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**Growing up with German and Israeli parents
who lived through the disasters
of the National Socialism:
Explorations of identity issues**

- a joint Master's thesis / Bachelor's thesis research project -

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Introduction

Research on types of reminiscing and memories of victims of the Nazi Regime among German and Israeli citizens who survived the National Socialism has increased in recent years. However, some aspects of the impact the Nazi regime on sons or daughters of Germans and Israelis who lived through the era still remain to be explored.

The purpose of the project will be to develop a joint research project that will reflect the identified interests of participating faculty. The intention is to foster scientific collaboration and address some problems pertinent to both cultures and the field of social work. We aim to explore subjects' experiences of growing up with German and Israeli parents who lived through the dramatic conditions under the National Socialism. Specifically, we are interested in identifying attachment patterns, self-concepts, adopted values and indices of psychological well-being among our informants. Both in-depth interviews and self-report questionnaires will be utilized for data collection.

This study is designed to be gender-specific and will seek to compare previously unstudied experiences of German and Israeli individuals whose parents lived through the genocidal dictatorship of National Socialism. Students will interview both men and women. Gender-sensitive interview methods (see below) will be adopted and followed up with gender-specific analysis (see below). The analyzed interviews and quantitative results will serve as a pre-test for a German-Israeli research grant proposal on the relationships between the second-generation and their parents and on their life-course and identity formation.

1 State of the Art – Perspectives from both sides of the tragedy

1.1 German perspectives

The grandparents' generation, also called the '*first* generation', are individuals who were socialized into National Socialism as part of the majority society, and/or others who were

adults in Germany at the time. Our target group belonged to the 'Aryan *Volk* community'. Hundreds of thousands of men and women in the most varied functions were involved directly or indirectly in crimes and the war of extermination, in disenfranchisements and denunciations and in the genocide against the persecuted Jews, Sinti and Roma and other groups of victims. Most Germans were supportive of the National Socialist regime and its ideology and profited from the actions of the Nazi government. However, there were some exceptions. Certain minority groups in Germany were not part of the mass following of Hitler and his party¹.

Yet the majority of German society was involved in National Socialism in many ways. This involvement represented a 'social practice' as a 'culture of acquiescence,' (Bajohr, 2001, p. 195). Research results show, that Germans barely worked through their key influences, losses and war experiences and only communicated them between generations in a very fragmentary way. Numerous qualitative analyses of the perpetrators' and accessories' generations (cf. Rosenthal, 1986; 1987; 1990; Bude, 1987) have been complemented by work on individual perpetrators and collective biographical approaches to specific groups of perpetrators (see, for example, Browning, 1992; Herbert, 1996; Orth, 2000; Paul, 2002; Wildt, 2002) in recent years. The perspectives of the 'others', that is the (Jewish) persecuted, murdered, survivors were not and still are not in German majority's field of vision.

In public discussions, the Shoah was considered one calamitous event among others well into the 1960s (Traverso, 2000). Only in the 1980s did "Auschwitz" become a metaphor for the actual "civilization-destroying core" in the German public culture of remembrance (Diner, 1987, p. 72). The debates on Nazi history, remembrance and memory are still manifold (see for example Kramer, 2000; Knigge & Frei, 2002; Welzer, 2002; König, 2003; Uhl, 2003, Frei, 2005). What is at issue is still the need to shed further light on the broader spectrum of German meanings and experiences following WWII as they transmitted down the generations.

The German majority society hardly perceives the fact that there is a connection between

¹ The terms "first generation" for the victims or survivors and "second" and "third generation" for the following generations originate in research on Jewish victims of persecution. In what follows these terms are also used to refer to the sequence of generations within the German majority society, however, without treating the two sides as homogenous in regard to the roles of victim and perpetrator or accessory (Cf. the critical discussions regarding the use of this terminology for the German majority society in, for example: Villigster Forschungsforum zu Nationalsozialismus, Rassismus und Antisemitismus, 2004).

'the grand lines of history' and family history. For example, people of the first generation generally see themselves as victims and do not consider that they bear any responsibility for the Nazi regime and its war of extermination. Moreover, for decades this view was taboo in public debates and educational entities, in both East and West Germany. "The psychological dimension of National Socialist rule and its history has still largely not been researched, and most people have not come to terms with it, a political psychoanalysis ... is in its early stages, even twenty years after Mitscherlich's 'Unfähigkeit zu trauern' (*Engl.* 'inability to mourn')" (Benz, 1987, p. 19).

