The Ten Stages Framework of Genocide at Secondary Level: Maine as A Case Study

by

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Abstract

This study explores how the framework of The Ten Stages of Genocide is used in the secondary school's classroom. Utilizing a qualitative approach, three teachers in Maine were interviewed regarding their use of the framework, The Ten Stages of Genocide in genocide education. The results revealed that although the framework is rarely used at the secondary level, all three teachers felt that its adoption enhanced their students' understanding of genocide. This study addresses the need for the framework of the stages to be promoted as an educational framework as well, provides insight into the current state of genocide education in Maine, and underscores the usefulness of the framework.

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1. Introduction

Genocide, a phenomenon characterized by the systematic deprivation of human rights, has occurred many times in several areas of the world. It is characterized by the perpetrators' systematic use of planning, organization, legal mechanisms, military force, propaganda, and social status, and represents a grievous violation of ethics and morality (Stanton, 2013). Genocide is filled with horrors that rob people of their humanity and moral substance. The international community, through treaties drafted by the United Nations, has clearly defined genocide as a global crime and emphasized that it cannot be justified in any case.

This study highlights the important role of education as one way to prevent genocide, especially in the transfer of knowledge to the next generation. Provided with awareness and understanding, future generations can protect themselves from such atrocities and ensure that the horrors of genocide remain in history and never again become a cruel reality in our world (Culp, 2016). The purpose of this study is to examine the important role of education in preventing genocide from occurring in the future.

This paper consists of six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction. The second chapter consists of a review of the existing literature. The third chapter introduces the research question and methodology. The fourth chapter explains the findings of the research. The fifth chapter includes a discussion of the findings. The sixth chapter is the conclusion.

2. Literature Review

This section reviews the existing literature about genocide and genocide education, and is divided into three parts: The Holocaust and the creation of the term ‘Genocide,’; the Genocide Convention; Genocide Education; Holocaust as unique or as one genocide; and Gregory H. Stanton’s Framework of Genocide.

2.1 The Holocaust and the Creation of the Term ‘Genocide’

The term genocide, and modern international human rights legal standards as a whole, were created in large part due to the horrors of the Holocaust in the run-up to, and during, World War II. The Holocaust was a genocide orchestrated by the Nazis, a political party led by Adolf Hitler, against Jews in Europe, along with other targeted groups such as Roma, homosexual men, disabled persons, and various ethnic minorities. Six million Jewish persons, one and a half million Roma, and hundreds of thousands of other minorities were systematically killed by the Nazi regime and allied states during the war.

After the end of World War II, genocide became focused on as a relevant concept in international law and human rights discussions. Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-Jewish lawyer who advocated for the protection of minorities, played a key role in the creation of the term. In 1944, Lemkin introduced the term “genocide,” drawing from two distinct linguistic roots: the ancient Greek word “genos,” meaning “race, nation, or tribe,” and the Latin word “caedere,” meaning “to kill” (Schabas, 2009). The introduction of the genocide marked a profound shift in how the international community understood and addressed mass violence and the intended targeting of specific groups. Until then, no comprehensive legal framework existed to address such crimes. Lemkin's work provided the intellectual and moral foundation for the legal and institutional responses that followed (United Nations, n.d.).

2.2 Genocide Convention

The horrors of the Holocaust highlighted the immediate need for a comprehensive and enforceable international legal framework to prevent the recurrence of such atrocious actions and ensure that the perpetrators faced criminal responsibility.

In 1946, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution stating that genocide was a crime under international law. This resolution not only condemned genocide but also called for the drafting of an international treaty to prevent and punish this violent crime. This initiative later led to the establishment of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (Genocide Convention). In 1948, the Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly. The Convention clearly defined genocide as any act committed with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. The Convention prohibited genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and open incitement to commit genocide, attempts to commit genocide, and complicity in genocide. It further established the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in disputes concerning the interpretation and application of the Convention.

In addition to the resolution, the Nuremberg Tribunal also established the principles that would later underpin the Genocide Convention. This tribunal demonstrated that individuals, regardless of their rank, could be held accountable for international crimes. It prosecuted major German war criminals, including high-ranking state officials and Nazi leaders, for crimes such as Conspiracy to Wage War, Crimes Against Peace, War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity, notably including the Holocaust. These trials influenced not only the development of international humanitarian law but also the establishment of the concept of individual criminal responsibility in international law since the trials prosecuted crimes of an international dimension that had been tied to state policies.

