# eva.stories

## Disrespect or a Successful Change in Holocaust Memory?

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## ABSTRACT

eva.stories is an Israeli Instagram project. Entrepreneur Mati Kochavi and his daughter, Maya, adapted the diary of thirteen-year-old Eva Heyman, a Jewish Hungarian girl who was murdered in Auschwitz, into Instagram stories that were uploaded to Instagram on the Israeli Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day in 2019. Combining the Holocaust with Instagram, a social network service that is highly popular among young people and is associated by the public with silliness and the mundane, stirred up considerable controversy in Israel during its promotional campaign. Opinions changed after the stories went viral (1.8 million followed Eva's Instagram account at one point, for a total of 300 million views internationally), and the project was commended for having altered Holocaust commemoration. This article takes a historiographic and cultural approach to analyze the project in the context of seventy years of Holocaust memory in Israel. It examines the intersection between a vertical plane that deals with knowledge and the transfer of information and a horizontal plane that deals with new ways of presenting Holocaust memory. It is argued the project may have extended the vertical plane of knowledge but failed to augment the horizontal plane of Israeli Holocaust commemoration.

eva.stories is an Israeli Instagram project. Entrepreneur Mati Kochavi and his daughter, Maya, restructured the diary of thirteen-year-old Eva Heyman,

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a Jewish Hungarian girl who was murdered in Auschwitz, into fifteen-second Instagram stories. The stories were taken from a preliminary fifty-minute fiction film they produced for this purpose, and they were uploaded on the Israeli Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day in 2019. Combining the Holocaust with Instagram, which is highly popular among young people, but is associated by the public with silliness and the mundane, stirred up considerable controversy in Israel during its promotional campaign. It was argued that the project trivialized the Holocaust and disrespected the trauma. However, when the Instagram account went viral (1.8 million followed the account; there were 300 million total views internationally), the project was commended for having changed the nature of Holocaust commemoration. How should this project be defined? Does it constitute disrespect of Holocaust memory, or is it a successful new form of commemoration?

This article takes a historiographic and cultural approach to analyze the project in the context of seventy years of Holocaust commemoration in Israel. The first part of this article analyzes the filmmakers' goals, the production, the stormy debate during its promotional campaign, and its global success. The second part discusses the multiple cultural fields in which the Holocaust has been commemorated and analyzes the project in terms of "knowledge" and "commemoration" by defining a vertical plane that deals with the growth of knowledge and the transfer of information, and a horizontal plane that deals with expanding the thematic aspects of Holocaust memory. I argue that the project may have extended the vertical plane of knowledge by creating a very successful adaptation of a real story that has reached millions of viewers. Nevertheless, it failed to extend the horizontal plane and did not augment the frame of Israeli Holocaust commemoration.

### eva.stories: The Production, the Campaign, and the Uproar in Israel

In 1944, Eva Heyman was thirteen years old. She was born to a secular, middle-class Jewish family in Nagyvárad, Hungary. She lived with her grandparents after her parents divorced and began writing her diary on her birthday on February 13, 1944. In it, she describes her normal life before the Nazi invasion and the quick deterioration that followed it: the closing of the Jewish school she attended, the obligation to wear a yellow badge, and the deportation to a ghetto. Alongside the description of this rapid deterioration of her situation, she

expresses her desire to live and become a press photographer. She was sent with her grandparents to Auschwitz on May 30, 1944, and was gassed at Auschwitz on October 17, 1944. Her father was also murdered in Auschwitz. Her mother, Agnes Zsolt, and her partner, writer and journalist Béla Zsolt, successfully fled Hungary on the Kastner train and survived.[1] Agnes found the diary when she returned to Nagyvárad and published it in Hungarian in 1948.[2] The diary was published in Hebrew in 1964. Béla passed away a few years after the Holocaust, and Agnes took her own life not long after.

### THE PRODUCTION

Mati Kochavi initiated the project with his daughter, Maya. Kochavi is a millionaire who controls a number of successful high-tech companies and is also involved in media and production through his company AGT. Maya is in her twenties. She has spent most of her life in New York, writes a blog on women's empowerment, and uses her social networking experience to advise international companies on how to communicate with children and teenagers.[3]

According to Kochavi, the initiative began in 2018 when he sat down for a leisurely conversation with a few friends, who started to discuss the memory of the Holocaust:

> These friends, intellectuals who are more representative of the conservative approach to thinking about memory [. . .] talked to me about a large museum project they had in mind. Studies have shown that the interest in the Holocaust is declining. For a 15-year-old boy, the Holocaust seems as far away as the American Civil War is to me [. . .] then one day I saw an interesting program about the Tutsi and the Hutu, and I realized that no one can remember who killed whom - the Tutsi or the Hutu [. . .] I said to myself that maybe one day in the future people might wonder who killed whom in the Holocaust [. . .] and then I began to think how to talk about the Holocaust in a way that many people would want to see.[4]

Yona Wiesenthal, who works at AGT and was a coproducer of the project, says that the idea was to create a project on social media. At first they could not decide which platform to use. They considered Facebook, YouTube, and even creating a giant network of WhatsApp groups, but eventually decided on Instagram. The creators see Instagram as a new diary form, a platform that enables viewers to

"feel that you are living the life of a person you see in front of you." They felt that using this platform would attract the public's attention by bringing the Holocaust to adolescents and creating a point of identification.[5] After all, this is the way young people all over the world present content. Kochavi and his team read many Holocaust diaries and felt that Eva's was the most suitable for the project because contemporary teenagers can relate to her easily: her parents got divorced, which was unusual in the 1940s but common today, her mother dated a celebrity, and she discusses her first love and her career aspirations—becoming a press photographer. They decided to "fulfill this dream" and hand her fictional character a smartphone.[6]

