_____ Grade:_____

Sex:_____ Teacher:_____

Class Period:_____

MORAL JUDGMENT INTERVIEW

Form A

Story III. In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid $200 for the radium and charged $2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about $1,000 which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

1. Should Heinz steal the drug? Why?

2. Which is worse, letting someone die or stealing? Why?

   a. What does "the value of life" mean to you? Why?

3. Is there a good reason for a husband to steal if he doesn't love his wife?

4. Would it be as right to steal it for a stranger as his wife? Why?

5. Suppose he was stealing it for a pet he loved dearly. Would it be right to steal for the pet? Why?

6. Heinz steals the drug and is caught. Should the judge sentence him or should he let him go free? Why?

7. The judge thinks of letting him go free. What would be his reasons for doing so?

8. Thinking in terms of society, what would be the best reasons for the judge to give him some sentence?

9. Thinking in terms of society, what would be the best reasons for the judge to not give him some sentence?

Story I. Joe is a fourteen-year-old boy who wanted to go to camp very much. His father promised he could go if he saved up the money for it himself. So Joe worked hard at his paper route and saved up the $40 it cost to go to camp and a little more besides. But just before camp was going to start, his father changed his mind. Some of his friends decided to go on a special fishing trip, and Joe's father was short of the money it would cost. So he told Joe to give him the money he had saved from the paper route. Joe didn't want to give up going to camp, so he thought of refusing to give his father the money.

1. Should Joe refuse to give his father the money? Why?

2. Is there any way in which the father has a right to tell the son to give him the money? Why?

3. What is the most important thing a good father should recognize in his relation to his son? Why that?

4. What is the most important thing a good son should recognize in his relation to his father? Why that?

5. Why should a promise be kept?

6. What makes a person feel bad if a promise is broken?

7. Why is it important to keep a promise to someone you don't know well or are not close to?

Store VII. Two young men, brothers, had gotten into serious trouble. They were secretly leaving town in a hurry and needed money. Karl, the older one, broke into a store and stole $500. Bob, the younger one, went to a retired old man who was known to help people in town. Bob told the man that he was very sick and he needed $500 to pay for the operation. Really, he wasn't sick at all, and he had no intention of paying the man back. Although the man didn't know Bob very well, he loaned him the money. So, Bob and Karl skipped town, each with $500.

1. Which would be worse, stealing like Karl or cheating like Bob? Why?

2. Suppose Bob had gotten the loan from a bank with no intention of paying it back. Is borrowing from the bank or the old man worse? Why?

3. What do you feel is the worst thing about cheating the old man?

4. Why shouldn't someone steal from a store?

5. What is the value or importance of property rights?

6. Which would be worse in terms of society's welfare, cheating like Bob or stealing like Karl? Why?

7. Would your conscience feel worse if you cheated like Bob or stole like Karl? Why?

8. What do people mean by conscience? What do you think of as your conscience and what does it do?

   a. What or who tells you what is right or wrong?

9. Is there anything about your sense of conscience which is special or different from that of most people? What?

10. How do people get their consciences? (How did you get or develop a conscience?)

Name:_____ School:_____

Birth Date:_____ Grade:_____

Sex:_____ Teacher:_____

Class Period:_____

SHORT FORM MORAL JUDGMENT INTERVIEW

Form B

Story IV. There was a woman who had very bad cancer, and there there was no treatment known to medicine that could save her. Her doctor knew that she had only about six months to live. She was in terrible pain, but she was so weak that a good dose of pain-killer like ether or morphine would make her die sooner. She was delirious and almost crazy with pain, and in her calm periods, she would ask the doctor to give her enough ether to kill her. She said she couldn't stand the pain and she was going to die in a few months anyway.

1. Should the doctor give her the drug that would make her die? Why?

2. The woman is sure she wants to die. Should her husband try to convince her and the doctor to keep her alive as long as possible? Why?

3. What does the husband have to do with the decision, anyhow?

4. Do you think the woman should have the right to make the decision to die, or should the right to decide be up to the doctors and the courts? Why?

5. What should the doctor do if he wants to respect the woman's rights? Why?

6. In what sense does a person have a duty or obligation to live when they don't want to, when they want to commit suicide?

7. Why is mercy-killing humans so different from mercy-killing animals? Why is there a difference between animan and human life?

8. What kind of general guidelines concerning mercy-killing should be set for doctors and who should set them? Why?

9. The doctor kills the woman and is brought to court. He is found guilty of murder. The usual sentence is life imprisonment. What should the judge do? Why?

10. The judge considers being lenient or letting the doctor off. What should the judge think about the doctor and what he did which would make him lenient?

11. The judge has to think about society. From society's point of view, what is the best reason for the judge to give the doctor a sentence?