Article I of the Genocide Convention states; "*The Contracting Parties confirm that*

genocide, whether committed in times of peace or war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish (United Nations, 1948).” It is also a recognized norm of customary international law, making it binding on all states, irrespective of whether they have ratified the Convention. This recognition highlights the seriousness and universal condemnation of the crime of genocide and the obligation of all states to prevent and punish acts of genocide within their jurisdictions. The Genocide Convention also highlights that genocide does not simply mean killing and segregation, but also includes the destruction of homes, preventing births within a group, and forcing children to move to another group. The Convention emphasizes the importance of prevention and prosecution for all genocidal acts, whether involving direct violence or actions undermining the targeted group's existence. Article III states; “*The following acts shall be punishable: (a) Genocide; (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide; (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide; (d) Attempt to commit genocide; (e) Complicity in genocide* (United Nations, 1948).”

The Convention emphasizes that those involved in genocide or the realization of genocide will be held accountable. This commitment is based on holding individuals accountable for their actions and sends a strong message that the international community will not accept genocide, the most serious of crimes. It encourages the prevention and punishment of genocide and ensures that those responsible are pursued through due legal process in national or international courts and face the consequences of their actions.

The Convention is currently ratified by 153 states. According to the UN, 41 member states have yet to ratify the Convention, including 18 from Africa, 17 from Asia, and 6 from the Americas (United Nations, n.d.).

In a notable example of the Genocide Convention's practical application, on October 11, 2019, the Republic of the Gambia initiated legal proceedings against the Republic of Myanmar before the International Court of Justice (ICJ), citing alleged violations of the

Convention. Article 9 of the Convention states that any disputes “relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide”. Gambia requested the ICJ for provisional measures to halt what it described as genocidal acts against the Muslim Rohingya minority group in Myanmar. The ICJ acknowledged that Myanmar's armed forces had forcibly displaced numerous Rohingya through acts of violence and human rights abuses. Consequently, the ICJ ordered Myanmar to take immediate measures to prevent genocide and to provide regular reports on its progress in complying with the Court's directives (International Court of Justice, 2020). The case remains in front of the ICJ.

More recently, on 29 December 2023, South Africa initiated a case in the ICJ against Israel, arguing that Israeli attacks in Gaza amounted to genocide, The ICJ is expected to render a decision on provisional measures within January 2024.

The definition of genocide consists of two crucial elements: a physical element involving specific acts and a mental element involving intent. United Nations (2014) states that proving intent is the most challenging aspect, given the complexities of establishing the perpetrator's intent to physically destroy a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. In addition to the Genocide Convention, the International Criminal Court (ICC) plays a crucial role in addressing and prosecuting cases of genocide, among other grave international crimes. The ICC has taken on several cases related to alleged acts of genocide, striving to bring justice to the victims and promote a world where such atrocities are not tolerated. The Rome Statute's recognition of genocide as a prosecutable offense underscores the international community's dedication to preventing and punishing such egregious acts (United Nations, 2014).

2.3 Genocide Education

Nazi scholars and educators led by Hitler used education as a tool of indoctrination, making education an indispensable tool for the Nazi regime to further the genocide. Religious prejudice against Jews, driven by misconceptions, stereotypes, and theological differences, evolved into racial anti-Semitism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, However, it was necessary to channel such prejudices into support for, and in many cases active participation in, the political program of genocide. Textbooks promoted admiration for Hitler, obedience to state power, militarism, and racism while glorifying the Aryan race and instilling hatred toward Jews and those considered inferior (Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.).

In the post-Holocaust era, education is used for the opposite objective; to ensure that accurate knowledge about genocide is imparted to students so that such acts never occur again. Indeed, UNESCO, the United Nations Organization for the Promotion of Education and Science, states that “Holocaust Education is at the cornerstone of any lasting effort to fight hatred, conspiracy theories, and antisemitism” (UNESCO, 2022).

The International Program on Holocaust and Genocide Education (IPHGE), a collaborative initiative of UNESCO and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, aims to promote the institutionalization of education on the Holocaust and Genocide globally in a way appropriate to the region to contribute to a peaceful and sustainable society. Initiatives mainly focus on technical guidance and resources, and regular exchange and contributed activities, such as the development of curriculum, creation of educational materials, and more and more. Collaborative programs have been initiated in at least 16 countries, ranging from Indonesia to Mexico. These include activities such as curriculum development and revision, creation of educational materials, capacity-building initiatives, cultural projects, academic initiatives, and pedological research” (UNESCO, 2017).