The Instagram stories were cut from a fifty-minute fiction film produced for this purpose. This high-end two-week production was shot in Lvov with actors, extras, and a local production company that was in charge of the historical reconstruction and paid attention to every detail. The furniture, the dishes and cutlery, the newspapers in the house were all carefully chosen to correspond to 1944. Each scene was shot twice: once with a smartphone and once with a special camera that simulated a smartphone but had a lever on the side so that "Eva" (actress Mia Quiney) could "document herself" as though she had a smartphone. The film does not show her holding a smartphone or going on Instagram. Rather, it uses photographic techniques to mimic the way people use their phones when creating Instagram stories: they photograph from their eye level, often talk to the camera, include selfies, and add captions, locations, and emojis. During the editing process, they used scenes from both devices. The actors speak English in what is supposed to be a Hungarian accent, and Hebrew subtitles were added. The fiction film was divided into episodes of fifteen seconds each ("stories"). Kochavi personally funded the project, which was estimated at several million shekels, and directed it with his daughter, Maya.[7]

eva.stories begins with the pleasant life of a thirteen-year-old living in a bourgeois family in Hungary. Eva films her grandparents she lives with, her divorced mother and her partner ("uncle Bela"), her best friends, and Pista, the boy from her school she has a crush on. This part is filled with young teen Instagram aesthetics including boomerangs, glitter, emojis, teen laughter, and mischief. Antisemitism exists (a man on the street is documented calling Eva and her friend dirty Jews), but life is still normal. Then the Nazis invade Hungary, the Jews are forced to wear a yellow badge (which she hates), the school is

closed. They live in fear and terror, are attacked, and are violently transferred to the ghetto, where they suffer from hunger and terror. Later they are deported to Auschwitz. In the last scene of the film, Eva is shown climbing on board the train, breathing hard with anguish as the doors close. The end titles reveal her murder.[8]

### THE CAMPAIGN

The project was launched on April 18, 2019, in advertising campaigns in newspapers (print and internet) and as an item on the very successful *Guy Pines* TV show, which deals with popular culture. Prominent celebrities were approached and agreed to promote the project for free on their social media. On April 21, large billboards appeared at intervals on the crowded Ayalon freeway that runs north to south in Tel Aviv and is a major artery in Israel. The billboards simply displayed a text asking: "What if a girl in the Holocaust had Instagram?" beside a hand holding a smartphone over a barbed-wire fence. This generated a visual connection between two contradictory elements: the black and white barbed wire, an iconic symbol of the Holocaust, and the bright purple-pink-orange-yellow sunset colors identifying Instagram.[9] The billboards generated enormous interest in the media. At 2 p.m. on April 28, the trailer appeared on Eva's Instagram account, called eva.stories.

The promotional campaign was accompanied by interviews about the new project with Kochavi's team, who explained that for the first time, a Holocaust narrative would be presented as Instagram stories. The PR campaign announced that starting from the eve of Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day in Israel (May 1, 2019) and all throughout the day itself, the Instagram account eva.stories would upload a "story" by Eva every half hour.

### THE TUMULTUOUS DEBATE

The campaign triggered a heated debate in Israel before any of the stories had been uploaded. Its many opponents claimed that the project denigrated the Holocaust and the memory of the murdered and was simply a ploy to attract young people by trivializing the Holocaust.[10] This opposition was expressed in serious op-eds, discussions in social media, and interviews in news reports. The basic argument was that since Instagram is a cheap type of mass media, which fuels the narcissistic Millennial experience, the depiction of the Holocaust as stories was inappropriate.[11] The idea of coupling Instagram, which is perceived

as a symbol of superficiality, and the national tragedy was considered chilling.[12] Others rejected what they saw as a misconception that today's young people are so shallow that they should be spoon-fed in "the only language they understand."[13] "Their attention threshold is high," claimed Yuval Mendelson, a well-known singer and high school teacher, in an op-ed in *Haaretz*, which received considerable attention, "and in order to cross it, new paths must be carved out in stone. But the fictitious Instagram account of a girl who was murdered in the Holocaust will not be and cannot be a legitimate way. Not only is it bad taste, marketed aggressively, but much more seriously, it will have consequences and will affect young people negatively by making them shallow."[14]

This critique was also expressed through black humor. Some web users embraced the project's slogan—"What if a girl in the Holocaust had Instagram?"—and posted pictures mocking what they considered to be its absurdity. For example, one picture depicted potato peels neatly arranged on a plate (like many foodies do when they take pictures of dishes in restaurants and upload them to Instagram). In a tweet of a fake "interview" with well-known Israeli journalist Rafi Reshef, he is "quoted" asking Eva about her plans for the weekend and she replies she is not sure she will survive. Others deliberately suggested preposterous forms of digital commemoration to disparage Kochavi's argument that the Holocaust should be accessible to young people who "live" through their cell phones. One person suggested a new app:

> So I thought to myself, how important is it to make the memory of the Holocaust accessible to the next generation. They do not have the patience, attention or concentration. . . . They spend their days glued to their phone screen . . . and then it hit me—if they do not come to the Holocaust, the Holocaust will come to them! . . . So I'm thrilled to present Schindler—the only application where you can choose from millions and make your own list! You can also see whom your friends have chosen and even trade with them. It may seem a bit disrespectful for some of you, I'm sure. But hey . . . How do you expect youngsters to care about their history?[15]

Web users also mocked the producers' interest in making the Holocaust "accessible" to "uninterested teens" in other ways. Under captions such as "make the Holocaust accessible," web users created their own versions of an accessible Holocaust. For example, Beyoncé's Adidas commercial in which she lies on top

of piles of shoes was replaced with a black and white image of her lying on top of piles of shoes from the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum.[16]

By contrast, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu posted a message on Facebook and Twitter claiming to have watched eva.stories and called on everyone to produce stories about Holocaust victims so that the world will understand and so that we will remember what was lost and what has been restored with the establishment of the State of Israel.[17] Internationally acclaimed Israeli actress Gal Gadot and even the White House shared and followed eva.stories.[18] Others took the position that eva.stories cannot replace in-depth learning, but it is good that people are willing to invest millions to produce an interest-generating Instagram account.[19] "It is just another medium," stated a reporter. "There is no need to be intimidated."[20]

Kochavi and Maya expressed their surprise at the negative reactions to the project.[21] Maya made the point that claiming that Instagram is shallow is a shallow observation in itself since there are serious discussions on Instagram about various subjects such as eating disorders, abuse and others.[22] Kochavi argued, "People are confused because there is a lot of bullshit on Instagram, but there is a lot of bullshit on TV and in the cinema, so what? Does that mean that there aren't any good TV shows and films?"[23] Wiesenthal (who is related to Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal) remarked that since he and Kochavi come from families of survivors, they felt confident (despite the criticism) that they were doing the right thing and were not denigrating the Holocaust.[24]