12. From society's point of view, what is the best reason for the judge to let the doctor go free?

Story II. Judy was a twelve-year-old girl. She had saved up from babysitting and lunch money for a long time so she would have enough money to buy a ticket to a special out-of-town rock concert that was coming to her town. She had managed to save up the $5 the ticket cost plus another $3. Her mother had promised her that she could go to the rock concert if she saved the money herself. Later her mother changed her mind and told Judy that she had to spend the money on new clothes for school. Judy was disappointed, and decided to go to the concert anyway. She bought a ticket and told her mother that she had only been able to save $3. That Saturday she went to the performance and told her mother that she was spending the day with a friend. A week passed without her mother finding out. Judy then told her older sister, Louise, that she had gone to the performance and had lied to her mother about it.

1. Should Louise, the older sister, tell their mother that Judy had lied about the money or should she keep quiet? Why?

2. What would be the best reason for Louise to keep quiet? Why?

3. Louise thinks about how it would influence Judy in the future if Louise tells. What influence on Judy's future should Louise consider? Why?

4. Louise has to think about the fact that it's her mother and sister involved. What is the most important thing a daughter should recognize in the mother-daughter relationship?

5. What is the most important thing a mother should recognize in the mother-daughter situation, here and in general?

6. Why should a promise be kept?

7. What makes a person feel bad if someone breaks a promise to him?

8. Why is it important to keep a promise to someone you don't know well or are not close to?

Story VIII. In a country in Europe, a poor man named Valjean could find no work, nor could his sister and brother. Without money, he stole food and medicine that they needed. He was captured and sentenced to prison for six years. After a couple of years, he escaped from the prison and went to live in another part of the country under a new name. He saved money and slowly built up a big factory. He gave his workers the highest wages and used most of his profits to build a hospital for people who couldn't afford good medical care. Twenty years had passed when a tailor recognized the factory owner as being Valjean, the escaped convict whom the police had been looking for back in his home town.

1. Should the tailor report Valjean to the police? Why?

2. Suppose Valjean were reported and brought before the judge. Should the judge have him finish his sentence or let him go free?

3. From society's point of view, what would be the best reason for the judge to have Valjean finish his sentence?

4. From society's point of view, what would be the best reason for the judge to let him go free?

5. The law says citizens are supposed to report escaped convicts. Could someone be considered a good citizen and not report a convict like in this case? Why?

6. What considerations should guide a good citizen in cases where there is a conflict between the law and his own judgment?

[Lawrence Kohlberg's "Moral Judgement Interview" forms are from Linda W. Rosensweig's Ph.D. dissertation, "Moral Dilemmas in Jewish History," pp. 296-308.]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

APPENDIX E

Center for Moral
Development and Education
(617) 495-1964

December 29, 1983

Sanford Akselrad
2101 Grandin Road 811
Cincinnati, OH 45208

Dear Sanford Akselrad,

In response to your letter of December 22nd, our experience has been that at least once a week for a semester is necessary to show demonstrable moral change.

I enclose a reprint list and have starred the items you should find useful. I'm sorry we can't afford to give you this material without charge but because the Center has no grant funding to support this, a fee has to be charged.

I would also like to direct your attention to Earl Schwartz's book applying my theory to Jewish education. The title is: "Moral Development: a practical guide for Jewish teachers." Published by Alternatives in Religious Education, Inc., 3545 South Oneida Street, Denver, Colorado 80237.

I would appreciate a copy of your thesis when it is completed and will be glad to provide any further information.

Sincerely,

Lawrence Kohlberg

Lawrence Kohlberg, Ph.D.
Professor of Education
and Social Psychology

LK/cl
Enc.

APPENDIX F

alternatives in religious education, inc.
rabbi raymond a. zwerin • audrey friedman marcus

January 16, 1984

Mr. Sanford D. Akselrad
2101 Grandin Rd. 811
Cincinnati, OH 45208

Dear Mr. Akselrad:

In reply to your letter of December 27 regarding The Holocaust: A Study in Values -- no, we didn't make use of Kohlberg's theory of moral development when we wrote it. At the time, none of us were familiar with Kohlberg. Since that time, I guess everyone is familiar with his work and, in fact, we have published a curriculum on moral development called Moral Development: A Practical Guide for Jewish Teachers by Earl Schwartz.

I heard about the exciting work you are doing from your Dad at NATE -- he is an old friend and I taught for him when I lived in California! Both Ray Zwerin and I wish you every success with your Rabbinic thesis and we hope you will keep us posted of your progress.

Sincerely,

Audrey Friedman Marcus
Vice President

3945 south oneida street denver, colorado 80237 (303)758-4017

APPENDIX G

"An Annotated Teaching Bibliography of Materials Based Upon the Research of Lawrence Kohlberg"

1. Beyer, Barry K. "Conducting Moral Discussions in the Classroom," Social Education. (April 1976), pp. 194-202.

   A brief but thorough article describing the nature of moral discussions, how they are constructed, and how they are applied in the classroom. The article includes strategies for teachers wishing to use Kohlberg's methodology in the classroom.

2. Galbraith, Ronald E. and Jones, Thomas M. Moral Reasoning; A Teaching Handbook for Adapting Kohlberg to the Classroom. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Greenhaven Press Inc., 1976, 207 pages.