The primary goal of genocide education is to provide students with a comprehensive

understanding of the history, causes, and consequences of multiple genocides. However, the research shows that this is easier said than done in practice. Ammert (2015) notes that "the Holocaust is still relevant because … the event is interpreted from our understandings and also because knowledge about this traumatic event influences our societies as well as us as individuals." And yet, "There are few detailed or systematic studies on what History teachers teach about genocide, how they teach or how students understand and interpret the content. The limited research about teaching in practice is a problem when it comes to understanding how genocide is handled in schools and how it might be enhanced" (Ammert, 2015, 58, 59).

One of the pivotal aspects of genocide education is its emphasis on the importance of recognizing and responding to the warning signs of genocide. It aims at equipping students with the knowledge and awareness needed to identify situations that might lead to mass atrocities (Beorn, 2015). Genocide education often comprises a wide range of case studies. These case studies serve as a tool for students to compare and contrast various historical contexts and responses to genocides (Ammert, 2015). By examining in depth, the roles of individuals, governments, and international organizations, education aims at developing a nuanced understanding of the challenges and complexities involved in preventing and responding to genocide.

Other approaches include simulation exercises. Beorn (2015) gives an account of an imaginary role-playing exercise he conducted during a four-week course on Genocide Studies at a US university. Though he initially had concerns about this approach, he concludes it was successful in strengthening understanding of the processes of genocide among students: "By NOT choosing an actual genocide, such as the Holocaust, we instantly avoid the danger of attempting to recreate an experience that we cannot possibly feel or understand in the ways that its victims did. Secondly, it shows that we can and must place the simulation in the historical context of comparative genocide with the recognition that all genocides have

elements in common; without this recognition, our students and future policymakers will lack the ability to recognize these recurring warning signs in modern genocides" (Beorn, 2015, 81).

To summarize, education, once a tool of hatred, is now focused on providing accurate knowledge about genocide. A variety of organizations and researchers are working to institutionalize comprehensive strategies around the world to meet the challenge of communicating this complex history. The goal is to provide students with the knowledge and awareness to foster collective efforts to prevent mass atrocities, combat hate, and promote a more tolerant world.

2.3.1 Holocaust As Unique Or As One Genocide

Debates on genocide education have proven inseparable from views regarding the Holocaust. Some commentators argue that the Holocaust is a one-off event, unique in world history in its sheer scale and evil. For those scholars, genocide education is often taken to be practically synonymous with teaching about the Holocaust as a historical event. However, global events have shown that genocide has not ended with the Holocaust, with subsequent occurrences in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Darfur since World War II.

The main claim of such commentators is that the Holocaust was a unique event and not the same as other genocides (Nobel Media AB, 2004). For example, Elie Wiesel, a famous writer of Holocaust literature who survived the Holocaust, was asked in a 2004 interview how he viewed "the other genocides that are going on in the world all the time. Is it part of the same thing or is the Holocaust unique?" Wiesel stated that "the Holocaust was a unique event, distinct from other genocides," and emphasized that "the Holocaust specifically targeted Jews and that all Jews were condemned to death solely because they were Jews." He also suggested that the term "Holocaust" may not accurately capture the uniqueness and horror of the event

and that there is no word that fully describes it.

The Holocaust tends to receive more attention in the popular discourse than other genocides such as Bosnia, Rwanda, or Darfur. There are several reasons for this. First, there is indeed a great deal of evidence and testimony of the conditions and victims of the Holocaust, making it a relatively easy subject to teach (Johnson & Pennington, 2018). The Nazi regime left behind many documents concerning the planning and implementation of the Holocaust. In addition, there are many photographs and videos taken at Holocaust camps and massacre sites. Testimonies and evidence from survivors and eyewitnesses are still being used. These have led to detailed studies and reports being published by many international research groups and historians. Second, the scale of the event is also significant, with more than six million victims, mainly Jews, minority groups, and people with disabilities. The use of camps and concentration camps resulted in the loss of many lives at once. The killing took place in areas that were under the control of the Nazi regime and included not only Germany but also Poland, Ukraine, and many other European countries. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (n.d.) states that above all, the Holocaust was the event that gave birth to the term ‘genocide’ and led to the creation of the Convention on the Prohibition of Genocide as international law. For these reasons, the Holocaust is a well-known event among genocides.

On the other hand, while acknowledging the horrific events of the Holocaust, many other scholars argue that genocide is not a phenomenon isolated from the Holocaust and has historical antecedents and subsequent occurrences (Johnson & Pennington, 2018; Stanton, 2013). Some argue that “ignoring ‘other’ genocides implies that those events are not as important as the Holocaust – with the added risk of students not understanding that genocide has occurred multiple times prior and since 1945” (Johnson & Pennington, 2018, 227). While noting that the Holocaust is more widely known about among the American public, Johnson and Pennington (2018) argue that “teaching the Holocaust with ‘unique reverence’ or as

requiring its special understandings is disrespectful to other genocides. … teaching only the Holocaust in schools can actually be harmful to students who may not realize that other genocides have been committed before and since the Holocaust" (Johnson & Pennington, 2018, 230).

