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Holocaust Denial Literature Twenty Years Later: A Follow-up Investigation of Public Librarians' Attitudes Regarding Acquisition and Access

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Holocaust Denial Literature Twenty Years Later: A Follow-up Investigation of Public Librarians' Attitudes Regarding Acquisition and Access

INTRODUCTION

As part of their graduate library science research project in Fall 1992, Drobnicki, Goldman, Knight, and Thomas designed and implemented a survey of the adult services librarians in the Nassau County public library system to investigate the librarians' attitudes towards having Holocaust denial materials in their libraries' collections. While controversial materials have long forced librarians to make difficult decisions, both about purchasing and weeding, there had never been a survey about Holocaust denial materials in libraries. The data was analyzed and submitted as partial fulfillment for the MLS degree at Queens College/CUNY under the supervision of Dr. Marianne Cooper, and the finished project was later edited and published in a peer-reviewed journal three years later (Drobnicki et al. 1995). In order to determine if librarians' attitudes have changed after twenty years, a second survey of the same library system was implemented in Fall 2012.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

WHAT IS HOLOCAUST DENIAL?

According to Robert S. Wistrich, who holds the Neuberger Chair of Modern European and Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Holocaust denial is

> [. . .] a postwar phenomenon at whose core lies the rejection of the historical fact that six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis during World War II. Alongside explicit repudiation of the Holocaust, denial includes the minimization, banalization, and relativization of the relevant facts and events, so as to cast doubt on the uniqueness or authenticity of what happened during the Shoah. (Wistrich 2012, 1)

Deniers claim that the Nazis merely wanted to re-settle Jews, and that the millions of missing Jews were not killed in extermination campuses but rather had been absorbed into the former Soviet Union, Israel, and the United States. In the 2012 survey and its invitation email, the present author used the terms "Holocaust denial" and "Holocaust revisionism" interchangeably, as was done in the original study (Drobnicki et al. 1995). However, Holocaust denial is the label preferred by scholars, since deniers do not seek to *revise*, but to *negate* this historical event (in France, for example, deniers are referred to as negationists). Hence this article will use the term "Holocaust denial" except when quoting directly from the survey.

OTHER KEY DEFINITIONS

By *Holocaust* the present researcher means the deliberate and institutionalized attempt to exterminate European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its allies during World War II, which resulted in the murder of between five and six million Jews. Although historians have documented that the Nazis killed millions of non-Jews as well, since Holocaust deniers concentrate on the Jews, this researcher will also concentrate solely on the Jewish tragedy.

Access, as used in this paper, refers to the physical location of materials within a library; the subject heading(s) assigned to library materials; and the classification number assigned to library materials.

Acquisition will mean either the purchase of, or acceptance as a free gift of, library materials.

Controversial will be used to refer to materials that, in the past, have provoked—or have the potential to provoke—protests or challenges from library users or other members of the public. Referring to them as controversial is in no way an attempt by the present author to label, condemn, or endorse the viewpoints of these materials.

THE PROBLEM OF DENIAL MATERIALS AND LIBRARIES

Historical events, persons, and eras are constantly being reinterpreted in the light of newly discovered (or newly released) primary documents, or reevaluated from a contemporary viewpoint. Thus, libraries continually add new books to their collections on events ranging from the American Revolution, to slavery, the Civil War, the Cold War, and the War on Terror. This also keeps publishers in business; otherwise, libraries would only have to acquire the one, definitive book on every subject and then never buy another book in that area ever again.

Holocaust denial, on the other hand, does not seek to *reinterpret* an event. Rather, it seeks to *disprove* the historicity of an event that is thoroughly documented. Holocaust deniers do not base their theories on newly discovered documents, but on the *exclusion* of documents. By extension, Holocaust deniers would therefore label every document a forgery and every witness a liar, and every believer a dupe. Some might concede that an academic library may want to collect examples of Holocaust denial. But what about a public library? And especially in an era of shrinking budgets?

LIBRARIANS' PROFESSIONAL GUIDELINES

It is easy to say that one is in favor of intellectual freedom, or that one is developing a diverse library collection. But when one is confronted with deliberate fabrications of the historical record, which may be offensive to either/both the librarian and members of the community, the decision

whether or not to acquire denial materials becomes more complex. The Library Bill of Rights states that, "Libraries should provide materials and information presenting all points of view on current and historical issues. Materials should not be proscribed or removed because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval" (ALA 1996). Another ALA policy document states that,

> Access to all materials and resources legally obtainable should be assured to the user, and policies should not unjustly exclude materials and resources *even if they are offensive to the librarian or the user*. . .Toleration is meaningless without tolerance for what some may consider detestable. Librarians must not permit their own preferences to limit their degree of tolerance in collection development. (ALA 2008, emphasis added)

Historical Accuracy versus Diverse Collections

While errors almost always find their way into even the best history books, and not everything accepted by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg was correct—for example, the original indictment blamed Germany (rather than the USSR) for the Katyn Forest massacre of 22,000 Polish officers—no serious scholar questions the actuality of the Holocaust. Deniers use inconsistencies and errors to try to cast doubt on the entire event: *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus* (false in one thing, false in everything).

These, then, are some of the dilemmas that public librarians face: should they or should they not acquire material that is generally accepted to be hate literature? Many deniers share the ideas of Neo-Nazi and other hate groups, and regularly portray Jews as profiting financially from the "Holocaust lie". Although librarians want to develop balanced, comprehensive collections, even as they struggle with shrinking materials budgets, does Holocaust denial present the "other side" of a historical event? And even if public librarians purchase (or accept as a gift) Holocaust denial books, should those books then be made freely accessible on open shelves, including to young adults and children? Should they be classified with a call number that places them physically next to the books that are generally accepted to be standard, accurate histories of the Holocaust?

Purpose of the Present Study

There are compelling arguments on both sides of the acquisition issue, as Stauffer observed when she wrote:

> We are, justifiably, repulsed, repelled, and disgusted by the claims of these authors, we feel that their works are an affront and an outrage to the suffering and death of millions of innocents, and we fear, perhaps also justifiably so, that such fallacies may ultimately lead to like persecution and oppression of minorities once again. However, we also know that one of the first steps taken by a tyrannical, oppressive, totalitarian state is the control of the presses and the censoring of information. (Stauffer 1998, 191)

This research project investigated the extent to which public librarians believe those divergent views can or should be reconciled, and whether those opinions have changed over twenty years. It asked librarians whether or not public libraries should acquire Holocaust denial literature, and, if so, how it should be cataloged and classified and where it should be shelved.

Assumptions

The present researcher assumes that some topics are more controversial than others, and that most public librarians consider Holocaust denial literature to be "controversial material". Since public libraries serve a very diverse clientele, with populations that range in age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and economic well-being, the presence of Holocaust denial materials has the potential to provoke protests from patrons more so than in an academic library. Public libraries are very often held accountable by the public because they are supported by tax dollars. The researcher also assumed that public librarians do not, and cannot, acquire every item that is published, and regularly make judgments about what to acquire. In addition, it was also recognized by the present investigator that serious scholars do not question the actuality of the Holocaust, which has been thoroughly documented by testimonies and primary sources from the perpetrators, their allies, and their victims. It was also assumed that public librarians know of the existence of Holocaust denial materials, and that the book vendors and jobbers they order from can supply such materials.

Hypotheses

The present researcher tested the following hypotheses regarding the attitudes of public librarians toward Holocaust denial literature:

- **Hypothesis 1.** Even though Holocaust denial is still considered to be an extremely controversial topic, the percentage of those public librarians that would acquire Holocaust denial materials for their libraries will increase over 1992.

- **Hypothesis 2.** The ethnic and religious composition of the community served by the public library will play a role in the librarians' decisions whether or not to acquire Holocaust denial materials.