   An excellent handbook covering all aspects of Kohlberg's theory for classroom usage. The authors provide a section of questions and answers to the most often posed questions regarding the practical application of Kohlberg in the classroom. Kohlberg's theory is explained in clear and simple language without technical jargon. Chapters in this work include "The Dilemma Story," "The Teaching Plan" and "The Teaching Process." Each of these chapters gives copious details and classroom dialogue to illustrate how dilemmas can be constructed and implemented in the classroom.

3. Galbraith, Ronald E. and Jones, Thomas M. "Teaching Strategies for Moral Dilemmas," Social Education. Vol. 39, Nu. 1, (January 1975), pp. 16-22.

   This article condenses in a few pages the most important elements of their book. Kohlberg's theory is explained in concise form. One dilemma ("Helga's dilemma") is explained in detail followed by a discussion of a practical explanation of the process of implementing moral dilemmas in the classroom.

4. Hersh, Richard H. Promoting Moral Growth; From Piaget to Kohlberg. New York: Longman, 1979, 270 pages.

   For those who wish to gain deeper insights into the background of Kohlberg's research and its relationship to Piaget's work, this study is excellent. A bit more technical and jargonistic than the above sources, this book gives a full explanation of Kohlberg's theories. In addition, this work also devotes much space describing how Kohlberg's theories could be used practically in the the classroom. Sample classroom discussions are given, followed by detailed analysis of the process of moral

education.

5. Munsey, Brenda, ed. Moral Development, Moral Education and Kohlberg. Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Educatopm Press: 1980, 478 pages.

This work is a collection of essays related to Kohlberg's research. Articles included relate Kohlberg's work to areas such as faith development, Jewish education, and the work of John Dewey. This work is more jargonistic, technical, and philosophical in nature.

6. Rosenzweig, Linda W. "A Selected Bibliography of Materials About Moral Education Based on the Research of Lawrence Kohlberg," Social Education, (April 1976), pp. 208-212.

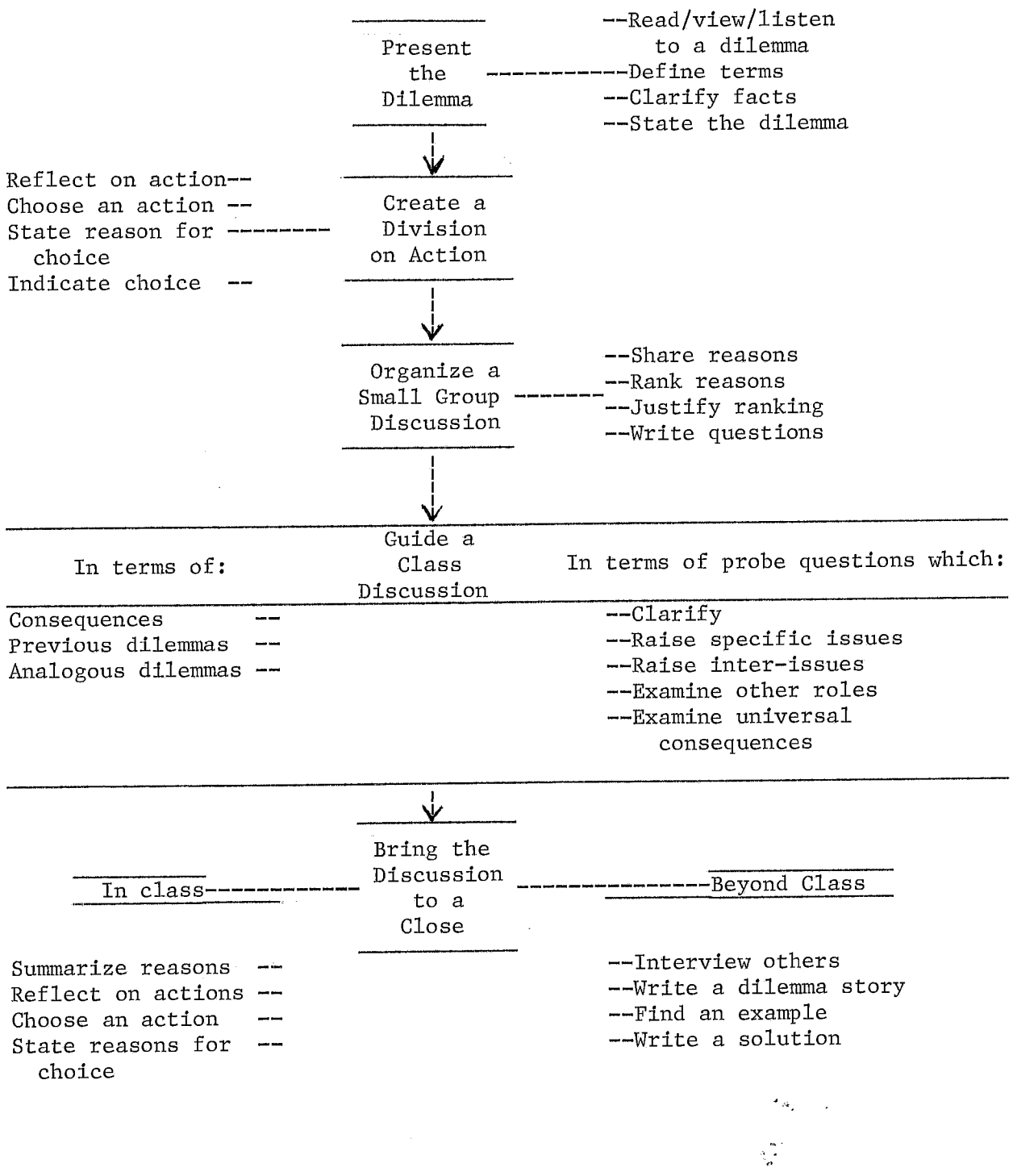
This brief article is included for those who wish additional sources of information related to Kohlberg's work. Though some of the works I have included here are listed in her bibliography, many are not. The bibliography is annotated and divided into sections related to collections of articles, the place of moral development in education, works stressing psychological and philosophical principles, critiques, and sources for moral dilemmas.