These arguments challenge the notion of the Holocaust as a unique event, emphasizing the need to study and teach it within the broader context of genocides that have transpired before and after it (Beorn, 2015). By exploring a diverse array of cases, students gain insights into the complex factors that contribute to these atrocities. Genocide education, it is argued, should aim to illuminate the commonalities and recurring patterns that transcend the boundaries of different genocides (Stanton, 2013). This comparative perspective encourages students to develop a critical eye for recognizing early warning signs and addressing them effectively (UNESCO, 2023).

Therefore, Holocaust Education and Genocide Education are both important approaches to teaching about the darkest events of human history. Holocaust Education is more specific, concentrating on the Holocaust, while Genocide Education takes a broader view, encompassing multiple genocides to help students recognize patterns and develop a deeper understanding of the significance of preventing such atrocities in the future (Beorn, 2015). Many educators advocate for a comprehensive approach that combines both Holocaust and Genocide Education to provide a well-rounded understanding of these critical issues.

2.3.2 Gregory H. Stanton's Framework of Genocide

Gregory H. Stanton's framework, known as The Ten Stages of Genocide, is a valuable tool for understanding the process of genocide. It divides the progression of genocide into distinct stages, beginning with the initial triggers and extending to the consequences that follow its occurrence. The framework originally comprised The Eight Stages of Genocide,

developed in 1996, which included classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination, and denial (Stanton, 1998). Subsequently, Stanton expanded it to The Ten Stages of Genocide by incorporating discrimination and polarization into the early and middle stages in 2012. This evolution in the framework underscores the recognition that the seeds of genocide are sown well before the actual act of mass killing (Stanton, 2013).

The following is a detailed description of each stage, which Stanton (2013) summarized;

1. Classification: During this initial stage, people are classified into distinct groups based on characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, and nationality. This division creates the basis for discrimination and further acts of violence. As an initial step, early prevention requires universal institutions that promote tolerance and understanding beyond rival classifications.

2. Symbolization: Names or other symbols are given to the classifications. Symbols such as colors, badges, and other identifying signs are used to distinguish classified groups and facilitate discrimination and targeting of violence. Categorization and symbolization are universally human, and as long as they do not lead to dehumanization, they do not necessarily lead to genocide.

3. Discrimination: Dominant groups use laws, customs, and political power to deny the rights of other groups. Discrimination appears in many ways, including unequal treatment, restrictions on rights, and even violence against the targeted group. Powerless groups may not be granted full civil rights or even citizenship. In most cases, discrimination becomes more severe as the process progresses.

4. Dehumanization: One group dehumanizes the other group, and describes the target group as subhuman, often using derogatory words and stereotypes. The people who are targeted are often identified with animals, pests, insects, or diseases, and hate propaganda in print, hate radio, and social media is used as a tool to insult victim groups. Dehumanization plays a role in justifying the abuse and violence that follows.

5. Organization: During this stage, perpetrators of genocide begin to systematically plan and prepare for mass violence and atrocities against targeted groups, usually led or initiated by the state. Militias are often used to deny state responsibility. In some cases, organizations may be informal or decentralized such as terrorist groups, and plans are being made for the later stages.

6. Polarization: In this stage of genocide, divisions, and tensions between different groups within a society become increasingly significant. Extremists are dividing groups and hate groups are spreading polarizing propaganda. For instance, laws may prohibit interracial marriage and social interaction.

7. Preparation: The preparation stage includes the planning and organization of acts of genocide. Especially, the leader of the state or perpetrator group plans a ``final solution" for the target group. It may involve arming weapons stocks, building camps, and training militias.

8. Persecution: This stage involves victims being identified and segregated based on their ethnic or religious identity. Sometimes they are isolated in ghettos, imprisoned in concentration camps, or transported to famine areas to starve to death. Genocidal massacres begin, and it is often the most visible and cruel stage of genocide.

9. Extermination: This stage implies the systematic and widespread killing of the targeted population, and mass murders and atrocities occur during this stage. When supported by the

state, the military often collaborates with paramilitary groups to carry out the killings. At this stage, only swift and overwhelming armed intervention can stop the worst situation.