Review of Related Literature, 1992–Present

Drobnicki et al. provide an overview of the issues surrounding Holocaust denial up to 1992 in the published version of their research project (Drobnicki et al. 1995). At the same time that they were implementing their survey in Fall 1992, Deborah E. Lipstadt of Emory University (1993) was preparing to publish a major study of Holocaust denial and was later sued for libel by British writer David Irving, who objected to being labeled a Holocaust denier in that book. Since Irving filed his lawsuit in Great Britain, the burden was on Lipstadt and her publisher, Penguin Books, to prove that what she wrote was true. The Irving-Lipstadt trial kept Holocaust denial in the

news for several years, and was the subject of books by Guttenplan (2001) and Lipstadt (2005). In the verdict to that case, the British judge Charles Gray ruled for the defendant (Lipstadt) and used words such as "antisemite" [*sic*], "racist," "misrepresent," and "distortion and manipulation of historical evidence". In summary, Judge Gray said that it was "incontrovertible that Irving qualifies as a Holocaust denier" (Lipstadt 2005, 274–275). Three of the expert witnesses hired by Lipstadt and her defense team published books based on their expert reports, which further destroyed the credibility of Irving as a historian and/or the arguments of Holocaust deniers: Evans (2001), van Pelt (2002), and Longerich (2005). Irving's reputation not only suffered a hit, but this also deprived the denial movement of its most charismatic public speaker, as Irving had often been the featured speaker at denier conferences. Irving even later served a year in prison in Austria for denying the Holocaust, which is a crime in that country (Lipstadt 2010, 570).

The 1990s also saw a split in the denial movement in the United States. For years, the largest purveyor of Holocaust denial materials in America was the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), along with its publishing arm, Noontide Press. Both had been affiliated with Willis Carto's Liberty Lobby. However, the IHR split with Carto in 1993 over alleged financial improprieties involving a bequest from Jean Farrel, the granddaughter of Thomas Edison, to Carto's Legion for the Survival of Freedom (Schwartz 1994; Drobnicki 1997). In breaking with Carto, the IHR lost its strongest financial benefactor, and the IHR's publication, the *Journal of Historical Review*, ceased in 2002. After losing control of the IHR, Carto and the Liberty Lobby founded the *Barnes Review* in 1994. Throughout the 1990s and first decade of the 2000s, as the United States became more involved in Middle Eastern affairs and as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict continued to remain unsolved, deniers have increasingly focused on attacking the legitimacy of the State of Israel. Lipstadt has referred to this as "soft" denial, which "equates Israelis with Nazis and their treatment of the Palestinians as genocide" (Lipstadt 2010, 572).

Aside from the Irving-Lipstadt trial, several other events also kept Holocaust deniers in the news since 1992. Ernst Zundel was deported from the United States to Canada, and then from Canada to Germany, where in 2007 he was sentenced to five years in prison for his Holocaust denial activities (Goldschläger 2012). Germar Rudolf, a German national, fled to the United States to avoid going to prison, but his asylum claim was rejected and he was deported to Germany, where he was sentenced to two and a half years in prison (Atkins 2009, 112–114). Fredrick Töben served prison sentences in both Germany and Australia for Holocaust denial activities (Ben-Moshe 2012). Seeking to heal a rift with the Society of St. Pius X, Pope Benedict XVI lifted the excommunications of four priests, including traditionalist bishop Richard Williamson, who unbeknownst to the Pope publicly espoused Holocaust denial (Lipstadt 2010, 571–572). David Cole, an active (Jewish) Holocaust denier during the 1990s, dropped out of sight after receiving death threats, only to resurface a decade later as California Republican operative David Stein (Carroll 2013). Mel Gibson's father, Hutton Gibson, was quoted as minimizing, if not denying, the Holocaust (Atkins 2009, 234). And, of course, then-Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad regularly proclaimed his disbelief in the Holocaust, amid frequent calls for the destruction of Israel (Küntzel 2012).

Since the 1992 original project of Drobnicki et al., there have been several important books about Holocaust denial that have been published, aside from the aforementioned ones that grew out of the Irving-Lipstadt trial, including those by Vidal-Naquet (1992), Caplan (1993), Stern (1993), Zimmerman (2000), Shermer and Grobman (2000), Eaglestone (2001), Douglas (2001), Kahn (2004), Atkins (2009), and Wistrich (2012).

CATALOGING AND CLASSIFICATION DEVELOPMENTS

According to Ruderman (2000), the changes issued by Library of Congress (LC) to its classification system during 1995–1996 created separate decimal subdivisions for both examples of Holocaust denial literature (D804.35) and works about/criticism of Holocaust denial (D804.355). These changes were reflected in the 1997 volume of LC Subject Headings. Prior to these changes, examples of Holocaust denial were given LC Subject Headings such as "Holocaust, Jewish (1939–1945)—Errors, inventions, etc.", but their call numbers placed them within the Holocaust history section. Older works received more generic headings, such as "Holocaust, Jewish (1939–1945)—Historiography"; in the case of Walter N. Sanning's *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* (Torrance, Calif: Institute for Historical Review, 1983), which argued that the Jews said to have died in the Holocaust had actually disappeared into Soviet territory, the book was assigned the benign headings "Jews—Europe, Eastern—History" and "Europe, Eastern—Ethnic relations". In 2003, the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) added a separate call number for Holocaust denial (940.531818) with the publication of DDC 22 (Dewey et al. 2003; Mitchell 2003, 7–8). The third edition of the Elazar classification system for Judaica libraries (1997), added a class for "Holocaust Revisionism" at 736.91 under the broader category of 736.9 Special Topics (Elazar et al. 1997, 133), with no differentiation between works *of* and works *about*. Elazar's section on the Holocaust (736) was then expanded by librarian Carylyn Gwyn Moser for libraries with large Holocaust collections so as to encompass 736, 737, and 738, with 738.51 set aside for Deniers under the broader category of 738.5 Historiography (Moser 1997).

HOLOCAUST DENIAL MATERIALS AND LIBRARIES, 1992–PRESENT

Although there were numerous books published about Holocaust denial in the past twenty years, which trace its history, methods, impact, and legal aspects, it is usually left to the library literature to consider the ongoing ramifications of denial materials in libraries. Wolkoff gives an overview of the issues surrounding Holocaust denial materials in libraries, and concludes that, "Holocaust denial literature should not be suppressed—not because the views it represents are of equal stature with others, not because it claims to be just another side of the story, but simply because it exists. And through the simple fact of its existence, it has much to teach about the past, the present, and the future" (Wolkoff 1996, 95). Similarly, Stauffer acknowledges that sometimes, "Our professional ethics require one stance and our personal ethics demand another," but believes that educating users and shining a light on denial material is the best solution, so that it "cannot have an unseen influence on our society" (Stauffer 1998, 190–192). Minow, an attorney and specialist on library law, points out that "libraries that are government funded libraries (public libraries and public academic libraries) should not aim to block hate speech on the Internet," and that "withdrawing books based on content or viewpoint triggers First Amendment analysis, and opens the door to lawsuits" (Minow 2001, 10–11).

Drobnicki (1999, 463) has argued that libraries should acquire denial materials because they "are examples of anti-Semitism and prejudice that could be utilized by students and teachers as primary source materials to illustrate firsthand the ugly face of bigotry." Drobnicki and Asaro (2001) detail numerous examples of both print and online historical fabrications—including Holocaust denial, Afrocentrism, as well as attempts to deny the Armenian Genocide, Ukrainian Famine, and Rape of Nanking—and argue that these sources might be used in library bibliographic instruction classes to teach students how to critically evaluate information. Mathson and Lorenzen (2008) describe how they utilize hoax and denier websites, including those that deny the Holocaust, to sharpen students' critical thinking and evaluation skills as part of the one-credit course in basic library research skills that they teach at Central Michigan University. Drobnicki et al. published their 1992 survey results three years later (1995), showing that librarians would acquire Holocaust denial materials and not restrict access to it.

Nelson (1998) conducted searches in the online catalog of an unnamed university library to determine the classification numbers and subject headings assigned to denial materials, as well as their physical locations. Since the Library of Congress had not yet created a separate subject heading or classification number for denial materials at that time, Nelson suggested adding additional subject headings developed by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and notes to the records for older materials to identify them as works of Holocaust denial. She noted that, "Balancing truth with propaganda serves academic freedom; providing access to denial literature functions in the same manner" (Nelson 1998, 18).

Spidal checked the holdings of five well-known Holocaust denial works in the online catalogs of Association of Research Libraries (ARL) members to determine the subject headings and classification numbers assigned to them. She found that the majority of the titles (62 percent) were classified with Holocaust history titles, and only 36 percent of the titles could be found using the subject heading assigned to "Holocaust denial literature". She argues that "misidentification of these works justifies reclassification," and that, "this is not about whether to collect these works, but our obligation to treat them appropriately after they are acquired" (Spidal 2012, 30).