### THE SUCCESS AND THE REVERSAL OF PUBLIC OPINION

After the stories began to upload at on May 1, 2019, increasingly more people followed the account and viewed the stories. As the numbers grew exponentially by the hour,[25] the negative opinions faded away. Journalist Liat Malka called it "the most important thing that has happened recently in Holocaust commemoration," and added "my grandfather [a Holocaust survivor] would have liked it."[26] Journalist and culture critic Ariana Melamed called it "a blessed initiative." She claimed that eva.stories did not pretend to educate but to mediate testimonies that young people are unwilling to listen to voluntarily. Hundreds of millions of people interact on this platform as a way of expressing themselves, in the same way that Anne Frank's contemporaries viewed a diary as a socially acceptable and intimate form of expression.[27] In an article titled "Eva's Story Overcame Yad Vashem," journalist Dror Globerman praised the project for being able to

enthrall hundreds of thousands of young Israelis in one day. He called the project "sensitive, moving, and admirable."[28] Parents reported enthusiastically on social media about their children's emotional responses. For example, political scientist Hani Zubeida posted the following on Facebook and Twitter:

> Eva, Eva, Eva. You've talked about it so much . . . so let me summarize it for you: my son, 13 and a half years old, won't go to school on Holocaust Martyr's and Heroes' Remembrance Day, he doesn't want to talk about it, watch TV, nothing. The Israeli Holocaust commemoration is bad for him. Apparently it has to do with the special abilities of the Israeli educational system to create disgust with memory related themes. Yesterday he sat quietly with his smartphone and watched the story. Afterwards he came into the living room and began talking about the experience. I was shocked. And this is what Eva.Stories is about.[29]

Some of the initial opponents apologized for their criticism and admitted they were wrong.[30] A few still opposed eva.stories. For example, journalist Chaim Levinson tweeted that the characters were "boring and superficial" and that people who had been critical of the project only changed their minds after hearing how many views it had received: "Suddenly it's brilliant. Really!"[31]

Other journalists concentrated on the success in numbers by publishing tallies every hour or so.[32] The figures, as totaled on May 29, 2019, were 1.8 million followers, and 300 million views of the stories. The vast majority of the viewers were between the ages of thirteen and thirty.[33] Eva's story was reviewed in seventy countries, in twenty-seven different languages, and in more than 1,000 articles on news and content sites. The countries that had press coverage of Eva's story included the United Arab Emirates, Indonesia, Egypt, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia.[34] The account was the fastest-growing in Israel ever, and its immediate enormous success made Instagram think it was a hacker attack.[35] This global success is astonishing given the fact that the campaign took place solely in Israel. The media debate surrounding it attracted the attention of foreign correspondents, and the fact that the stories were in English may account for its global success.[36] After Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day, the stories were preserved as "highlights" on Instagram (stories that are saved in the account and are not deleted after twenty-four hours) so people can still enter and watch.

### New Medium, New Message (?)

The number of viewers, followers, and responses show that the project succeeded in eliciting interest in young people. The Kochavis' goal was achieved. It is yet to be discovered if, in the long run, it deepened or changed Holocaust knowledge among the viewers. Moreover, from a wider perspective of Holocaust commemoration in Israel, how should this project be evaluated? Does it indeed constitute a new phase in Holocaust commemoration? Next I argue that the appearance of the Holocaust for the first time in a specific medium often prompts an outcry that then subsides, and it becomes mainstream. I show that the relationship between Holocaust memory and new media is complicated: there are new media that convey new messages, new media that convey "old messages" and "old" media that change Holocaust commemoration. When examining eva.stories in terms of Holocaust commemoration, it seems that it is a successful combination of previous Holocaust memory representation strategies that does not appear to have broadened the frame of Holocaust memory.

#### DEBATES OVER HOLOCAUST REPRESENTATIONS IN POP CULTURE

Since the end of World War II, there has been an ongoing debate in the Western world on representations of the Holocaust. Can the depths of horror be expressed through art, or should these horrors be discussed solely through the testimonies of Holocaust survivors? Should the cultural debate on the Holocaust be limited to realistic representations, or can it be represented fictionally, metaphorically, or even through the fantastic? These issues and others are still being debated, since the Holocaust was and continues to be represented—even more so in recent decades—in a range of cultural fields from sexploitation films, pulp culture erotic semi-pornographic booklets, and ice dancing routines to various forms of popular art (from the serious to the humorous), graphic novels, books, poetry, animation, fringe theater, blogs, vlogs, various forms of social media, various film genres on different platforms, and so on.[37] The controversies highlight the problematic aspects alongside the importance of popular representations that draw attention to the topic of the Holocaust.[38]

A retrospective analysis of Holocaust representations shows that when referenced in a new medium, it causes turmoil but later becomes part of mainstream culture. Two excellent examples are the reactions to the NBC mini-series *Holocaust* and the graphic novel *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*. *Holocaust*, which aired on television in 1978, was the first time the Holocaust had been depicted as

a fictional four-part mini-series. It dealt with the Holocaust through the fictitious story of the Jewish German Weiss family. The controversy it generated was epitomized in the words of writer, Nobel Peace Prize winner, and Holocaust survivor Eli Wiesel, who wrote in the *New York Times* that representing the Holocaust in a fictional miniseries trivialized it: "It transforms an ontological event into soap opera. . . . The Holocaust *must* be remembered. But not as a show."[39] Nevertheless, the mini-series won awards, was watched by millions, aired in Germany in 1979, and launched an extremely important public debate on the topic in Germany. It is considered one of the milestones of Holocaust commemoration in Western culture, which, as historian Omer Bartov noted, "played an important role in changing attitudes about both the reality and the representation of the mass murder of the Jews." Since then, the Holocaust has appeared numerous times in fictional television (and cinematic) narratives.[40]

Even though representations of the Holocaust in comics written by Jews and non-Jews have existed since World War II,[41] when the graphic novel *Maus* appeared,[42] it prompted a vociferous outcry. In the book, Art Spiegelman dared to combine black humor and a graphic narrative in which Jews are portrayed as mice and the Nazis as cats. When released, *Maus* was initially criticized for the use of a comics format for such a serious topic. But attitudes gradually changed, and critics praised his bold artistic decision. *Maus* became a tremendous success and was the first graphic novel to win a Pulitzer Prize (1992). In 1992, Spiegelman published a sequel, *Maus II: And Here My Troubles Began*. More than a hundred books and essays have been written on the two volumes, which changed the discourse about the genre, enshrined the term "graphic novel," and elevated it from a form of "low culture" to "high culture." *Maus* paved the way for multiple graphic novels dealing with the Holocaust and is considered a milestone in Holocaust commemoration.