7. Schwartz, Earl. Moral Development: A Practical Guide for Jewish Teachers. Denver, Colorado: Alternatives in Religious Education Inc., 1983, 188 pages.

This is the first major attempt by a Jewish educator to incorporate Kohlberg's work into the curriculum of the Jewish school. The author uses classical Jewish sources as the basis of moral dilemma discussions in the classroom. Examples are given from first grade through adult.

APPENDIX H

A Strategy for Guiding Moral Discussions



Taken from "Conducting Moral Discussions in the Classroom" by Barry K. Beyer, Social Education, April 1976, p. 199.

APPENDIX I

Jewish Police in the Warsaw Ghetto

Germany opened World War II with a sudden attack on Poland on September 1, 1940. Before that date, Germany's Nazi government had been waging war against the Jews for six years. The Germans had completely disrupted Jewish life in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 robbed Jews of their citizenship. They cut Jews off from their non-Jewish neighbors, and removed them from the economic and cultural life of the lands in which they had been living for centuries.

The Nazis occupied Poland in 1940. There Germany's rulers began to carry out what they called "the final solution to the Jewish problem." In specially built death camps, the Nazis proceeded to exterminate the Jewish people systematically. When the Netherlands, Belgium, and France fell to the Germans, the Jews of Western Europe began to suffer also.

In areas occupied by the Germans, whole Jewish populations were herded into crowded ghettos. Jews were allowed to leave the ghettos only to work in forced-labor camps or to make the final journey to concentration camps and mass gassing chambers. No one was spared. Even infants, women, and old people were killed. In many cases, the Germans shot hundreds of Jews and then forced other Jews to bury them in mass graves. Pictures 7 and 8 show a mass execution and a group of Jews waiting for the train that would take them to the gas chambers at Treblinka.

The Nazis were careful to keep their plan for destroying the Jewish people a secret so that they could carry it out more easily. The clothing, hair, eyeglasses, and even false teeth of the murdered Jews were carefully classified and kept for future use. Jewish property went to the German authorities. In many cases, the local population--Lithuanians, Poles, or Ukrainians--helped the Nazis.

It took years of Nazi occupation to destroy Jewish life. Although Jews were forced to live in ghettos, they continued to publish newspapers, present plays, and conduct lectures on various topics. Many Jews risked their lives to maintain contact with other communities and with Jews living in Palestine (Israel). Poets and writers described the hopelessness of their existence. Painters in the ghettos, concentration camps, and forest retreats left hundreds of pictures of the unbelievable horrors they saw every day.

The Jewish ghettos were governed by Jewish Councils, or Judenrat. The Nazis described the Judenrat as a form of representative self-government for Jews in occupied areas. The Jewish community leaders served on the Councils. In fact, the Jewish Councils became agencies for the administration of Nazi policy, including the carrying out of "the final solution." The Germans threatened retaliation against Council members and their families unless the Jewish Councils agreed to confiscate property, money, and apartments belonging to ghetto residents. Council members were forced to participate in the selection of Jews for forced labor and eventually for deportation to the death camps. Although Council

members were forced to carry out German orders, some managed to save a few Jews or help them at least temporarily. A number of Council members committed suicide rather than act against their fellow-Jews. Most of them, however, continued to obey the German orders. Some Council members hoped that by serving on the Jewish Councils they could somehow lessen the hardships and horrors facing the Jewish community.

The Germans assigned to Council members the job of recruiting a ghetto police force. Recruiting Jewish policemen was difficult. Very few people were willing to join the ghetto police. The Germans persuaded young men to join by granting special privileges to ghetto policemen. For example, policemen received larger food rations and were exempt from forced labor. Some Jews probably believed that by serving as policemen they could protect other Jews from at least some dangers and oppression. In a few cases, Jewish policemen were able to help other Jews, but in many other cases, they began to adopt the morals of the Germans. Both moral and material corruption spread among the ghetto police.

When the Germans began to "resettle" ghetto residents by deporting them to death camps to be gassed, they told the Jewish police that they and their families were exempt from "resettlement." The police were given the jobs of pursuing victims to assembly places for deportation. After each "resettlement," the ghetto police forces were reduced. The policemen who were dismissed were deported along with everyone else.