Methodology

The current researcher conducted an online (web-based) survey that respondents accessed via a link sent through email. The target sample population was the same group that was used in Drobnicki et al. 1992: directors, assistant directors, and adult services librarians working in the fifty-four public libraries in Nassau County, New York, varying in age, race, and gender. The email invitation to take part in the survey was forwarded by the Nassau Library System's central office to three internal listservs. Participation in the survey was completely anonymous and voluntary, and no personal identifying information was gathered. This was a survey of the same library system as that of 1992, but was *not* limited only to those who had taken part in the survey twenty years ago. Indeed, no effort was made to identify the respondents from 1992.

Because the overwhelming majority of Holocaust denial books are directed toward adults, including college students, the researcher decided to exclude children's, young adult, and school media librarians from the population to be studied. It was further decided to exclude academic and special libraries, since it was assumed that academic and research libraries will collect more controversial materials than public libraries. Thus, the survey was limited to only public librarians working in Nassau County libraries that work with adults, which was the same population surveyed by Drobnicki et al. in Fall 1992. The total number of responses to the 1992 survey was seventy-two. As will be seen below, the number of responses to the 2012 survey was twenty-three.

UNFORESEEN LIMITATIONS

Since this project was deliberately conceived as a twenty-year follow-up to the one conducted by Drobnicki et al. in Fall 1992, this survey had to be implemented during Fall 2012. After undergoing requisite Institutional Review Board training and submitting the necessary paperwork, the project received an official determination of exempt status from the IRB on Oct. 26, 2012, just as Hurricane Sandy was approaching the United States mainland. The "superstorm" hit Long Island especially hard, damaging not only some libraries but also librarians' homes. Thus, the present investigator decided to delay implementation of the survey for an additional month. The survey opened on December 3, and ran for two weeks through December 14, 2012. Aside from the aftermath of the hurricane, this delay also pushed the survey into competition with the post-Thanksgiving and pre-Christmas holiday season, contributing to the low response rate.

FINDINGS

The present researcher selected certain key questions on the survey at the outset that would not only help determine the respondents' attitudes toward the acquisition, classification, and location of Holocaust-denial materials, but also would be used to ascertain which hypotheses could be proved or disproved. The following questions were chosen (see the full survey in the Appendix for exact wording of questions): 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24.

In addition, the respondents were categorized into population groups. There was, of course, some overlapping among groups, but breaking down the respondents in this way allowed the researcher to compare responses and also note which circumstances inherent in the groups might have influenced their answers:

- Administrators;

- Librarians with less than five years experience (since there was only one respondent with less than five years of experience as a librarian, it is not considered statistically significant, and that population subgroup will not be discussed further);

- Librarians with more than fifteen years experience;

- Librarians reporting their clientele was over 51 percent White, non-Hispanic;

- Librarians with more than 51 percent Jewish clientele;

- Librarians whose institutions have no collection development policy;

- Librarians who had experienced challenges to library materials in their careers.

As noted above, the online survey was implemented in the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy. There were thirty-three people who accepted the informed consent to begin the survey, but only twenty-three people completed the survey. It is not known how many librarians of the Nassau Library System (fifty-four public libraries) subscribe to the system's internal listservs. The return rate was obviously lower than hoped for, and the researcher will discuss that in the concluding section.

DISCUSSION OF THE KEY QUESTIONS

QUESTION 10: SELECTION CRITERIA. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, when asked to rate a list of various selection criteria (accuracy, price, reviews, author's reputation, publisher's reputation, client requests, weakness of the collection in the subject area, and scholarly value of the material), accuracy was the most important criterion to respondents, as it also was in 1992. In addition, these criteria were valued: reviews, client requests, and weakness of the collection in the subject area.
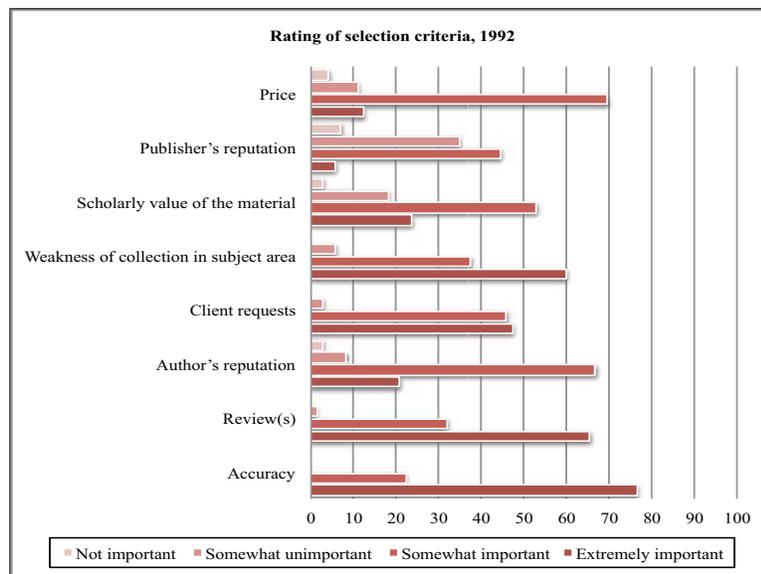

Figure 1. Rating of selection criteria. All responses to survey question 10, 1992 (*N*=72), in percentage
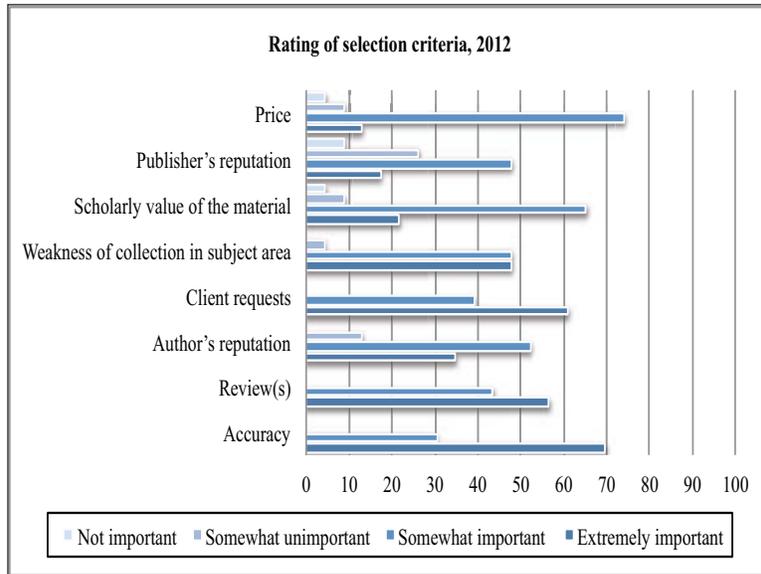
Rating of selection criteria, 2012

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Price
Publisher's reputation
Scholarly value of the material
Weakness of collection in subject area
Client requests
Author's reputation
Review(s)
Accuracy

■ Not important   ■ Somewhat unimportant   ■ Somewhat important   ■ Extremely important

Figure 2. Rating of selection criteria. All responses to survey question 10, 2012 (*N*=23), in percentage

QUESTION 11: SHOULD LIBRARY COLLECTIONS PRESENT ALL SIDES OF EVERY ISSUE? As shown in Figure 3, an overwhelming majority of respondents answered in the affirmative to the above question. This is consistent with the findings from 1992. There was a high percentage answering *yes* across most of the population categories, except for those librarians whose libraries serve a population greater than 51 percent Jewish and librarians whose libraries do not have a collection development policy.

Should library collections present all sides of every issue?