### HOLOCAUST REPRESENTATIONS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Since the 1990s, and especially since 2000, when Holocaust representations began appearing on social media, which is part of pop culture, debates on representation of the Holocaust on these platforms have abounded. There is a great deal of research on the effect of social media platforms on the way the public remembers, thinks, and acts. Researchers have suggested that the top-down knowledge distribution model has been supplanted by a bottom-up model in which the circulation of content is increasingly driven by audiences who share,

comment, critique, reframe, and remix the content.[43] Research on the role of Instagram have discussed its prominent visual features, advantages, disadvantages, visual subjectivity and memory.[44]

eva.stories is not the first time the Holocaust has appeared on social media in general or Instagram in particular. The Holocaust is commemorated on social media in narratives and visuals by individuals who post amateur photographs and narratives when visiting Holocaust-related sites and museums. These individuals become agents of postmemory in the age of social media, that is, agents against forgetting as they post their reactions. Others post their reactions to stories they read or hear about the Holocaust and their personal associations between current affairs and the Holocaust.[45]

Researchers have examined how individuals construct new forms of commemoration on social media, which create a new "vernacular memory" that may be antihegemonic or even subversive with respect to the "official memory" and can change the meaning of well-known Holocaust icons.[46] Meghan Lundrigan argues that Instagram and other social media platforms have become important digital spaces where people can share their perceptions and representations of the Holocaust with the rest of the world. Instagram makes Holocaust memory mobile through its smartphone accessibility and the use of hashtags by its users. Their representations attest to the fact that seemingly small individual acts of remembrance can contribute to a fluid and accessible archive of visual memory. They make mass violence and injustice more visible to the individual, and therefore recognizable and accessible to recall in the future.[47] Gemma Commane and Rebekah Potton, who researched Holocaust representations on Instagram, claim that online platforms have now become so embedded in young adults' lives that they might ultimately play a key part in keeping Holocaust memory alive. They show how Holocaust-related uses on social media have fueled debates on Holocaust remembrance and have become a space where images continue to generate the visibility of the horrors of the Holocaust for future generations.[48]

The importance of social media in reconstructing the memory of the Holocaust for the next generations is also reflected in the way it is used by canonical memorial institutions, museums and memorials. Many museums, such as Yad Vashem and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, have social media accounts on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest, and other social networks, to which they upload documents, photos, short videos, short

testimonies, and so on. Many Jewish organizations that also commemorate the Holocaust have a social media presence.[49]

To better harness social media's key role in shaping memory, in 2014 the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance issued a booklet explaining how to use social media in Holocaust education. It states that social media, if used properly, could be the ideal tool for learning about the Holocaust in an era in which young people spend extensive time engaging in it.[50]

Thus, the combination of Holocaust commemoration and social media is not new. What is new about eva.stories is that it was the first time a Holocaust narrative had been delivered through a fictitious account of a Jew in the Holocaust who seemingly uploads stories, as though it were the profile of a real girl.

The debate over eva.stories is not the first time the intersection of Holocaust and social media has sparked fierce reactions in Israel and abroad. There is widespread misuse of Holocaust memory by deniers and the alt-right on social media, which is deliberate and has an agenda. There are also childish, shameful visualizations and posts.[51] Israeli social media are filled with pictures taken by high school students during educational trips to the former ghettos, concentration camps, and death camps in Poland. These pictures sometimes show smiling teens, giggling, taking stupid poses, sometimes while holding the Israeli flag in one of the former camps. In response, in June 2014, the Israeli Facebook page "With My Beautiful Friends in Auschwitz" was created to mock and thus condemn these frivolous images.

Trivialization of Holocaust-related images on social media is not just an Israeli problem. For example, the labyrinth-shaped Holocaust memorial in Berlin consists of 27,111 concrete cubes. Many young people upload pictures to social media showing them smiling, jumping off the cubes, or having a picnic there. In 2017, artist Shahak Shapira, decided to take action. He collected pictures posted on social media that were taken at the monument and replaced their backgrounds with hard-to-digest photographs from the Holocaust. "My goal was to make these selfies embarrassing," he said. He titled his project YOLOCAUST, thus combining YOLO (You live only once), one of the Y generation's trademark expressions, and the word "Holocaust." The project had a vast following and sparked a stormy debate. A similar issue is related to using former concentration camps in the "dare" culture. In April 2019, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum posted an unusual tweet in response to many uploaded pictures of teens teetering while trying to walk on the rails leading to the camp.

It stated: "When you come here, remember that you are on a site where more than a million people were killed, there are better places to learn how to walk on a track than this site."[52]

### AN ADOLESCENT PROTAGONIST'S PERCEPTION OF THE HOLOCAUST

The producers hailed the eva.stories project as a groundbreaking new perspective of the events. Kochavi noted: "When I decided to make this film I began to think about how Eva must have felt and what she saw. . . . We see the pictures taken by the Nazis, but I always wanted to know what [the Jews] saw at that moment: What did Eva feel, for example, when she first put on her yellow badge? The Instagram gives you another perspective, an angle that didn't exist before."[53]

Nonetheless, showing the deteriorating turn of events in the Holocaust through a protagonist's perspective is not new. Numerous Holocaust films have represented scenes and situations in this way and in fact, point of view is a well-known cinematic convention to create identification. The most recent example is *Son of Saul* (László Nemes, 2015) which describes a day and a half in the life of Saul Ausländer, a Hungarian Jew imprisoned in Birkenau and a member of a Sonderkommando. The film is shot from beginning to end from the protagonist's perspective and is completely circumscribed by it in the sense that if the things he sees or hears are a blur to him, the audience sees out-of-focus frames and hears mumbles.[54]

eva.stories is also not the first time that a Holocaust story has been adapted into a fiction film for young audiences that addresses the persecutions, cruelty, and deprivation without visualizing the horror. These films, which have been produced in various countries, tell the story (in its totality or large parts of it) through the perspective of persecuted Jewish young people. Films such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* (George Stevens, 1959), *The Island on Bird Street* (Søren Kragh-Jacobsen 1997), *A Jewish Girl in Shanghai* (Wang Genfa and Zhang Zhenhui, 2010), *Fanny's Journey* (Lola Doillon, 2016), and *A Bag of Marbles* (Christian Duguay, 2017) are all good examples. Other films for young audiences that represent young people's perceptions of the trauma have dealt with commemoration and memory—for example, *The Wave* (Alexander Grasshoff, 1981) and the documentaries *Paper Clips* (Joe Fab and Elliot Berlin, 2004), and *The Number on Great-Grandpa's Arm* (Amy Schatz, 2018). Finally, even though the concept of uploading a new story to Instagram every half hour is new, the

full fifty-minute film can be seen by followers later. For viewers who did not watch the uploads, eva.stories can be watched on a smartphone like any other short film.