Studies on the traumatization of the Jewish victims and its transmission to the following generations, informed by psychoanalysis and other forms of psychotherapy, have been carried out since the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Rakoff et al., 1966; Trossmann, 1968, and others). The basis for research on the socio-psychological effects within German society began in the 1980s. The so-called 1968 generation, the women's movement which emerged from it and the social movements which contributed to the democratization of West Germany were the main contributors to this process. Numerous research studies on the mechanisms by which the National Socialist past continues to impact the minds of Germans were carried out (see for example Westernhagen 1987, Sichrovsky 1987, Giordano 1987, Bauriedl 1988, Heimannsberg & Schmidt 1992, Müller-Hohagen 1988, Eckstaedt 1989, Gravenhorst & Tatschmurat 1990, Bar-On 1995, Rottgart 1993, Hauer 1994, Roberts 1994 and Bergmann et al. 1998).

Most of the studies on this topic are related to the field of psychology (including psychotherapy and social psychology and targeted both Jewish and the German non-Jewish second generations. Some had compared the impact of the Nazi regime on perpetrators and victims. These analyses which focused broadly on unresolved feelings of guilt, repression, silence, grief and traumatization, were differentiated further by socio-psychological multigenerational research and studies on transmission, beginning in the late 1990s. Since the unification of Germany comparisons have been made of East and the West German families.² The inclusion of the so-called third generation in research, i.e. that of the

² Cf, for example, Massing & Beushausen 1986, Bohleber 1990, Brendler & Rexilius 1991 and Ritscher 2001. These contributions from social psychology and social therapy and the multigenerational empirical studies carried out by Bar-On (1995) and Rosenthal (1997) focus on perpetrators' families and how they have dealt with the Shoah – some of them in comparison with the families of the victims. Other studies have investigated mainly the third generation of Israeli, American and German youths and their burdened familial past (see, for example, Krondorfer 1995, Bar-On et al. 1997). Schneider (2004) studied the third generation of East and West Germans

grandchildren, has shown the large extent to which even the third generation seems to be affected by family histories in the aftermath of the Nazi period. "The more closed or concealed the dialogue within the family is, the more that is hidden or reworked, the more lasting are the effects of the family history on the generations of the children and grandchildren." (Rosenthal 1997, p. 22, authors' translation).

This work of Rosenthal (and her comparison of German and Israeli families) is pivotal to the field. Her group had examined familial dialogues about the families' past during the Nazi period, focusing on the Nazi crimes and resulting delegations to the second and third generations. The particular historical contexts of the families analyzed and the public discourses about the Shoah in their respective countries of origin (Israel, East and West Germany) are related to the trajectories of family biographies. The intra-familial dynamics in victims' and perpetrators' families had been compared with regard to meta-structures common to individuals and society (For example, processes avoidance and independent thinking). Rosenthal (1997) had suggested that in perpetrators' families questions of guilt and constructions of victimhood are negotiated in different ways in different generations.

In recent years, the approaches, target groups and research questions have been further differentiated. It is no longer only 'perpetrator' families who are studied, but also so-called 'normal' East and West Germans. Welzer et al.'s (2002) social psychological study analyzes "what is handed down to the children's and grandchildren's generation by oral transmission" (ibid., p. 11, authors' translation). Following Assmann's concept of 'cultural and communicative memory' (1988), what is handed down by oral communication focuses on 'family memory'³. "Family memory is not based on the homogeneity of the inventory of its stories, but on the homogeneity and repetition of the practice of remembering, as well as on the fiction of a canonized family history" (Welzer, 2002, p. 21, authors' translation). Welzer's study examined families in which this past "can be talked about and is talked about" (loc. cit., p. 15). In contrast to Rosenthal's approach, Welzer's team is not interested primarily in a "deep dimension of the subconscious of the past" ('Tiefendimension der Latenzinhalte'; loc. cit., p. 11), but rather in the (communicated) awareness of history⁴ in the different

from a psychoanalytic perspective in the context of the parents' and grandparents' generations.

³ Following Halbwachs (1925, 1939) the term "family memory", , is not a fixed entity, but rather includes shifts in meaning that take place in following generations. This does necessitate communication about the Nazi period, which is absent or only very fragmented in many families.