■ 1992
■ 2012

Yes   No
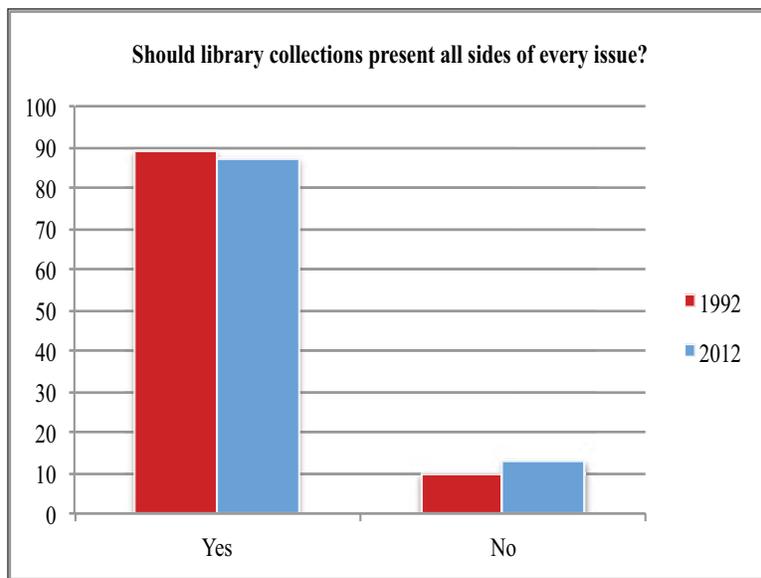
Figure 3. Should library collections present all sides of every issue? All responses to survey question 11, 1992 (*N*=72) and 2012 (*N*=23), in percentage

QUESTION 12: IS IT ACCEPTABLE FOR A LIBRARY TO ACQUIRE MATERIALS WHOSE FACTUAL ACCURACY MIGHT BE IN QUESTION? As Figure 4 illustrates, when asked about the acceptability of acquiring factually questionable materials, a higher percentage of librarians answered *yes* in 2012 than had done so in 1992. The biggest changes over the past twenty years in response to Question 12 were for those librarians with more than fifteen years of experience, who serve a population greater than 51 percent Jewish, who had materials challenged, who never had materials challenged, whose libraries have a collection development policy, and librarians whose libraries do not have a collection development policy. Of those who had materials challenged in the past, 74 percent in 1992 had said that it was acceptable to acquire factually questionable materials, and 22 percent said that it was not acceptable; in 2012, only 40 percent said it was acceptable and 60 percent responded that it was not acceptable. In 1992, those librarians whose libraries did and did not have collection development policies were fairly evenly divided in their responses; in 2012, 71 percent of librarians with collection development policies agreed that it was acceptable to acquire factually questionable materials, while all of the (admittedly small) group without collection development policies said that it was not acceptable.
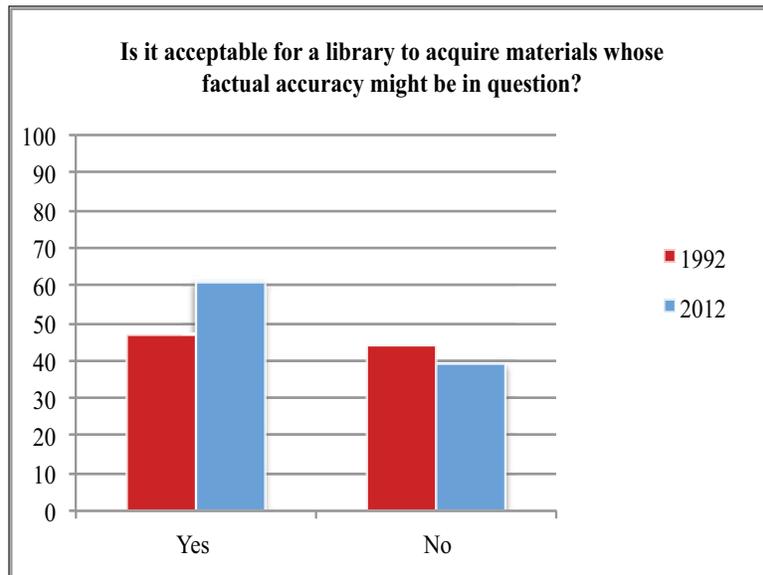

Figure 4. Is it acceptable for a library to acquire materials whose factual accuracy might be in question? All responses to survey question 12, 1992 (*N*=72) and 2012 (*N*=23), in percentage

QUESTION 13: RATING OF CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS. Abortion and Holocaust denial are still the two topics that librarians consider to be extremely controversial, but they have switched places after twenty years. In 1992, 47 percent of respondents considered abortion to be extremely controversial, but that declined to 27 percent in 2012. Holocaust denial also declined from 44 percent to 36 percent, but had the highest percentage of respondents that considered it to be extremely controversial. Of those who rated any of the topics as "extremely controversial", Holocaust denial had the highest percentages for every population group except for librarians whose libraries did not have a written collection development policy: That small group rated abortion as the most controversial. Those librarians (although a very small group) who serve an over 51 percent Jewish population had the highest percentage (100 percent) in categorizing denial materials as

"extremely controversial", with administrators being the second highest group (71 percent). The small group of librarians whose libraries do not have a written collection development policy comprised the highest percentage (25 percent) that did *not* consider Holocaust denial to be controversial at all, followed by librarians with over fifteen years of experience (22 percent).

QUESTION 16: WOULD YOU ACQUIRE HOLOCAUST REVISIONIST MATERIALS FOR YOUR LIBRARY'S COLLECTION? When asked whether or not they would acquire Holocaust denial materials, librarians were not as evenly divided as they were twenty years ago. As Figure 5 illustrates, 46 percent answered *yes* and 44 percent said *no* in 1992. In 2012, those percentages changed to 61 percent (*yes*) and 39 percent (*no*). If one ignores the one librarian with less than five years experience, then those librarians who work as non-administrators had the highest percentage of *yes* responses (69 percent) and the lowest percentage of *no* responses (31 percent), as shown in Figure 7. Conversely, if one ignores the small population of two librarians who serve communities that are over 51 percent Jewish, who both said that they would *not* acquire denial items, then once again those librarians who are ungoverned by written collection development policies had the lowest percentage of *yes* responses (25 percent) and the highest percentage of *no* responses (75 percent).
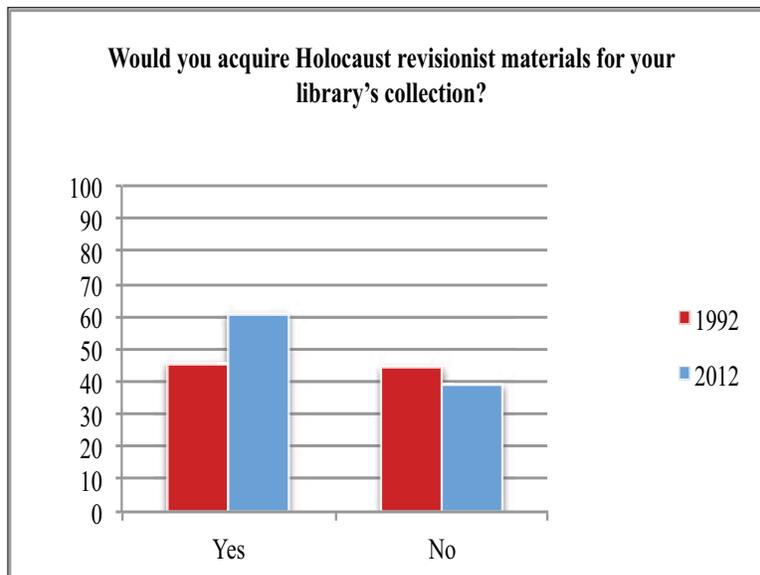

Figure 5. Would you acquire Holocaust revisionist materials for your library's collection? All responses to survey question 16, 1992 (*N*=72) and 2012 (*N*=23), in percentage

When comparing Figures 6 and 7, one finds some interesting percentage changes for several population subgroups over twenty years. In 1992, 50 percent of administrators said that they would acquire Holocaust denial materials; in 2012, 57 percent said that they would not. In 1992, 48 percent of non-administrators said that they would not acquire denier materials; in 2012, 69 percent said that they would. In 1992, 51 percent of those librarians with more than fifteen years experience said they would acquire Holocaust denial materials; in 2012, 70 percent said they would not. In 1992, 52 percent of those librarians who had worked in libraries where materials