At first the Germans were able to conceal the real facts

about "resettlement." People believed that they would be taken to lands in Eastern Europe to live and work on farms. News about the mass killings leaked out eventually. Jews made desperate efforts to resist the Germans and to let the rest of the world know what was going on. One of the greatest of these efforts occurred in Poland in the Warsaw Ghetto. Jews there fought the Nazis from April 19 to May 16, 1943.

In 1940 the Nazis had sealed off the Jewish section of Warsaw with a wall eight feet high. Picture 9 shows a section of the wall. Over 400,000 Jews were crowded into an area of about 100 city blocks. The shortage of housing was severe. Food was scarce, santiation facilities were terrible, and proper medical care was not available.

In December 1941 communications with the world outside the ghetto were completely cut off. The residents could no longer receive food packages through the mail. Smugglers brought in food, but most ghetto residents could not pay the high prices. The attempt of the Nazis to starve the Jews of Warsaw to death was very successful. For many people, a bowl of soup, often made by boiling straw, was the only meal of the day. Thousands died of hunger and disease. Typhoid fever raged through the ghetto.

... The residents of the Warsaw Ghetto made a desperate last stand in 1943. The final battle began on April 19, which happened to be the first night of Passover. When the Nazis came for their daily quota of Jewish families, they were met by guns and explosives. For the next forty-two days, the Jews fought against hopeless odds. The Germans brought in

tanks and artillery, and finally burned the ghetto to the ground. Only a few Jews survived and escaped to join resistance groups in the countryside. Jewish policemen who escaped were tried after the war by special courts in Israel and other countries where displaced Jews were concentrated.

The Germans had spread the idea among the Jewish policemen that they and their families would be saved if they cooperated and handed over their fellow-Jews ... The Jewish police believed they could save themselves if they obeyed the Nazis. They knew that if they did not do the job, someone else probably would. But they also knew that by arresting other Jews for "resettlement," they were condemning them to death. Should the policemen have continued to serve on the ghetto police force?

Jewish Police in the Warsaw Ghetto

Knowledge Goals

To know that the Nazis used Jewish Councils and Jewish police to help them systematically destroy the Jewish population of Europe.

To know the basic facts about the Warsaw Ghetto, namely that nearly half a million Jews were confined in a small area under intolerable conditions for nearly three years until starvation, disease, the Nazi gas chambers, and finally the burning of the ghetto eliminated the Warsaw Ghetto completely.

Cognitive Moral Development

To examine and reflect on one's reasoning with regard to moral dilemmas involving the sanctity of human life.

Personal Development

To begin to feel a sense of kinship or identity with Jews who suffered during the Holocaust.

Materials

Reading 3

Use the pictures in the text as the basis for a five or ten minute discussion of the reading. Ask students to try to imagine how the Jews in Warsaw and other ghettos must have felt when they realized what was happening to them.

Be sure the basis details of the Holocaust and ghetto life are mentioned. Students should describe the situation in the Warsaw Ghetto and talk about the Jewish Councils and the Jewish police. Discussion of the feelings of the Jews should lead students to begin to feel some kinship with them.

Call on a student to state the nature of the moral dilemma.

The policemen had to decide whether to co-operate with the Germans in the killing of other Jews.

Determine by a show of hands how the class feels about the dilemma. Give the class five minutes for each student to write out 2 or 3 reasons for his or her own position on the dilemma. Choose 2 students from each position to debate the issue. After a few minutes, encourage the rest of the class to join the debate.

Stress student interaction. The teacher should participate in the debate only to encourage students to add reasons not mentioned by the debaters, to ask questions, summarize, etc.

Use probe questions to help students examine their reasoning.

PROBE QUESTIONS

1. If you were a member of a policeman's family, how would you feel about his part in the "resettlement"?

2. Is there a difference between turning Jews over to the Nazis and actually killing them?

3. Would it make any difference if the police had not been Jewish?

4. Can a person violate the sanctity of human life without actually killing another person?

5. What should the policeman do if he thinks the Nazis will punish him? if he loves his wife? if he knows

some of the people he has to capture?

6. What are the policeman's obligations of himself?

7. What are the policeman's obligations to his family?

8. What are the policeman's obligations to his fellow-Jews?

9. What are the policeman's obligations to the Nazis?

[The above moral dilemma is from Linda W. Rosenzweig's Ph.D. dissertation "Moral Dilemmas in Jewish History," pp. 89-98 and 225-227.]

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1]For a full critique of Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development see Kurt Bergling's Moral Development The Validity of Kohlberg's Theory or William Kurtines' and Esther Blank Greif's article, "The Development of Moral Thought: Review and Evaluation of Kohlberg's Approach" appearing in the August 1974 volume of Psychological Bulletin, pages 453-470.

[2]Despite their criticism, Kurtines and Greif have stated: "Perhaps the most influential and systematic extension of Piaget's theory and method can be found in the work of Kohlberg ..." IBID, page 453.

[3]Barry Chazan and Jonas F. Soltis, eds., Moral Education (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1973), pp. 32-33.