⁴ Following Rüsen (1987) and Jeismann (1979), awareness of history is defined as the connection between

generations of the families, which is sounded out in the sphere of tension between the 'family album' and the 'encyclopedia' of the official view of history.

In family life, which is itself a form of social practice, the societal discourses are concentrated (cf. Kreher & Vierzigmann, 1997). The German section of the present study aims to consider sociopolitical contexts and/or discourses of East and West German cultures of remembrance in regard to the individual and collective constructions of family history. The historical geopolitical ruptures in Germany necessitated biographical and familial reorientations with different ideological adaptations in the two German successor states. Reunification brought a new wave of 'coming to terms with the past' Public discourses triggered by books (e.g. Goldhagen, 1996), political debates associated with the unification process, or by feature films such as *Schindler's List*, etc. have served as catalysts for public and intra-familial dialogues about the German families' pasts.

Biographically acquired patterns of action, interaction and attitude can be understood in the context of family histories as they are associated with discourses on remembrance in the public and in the media. Information that is consciously or subconsciously withheld is connected with topics that are laden with anxiety and influence both the atmosphere within the family and personality development in each generation of children (cf., for example, Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1991; Ehlert, 1996). Because individuals are reluctant to be identified with a 'people of perpetrators', the German public culture of remembrance reflects a dialectics of conveying a normative and moral necessity to deal with German history, on the one hand, and a wish to lay this chapter in German history to rest.

Not having to remember the Nazi past also has to do with a '*culture of dominance*' (Rommelspacher, 1995) within which it is not necessary to grapple with the Nazi crimes. In this vein, Schneider asks in her 2004 study what it means "if victims are not mentioned at all, declassified, still perceived through the lens of prejudice or become extras in images and films which fascinate rather than horrify." (loc. cit., p. 268, authors' translation). If the 'negative' family history is not integrated into contemporary German culture, the experiences of the victims' families also remain abstract or without connection to the Germans' own family histories.

interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and expectations of the future. Leonhard (2002) also takes this concept as a basis for his examination of the development of awareness of politics and history in the sequence of generations.

The risk is that the persistent lingering dichotomization of society into 'us' and 'them' might perpetuate in the following generations. Research on the origins of right-wing extremism, for example, hardly takes the adolescents' and adults' family histories into account, with only few exceptions (for example, Inowlocki 2000, Köttig 2004). In current discussions on right-wing extremism in Germany, the significance of the emotional transmission of history is also rarely recognized.

It is conceivable that offspring of the formerly persecuted groups have a 'different' heritage, a 'different' memory and consequentially 'different' patterns of perception and interpretation of the historical events and the resulting impact on identity formation.

1.2 The survivors' perspectives

More than half a century ago, about 6 million Jews were murdered in an unprecedented genocide. About one and a half million children below 15 years of age were killed (Keren, 2001). Although Hitler and his followers almost achieved the 'Final Solution', many Jewish children and adults managed to survive World War II and scores of them immigrated to Israel.

The outcomes of studies on the psychological consequences of the Holocaust for the first generation, the survivors are not unequivocal.

Some of the evidence suggests that children of survivors have been exposed to abusive environments more frequently than comparison groups. For example, in one study adult offspring of Holocaust survivors reported higher levels of childhood trauma, particularly emotional abuse and neglect, than comparison participants (Yehuda et al., 2001). The authors suggested that this emotional abuse resulted from parents' minimization of their children's experiences, seeing their difficulties from the perspective of their own traumas. It has also been proposed that when family members do not talk about their traumatic experiences in an attempt to avoid issues that might trigger distress (Bar-On, 1995), and also when, on the contrary, they over-disclose, this puts their children at risk. Identifying with their traumatized parents, they may learn to be similarly hypervigilant. Furthermore, re-enactments of trauma-related affective experiences transmit trauma by engaging offspring in scenarios that are thematically reminiscent of their parents' trauma. Family theorists have

described these processes as the presence of the past, not merely the influence of the past (e.g., Friedman, 1991).