had been challenged in the past said they would acquire denial materials; in 2012, 60 percent said they would not. In 1992, 47 percent of those librarians who had never faced challenges to materials said they would not acquire Holocaust denial materials; in 2012, 69 percent said they would.
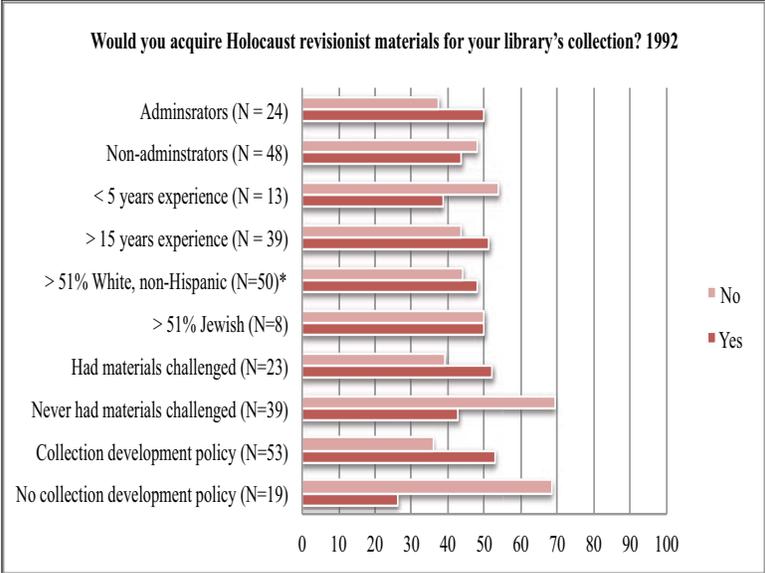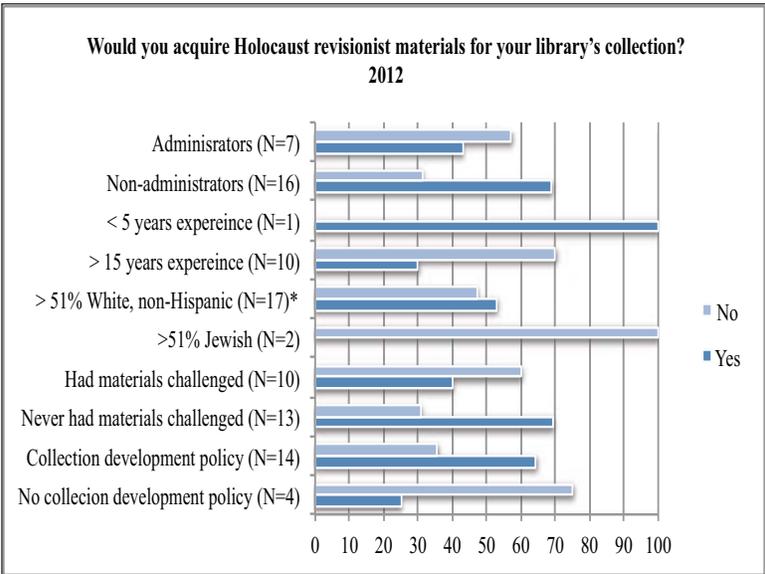
Figure 6. Would you acquire Holocaust revisionist materials for your library's collection? All responses to survey question 16, 1992, arranged by population subgroups based on survey questions 3–8. *The 1992 survey used "European-American" rather than "White, non-Hispanic"

Figure 7. Would you acquire Holocaust revisionist materials for your library's collection? All responses to survey question 16, 2012, arranged by population subgroups based on survey questions 3–8. *The 1992 survey used "European-American" rather than "White, non-Hispanic"

QUESTION 17: RATING OF FACTORS INFLUENCING DECISION TO ACQUIRE HOLOCAUST-REVISIONIST MATERIALS. Librarians who claimed that they would acquire Holocaust denial materials were asked to rate five factors that would influence their decision. As Figures 8 and 9 indicate, intellectual freedom was the overwhelming selection for being very important (79 percent), which was even higher than it was in 1992 (70 percent). Both "balance of viewpoint on the Holocaust" and "weakness of collection in this area" were second highest (36 percent), but the need for "balance" was substantially higher twenty years ago (58 percent). When broken down by population groups, every group ranked intellectual freedom as "very important" to a higher degree than the other factors,
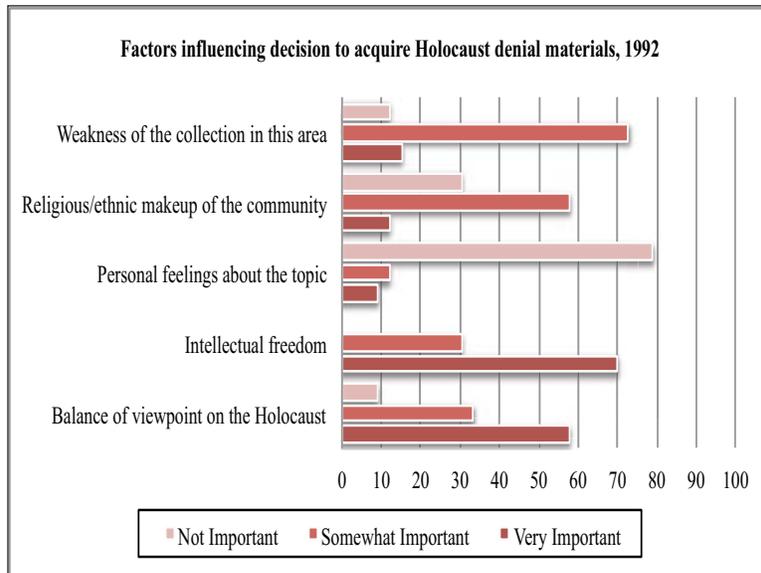

Figure 8. Factors influencing decision to acquire Holocaust denial materials, if answer to survey question 16 was affirmative. All responses to survey question 17, 1992 (*N*=72)
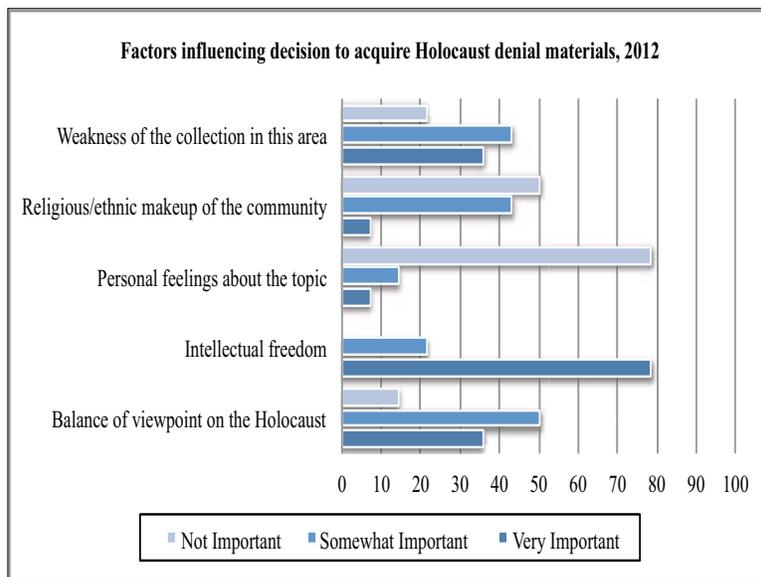

Figure 9. Factors influencing decision to acquire Holocaust denial materials, if answer to survey question 16 was affirmative. All responses to survey question 17, 2012 (*N*=23)

ranging from the one librarian without a written collection development policy who said he/she would acquire Holocaust denial materials (100 percent) to both those with more than fifteen years experience and the group of non-administrators (both at 67 percent). Personal feelings about the topic ranked highest in the "not important" category across all population groups.

QUESTION 18: RATING OF FACTORS INFLUENCING DECISION TO NOT ACQUIRE HOLOCAUST REVISIONIST MATERIALS. Librarians who would not acquire denial materials were requested to rate four factors that would influence their decision. As Figures 10 and 11 illustrate, lack of scholarly merit was overwhelmingly selected as "very important" by the respondents (100 percent), as it was twenty years ago (91 percent). Personal feelings about the topic was once again rated highest as "not important" across all population groups, except for those librarians without a written collection development policy, who rated the religious/ethnic makeup of the community as "not important" as a factor in their decision not to acquire.