10. Denial: After the violence, perpetrators may attempt to deny responsibility, hiding their atrocities. Such steps may extend the suffering of survivors and prevent international recognition. Perpetrators of genocide usually dig up mass graves, burn bodies, destroy evidence, and try to intimidate witnesses. They deny committing the crime and often blame the victim for what happened.

Stanton (2013) stressed that the framework emphasizes the non-linear and often simultaneous nature of these stages, highlighting those earlier stages precede and contribute to the later ones. It is crucial to understand that the progression through these stages can be interrupted at various points, and recognizing the warning signs in the early stages can be instrumental in preventing the escalation of violence (Stanton, 2013).

One recurring theme in discussions on genocide education is the application of frameworks to identify and prevent genocide. The framework serves as one such approach to understanding the progression of genocidal acts and implementing preventive measures. Stanton's framework aims to universalize the warning signs of genocide and educate people on how to recognize these signs and take action to prevent further escalation (Stanton, 2013). Despite its strength as a universal framework, the framework remains underutilized as an educational tool.

Using Stanton's framework to teach the process of genocide offers several significant advantages. Firstly, its effectiveness in preventing future genocides. By learning that genocide follows a series of identifiable stages, students and individuals can gain a deeper appreciation of the importance of recognizing and responding to early warning signs. The study of past

genocides serves as a powerful tool for understanding and averting potential future atrocities (Vitale & Clothey, 2019; Kelleway & Spillane & Haydn, 2013). Secondly, Stanton's framework makes it easier for learners, including children, to see genocide as a problem relevant to them. Understanding the mechanisms and stages that lead to the victim-perpetrator dynamic in genocides helps children and young individuals grasp that they could potentially find themselves on either side of such a situation. This recognition enhances their empathy and awareness of the consequences of discrimination and hatred (Genocide Watch Station, n.d.). Thirdly, the presence of a common framework for analyzing genocide allows for the comparative study of multiple genocide cases, from historical occurrences to contemporary situations. This analytical approach offers a unique opportunity to assess the applicability of the ten stages to different contexts and, by extension, to consider the potential for such stages to manifest within one's own country (Vitale & Clothey, 2019; Kelleway & Spillane & Haydn, 2013).

Kelleway & Spillane & Haydn, (2013) used the framework for improving the Institute of Education’s Beacon Schools in Holocaust Education program, which is the Holocaust Education program in the UK. They used the stage framework in part of the lesson for high school students they created focusing on " Warning Signs of Genocide." In the lessons, the students were asked to decide on a title for each stage of the Rwandan and Bosnian Genocide and to use the Genocide Watch (which is the organization made by Stanton) website to research and think about which countries are currently at risk and at what stage of the genocide. They noted that those lessons helped students learn that genocide has a process, that it is possible to receive early danger signs because there is a pattern to it, and that it is important.

Vitale & Clothey (2019) noted that the framework teaches students that genocide consists of several stages and social behaviors and that using other genocides to investigate

general patterns can lead to opportunities for broader social understanding. Also, using other genocides to investigate general patterns can help students find connections between past cases and the present, and can lead to opportunities for broader social understanding.

In conclusion, Gregory H. Stanton's Ten Stages of Genocide framework, developed in 1996 to include eight stages and later expanded in 2012, provides a clear understanding of the progression of genocidal acts. Those stages highlight the nonlinear and often simultaneous progression of genocide. It also generalizes the warning signs underscores the importance of early recognition and intervention, appeals to us to recognize that genocide begins long before the act of genocide, and stresses the importance of proactively identifying and addressing the initial stages.

3. Research Question and Methodology

In this research, the overarching research question is “In what ways is the framework of The Ten Stages of Genocide used at the secondary level?” Within this main research question, three subsidiary questions are identified: Why is it used? How is it used? What is the impact on students?

First, literature searches were conducted to find examples of secondary schools that use the ten stages framework but couldn't find any schools. To find out if any schools use the framework as an actual example, the author contacted Genocide Watch, the organization established by the creator of the framework, asking if any schools teach using the framework. Genocide Watch (n.d.) mentioned that it is a nonprofit organization dedicated to monitoring and preventing genocide around the world. This organization was founded in 1999 by Dr. Gregory H. Stanton, a renowned scholar and expert in the field of genocide studies. Genocide Watch operates as a global early warning system, focused on identifying, analyzing, and preventing genocide and mass atrocities (Genocide Watch, n.d.).

Although information on the names of schools was not available, Dr. Stanton introduced to the author two teachers who were involved in genocide education. One of them introduced a seminar in Maine which led to the opportunity to attend and conduct the research described below.