On the other hand, various researchers demonstrated that most Holocaust survivors were able to establish a productive and successful existence, as well as a happy family life. In their view Holocaust survivors do not seem to be seriously impaired by psychological problems (e.g., Suedfeld, 2000). In contrast, other researchers mention serious disturbances

such as chronic anxiety and depression and conflictual family functioning (e.g., Danieli, 1998). Lev-Weisel and Amir (2001) reported that about one-third of the spouses of Holocaust survivors who were children during the war suffered from some degree of secondary traumatic stress symptoms and psychological distress that was related to hostility, anger, paranoia, and interpersonal sensitivity in the survivor, but unrelated to whether the survivor had shared his/her reminiscences with the spouse.

Clinical studies have reported disturbed family relations of Holocaust survivors expressed as over-protectiveness of their offspring, anxious and ambivalent child-parent bonds, and a hampering of their children's quest for autonomy (e.g., Barocas & Barocas, 1973, 1979, 1980). Some evidence of the psychological vulnerability of the HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING was provided by a study on the effects of the 1982 Lebanon war on Israeli soldiers. Solomon et al. (1988) found that three years after the Lebanon war, soldiers who were HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING showed significantly more indicators of PTSD than soldiers without this family background. However, in their study Sagi-Schwartz et al. (2003) found that Holocaust survivors may have been able to protect their daughters from their war experiences, although they themselves were still suffering from the effects of the Holocaust.

In sum, the concept of secondary traumatization among the HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING remains equivocal (Bar-On, 1995). The question as to whether survivors have been able to raise their children with or without transmitting the traumas of their pasts by providing good-enough environments for healthy development needs to be further explored. Ijzendoorn et al. (2003) tested the hypothesis of secondary traumatization in Holocaust survivor families by conducting a series of meta-analyses on 32 samples involving 4,418 participants. In this set of well-designed non-clinical studies, no evidence of an influence of parents' traumatic Holocaust experiences on their children was found. Secondary traumatization emerged only in studies on clinical participants who had experienced other

forms of stress. These findings are due to the fact that research on second-generation participants may not have employed instruments that were sufficiently sensitive to the actual outcomes in HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING. In other words, rather than searching for specific psychopathologies in a deductive paradigm, research should possibly employ an inductive approach to explore the experience of growing up in a survivors' family from the respondents' perspective.

Research conducted along these lines should use mainly qualitative methods to gain a better understanding of both the context and the meaning of the broader experiences of HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING. For example, Chaitin (2002) reported in her qualitative article that HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING were struggling with conflicts with their parents and that family relations were important to them, while, likewise in a mainly qualitative study, Wiseman et al. (2006) demonstrated mutual overprotection among survivors and their offspring and suggested that this should be understood as being associated with the nonverbal presence of the Holocaust in the home and the lack of open communication between HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING and their parents about the parents' traumatic experiences. It has been suggested that this style of relating with the parents impedes more open expression of anger and freeing from guilt.

The legacies of National Socialism and the Holocaust are defining elements in German and Israeli ethoses. The collection of data on the psychological consequences of National Socialist tyranny has been limited mostly to the measurement of the obvious assortment of negative feelings and psychopathology (e.g., Somer, 1994; Somer, 2006). We suspect that this narrow focus may arise from both deductive and reductive errors that can restrict the scope of our understanding of the complex outcome of the Holocaust on both sides of the tragedy. For example, to the best of our knowledge no empirical studies have been published on the values of HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR OFFSPRING in regard to critical concepts such as racism, dogmatism and conservatism versus tolerance of the Other, national and ethnic identity or on non-clinical traits such as empathy and compassion. The words of Israeli historian and journalist Tom Segev illustrate the relevance of such research:

"I feel that Israeli society has not learnt the full humanitarian lesson of the Holocaust as we should and I feel that if we had given more attention to the humanitarian legacy of the Holocaust, we may act differently on the occupied territories. Still the policy on the occupied territories is influenced by a very deep-rooted fear which we all carry in us. Perhaps without

the Holocaust we would be a more normal people, but we are not.” (Segev, 2005).

Clearly, no comparative study on these issues has ever been undertaken with respondents from both sides of the tragedy divide, i.e. with the children and grandchildren of German and Israelis who lived through the Nazi regime.

2 Research Questions

The goal of the study is to trace, through semistructured interviews, the experience and meaning of family histories of German and Israeli children of parents who lived through the Nazi regime and to identify the effect of this experience on key values and identity characteristics.. The more precisely and deeply the microprocesses that take place between the individual, his/her experience and also the interplay of memory, event and transmission are analyzed, the greater the understanding of societal processes of coming to terms with the issues becomes.