### INTERACTION WITH THE VICTIM ON SOCIAL MEDIA

A part of the success of eva.stories was the fact that many people wrote to Eva on Instagram, sending her their love and last words. It enabled people to interact with the protagonist/victim in a personal way. Lital Henig and Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann claim that eva.stories establishes a new responsive space for remembering the Holocaust which enables users to inscribe themselves into mediated Holocaust memory and to become media witnesses through the co-creation of socially mediated experiences.[55] This is true, but this is not a novelty as well. In 2010 a Facebook profile was created for Henio, a child victim who perished in the Holocaust. "Henio" uploaded pictures and texts in the first person to the profile. It evoked user engagement as viewers related and interacted with him.[56] eva.stories's novelty comes from turning the personal story of a victim to a series of seemingly online videos instead of texts and pictures like in Henio's case.

In addition, another mediated Holocaust memory zone that uses the feeling of live interaction with victims who are not really there in a different way is found in another project that began before eva.stories: Holocaust survivors' holograms in museums. Since 2017, such survivor holograms are presented in several Holocaust museums. The holograms enable people to interact with survivors who are not there, talk to them, and ask questions, and they will allow Holocaust survivors to reach audiences beyond their own lifetime.[57]

### IS ISRAELI YOUTH REALLY DETACHED FROM THE HOLOCAUST?

The producers of eva.stories made it clear that their original motivation was to mediate the trauma to Israeli youngsters who are not interested in the topic and teach them about the Holocaust in a way that is palatable to the current generation.[58] Are Israeli young people really detached from the Holocaust? Israeli Jews study the Holocaust from kindergarten to the end of high school; while in high school, tens of thousands of pupils go on guided tours with their classes to the former ghettos and concentration camps in Poland. The Israeli Defense Force has delegations to the former concentration camps and death sites, and the topic of the Holocaust is completely integrated in the daily Israeli discourse. The Israeli media, the educational and cultural fields, and public

discourse frame the Holocaust as a current, ongoing local trauma rather than an event that ended decades ago in another place.[59] Surveys reveal that in the Jewish Israeli population in general, the Holocaust has been assimilated as a central event, and young Jewish Israelis perceive the Holocaust as the historical event that has had the greatest impact on them and their future, even more than the founding of the state.[60] Thus even if Israeli Jews do not remember specifics, the trauma is embedded in their identity.

The story itself, which documents the downward spiral from normal life to extermination, is very familiar to Israeli young people. It is articulated in the Israel educational system starting in elementary school. The story of the eradication of the Jews that began with the Nazi laws and ended in extermination is an integral part of the narrative in textbooks that aim to adapt the representation of these horrors to the age of the students.[61] Israeli young people are also familiar with the destruction of the Jewish people presented in individual stories that are "accessible" to them on the children's channel on Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day, through conversations with survivors who lecture in schools, testimonies that are screened to the students, and Holocaust movies that are shown in schools.

### NEW MEDIA AND CLASSICAL NARRATIVES VERSUS "OLD" MEDIA AND NEW NARRATIVES

Marshall McLuhan famously stated that "the medium is the message." An analysis of the relationship between media and messages in Israeli Holocaust commemoration reveals a variety of combinations. There are times in which new media supply "old" narratives and other times when "old" media expand the canonical Holocaust narrative, ask new questions, introduce new topics, and force Israeli society to rethink standard Holocaust-associated perceptions.

A good example of the "new medium old narrative" are contemporary cookbooks that feature Holocaust survivors' stories alongside their recipes, which are designed to perpetuate the survivors' lives through traditional food. The narrative from Holocaust to revival had appeared in Israel since the state's early years, and these cookbooks simply repackage it in a new medium. The pages are edited such that on the right side there is a picture of the survivor and paragraphs describing their life before the Holocaust, their experiences under Nazism, and the beginning of their new lives after the Holocaust. On the left there is a recipe and a picture of the dish.[62]

By contrast, there are new forms of commemoration that convey new messages. Good examples are the alternative ceremonies that have emerged in Israel on Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day since the late 1990s. Until then, only canonical ceremonies were held on that day in schools, youth movements, institutes, museums, municipalities, and so on. The canonical narrative is mainly based on prayers, texts by Jews who perished and survivors, sad songs and dances, and speeches by politicians and public figures that mostly highlight the Zionist "lesson" of the Holocaust. Alternative ceremonies were the initiative of second-generation Holocaust survivors and subsequently third-generation survivors who felt the need for a new narrative on that day. In these ceremonies, that from 2020 also take place on Zoom, individuals such as young celebrities, journalists, foreign workers, and others voice their perceptions of Holocaust memory in these ceremonies and often subvert the canonical narrative by discussing new topics.[63]

Alongside these new media conveying new messages are new messages in "old" media. A few examples are worth citing. Holocaust survivor and scholar Yehuda Elkana condemned Holocaust commemoration in his open 1988 letter in an old medium (a newspaper) when he demanded that Israeli Jews should "forget" the Holocaust because of its political abuse by the right wing. His letter forced Israeli society to reexamine Holocaust politicization and generated a stormy debate that continues to this day.[64] The American TV movie *The Wave* (Alexander Grasshoff, 1981) was based on the real story of a US high school teacher who conducted an experiment in the 1960s on his students to prove to them how quickly a liberal democracy can deteriorate into a brutal totalitarian regime based on obedience. *The Wave* was broadcast in the 1980s on Israeli TV and in schools. It encouraged Israeli teens to confront universal questions about "ordinary people" in contemporary times in search of a strong leader, disciples, the power of a group, and the slippery slope from democracy to totalitarianism.