QUESTION 19: POSSIBLE SUBJECT HEADINGS. When asked to choose possible subject headings for Holocaust denial materials, 91 percent of respondents selected "Holocaust denial literature" as their preferred choice. This was the top choice across all population groups. Since this subject heading did not exist twenty years ago, a comparison with the original survey on this question is not possible. The top choice in 1992 was "Antisemitism", which is the spelling used by the Library of Congress.
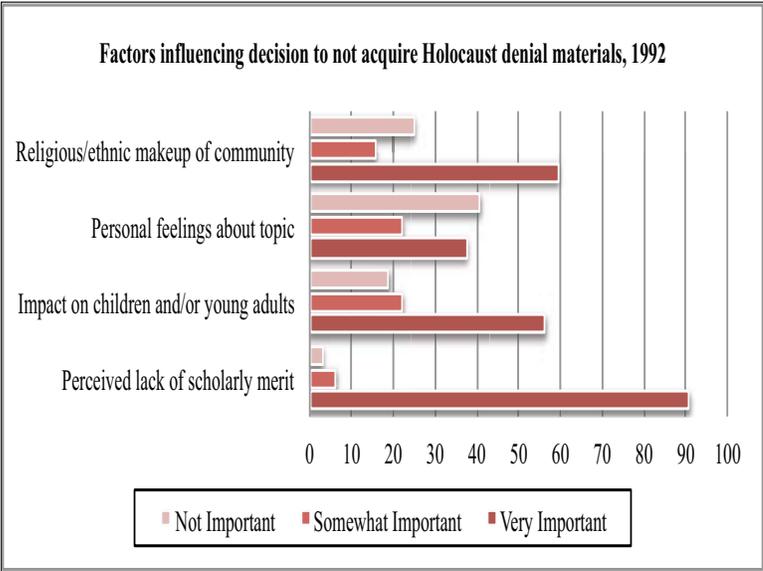

Figure 10. Factors influencing decision to not acquire Holocaust denial materials. All responses to survey question 18, 1992 (*N*=32)
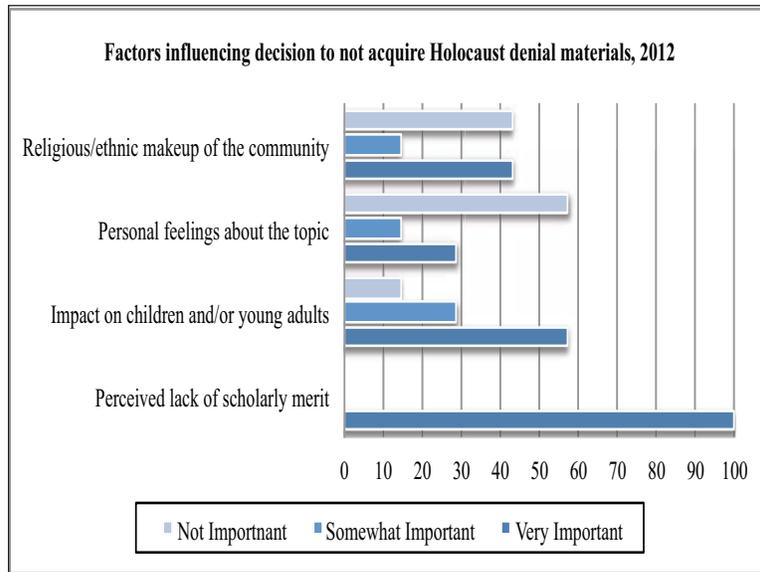
Figure 11. Factors influencing decision to not acquire Holocaust denial materials. All responses to survey question 18, 2012 (N=7)

QUESTION 21: WHERE SHOULD HOLOCAUST-REVISIONIST MATERIALS BE CLASSIFIED? When asked for their opinions as to where denial materials should be classified, the majority of respondents chose classification *within* the Holocaust history section (73 percent), which was also the preferred choice in 1992 (69 percent). Unlike twenty years ago, the second choice was "Other" (18 percent), with one librarian suggesting that denial materials be classified with other works of political opinion, and another suggesting it be considered fiction. Surprisingly, the group of non-administrators was the only group that preferred that denial materials be classified *outside* the Holocaust history section (80 percent).

QUESTION 23: WHERE SHOULD HOLOCAUST-REVISIONIST MATERIALS BE SHELVED? The overwhelming majority of respondents (82 percent) agreed that Holocaust denial items should be kept on open shelves and not restricted in any way, which was also the case twenty years ago (96 percent). No respondents said that the materials should be kept in closed stacks, although a small percentage (5 percent) said that works of denial should be kept in a special room for controversial materials. There were no significant differences in the responses to this question when broken down by population subgroups.

QUESTION 24: EVALUATION OF THE POTENTIAL OFFENSIVENESS OF HOLOCAUST REVISIONIST MATERIALS. As shown in Figure 12, when asked to express their opinions about the offensiveness of these materials, 57 percent of the respondents indicated that such writings are more offensive than other controversial materials, but 30 percent said that they are neither more nor less offensive. Surprisingly, 4 percent said that denial materials are *less* offensive than other controversial materials, with the subgroup of administrators having the highest percentage (14 percent) who agreed that they were less offensive.
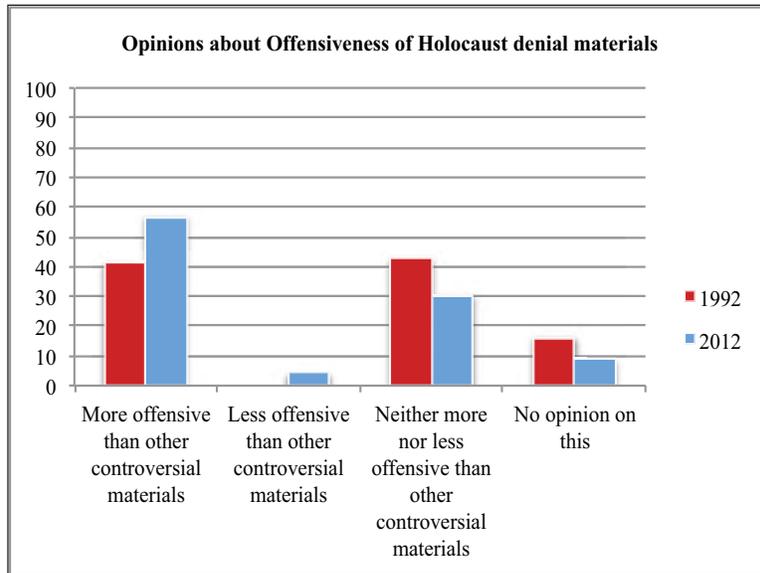
Figure 12. Opinions about offensiveness of Holocaust denial materials. All responses to survey question 24, 1992 (*N*=68) and 2012 (*N*=23)

NEWLY ADDED QUESTIONS CONCERNING RETROSPECTIVE CATALOGING

Since specific call numbers and subject headings for Holocaust denial were not added to the Library of Congress Classification until the late 1990s, and in the case of Dewey Decimal Classification not until 2003, any books acquired prior to those changes would still have call numbers and subject headings which did *not* identify it as a work of denial. Thus, the following two questions about retrospective cataloging were added to the 2012 survey, and did not appear on the survey in 1992.

QUESTION 20: SHOULD LIBRARIES BE REQUIRED TO UPDATE SUBJECT HEADINGS? The majority of respondents (54.5 percent) did not believe that libraries should be required to go back and update bibliographic records with new subject headings if/when Library of Congress adds new headings. There were two differences in the responses to this question when broken down by population subgroups: both of the librarians who serve a majority Jewish population (100 percent) felt that libraries *should* be required to retrospectively update bibliographic records with new LCSH, and 54 percent of those whose libraries have a written collection development policy also felt that libraries should update those headings.

QUESTION 22: SHOULD LIBRARIES BE REQUIRED TO UPDATE CLASSIFICATION/CALL NUMBERS? Respondents were evenly split (fifty-fifty) on whether libraries should be required to update bibliographic records and spine labels when Library of Congress revises its classification schedules. When one looks at the responses by population subgroups, there were some differences in opinion. Those who work as non-administrators (53 percent) and those with collection development policies (62 percent) felt that libraries *should* be required to retrospectively update bibliographic records and spine labels with new call numbers. Those who work as administrators (57 percent) and those with more than fifteen years experience (56 percent) felt that libraries should not be required to do so. All of the other population subgroups were evenly split.

Interpretation of Data

Selection Criteria

When asked to rate the importance of various selection criteria (Question 10), respondents indicated that accuracy, client requests, reviews, weakness of the collection in the subject area, and scholarly value of the material were either extremely important or very important factors when selecting materials for their libraries. In addition, 30 percent of respondents said that selection criteria are "completely" applied when acquiring controversial materials. This is surprising when one considers that 61 percent said that they would acquire Holocaust denial literature, which is not generally considered to be either accurate *or* scholarly. The decision whether or not to acquire Holocaust denial literature is not an easy one, since this material contradicts the very criteria that most librarians use in selection decisions. Moreover, reviews of denier materials do not usually appear in the standard professional review media, and 83 percent of respondents said that they were either never or very rarely asked for this material by patrons. Hence it is both surprising and not surprising that there is only one well-known denial work in the Nassau Library System, as this researcher discovered after checking Spidal's list (2012) in the Nassau Library System's online catalogs.

Thus, it appears that for the librarians who *would* acquire denial materials, weakness of the collection might be an even stronger motivating factor than accuracy, as reflected in the responses to Questions 11 and 12. While accuracy is clearly an important selection criterion, it appears to be so in ideal, general terms and for all subject areas. Where the issue of collection balance is concerned, the data suggest that librarians are not averse to acquiring factually questionable items, since 61 percent responded affirmatively to the question, and 87 percent said that libraries should present all sides of every issue (see Figures 3 and 4). Needless to say, Holocaust denial books are by no means factually accurate.