The first generation experienced and reflected upon their own life stories under National Socialism / Holocaust in different ways, which differed according to people’s backgrounds, ages, genders and possibilities for dealing with it. The way in which they came to terms with their life stories is of fundamental importance for their daughters’ and sons’ (and in turn, the sons’ and daughters’ own children’s) orientations towards life and action. Coming to terms with one’s private familial past in a reflexive way enables one to become aware of the social, political and family-history quality of the individual context of one’s own life within a complex, cosmopolitan understanding of social reality which encompasses tolerating and integrating ambivalent feelings. This second generation, especially those which can also be called the ‘war children’s generation’, is or soon will be of retirement age. The influences of the past influences and long-term memory are becoming more active. Many feel the need to come to terms with their own and their parents’ histories and to understand them.

What approaches do individuals have to themselves and to this whole context? Do the members of the second generation relate their own experiences to the public and media culture of remembrance? Are such links between ‘private’ family dynamics and ‘large-scale’ / collective history made at all? Do open conversations take place – also conversations between all generations/family members – about the families’ pasts during National

Socialism / Holocaust? Or do taboos and secrets predominate here? To what extent are the following generations' behaviors (delegations) connected to families' Nazi / Holocaust histories? Do rules for action, figures of meaning and (latent) subjective structures of meaning exist which have their roots in the family and which can be derived from the parents' family histories under National Socialism / Holocaust? How have the parents' experiences shaped the respondents' world views? More specifically, how do the children of those who lived through the National Socialist racist regime / Holocaust relate to minority groups? How tolerant are they of political, ethnic and religious diversity? What are the relationships between family traditions regarding open discussion of the legacies of the past and current world views and national identity issues?

The following research questions will serve as open introductory questions for the in-depth interview guide.

- How have sons or daughters of Germans and Israelis who lived through the Nazi regime / Holocaust experienced their childhoods?
- What are the world views of sons or daughters of Germans and Israelis who lived through the Nazi regime / Holocaust?
- What do sons or daughters of Germans and Israelis who lived through the Nazi regime / Holocaust think about the impact of their experiences on their current daily lives and world views?
- What kind of psychological indices (e. g. attachment patterns, self-concepts, values and states of psychological well-being) are manifested by sons or daughters of Germans and Israelis who lived through the Nazi regime / Holocaust?

To what extent possibilities for comparisons exist, in spite of the drastically different starting points, will be of particular interest. Among the German interviews, for example, various degrees of involvement of the first generation are possible. Some may have belonged to the 'Volk community' and been identified with the Nazi ideology and well integrated into the moral setting of National Socialism, while other families may also have included individual members who were opposed to the regime. One can also expect to meet offspring of families with configurations involving victims and perpetrators alike. How does each of the German interviewees relate to national (i.e. German) identity? A comparison with migrants might also be interesting here: how do they position themselves vis-à-vis the Shoah history? The target group of German Jews who survived the Holocaust and/or returned after 1945 and whose

children were born or grew up in West or East Germany might possibly also be a potential group to compare with Jewish families in Israel. Other important categories for analysis/horizons for comparison would be the social milieu, East or West German descent, and gender.

We wish to explore if participants of the two national groups differ in their world views and emotional well-being and to identify predictors of tolerance in the two groups. We would like to collect more detailed information how that parental discussion of their experiences of the disasters of the Second World War / Holocaust will mediate their children's life quality, values, world views and emotional well-being.

3 Research Design and Methods

The University Of Haifa School Of Social Work and the Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences in Berlin will initiate 3-4 Masters Theses / Bachelor Theses in each school to form one integrated research project involving students and faculty. Each school will strive to complete 25 semi-structured, biographically oriented interviews with supplementary psychological measures. Participants will be individuals who are sons or daughters of Germans and Israelis who experienced the Shoah and the Nazi regime. Responses from 25 respondents of each nation will be investigated quantitatively. Ten cases from each country will be included on the basis of theoretical sampling and analysed using biographical methods. Despite the proposed use of deductive codes, the biographical analysis of the interviews will allow ample flexibility for interplay of both deductive and inductive movements as described below.