Mizrahi artists who began to deal with the marginalization of Mizrahim in Holocaust commemorations also have sparked new debates about Holocaust commemoration and ethnic conflicts in "old" media. For example, director Maor Zaguri (of Moroccan descent) aired an episode on his successful TV daily drama *Zaguri Imperia* (2014–2015) in which the family patriarch refuses to stand at attention during the minute of silence on Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Day and states "this is not my people." It created a stormy debate and appealed to Israeli society to acknowledge that marginalized Jewish groups in

Israel resent forms of Holocaust commemoration that exclude them.[65] Directors Alon and Shaul Swartz depicted a woman who was sexually abused during the Holocaust in their documentary *Aida's Secrets* (2016); she was mistakenly considered a Holocaust survivor and then revealed to be a Catholic Pole at the end of the film. This documentary forced the audience rethink the inclusivity of the Jewish Holocaust. When Arnon Goldfinger, the director of the documentary *The Flat* (2011), depicted the close friendship between his Jewish grandparents and a Nazi couple before and after the Holocaust, he undermined the decades-long dichotomy between "us" and "them" and suggested that Israeli society take a more thoughtful view of the topic. When he and other directors showed how the descendants of perpetrators are dealing with their familial past, their documentaries have contributed to broadening Holocaust memory because these questions had been marginalized in Israel.[66] These are only some examples that show how "old" media have encouraged Israeli society to face new issues and ask new questions.

Holocaust commemoration in Israel is a changing entity that is developing over time. In this context, eva.stories should be seen as a new medium that tells an old narrative. It does not raise new topics and questions or provide new insights and does not expand the thematic aspects of Holocaust commemoration in Israel.

Overall, in the intersection between the vertical plane that deals with knowledge and the horizontal plane that deals with new thematic aspects of Holocaust memory, eva.stories may have extended the vertical plane of knowledge but failed to extend the horizontal plane. The vast interest in eva.stories, the many views, and the emotional responses show that the creators achieved their goal of generating interest among young people and advancing their knowledge. However, from a wider perspective of more than seventy years since the events, this project did little to alter Holocaust commemoration in Israel. This is not the first time the Holocaust has appeared on social media or on Instagram; it is not the first time a Holocaust story has been adapted into a fictitious visual narrative for adolescents or told through the perspective of the protagonist. It tells a story of denigration and destruction that Israeli adolescents learn about from childhood. eva.stories is part of a complex relationship between media and messages in Holocaust commemoration in which new media sometimes convey new messages, new media sometimes duplicate classical narratives, and sometimes "old" media engender new perceptions. eva.stories is no doubt the most successful Holocaust visual text/film for young people and an important

tool for Holocaust education,[67] but it does not extend the scope of Holocaust commemoration in Israel. It is a "classic" Holocaust narrative that successfully combines previous representation modes in a new package of a girl in the Holocaust with Instagram.

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### Notes

1. Rudolf Kastner negotiated with Adolph Eichmann to transport 1,684 Jews out of Budapest by train to Switzerland and thus saved them.

2. Agnes later committed suicide. See Isabel Kershner, "A Holocaust Story for the Social Media Generation," *New York Times*, April 30, 2019, *https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/30/world/middleeast/eva-heyman-instagram-holocaust.html.*

3. Omry Barak, "Special: This Is How Eva's Story Was Filmed," *Mako*, April 30, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.mako.co.il/news-israel/entertainment-q2_2019/Article-1e3309bd18f6a61027.htm.*

4. Nirit Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story' Explain Why It Is Good to Place the Holocaust in the Mainstream," *Haaretz*, April 30, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/cinema/.premium-MAGAZINE-1.7184749*; Barak, "Special."

5. Atila Shomflaby and Alexandra Lukash, "Holocaust on Instagram: 'A Serious and Sensitive Project,'" *YNET*, May 1, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5502101,00.html;* Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story.'"

6. Liat Steir-Livny, interview with Yona Wiesenthal, May 29, 2019.

7. Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story'"; Kershner, "A Holocaust Story."

8. The stories can be seen in Hadshot Srugim, "Eva's Story the Full and Chilling Film. Watch," *Srugim*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.srugim.co.il/336261-%D7%94%D7%A1%D7%98%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%99-%D7%A9%D7%9C-%D7%90%D7%95%D7%95%D7%94.* The closing scene in which Eva and her

grandparents are forced onto a train is not part of the diary and was scripted from survivors' testimonies. Steir-Livny, interview with Wiesenthal.

9. Ehud Keinan, "The Fourth Generation—Why Does Eva's Story Shock You?," *Mako*, April 29, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.mako.co.il/nexter-internet/social-networks-instagram/Article-575dfa290086a61006.htm.*

10. Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story.'"

11. Noam Tirosh, "In Holocaust Commemoration the Medium Is Not the Message," *Haaretz*, April, 29, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/.premium-1.7174258.*

12. Amarelle Wenkert, "Instagram Account Telling the Story of a Jewish Girl during the Holocaust Ignites Debate," *Calcalist*, May 1, 2019, *https://www.calcalistech.com/ctech/articles/0,7340,L-3761362,00.html.*

13. Liraz Margalit, "Eva's Story: How Do You Clickbait Holocaust?," *Marker*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.themarker.com/blogs/liraz-margalit/BLOG-1.7191767.*

14. Yuval Mendelson, "From Eva's Story to Auschwitz Selfies," *Haaretz*, April 27, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/.premium-1.7163642.*

15. Ronen Harten, "So I Thought to Myself," *Facebook*, April 29, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.facebook.com/ronen.harten/posts/2168589113176212.*

16. Eitan Leshem, "'The Holocaust Is Over, Eva, the Glory Has Passed': The Web Does Not Know How to Respond to the Girl's Story of the Holocaust," *Haaretz*, April 28, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.haaretz.co.il/captain/net/1.7172585.*

17. Benjamin Netanyahu, Facebook, April 29, 2019, https://fb.watch/6cgrdc5ocX/.

18. Anat Bein-Lubuvitz, "120 Million Views in 24 Hours: 'Eva's Story' Has Become an Unprecedented Success," *Globes*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001284272#/.

19. Omer Dvir, "A Tale about a Prince Who Watched a Story," *Channel 7*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/400749.* For more on the opposite opinions, see Nexter, "Storm on the Net: Eva's Story of the Holocaust," *Mako*, April 29, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.mako.co.il/nexter-internet/social-networks-instagram/Article-df7de7061fd4a61006.htm.*

20. Keinan, "The Fourth Generation."

21. Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story'"; Shira Maikin, "Smile, You Are in Auschwitz," *Haaretz*, May 1, 2019 [in Hebrew] *https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/.premium-MAGAZINE-1.7188709.*

22. Barak, "Special."

23. Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story.'"