Factors Influencing Librarians to Acquire

Those librarians who answered that they *would* acquire Holocaust denial materials were requested to rank several possible factors that would influence their decision. For 79 percent of the respondents, intellectual freedom was cited as being "very important", up from 70 percent in 1992. This is in keeping with the finding that librarians' personal feelings about the subject were declared to be "not important" as a factor by 79 percent of respondents, suggesting that the professionals surveyed can and do set aside their own judgments about library materials in the interest of fostering free and open discussion and access. Both "balance of viewpoint on the Holocaust" and "weakness of collection in this area" were cited as very important by 36 percent of those who would acquire this material. These responses are consistent with the data mentioned heretofore that the majority of respondents believe that library collections should present all sides of issues; that the majority would not be opposed to acquiring factually inaccurate or factually questionable works; and at the same time a large percentage (57 percent) considers Holocaust denial to be more offensive than other controversial materials. The personal comments expressed by some respondents bear out the conflict between personal opinion and intellectual

freedom: one librarian wrote that, "Although I personally abhor materials that deny or 'revise' the history of the Jewish Holocaust, intellectual freedom and anti-censorship values within our profession make the acquisition of these materials acceptable. Also, people often arrive at what is accurate by studying what is not." Another librarian observed that, "Controversial subjects must be treated objectively without judgment. Ideas of all types should be represented in the library." Another observed, "All points of view should be presented. It would be dangerous and counter-productive to ignore Holocaust deniers. Erroneous points of view can be challenged in an open environment and the truth will emerge."

As mentioned above (Figure 7), there were some disparities between *yes* and *no* responses to Question 16 by the following population subgroups, who answered affirmatively in a percentage higher than the overall group: librarians who have never faced challenges to materials in the past (69 percent), and librarians who are non-administrators (69 percent). Those librarians who have never faced challenges in the past may be a bit more idealistic since they haven't gone through the controversy, stress, and divisiveness of a challenge. Those librarians who work primarily in reference without administrative responsibilities may have had little experience dealing with Boards of Trustees and/or handling patron complaints.

FACTORS INFLUENCING LIBRARIANS NOT TO ACQUIRE HOLOCAUST DENIAL MATERIALS

Lack of scholarly merit was cited as "very important" by 100 percent of those librarians who would *not* acquire Holocaust denial materials for their libraries. This finding is opposed to the data that show that most of the librarians surveyed *would* acquire factually questionable materials. For those who oppose the acquisition of denial material, the fact that it lacks scholarly merit is just too strong to overcome. As one respondent remarked, "Information that is inaccurate has no place in the Library. We remove books that mention Pluto as a planet so we should remove books that have historical inaccuracies." Another respondent commented that it "is hate propaganda, not fact." Librarians' personal feelings about the topic were rated as "not important" in their decision not to acquire these materials by 57 percent. With regard to the religious/ethnic makeup of the community, it was rated as very important by 43 percent and also not important by 43 percent.

As previously mentioned, there were interesting disparities between *yes* and *no* responses to Question 16 by the following population subgroups, who answered negatively in a significant way (Figure 7): librarians who are ungoverned by written collection development policies (25 percent), librarians with more than fifteen years of experience (30 percent), and librarians who have faced challenges to materials in the past (40 percent)—all these populations had the highest percentage of *no* responses. From these data, the researcher infers that those without written collection development policies might, ironically, be laboring under less free acquisition standards than professionals working with policies that set out clearly what can and should be acquired for a library in a specific community. These librarians may not have the confidence to select controversial and/or offensive materials without the ability to point to a written policy that could back them up. In addition, those librarians who have faced challenges in the past may be hesi-

tant about facing another backlash and going through the process again, wanting to avoid future challenges. And perhaps those with the most years of experience as librarians also want to avoid controversy or client challenges, leaving idealism about intellectual freedom battles to the new generation.

POPULATION SUBGROUPS

Overall, the data supported the importance, for the purposes of tabulation and comparison, of the researcher's decision to categorize the respondents into the various population subgroups. Based on the survey data, the investigator infers the following, although a survey on a wider or national scale would be needed to test these observations:

- On the whole, collection development policies seem to make librarians more willing to acquire all kinds of material, including factually inaccurate and controversial ones. This was also the case twenty years ago.

- The (small group of) administrators who took part in the 2012 survey were not quite *as* devoted to intellectual freedom as those who participated in 1992. Even though 86 percent of those in 2012 said that libraries should provide all sides of every issue, that percentage began to fall when it came to acquiring factually inaccurate materials (57 percent) or Holocaust denial materials (43 percent). In 1992, 88 percent of the administrators said that libraries should provide all sides of every issue, with a similar drop off for acquiring factually inaccurate materials (54 percent) or Holocaust denial items (50 percent).

- Veteran librarians with more than fifteen years of experience were not as committed to intellectual freedom as those who participated in 1992. Although 80 percent of the senior librarians in 2012 said that libraries should provide all sides of every issue, only 40 percent agreed that it was acceptable to acquire factually inaccurate materials, and only 30 percent would acquire Holocaust denial items. In 1992, 90 percent said that libraries should provide all sides of every issue, with 54 percent agreeing that it was acceptable to acquire inaccurate items, and 51 percent saying they would acquire Holocaust denial materials.

- On the key questions itemized earlier, librarians who had experienced challenges and those who had not differed in their perspectives, but in an opposite way from twenty years ago. In 1992, those who had previously gone through challenges were more willing to acquire factually inaccurate materials (74 percent) and said they would acquire Holocaust denial materials (52 percent); in 2012, both of those percentages fell to 40 percent. Conversely, in 1992, those who had not faced challenges to materials were less willing to acquire inaccurate (35 percent) and denial (43 percent) items; in 2012, those percentages increased to 77 percent and 69 percent, respectively.

The researcher hypothesized that even though Holocaust denial would still be considered to be an extremely controversial topic, the percentage of those public librarians that would acquire these materials for their libraries would increase since 1992. First, 61 percent of respondents said that they *would* acquire it, up from 46 percent in 1992. In addition, 87 percent said that library collections should present all sides of every issue (down from 89 percent in 1992), and 61 percent said that it is acceptable to acquire materials whose factual accuracy might be in question (up from 48 percent in 1992). When asked to compare how controversial Holocaust denial materials are as opposed to other controversial materials, 57 percent responded that they are *more* offensive (up from 41 percent in 1992), but 30 percent thought that Holocaust denial was neither more nor less offensive (down from 43 percent in 1992), and 9 percent had no opinion (down from 16 percent in 1992). Furthermore, when ranking various topics as to their controversial nature, Holocaust denial (36 percent) and abortion (27 percent) were still considered to be the most controversial out of the ten topics. The data shows that although it is considered extremely controversial and more offensive than other controversial topics, the majority of respondents said that they *would* acquire it. Thus, the evidence supports this hypothesis.

The researcher hypothesized that the ethnic and religious composition of the community served would play a role in librarians' decisions about whether or not to acquire Holocaust denial materials. In looking at the responses to Questions 11, 12, and 16 broken down by population subgroups, including those librarians whose communities are over 51 percent White, non-Hispanic and librarians whose communities are over 51 percent Jewish, the responses differ only slightly from the overall total. Although 61 percent of respondents said that they would acquire Holocaust denial materials, only 53 percent of librarians whose communities are over 51 percent White, non-Hispanic said that they would; and neither of the two librarians serving communities that are over 51 percent Jewish said that they would. However, since the latter group is so small, it is difficult to draw any inferences. Because the data does not differ significantly enough, the second hypothesis was not supported.