Process-oriented, explorative research questions require qualitative and quantitative methodologies. For the qualitative part of the research problem-centred interviews with an open-ended initial invitation question (Witzel, 1982) will be employed to gain access to the lived realities of the sons and daughters of Germans and Israelis who experienced the Shoah and the Nazi regime. This will be done in such a way as to elicit responses that will demonstrate the inter-linking of social influence and the interviewees' individual modes of processing their experiences. It is also important to collect data on the integration of each individual family member (interviewee) in her or his multigenerational family network, in particular in order to explore the network of influences and emotional dependencies within

which the interviewee lives. How strongly was and is the interviewee influenced by the past? The interviews will therefore be semi-structured in order to facilitate comparison and create a basis for a process-oriented, flexible method of data analysis, oscillating between an inductive and deductive procedure.

Using the method of 'Theoretical Sampling' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/1998) the interviewees will be selected in a stepwise fashion in order to achieve the greatest possible variety. The only constant factor will be age limitations. The concept of generation, a concept that refers to experience and action, is used here as a genealogical-familial term. I.e., the family members classified as first, second and third generation refer to the grandparents', parents' and grandchildren's generations, not to statistical cohort models. In our sampling the first generation should be born before or in the year 1925. The second generation should be born at the year or after 1945. With a view to achieving maximum comparison, contrast cases such as interviewees of different genders and social statuses and from different age etc. will be included. In line with the goal of obtaining insight into gender-specific modes of dealing with the pasts of the parents, half of the interviewees should be men and half women.

Like described above, most Germans were supportive of the National Socialist regime and its ideology and profited from the actions of the Nazi government. However, there also existed exceptions. These groups had a different experience that has been understudied and deserves some scientific attention: for instance, some Germans were persecuted on political grounds, and others refused to become collaborators or perpetrators. Others yet had family members who became victims of euthanasia. Some had Jewish relatives or were related to someone defined as Jewish in racist categories. Another persecuted German group was the homosexuals. There were also Germans who rescued Jews by hiding them or helping them flee. Others underwent processes of transformation from ardent National Socialists to active oppositionists. Some experienced epiphanies, while others were experienced worlds that were in total opposition to the official propaganda. In some cases nonconformist action or resistance arose simply from empathy with the persecuted individuals or had religious or political motivations. For many, it was only the war or the loss of family members, the destruction in their own country and the foreseeable end of the system which brought them to a critical position or oppositional action. Most of the millions of ethnic Germans who were displaced or forced to flee from 1944 onwards also had to endure experiences full of suffering which are overlaid upon their memories of the Nazi system's crimes.

For the purposes of this study, Holocaust survivors are individuals who were physically persecuted by the Nazis or their cohorts. Persecution and discrimination experiences varied. We propose to include respondents who lived in ghettos and concentration camps or compulsory labor frameworks, who hid and those who joined the partisan ranks. The broadest definition of the term Holocaust survivor relates to any Jew who lived for any period of time in a country that was ruled by the Nazis or their allies. For “theoretical sampling” we will seek to interview individuals who meet this broader definition only.

Mayring’s (1993, 2000) qualitative content analysis will be used to analyse the interviews. However, it will be slightly modified and interspersed with a biographical step (Gahleitner, 2003). In addition, a gender-sensitive procedure developed by Hagemann-White (1993, 1994; for details of the procedure see Gahleitner, 2003) will also be employed in order to widen the scope for an explorative, inductive approach and to do justice to the gender aspects of the issue under investigation. For the communicative validation (Köckeis-Stangl, 1980) of the analysing process, the analyses of the individual cases and the overall results will be discussed between the students in each individual participating country and between the countries.

For explorative descriptive quantitative purposes we also intend to administer the following research instruments:

1. The McGill Quality of Life Questionnaire was originally designed to measure quality of life for people with lifethreatening illness (Cohen et al., 1996). The Scale shows satisfactory internal consistency as well as test-retest reliability (Chronbach alpha of .83). The questionnaire includes 16 items asking participants to agree or disagree on a 11-point Likert-type scale (0-10).
2. The Berkeley-Leiden Adult Attachment Questionnaire for Unresolved Loss or Trauma (BLAAQ-U, Main et al., 1993) consists of 58 Likert-type items with a seven-point scale ranging from strongly disagree (-3) to strongly agree (+3). It consists of two scales: the Unresolved State of Mind scale (USM) and the Unusual Beliefs scale (UB). The USM scale includes 41 items covering the following domains: Responsibility for death and other tragedy, Possession, Confused/disoriented, Shame, Memories lost, Uncontrollable memories, and Frightened reactions. The UB scale consists of 17 items representing the following areas: Astrology, Spiritualism, Precognition, and Mind-reading. In three student samples at Berkeley and Leiden (Main et al., 1993), the