24. Steir-Livny, interview with Wiesenthal.

25. Ibid.

26. Liat Malka, "Eva's Story: My Grandfather Would Have Liked It," *OnLife*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.onlife.co.il/news/social-media/189945.*

27. Ariana Melamed, "One Can Mutter 'Contempt of the Holocaust,' but 'Eva's Story' Is a Blessed Initiative," *Haaretz*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/.premium-1.7189158.*

28. Dror Globerman, "Hastory she leva asa beir sefer leyad Vashem" [Eva's Story Overcame Yad vaShem], *Mako*, May 2, 2019, *https://www.mako.co.il/nexter-dror-globerman/Article-1208f1dbb887a61027.htm.*

29. Hani Zubeida, Twitter, May 3, 2019 https://twitter.com/hanizubida/status/1124347239378427904.

30. According to Wiesenthal, Chen Lieberman, the head of the culture desk of Channel 13, attacked the project before it aired, but apologized after the stories began to upload. Steir-Livny, interview with Wiesenthal.

31. Toi Staff, "Instagram Account Memorializing Holocaust Victim Reaches over 120 million Views," *Times of Israel*, May 3, 2019, *https://www.timesofisrael.com/instagram-account-memorializing-holocaust-victim-reaches-over-120-million-views/.*

32. For example, Anat Bein-Lubuvitz, "Eva's Instagram Holocaust Story Goes Viral Worldwide," *Globes*, May 2, 2019, *https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-evas-instagram-holocaust-story-goes-viral-worldwide-1001284341*; Bein-Lubuvitz, "120 Million Views in 24 Hours"; Omry Barak, "In 24 Hours: How Many Have Watched 'Eva'?," *Mako*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], *https://www.mako.co.il/news-israel/local-q2_2019/Article-4a08e274f297a61027.htm.*

33. Steir-Livny, interview with Wiesenthal.

34. "Eva's Story: A National Pride and World Sensation," *Scooper*, May 6, 2019 [in Hebrew], *http://www.scooper.co.il/pr/1044809/.*

35. Moshe Binyamin, "Views from Iran, Millions of Interactions and Control of the Young Audience: All the Numbers on 'Eva's Story,'" *Ice*, May 2, 2019 [in Hebrew], *http://www.ice.co.il/advertising-marketing/news/article/762571.*

36. Steir-Livny, interview with Wiesenthal.

37. There is an extensive debate on these questions. See, for example, Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics* (London: Routledge, 2000); Berel Lang, *Holocaust Representation: Art within the Limits of History and Ethics* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Michael Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Tim Cole,

*Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler, How History Is Bought, Packaged, and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Alan Rosenfeld, *The End of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Christine Berberich, "Introduction: The Holocaust in Contemporary Culture," *Holocaust Studies* 25 (2019): 1–11.

38.   For example, Alan Rosenfeld sees the dominance of the Holocaust in US popular culture as destructive and wrong. He argues that the memory of the trauma blunts the possibility of feeling empathy toward the victims of the Holocaust and trivializes mass murder. He refers to this as "the end of the Holocaust," to characterize its deviation as a historical event that symbolizes radical evil to something banal and trivial. See Rosenfeld, *End of the Holocaust*. Also see Berberich, "Introduction."

39.   Elie Wiesel, "Trivializing the Holocaust: Semi-Fact and Semi-Fiction," *New York Times*, April 16, 1978, *https://www.nytimes.com/1978/04/16/archives/tv-view-trivializing-the-holocaust-semifact-and-semifiction-tv-view.html*.

40.   See Omer Bartov, *The Jew in Cinema: From The Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 205; Damien McGuinness, "Holocaust: How a US TV Series Changed Germany," *BBC News*, January 30, 2019, *https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-47042244*.

41.   Ya'aoba Sechrduti, *The Playback of Destiny: Holocaust in Comics 1942–1954* (Tel Aviv: New World, 2019) [in Hebrew].

42.   Art Spiegelman, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* (New York: Raw Books and Graphics, 1986). In 1992, the second volume was published: Art Spiegelman, *Maus II: A Survivor's Tale: And Here My Troubles Began* (New York: Pantheon Graphic Library, 1992). Numerous articles have been written about *Maus*. See Huyssen Andreas, "Of Mice and Mimesis: Reading Spiegelman with Adorno," in *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 28–44; Ewert Jeanne, "Art Spiegelman's Maus and the Graphic Narrative," in *Narrative across Media: The Languages of Storytelling*, ed. Marie-Laure Ryan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 180–193; Deborah R. Geis, ed., *Considering* Maus*: Approaches to Art Spiegelman's "Survivor's Tale" of the Holocaust* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007); Eugene P. Kannenberg, *Form, Function, Fiction: Text and Image in the Comics Narratives of Winsor McCay, Art Spiegelman, and Chris Ware*, PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2002.

43.   There is a great deal of research on the subject. See Limor Shifman, *Memes in Digital Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013); Collin Lankshear and Michel Knobel, eds., *A New Literacies Sampler* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007); Mike Proulx and Stacey Shepatin, *Social TV: How Marketers Can Reach and Engage Audiences by Connecting*

*Television to the Web, Social Media, and Mobile* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2012); Ingrid Richardson, Jean Burgess, and Larissa Hjorth, eds., *Studying Mobile Media: Cultural Technologies, Mobile Communication, and the iPhone* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Katrin Weller et al., eds., *Twitter and Society* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014); Luke Sloan and Anabel Quan-Hasse, *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2017).

44. For example, Jeanette Vigliotti, "The Currency of Visibility: Visual Subjectivity and Memory on Instagram," *Comunicazioni sociali* 1 (2016): 64–68; Kylie Budge and Alli Burgess, "Museum Objects and Instagram: Agency and Communication in Digital Engagement," *Continuum: Journal of Communications and Media Studies* 32, no. 2 (2018): 137–150.

45. Meghan Lundrigan, *Holocaust Memory and Visuality in the Age of Social Media*, PhD diss., Carleton University, 2019; Lia Friesem, "Holocaust Tweets as an Act of Resistance," *Israel Studies Review* (September 2018): 85–104; Liat Steir-Livny, "'Kristallnacht in Tel Aviv': Nazi Associations in the Contemporary Israeli Socio-Political Debate," in *New Perspectives on Kristallnacht*, ed. Wolf Gruner and Steven J. Ross (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2019), 283–310; Liat Steir-Livny, "The Image of Anne Frank: From Universal Hero to Comic Figure," in *Laughter After: Humor and the Holocaust*, ed. Avinoam Patt, David Slucki, and Gabriel N. Finder (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2020).