The seminar titled "Teaching the Holocaust" was attended by around ten participants, most of whom were teachers from Maine. The main objective of the seminar was to help these teachers with effective teaching materials and methods related to the Holocaust, which they could implement in their classrooms. This particular seminar was designed to provide an opportunity for educators from different backgrounds, providing them with a platform for professional development in Holocaust education.

Education in Maine:

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (n.d.), the U.S. education system is characterized by a decentralized structure, granting states, local governments, and educational institutions authority over educational matters. Though most states provide for a total of 12 years of primary and secondary education, requirements for mandatory education differ from state to state. There is no uniform educational curriculum and no standardized achievement test at the national level (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.). In the far northeastern corner of the United States, Maine has a population of just over 1.3 million residents (Maine.gov, 2020). Maine's diverse economy encompasses sectors such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, manufacturing, and tourism (Maine.gov, n.d.).

The Maine Department of Education (n.d.) stated that during the 2018-19 academic year, Maine showed a notable improvement in English Language Arts (ELA) and literacy proficiency among its students. Specifically, 55% of all students met or exceeded the state's ELA/literacy expectations, representing a significant increase from the previous year's 50.7%. This positive trend is a testament to the collaborative efforts facilitated by the Maine Department of Education, which works closely with educators across the state. The Maine Department of Education plays a pivotal role in shaping education by establishing Maine's Learning Standards, serving as a fundamental guide for local curriculum development (Maine Department of Education, n.d.).

Methodology

This section highlights the methodology employed to achieve the objectives of the study, including the survey design, data collection methods, and analytical techniques:

1. To evaluate the utilization of the framework in genocide education among teachers in the state of Maine.

2. To investigate educators' perceptions and experiences regarding genocide education within the framework.

Research Design

This study adopted a qualitative approach to delve deeper into teachers' perspectives, facilitating a comprehensive analysis of the research question. The questionnaire was chosen to prioritize participants' voices, foster theory development, and enable flexible exploration of a complex phenomenon.

Participants

For the teacher interviews in the state of Maine, three participants were sourced from The Teaching the Holocaust Summer Seminar 2023, supported by The Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine. This organization aims to promote universal respect for human rights through outreach and education, encouraging individuals and communities to draw on the lessons of past and present events, including the Holocaust, to think and act concerning their moral responsibility to confront prejudice, intolerance, and discrimination (Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine, n.d.).

While the original plan was to conduct in-person interviews, time constraints necessitated the use of a prepared questionnaire, with responses gathered via email at a later date. Informed consent was sought from all participants to ensure their willingness to participate and safeguard their confidentiality.

Here is a brief introduction to the three participants, ensuring anonymity:

- Teacher A: A high school English teacher in Maine who attended the seminar to acquire resources and knowledge for teacher's classes.
- Teacher B: A high school social studies teacher in Maine who incorporated the ten stages framework in teacher's classes after interacting with Gregory Stanton, founder of Genocide Watch.
- Teacher C: The seminar organizer, who served as Education Coordinator at the Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine, engaging in Holocaust education initiatives and previously teaching a high school course on the history of genocide.

Data Collection

In the teacher interviews, participants received descriptive questions to capture their qualitative insights into the Ten Stages of Genocide and how genocide education was conducted. Each participant received eleven questions with no word limit to encourage comprehensive responses.

Data Analysis

Interview data were analyzed through free-text analysis, with participants' perspectives shaping the current use of the Ten Stages of Genocide and influencing the potential future of genocide education.

Ethical Considerations

Participants were guaranteed confidentiality, and their data was anonymized. Informed consent was acquired before data collection.

Data Collection Procedure

For the teachers in the state of Maine, data collection occurred over one month. The process included:

- Questionnaire Distribution: Questionnaires were provided to participating teachers immediately after the Teaching the Holocaust Summer Seminar 2023.
- Content of the Questionnaire: The questionnaire sought specific information about the ten stages framework, challenges in genocide education, and the current state of such education, aiming to gain insights into participants' perspectives.
- Collection via Email: Completed questionnaires were collected via email at a later date to allow for thorough, reflective responses.

Data collection procedures were tailored to the unique needs of participants with teachers' busy schedules considered. Ethical considerations and participant privacy were upheld throughout the data collection processes.

Limitations

There are three limitations. First, this study relies on data from only three seminar participants in the teacher survey, which limits its generalizability to schools and teachers in other regions. Second, participants were highly motivated to teach genocide education, which may have biased their responses. Third, the use of open-ended self-report data, while intended to elicit candid thoughts, was analyzed according to the researcher's interpretation and may lead to bias.