BLAAQ-U was found to be internally consistent (alphas ranging from .79 to .89), to be test-retest reliable (correlations ranging from .74 to .92), and to converge with the outcome of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI; George, Kaplan & Main, 1985). In a recent study in Israel (Sagi, Van IJzendoorn, Joels, & Scharf, 2002), Holocaust survivors were found to differ significantly from comparison participants on the USM scale.

3. The Antonovsky's Sense of Coherence Scale (SOC-29; Singer & Brähler, 2007) measures the extent to which one has a pervasive, enduring though dynamic feeling of confidence that one's internal and external environments are predictable and that there is a high probability that things will work out as well as can reasonably be expected. The underlying concept of salutogenesis is an alternative medicine concept that focuses on factors that support human health and well-being rather than on factors that cause disease. Analyses of the full version of 29 items indicated satisfactory internal consistency as well as test-retest reliability (Chronbach alpha of .82 - .95; Singer & Brähler, 2007, p. 21).
4. The Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale – Shortened (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), includes 20 items asking participants to agree or disagree on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Half of the items indicate pro traits (e.g. “The ‘old fashioned ways’ and the ‘old fashioned values’ still show the best way to live”), and the other half is comprised of con traits (e.g., “you have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority ‘s view by protesting doe women’s abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer”). The questionnaire showed a Chronbach alpha of .83 in Israel (Rubinstein, 2006).
5. The Ethnocentrism Scale – Shortened (Bizumic et al., 2007) is comprised of 36 items to measure the total ethnocentrism, intergroup and intragroup ethnocentrism and six primary dimensions: preference, superiority, purity, exploitativeness, group cohesion and devotion (alphas = .73-.89). Respondents are asked to rate the scale’s items on a 9-point scale ranging from -4 to +4.
6. The Patriotism Scale (Li & Brewer, 2004) is a 7-point disagree-agree scale consisting of 5 items measuring the identification with one’s country (e.g., “I am proud to be German”, or “In general, I have little respect for the Israeli people (reverse-scored)”.] Chroncach’s alpha for this scale was reported to be .83.

We will also collect biographical data as well as information on the extent of discussion of the parental experiences under the National Socialist regime, current attachment styles and

emotional well-being. Data will be collected among German and Israeli offspring of individuals who lived through National Socialism and an Israeli control group of offspring with no family background associated with the Nazi persecution. To preserve a degree of uniformity among the Israeli respondents in terms of their ancestors' experience of persecution, we will interview individuals who have had at least two grandparents who survived a concentration camp. To preserve a degree of uniformity among the German respondents we will seek to interview individuals with at least one parent who was actively involved in the National Socialist regime. The research questionnaires will add descriptive information and will assist in the planning of a future deductive study.

Table 1: Research Plan

<i>Research Plan</i>	<i>Methods</i>
<i>Qualitative Data Collection</i>	<i>3-4 Master Theses / Bachelor Theses each including about 10 problem centered, biographical interviews (stepwise theoretical sampling) with individuals who are sons or daughters of Germans or Israelis who lived through the Nazi regime / Holocaust. Interviewees will be asked about their experiences of growing up, attachment styles, qualities of life, emotional well-being, self-concepts and values</i>
<i>Explorative Quantitative Data Collection</i>	<i>All participants will fill out self-report questionnaires to include measures of authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, patriotism, attachment and emotional well-being</i>
<i>Qualitative Data Analysis</i>	<i>Qualitative content analysis interspersed with a biographical step and combined with a gender-sensitive procedure</i>
<i>Quantitative Data Analysis</i>	<i>Descriptive use of quantitative data to complement the qualitative results; explorative comparisons between the different groups as a pre-test for future quantitative investigations with a larger sample</i>
<i>Triangulation of the analyzing process, the results of the individual cases and the overall results between the students in the different countries</i>	
<i>Presentation of the results at conferences in Germany and Israel</i>	
<i>Results will serve as a pre-test for a research grant proposal on the relationship between the German and Israeli second generation's experiences with their parents after WWII</i>	

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