[4]Lawrence Kohlberg, The Philosophy of Moral Development Moral Stages and the Idea of Justice, Vol. I (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), p. 130.

[5]Ibid., p. 30.

[6]Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education," Phi Delta Kappan, LVI (June, 1975), 670.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid. Underlining is that of original author.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Kohlberg, Moral Development, pp. 23-25

[17]Kohlberg, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach, p. 670.

[18]Richard H. Hersh, Promoting Moral Growth from Piaget to Kohlberg (Longman Inc., 1979), pp. 44-45.

[19]Barry Chazan, "Who is Moral Man?," Religious Education, LXXI (1971), p. 32.

[20]Seymour Rossel, "On Teaching Jewish Ethics," Response Magazine, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 1976), p. 32.

[21]Kohlberg, Moral Development, p. 16.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 17.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., pp. 17-20.

[27]Kohlberg, "The Cognitive Developmental Approach, p. 670.

[28]Edwin Fenton, "Moral Education: The Research Findings," Social Education, Vol. 40, No. 4 (April 1976), p. 191.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., pp. 191-192.

[33]Kohlberg, "The Cognitive Developmental Approach,: p. 671.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Hersh, Promoting Moral Growth, pp. 50-51.

[38]Kohlberg, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach," p. 670.

[39]Chazan and Soltis, Moral Education, p. 131.

[40]Kohlberg, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach," p. 672.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Joanne Katz Glosser, Moral Development and Jewish Education: In Search of Synthesis (Masters thesis, Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, 1977), p. 2. See also Kohlberg, Moral Development, p. 118.

[44]Kohlberg, Moral Development, pp. 115-116.

[45]Fenton, "Moral Education," p. 192.

[46]Kohlberg, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach, p. 672.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Chazan and Soltis, Moral Education, p. 143.

[50]Kohlberg, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach, p. 675.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Richard S. Peters, "A Reply to Kohlberg," Phi Delta Kappan, LVI (June, 1975), p. 678.

[53]Kurt Bergling, Moral Development: The Validity of Kohlberg's Theory (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1981), p. 14.

[54]Ibid., pp. 27-42.

[55]Ibid., p. 16.

[56]Jack H. Fraenkel, "The Kohlberg Bandwagon: Some Reservations," Social Education, Vol. 40, No. 4 (April 1976), p. 217.

[57]Ibid.

[58]William Kurtines and Esther Blank Greif, "The Development of Moral Thought; Review and Evaluation of Kohlberg's Approach," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 81, No. 8 (August 1974), p. 455.

[59]Ibid., p. 456.

[60]Ibid., p. 467.

[61]See footnote number three in "The Development of Moral Thought: Review and Evaluation of Kohlberg's Approach," by Kurtines and Greif, Psychological Bulletin, August 1974, p. 456.

[62]Kurtines and Greif, "The Development of Moral Thought," p. 467.

[63]Bergling, Moral Development, p. 86.

CHAPTER TWO

[1]In the Central Conference of American Rabbis' statement: Reform Judaism; A Centenary Perspective, 1976, page one, the CCAR declared:

> It now seems self-evident to most Jews: that our tradition should interact with modern culture; that its forms ought to reflect a contemporary esthetic; that its scholarship needs to be conducted by modern, critical methods; and that change has been and must continue to be a fundamental reality in Jewish life.

[2]In Reform Judaism; A Centenary Perspective, pp. 2-4, the CCAR stated:

> ... Reform Judaism does more than tolerate diversity; it engenders it. In our uncertain historical situation we must expect to have far greater diversity than previous generations knew.
>
> Judaism calls us simultaneously to universal and particular obligations.

[3]Rossel, "On Teaching Jewish Ethics," p. 104.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Earl Schwarts, "Encouraging Moral Development," in The Jewish Teachers Handbook, Vol. III, ed. by Audrey Friedman Marcus (Denver: Alternatives in Religious Education, 1982), pp. 133-143.

[6]Rossel, "On Teaching Jewish Ethics," p. 107.

[7]See for example Barry Chazan's article "Jewish Education and Moral Development" found on pages 298-325 of Moral Development, Moral Education, and Kohlberg, edited by Brenda Munsey, 1980.

[8]Linda W. Rosensweig, "Toward Universal Justice: Some Implications of Lawrence Kohlberg's Research for Jewish Education," Jewish Education, Vol. 45, (Summer/Fall 1977), p. 15.

[9]Brenda Munsey, Moral Development, Moral Education, and Kohlberg, ed. (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1980), p. 310.

[10]Glosser, Moral Development, p. 19.

[11]Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[12]See goal #6 of the Union of American Hebrew Congregation's "Goals of Jewish Education," found on the final page of To See the World Through Jewish Eyes: Guidelines for the Pre-School Years, 1981.

[13]Reform Judaism; A Centenary Perspective, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Ad Hoc Committee on the President's Message, Eugene B. Borowitz, chairman (New York: CCAR, 1976), p. 4.