4. Findings

This section presents the results of the study designed to determine the extent to which the Ten Stages of Genocide are used in Maine secondary schools and how teachers evaluate and think about genocide education.

Results of the Interview

The following are the results of this study in three categories: why is the framework used, how is it used, and what the impact is on students.

Q1. Why is it used?

Teacher A began using this framework a year after beginning to teach Holocaust literature. The reason for this is that Teacher A wanted his students to learn about genocide other than the Holocaust, but Teacher A was not confident enough in the knowledge to teach it due to the limited amount of knowledge about genocide other than the Holocaust. At that time, through a search on the Internet, Teacher A discovered Gregory Stanton's Ten Stages of Genocide.

Teacher B began *using this framework as a way to have a neutral tool for analysis* that would *allow students to examine the historical events in question with less emotional and political thinking*. Teacher B has continued to use it in the classes for several years since finding it on the Internet more than ten years ago.

Teacher C began to use the framework as a way to help students learn about *the factors that need to be in place in society before a genocide can occur and the things that all genocidal societies have in common* when teaching a class on the history of genocide. However, the tools or ways the teacher found are not clear.

All three teachers adopted the framework for diverse reasons, but all recognized its

value as a way to deepen students' understanding of genocide and started to use it in class. Additionally, they had found and used the frameworks themselves, not because they were guided to it by the curriculum or other educators. In other words, the use of the framework is not currently mandatory in Maine, and only those who have found it by chance, or otherwise were informed of its existence, are using it.

Q2. How is it used?

Teacher A uses this framework when teaching Elie Wiesel's memoir Night. Before beginning, review the ten stages and have students listen to Gregory Stanton's TED Talk "The Call." As students read the memoir, have them identify the passages that correspond to each of the Ten Stages of Genocide. In the past, Teacher A has had students write an argumentative essay based on the framework to see if the author's memoir can be used as proof that the Holocaust was a genocide. In the future, Teacher A hopes to use this framework to have students research other genocides that have occurred or continue to occur around the world.

Teacher B has used this as a tool for literary analysis in Elie Wiesel's memoir Night. Then, students can apply the framework in their research. For example, *when analyzing the Guatemalan Civil War, students need to examine the role that government forces played in the extermination of the Mayan people*. *They can use the framework to move beyond a retelling of the facts by asking themselves, Was this genocide? By applying the framework, they can develop an answer of their own and a better understanding of what motivated soldiers*.

Teacher C began the class by using that framework to examine the factors that must be in place in society before genocide can occur and what societies that commit genocide have in common. Then, teacher C taught a general summary of genocides throughout history before focusing on the genocides of the 20th century.

Even within the same framework, different teachers used the Ten Stages of Genocide

framework differently. Teachers A and B appear to be similar in that they are using the framework with Elie Wiesel's memoir. teacher A uses it to teach Elie Wiesel's memoir. teacher B uses it to teach Elie Wiesel's memoir. teacher B uses it to teach Elie Wiesel's memoir. He uses it to have his students analyze the text and write an argument. Similarly, Teacher B uses the framework as an application for her literary analysis of the memoir, aimed at students to raise questions about other genocides and to find their answers. Teacher C differs significantly from Teachers A and B in that she uses the framework as an introduction when teaching her students about genocide. Before teaching them specific examples of various genocide cases, teacher C may want to first get in their heads the recognition that genocide consists of stages and processes.

Q3. What is the impact on students?

Teacher A observed that this framework provides a good opportunity and has the effect of making students aware of the various genocides that occurred in addition to the Holocaust and that they can occur in the present and the future.

Teacher B views the framework as an effective approach that allows students to examine historical events while limiting the influence of *emotional and political thinking*. In addition, it functions as an analytical method, allowing students to develop their answers to questions that arise in response to genocide, as well as to gain a deeper understanding of the motivations behind the genocide's occurrence. Providing students with a clear, non-emotional way to learn, enables them to analyze genocide dispassionately.

Teacher C thinks that the effect is to help students understand the necessary elements of society before genocide occurs and what is common to societies that commit genocide.

In summary, the three teachers all believe that the framework offers valuable advantages in educating students about various genocides. Teacher A emphasizes the role of

expanding awareness beyond the Holocaust and focusing on the potential for current and future genocide. On the other hand, Teacher B highlights the effectiveness of this framework in reducing emotional and political bias, as it serves both as an analytical tool and as a way for students to generate their responses. These function not only improves students' understanding of the motivations behind genocide but also provide a clear, emotionless idea for objective analysis. Adding to this agreement, Teacher C evaluated the framework for helping students understand the important social factors that preceded genocides and finding common ground among societies that perpetrated such acts. Overall, teachers think that this framework helps expand students' awareness, promotes analytical thinking, and promotes a comprehensive understanding of social factors related to genocide.