46. For example, Eva Pfanzelter, "At the Crossroads with Public History: Mediating the Holocaust on the Internet," *Holocaust Studies* 21, no. 4 (2015): 250–271; Aya Yadlin-Segal, "'It Happened Before and It Will Happen Again': Online User Comments as a Noncommemorative Site of Holocaust Remembrance," *Jewish Film & New Media* 5, no. 1 (2017): 24–47; Friesem, "Holocaust Tweets."

47. Lundrigan, *Holocaust Memory*.

48. Gemma Commane and Rebekah Potton, "Instagram and Auschwitz: A Critical Assessment of the Impact Social Media Has on Holocaust Representation," *Holocaust Studies* 25, nos. 1–2 (2019): 158–181.

49. Holocaust commemoration institutions also use new technology to interest the younger generations in other ways. These include the use of virtual reality to depict survivors' testimonies when touring "with them" on Holocaust-related sites and the use of virtual and augmented reality techniques to reconstruct the spatial structure of Nazi terror. Another development are life-size 3D holograms, which enable people to experience a "virtual conversation" with survivors. See Future Memory Foundation, *http://www.futurememoryfoundation.org/*; Harriet Sherwood, "Holocaust Survivors'

3D Project Preserves Testimony for the Future," *Guardian*, December 1, 2016, *https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/01/holocaust-survivors-laser-image-project-preserves-testimony-for-the-future*; Matt Lebovic, "The 'Virtual' Future of Holocaust Education Is Already Here," *Times of Israel*, January 10, 2020, *https://www.timesofisrael.com/the-virtual-future-of-holocaust-education-is-already-here/*; "The Anne Frank House in Virtual Reality: The Secret Annex VR App," *Anne Frank House*, *https://www.annefrank.org/en/about-us/what-we-do/publications/anne-frank-house-virtual-reality/* *(accessed April 20, 2021)*; "Dimensions in Testimony," *Museum of Jewish Heritage*, *https://mjhnyc.org/exhibitions/new-dimensions-in-testimony/*; "The Last Goodbye," *Museum of Jewish Heritage*, *https://mjhnyc.org/exhibitions/the-last-goodbye/*; USC Shoah Foundation, "The Last Goodbye—An Introduction," *YouTube*, October 23, 2018, *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rOgtLhHSjy0*.

50.  Kori Street and Kim Simon, "Using Social Media in Holocaust Education," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, USC Shoah Foundation, April 2014, *https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/social_media_in_holocaust_education.pdf*.

51.  Lundrigan, *Holocaust Memory*.

52.  Maikin, "Smile."

53.  Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story.'"

54.  The film received high praise for its aesthetics and cinematic choices and has won many awards, including an Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film. See Rachel Donadio, "In 'Son of Saul,' Laszlo Nemes Expands the Language of Holocaust Films," *New York Times*, December 14, 2015, *https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/15/movies/in-son-of-saul-laszlo-nemes-expands-the-language-of-holocaust-films.html*; Karin Badt, "Cannes Grand Prix Winner 'Son of Saul': A Critical Review," *Huffington Post*, December 6, 2015, *https://www.huffpost.com/entry/cannes-grand-prix-winner_b_7549248*; Georg Szalai, "Oscars: Hungary Wins Its First Foreign-Language Honor since Fall of Communism," *Hollywood Reporter*, February 28, 2016, *https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/2016-oscars-best-foreign-language-869714*.

55.  Lital Henig and Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann, "Witnessing Eva Stories: Media Witnessing and Self-Inscription in Social Media Memory," *new media & society* (2020): 1–25.

56.  Ewa Stańczyk, "The Absent Jewish Child: Photography and Holocaust Representation in Poland," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 13, no. 3 (2014): 360–380; Pfanzelter "At the Crossroads"; Diana I. Popescu, "Eulogy of a Different Kind: Letters to Henio and

the Unsettled Memory of the Holocaust in Contemporary Poland," *Holocaust Studies* 25, no. 3 (2019): 273–299.

57. See note 3.

58. Anderman, "The Creators of 'Eva's Story.'"

59. Oren Meyers, Motti Neiger, and Eyal Zandberg, *Communicating Awe: Media Memory and Holocaust Commemoration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

60. Dina Porat, *Smoke-Scented Morning Coffee* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem: Am Oved, 2011) [in Hebrew], 357–378; Liat Steir-Livny, *Let the Memorial Hill Remember: Holocaust Representations in Israeli Popular Culture* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2014) [in Hebrew], 17–36.

61. Yael Darr, "Grandparents Reveal Their Secrets: A Holocaust Narrative for the Young 'Third Generation' in Israel," *International Research in Children's Literature* 5 (2012): 97–110; Ruth Furrer, *Agents of Lesson* (Tel Aviv Hakibutz hameuhad, 1989); Avner Ben-Amos, "Holocaust Day and Memorial Day in Israeli Schools: Ceremonies, Education and History," *Israel Studies* 4 (1999): 258–284; Nili Keren, "Study and Textbooks: Changes in Teaching the Holocaust 1980–2001," *Beshvil hazicaron* 42 (2002): 18–24.

62. Zohar Wachtel, "Recipe of Memory: Holocaust Survivors Return to the Recipes of Their Childhood," a paper in the course "Our Holocaust: The Trauma's Commemoration in Israel," Sapir Academic College, April 2019.

63. Dalia Ofer, "The Past That Does Not Pass: Israelis and Holocaust Memory," *Israel Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 1–35; Liat Steir-Livny, "Remembrance in the Living Room [*Zikaron b'Salon*]: Grassroots Gatherings Creating New Forms of Holocaust Commemoration in Israel," *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 26, no. 2 (2020): 241–258.

64. Yehuda Elkana, "The Need to Forget," *Ha'aretz*, March 2, 1988 [in Hebrew], *https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/1.1841380.*

65. Liat Steir-Livny, "Mizrahi Jews and Holocaust Humor in Israeli Popular Culture," in *Laughter: Anthology of Multi-Disciplinary Articles in Humor Research*, ed. Arie Sover (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2018), 167–192 [in Hebrew].

66. Liat Steir-Livny, *Remaking Holocaust Memory: Documentary Cinema by Third-Generation Survivors in Israel* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019).

67. In January 2020 during the Fifth World Holocaust Forum, titled "Remembering the Holocaust: Fighting Antisemitism," in Jerusalem, attended by leaders from forty-nine states, the President of Israel Reuven Rivlin asked these leaders to write messages to Eva's account, stating "Never again." See Itamar Eichner, "The Commitment of the Leaders to Eva," *Yediot Aharonot*, January 22, 2020, 4–5 [in Hebrew].