[14]Moshe Chaim Sosevsky, "Kohlberg's Moral Dilemmas and Jewish Moral Education," Jewish Education, Vol. 48, Nu. 4 (Winter 1980), pp. 10-13.

CHAPTER THREE

[1]Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton, eds., The Holocaust: Ideology, Bureaucracy, and Genocide (New York: Kraus International Publications, 1980), pp. 323-324.

[2]Roselle Linda Kline Chartock, An Evaluative Study of a Unit Based on the Nazi Holocaust; Implications for the Design of Interdisciplinary Curricula (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1979), p. 72.

[3]Diane K. Roskies, Teaching the Holocaust To Children: A Review and Bibliography (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1975), pp. 22-24.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 22.

[6]Ibid., p. 24.

[7]Alan Rosenberg and Alexander Bardosh, "The Problematic Character of Teaching The Holocaust," Shoah, Vol. 3, No. 2-3, (Fall/Winter 1982-83), p.7.

[8]Alan D. Bennett, "Toward A Holocaust Curriculum," Jewish Education, Vol. 43 (1974), pp. 22-26.

[9]Chartock, An Evaluative Study, p. 75.

[10]Roskies, Teaching the Holocaust, p. 9.

[11]Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., Facing History and Ourselves News, Vol. 1, Nu. 2 (Summer 1983), (Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 1983), p. 3.

[12]Chartock, An Evaluative Study, p. 75. Also note that National Institute on the Holocaust has collected dozens of Holocaust Course syllabi from universities throughout the United States and Israel. See National Institute on the Holocaust Course Syllabi Vol. I (National Institute on the Holocaust, 1978).

[13]Chartock, An Evaluative Study, p. 75.

[14]See "Teaching the Holocaust--The Kansas Experience" by Donald M. Douglas in Shoah, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1979) for an example of a community which had few problems in designing and implementing a Holocaust curriculum.

[15]Perry Davis, "The New York City Holocaust Curriculum," Shoah, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall 1978), p. 4.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 7.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., p. 9.

[20]Ibid., p. 6.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p. 7.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Peter F. Oliva, Developing the Curriculum (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1982), pp. 158-169.

[27]Shraga Arian, "Teaching the Holocaust," Jewish Education, Vol. 41 (1972), p. 42.

[28]Bennett, "Toward A Holocaust Curriculum," p. 24.

[29]Isaac Charny, "Teaching the Violence of the Holocaust," Jewish Education, Vol. 38 (March 1968), p. 16.

[30]Henry Hausdorff and Isaiah Kuperstein, Evaluation of Holocaust Curricula Designed for American Secondary School Youth (Pittsburgh: Holocaust Center of Greater Pittsburgh, 1983), p. 38.

[31]Mary T. Glynn, Geoffrey Bock and Karen C. Cohn, American Youth and the Holocaust: A Study of Four Major Curricula (Sponsored by the National Jewish Resource Center), pp. 50-51.

[32]Ibid., p. 51.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., p. 123.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid., pp. 123-124.

[37]Roskies, Teaching the Holocaust, p. 6.

[38]Judah Pilch, Sara Feinstein, Zalman F. Ury, "The Shoah and the Jewish School," Jewish Education, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Spring 1964), pp. 163-164.

[39]Bennett, "Toward A Holocaust Curriculum," p. 25.

[40]Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Facing History and Ourselves, chapter 11.

[41]Friedlander and Milton, The Holocaust, pp. 327-328.

[42]Roskies, Teaching the Holocaust, pp. 38-45.

[43]Samuel M. Blumenfield, "The Education of the Jewish Teacher: Some Reflections," Jewish Education, Vol. 40, Nu. 4, (1971), p. 46.

[44]Glynn, Bock and Cohn, American Youth, p. xviii.

[45]Friedlander and Milton, The Holocaust, p. 324.

[46]Hausdorff and Kuperstein, Evaluation of Holocaust Curricula, p. 26.

[47]Ibid., p. 32.

[48]See study of twenty-two curricula conducted by Holocaust Center of Greater Pittsburgh entitled: Evaluation of Holocaust Curricula Designed for American Secondary School Youth, by Henry Hausdorff and Isaiah Kuperstein.

[49]Glynn, Bock and Cohn, American Youth, p. xxiv.

[50]Friedlander and Milton, The Holocaust, pp. 326-327.

CHAPTER FOUR

[1]Alan Rosenberg and Alexander Bardosh, "The Problematic Character of Teaching the Holocaust," Shoah, Vol. 3, No. 2-3, Fall/Winter, 1982-83), p. 4.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

[3]John K. Roth, "Difficulties Everywhere: Sober Reflections on Teaching About the Holocaust," Shoah, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall 1978), p. 1.

[4]Richard H. Hersh, Promoting Moral Growth from Piaget to Kohlberg (Longman, Inc., 1979), p. 71.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 72.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 73.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., p. 76.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., p. 102.

[14]Linda W. Rosensweig, "Toward Universal Justice: Some Implications of Lawrence Kohlberg's Research for Jewish Education," Jewish Education, Vol. 45 (Summer/Fall 1977), p. 15.