Judaica librarians work in a variety of settings, as evidenced by the two divisions within the Association of Jewish Libraries (AJL). For those who work in School, Synagogue, and Center (SSC) libraries, they would undoubtedly be dealing with communities that are (well) over 51 percent Jewish, and thus would have to make very difficult decisions about whether or not to include Holocaust denial materials in their collections. Their patrons will range in age from the very young to the very old, much like the user group of a public library, and so the librarians will face the same hesitations about exposing patrons (of any age) to materials that are not only inaccurate, but in the case of SSC libraries which also denigrate the history of the libraries' principal user group. While the Elazar, Dewey, and Library of Congress classification systems now all provide class numbers for Holocaust denial, the librarian must still be the one to make the important decisions about acquisition and access—and be prepared to defend those decisions. Those Judaica librarians who work in Research Libraries, Archives, and Special Collections (RAS) benefit from the longstanding tenet of academic freedom throughout institutions of higher education, and would likely not face challenges based on content. As two previous studies have pointed out (Drobnicki and Asaro 2001; Mathson and Lorenzen 2008), Holocaust denial materi-

als can be used in academic libraries to instruct students in the need to critically evaluate sources, both in print and online. Denier publications are also primary source materials for those studying anti-Semitism, hate groups, and neo-Nazi movements, both in the United States and abroad. A follow-up study on the attitudes of librarians who work in Judaica libraries toward Holocaust denial materials, or on the presence of denial materials in Judaica library collections, would be very useful for comparison purposes.

CONCLUSION

The public library's goal is to make available to the clients in its surrounding community materials on all topics and expressing all points of view. Librarians have historically opposed censorship in all its forms, including labeling. Holocaust denial strongly tests public librarians' commitments to intellectual freedom, open access, and accuracy because it contradicts and distorts the historical record.

One of the two hypotheses proposed by the author has been supported, and the other has been disproved. After twenty years, public librarians in Nassau County still do not oppose the acquisition of Holocaust denial materials, and that percentage has gone up. As was the case in 1992, public librarians would not physically restrict access to denial materials in their libraries. Although the overwhelming majority of public librarians surveyed believe that accuracy, client requests, reviews, and scholarly value are important criteria when selecting materials, 61 percent said that they would acquire Holocaust denial works for their libraries. The ethnic and religious composition of the communities served did not influence the decision whether or not to acquire denier materials. For those who opposed acquiring it, the same percentage (43 percent) said that the religious/ethnic makeup of the community was both "very important" and "not important". Although many public librarians (36 percent) believe that Holocaust denial literature is "extremely controversial" and even more offensive than other controversial materials (57 percent), a significant number still believes that it is neither more nor less offensive than other controversial materials (30 percent).

As mentioned above, the number of responses to the 2012 survey was disappointingly low. Although the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy was the most obvious reason to blame, it could also have been due to a feeling among some public librarians that Holocaust denial is not as important—or taboo, or controversial—as it was twenty years ago. Since 1992, twenty years of access to the World Wide Web in libraries has brought not only an information revolution, but also access to pornography, bomb-making materials, hate speech, cyber-stalking, etc. Maybe questions about Holocaust denial materials in libraries did not resonate as much as they did in 1992? One respondent even observed, "It appears that Holocaust-revisionist materials are no longer a controversial topic within the library collection as this material is readily available over the Internet."

The low response rate, in turn, meant that some of the population subgroups were too small to make valid generalizations. This was especially true for librarians with less than five years of experience and librarians serving communities that are over 51 percent Jewish. Although both the 1992 and 2012 surveys were anonymous, it would nonetheless have been interesting to know if any of the respondents in 2012 had taken the survey in 1992, and if they themselves felt that their opinions had changed one way or the other.

Despite the limitations, the researcher believes that the findings of the present project are valid and that the sample surveyed is representative of suburban public librarians in the Northeastern United States.

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APPENDIX

HOLOCAUST DENIAL LITERATURE IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES, A SURVEY INSTRUMENT

1. Do you have an M.L.S.?

○ Yes

○ No

2. Other Master's?

○ Yes

○ No

If yes, please specify:

[   ]

3. Indicate your current position:

○ Director

○ Assistant Director

○ Adult Reference

○ Other

If other, please specify:

[   ]

4. How long have you been a librarian?

[   ] years

5. Identify the cultural and ethnic makeup of the community served by your library (check one column for each line):

Question	<10% of population	11-25% of population	26-50% of population	>51% of population
African-American	○	○	○	○
Asian-American	○	○	○	○
Hispanic-American	○	○	○	○
Native-American	○	○	○	○
White, non-Hispanic	○	○	○	○
Other	○	○	○	○

If other, please specify

[   ]

6. Identify the religious makeup of the community served by your library (check one column for each line):

Question	<10% of population	11-25% of population	26-50% of population	>51% of population
Jewish	○	○	○	○
Muslim	○	○	○	○
Protestant	○	○	○	○
Roman Catholic	○	○	○	○
Other	○	○	○	○

If other, please specify

[   ]

7. Does your library have a written collection-development policy?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

8. During your career, has there ever been a challenge to materials in a library at which you were working?

○ Yes

○ No

Please specify:

Please specify:

[text box with scrollbar]

9. Who has final responsibility for selecting materials in your library?

(Check one.)

○ Director

○ Assistant Director

○ Committee

○ Other

If other, please specify:

[text box]

10. Please rate the following selection criteria

(check one column for each line):

Question	Extremely important	Somewhat important	Somewhat unimportant	Not important
Accuracy	○	○	○	○
Price	○	○	○	○
Review(s)	○	○	○	○
Author's reputation	○	○	○	○
Publisher's reputation	○	○	○	○
Client requests	○	○	○	○
Weakness of collection in subject area	○	○	○	○

| Scholarly value of the material | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

11. Should library collections present all sides of every issue?

○ Yes

○ No

12. Is it acceptable for a library to acquire materials whose factual accuracy might be in question?

○ Yes

○ No

13. Please rate the following topics as to their controversial nature

(check one column for each line):

Question	Extremely controversial	Somewhat controversial	Not at all controversial
Abortion	○	○	○
AIDS	○	○	○
Capital punishment	○	○	○
Child abuse	○	○	○
Euthanasia/Assisted Suicide	○	○	○
Evolution	○	○	○
Holocaust revisionism	○	○	○
Homosexuality	○	○	○
Sexual abuse	○	○	○
Suicide	○	○	○

14. To what extent are selection criteria applied when acquiring controversial materials for your library?

○ Completely

○ Somewhat

○ Not at all

15. Clients of my library have asked for Holocaust-revisionist materials:

○ Very often

○ Often

○ Occasionally

○ Rarely

○ Very rarely

○ Never

16. Would you acquire Holocaust-revisionist materials for your library's collection?

○ Yes

○ No

17. If you answered Yes to Question 16, please rate the following factors as to how they would influence your decision

(check one column for each line):

Question	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
Balance of viewpoint on the Holocaust	○	○	○
Intellectual freedom	○	○	○

Personal feelings about the topic	○	○	○
Religious/ethnic makeup of the community	○	○	○
Weakness of collection in this area	○	○	○

18. If you answered No to Question 16, please rate the following factors as to how they would influence your decision

(check one column for each line):

Question	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
Perceived lack of scholarly merit	○	○	○
Impact on children and/or young adults	○	○	○
Personal feelings about the topic	○	○	○
Religious/ethnic makeup of the community	○	○	○

19. The following are possible subject headings for Holocaust-revisionist materials.

Check the ones that you agree with:

Question	Yes
Antisemitism	☐
Holocaust denial literature	☐
Holocaust, Jewish (1939-1945)--Errors, inventions, etc.	☐
Holocaust, Jewish (1939-1945)--Historiography	☐
Holocaust, Jewish (1939-1945)--History	☐
Other	☐

20. When the Library of Congress (LC) adds new subject headings, do you think that libraries should be required to go back and change the bibliographic records for their older books so that they have the "new" subject headings?

○ Yes

○ No

21. Where should Holocaust-revisionist materials be classified?

(Check one.)

○ A separate classification number for Holocaust revisionism within the Holocaust history section (i.e., within D804.3 or 940.53)

○ A separate classification number for Holocaust revisionism outside the Holocaust history section (i.e., outside D804.3 or 940.53)

○ Other

If "other," please specify:

[   ]

22. When LC revises its classification schedule(s), do you think that libraries should be required to go back and change the bibliographic records and spine labels for their older books so that they have the "new" classification/call number?

○ Yes

○ No

23. Holocaust-revisionist materials should be kept

(check one):

○ on open shelves and not restricted in any way

○ in closed stacks and available to anyone on request

○ in closed stacks and available only to adults

○ in a special collection or room for controversial items

○ other

If "other," please specify:

[   ]

24. Please complete the following sentence by checking the phrase that best expresses your opinion - I believe that Holocaust-revisionist materials are:

(Choose one)

○ more offensive than other controversial materials

○ less offensive than other controversial materials

○ neither more nor less offensive than other controversial materials

○ I have no opinion on this matter

25. Comments

Please feel free to add any comments about the survey or the topic. Your comments will remain anonymous.

[   ]