5. Discussion

The following are the findings revealed in the interviews, in addition to the responses to the research questions.

Firstly, the goals of each of the teachers in teaching the class on genocide. Teacher A's goals are to explore the origins of Germany's post-World War I culture of hatred, describe the nature of genocide in Nazi Germany, and identify key features that reveal ongoing genocides. Teacher B aims to promote students' understanding of universal human rights, encourage ethical considerations, and promote reflection on the role of the individual in promoting common sense and respect. Teacher C focused on raising awareness by helping students recognize the signs of genocide, intervene in current and future cases, and respect the memory of those who have survived genocide in the past. The fact that teachers with different goals commonly use the framework suggests that it is one method that has been used effectively for a wide range of purposes.

Second is the difficulties of genocide education in the classroom. Teacher A discusses several challenges faced in the educational context, including varying levels of interest and motivation among students. Moreover, a prevalent trend in the U.S. involves the removal of potentially offensive topics from the curriculum, reflecting concerns shared by both students and their parents. Additionally, Teacher A raises the issue of English-certified teachers potentially continuing to use materials from social studies, highlighting a potential gap in expertise. Teacher B highlights a significant challenge related to the desensitization of young people to genocide, a consequence of the widespread exposure to violence and crime in the media. This desensitization poses a hurdle in engaging students in lessons on empathy, often resulting in a recurring response of "Who cares?" and a sense of overwhelming events. Teacher C emphasizes the need for support as the difficulties, particularly for secondary school students, when delving into the emotionally challenging topic of genocide.

Recognizing the difficulty of the subject matter, Interviewee C suggests that students are often unprepared for the emotional responses that may arise during in-depth exploration.

To sum up, considering the difficulties faced by the above three teachers, this framework may have the effect of allowing students to analyze logically, compared to other films and literary works. In addition, the decline in interest may be compensated for by how the framework is used. For example, using a framework as an introduction to a topic that might pique students' interest, such as personal life issues or bullying at school, can be effective.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the answers to the research questions on the secondary level in Maine are as follows. Firstly, the answer for why the framework is used is that teachers in Maine voluntarily embraced a genocide framework to enhance students` comprehension, bringing up various motivations, like as a supplement to teachers' lack of knowledge, as a further teaching tool, etc. Secondly, the answer to how is it used is that the framework can be used in different ways, either as an introduction to genocide education or as a means to delve deeper into fundamental concepts. Regardless of its application, the framework is used to be adaptable to different educational contexts. Thirdly, the answer for what is the impact on students is that the teachers highlight several positive outcomes. The implementation of the genocide framework is observed to extend students' awareness beyond the Holocaust, mitigating biases, fostering analytical thinking, and providing a comprehensive understanding of social factors related to genocide. This suggests that the framework not only contributes to historical knowledge but also plays a crucial role in cultivating critical thinking skills and promoting an understanding of the societal implications of genocide.

The findings of this study provide insight into the current state of genocide education in the Maine secondary schools focused on as case studies and how teachers are approaching students of this challenging subject. Since this study was conducted in just one small state of the United States, it is difficult to predict how the results will change in the world based on this result could be extrapolated on a national or global level. Nevertheless, the answers of three teachers who have experience using it in the schools were very valuable data. Using the framework as an example, the need to provide teaching materials, opportunities for teachers to learn, and improved curriculum, as the UN, UNESCO, and various organizations are doing, will be essential to help educators and students to better teach genocide in the classroom. As the three teachers realize, it may help both teachers and students understand what is genocide

if this framework is more widely used in more school classes around the world, and hope that it is implemented soon.

Future research could ask the same questions to teachers who also use the framework in other countries, or look at student impressions or evaluation toward the framework rather than teachers' evaluation like this study.

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Appendix: Survey Questionnaire

1. Do you know the framework of "The Ten Stages of Genocide?"
(Do you know which schools use 10 stages of the framework to teach genocide?)

2. Why did you start to use the framework? Do you have any reasons that you don't use it in the classroom?

3. How do you think we can teach students to be aware of the issues?

4. How do you think that the idea or image of genocide of the students changed before and after your class?

5. What is your goal to teach genocide to students ?

6. How do you use the framework of your class?

7. How do you think American students generally view genocide?

8. How do you think about education for the Prevention of Genocide?

9. What do you think about issues and difficulties when you teach genocide to students?

10. How much freedom does the teacher have in the content and time of the class?

11. What are some of your approaches to teaching genocide?