[15]Ibid., p. 17.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Linda W. Rosenzweig, "Moral Dilemmas in Jewish History" (Ph.D. dissertation, Carnegie Mellon University, 1975), p. 18.

[18]Rosensweig, "Toward Universal Justice," pp. 17-18.

[19]Ibid., p. 15.

CHAPTER FIVE

[1]See for example Facing History and Ourselves by William Parsons and Margot Strom, page two, where the authors note one publisher's strong reservations about publishing a Holocaust curriculum at the public school level.

[2]Behrman House, Inc., Catalog 1982-1983 (New York: Behrman House, Inc., 1982-1983), p. 73.

[3]David A. Altshuler, Hitler's War Against the Jews (New York: Behrman House, 1978), p. 31.

[4]Yaacov Shilhav, comp., Flame and Fury, ed. by Sara Feinstein (New York: Jewish Education Press of the Board of Jewish Education, Inc., 1962), p. 94.

[5]Jay Schecter, Joseph and Me: A Guide for Teachers (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1980), p. 94.

[6]Jewish Education Service of North America, Inc., The Pedagogic Reporter, Vol. XXX III, No. 2 (March 1982) (New York: Jewish Education Service of North America, Inc., 1982), p. 2.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Leon H. Spotts, The Jewish Catastrophe In Europe. Guide to Teachers and Group Leaders (New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1968), pp. 12-17.

[10]Ibid., p. 11.

[11]Ibid., p. 22.

[12]Ibid., p. 10.

[13]Chartock, An Evaluative Study, p. 8.

[14]Nancy Karkowsky, Discussion Guide For the Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance, pp. 5-6.

[15]Ibid., p. 5.

[16]Ron Frydman, The Holocaust: An Instructional Guide Secondary Social Studies (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Unified School District, 1979), p. 1.

[17]Ibid., p. 55.

[18]Martin Greenberg and Marie Grieco, eds., The Third Reich in Perspective, p. 15.

[19]Jewish Community Relations Council of the Greater East Bay, The Holocaust: A Compendium of Resources for Secondary School Teachers (Oakland: Jewish Community Relations Council of the Greater East Bay, 1980), p. 24.

[20]Ibid., p. 3.

[21]Ibid., p. 8.

[22]Mary T. Glynn, Geoffrey Bock, and Karen C. Cohn, American Youth and the Holocaust: A Study of Four Major Curricula (National Jewish Resource Center), p. 35.

[23]The Holocaust, A Study of Genocide, p. 57.

[24]Ibid., p. xiv.

[25]Ibid., p. xii.

[26]Ibid., p. 418.

[27]Ibid., p. 50.

[28]The Holocaust, A Teacher's Resource (Tentative edition), p. 3.

[29]Ibid., p. 17.

[30]Ibid., p. 35.

[31]Ibid., p. 67.

[32]Ibid., p. 95.

[33]The Holocaust, Human Rights: Lessons of the Holocaust, p. xiii.

[34]Ibid., p. 31.

[35]Hausdorff and Kuperstein, Evaluation of Holocaust Curricula.

[36]Holocaust Never Again!, p. 1.

[37]The Holocaust, Two-Week Unit for the Mandated Global History Course, p. 1.

[38]Ibid., p. 3.

[39]Lillian Koppel, Herbert Kamins and George Rapport. Holocaust Studies, Grade 10, p. 2.

[40]Ibid., p. 19.

[41]Ibid., p. 2.

[42]Milton Meltzer, Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust, p. 201.

[43]Ibid., p. 5.

[44]Betty Menti, Understanding the Holocaust, p. 267.

[45]Ibid., p. 228.

[46]Ibid., P. 81.

[47]The National Conference of Christians and Jews, p. 4.

48

[49]Ann L. Nick, Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust, pp. 4-5.

[50]Ibid., p. 6.

[51]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[52]Ibid., p. 17.

[53]Ibid., p. 7.

[54]Alberg Post, The Holocaust: A Case Study of Genocide: A Teaching Guide, p. 1.

[55]Ibid., p. 14.

[56]Beverly Sanders, "The Holocaust: The Jewish Ordeal in Nazi Occupied Europe 1933-1945," New York Teacher Magazine, p. 1.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Glenn, Bock and Cohn, American Youth, p. 13.

[59]Strom and Parsons, Facing History, p. 1.

[60]Ibid., p. 13.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid., p. 25.

[63]Ibid., p. 24.

[64]Ibid., p. 14.

[65]Ibid., p. 18.

[66]Ibid., p. 25.

[67]Patricia Watson and Myron Winer, The Holocaust, p. 75.

[68]Ibid., p. 2.

[69]Ibid., p. 13.

[70]Ibid., p. 12.

[71]Ibid., p. 57.

[72]Ralph L. Mosher, ed., Moral Education. A First Generation of Research and Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), pp. 51-52.

[73]Glynn, Bock and Cohn, American Youth, p. 12.

[74]Ibid., p. 98.

[75]Ibid., p. 98.

[76]Mosher, Moral Education, pp. 232-233.

[77]Strom and Parsons, Facing History, p. 25.

[78]Ibid.

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