

The After Generations:
Legacies and Life Stories of Children and Grandchildren
of Holocaust Survivors
by
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ABSTRACT

The Holocaust and the effects it has had upon witnesses has been a topic of study for nearly six decades; however, few angles of research have been conducted relating to the long-term effects of the Holocaust upon the children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors—the After Generations. The After Generations are considered the proof—the living legacies—that their parents and grandparents survived. Growing up with intimate knowledge of the atrocities that occurred during the Holocaust, members of the After Generations not only carry with them their family’s story, but also their own vicarious experience(s) of trauma. From this legacy comes a burden of responsibility to those who perished, their survivor parents/grandparents, the stories that were shared, as well as to future generations. Using grounded theory method, this study not only explores the long-term effects of the Holocaust upon members of the After Generations, but what it means to responsibly remember the stories from the Holocaust, as well as how individuals might ethically represent such stories/memories.

Findings that developed out of an axial analysis of interview transcripts and journal writing, as well as the later development of a performance script, are embodied in a manner that allows the actual language and experiences of the participants to be collectively witnessed both symbolically and visually. Through their desire to remember, members of the After Generations demonstrate how they plan to carry on traditions, live lives that honor those that came before them, and maintain hope for the future. In so doing, the stories shared reveal the

centrality of the Holocaust in the lives of members of the After Generations through their everyday choices to responsibly and actively remember through their art, writings, life-work, as well as from within their work in their local communities. Such acts of remembrance are important to the education of others as well as to the construction and maintenance of the After Generations' identities. The representation of these voices acts as a reminder of how hatred and its all-consuming characteristics can affect not only the person targeted, but multiple generations, as well.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to all those children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors who have felt a burden of responsibility to their family's history: continue speaking, educating, and informing all those around you about the Holocaust. Education is our best defense. May you know that you are not alone in this endeavor. And to my children—Maggie, Asher, and Abby—may you always remember and honor your family legacy.

**This study is also dedicated to Julie Dardick Kellogg. I know you would have been proud. We miss you.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

When I was five years old, my mother informed my older brother and me that she had decided to re-marry. The news was a huge shock to both of us, as we had never met this strange man who was about to become a central figure in our household. We were used to being just the three of us. Now there would be a fourth—and a stranger at that. Though I do not actually remember the first time we met, my stepfather has told me on more than one occasion that during that first encounter I grabbed a hold of his leg and refused to let go. Apparently he carried me around on his leg for most of the day. They have been married twenty-six years now and in some ways I feel as though I still have not let go.

My stepfather is a story-teller. I am a natural-born listener. He found in me someone with whom he could pass along his stories, and in these stories, I found new places and experiences with which to dream. They were stories of gypsies and bombed-out castles, childhood pranks, and finding rare coins. As I grew older, however, the stories grew darker. Soon, I learned the truth about his horrific childhood growing up as an orphan in war-torn Poland. The stories depicted frightening nights alone in orphanages, Soviet occupation and their mistreatment of my stepfather, as well as the witness of the execution of his best friend at the age of 6 years old. These darker stories stirred within me a deep sense of anger and an urgency to learn more.

Every time he chose to share a story, no matter whether it was one I had heard 15 times before or a new one, I began to picture myself there with him. I was as much a part of these stories (in my mind anyway) as he was. I would ask him questions, prod him, and request more information. I did not know then where these questions would lead. I just knew that I had to know. There were just too many mysteries within these stories; too many unanswered questions. They left me feeling unsettled. So, together with my mother and siblings, we encouraged my stepfather to find out an answer to the most important question: what really happened all those years ago to cause him to become an orphan?

In the summer of 2000, we finally received an answer. It was not what we were expecting. No, it was far bigger than we could have imagined. Through our contacts with the American Red Cross, we were informed that my stepfather's mother had been arrested as a German Jew in March of 1943 outside of Danzig, Germany. The fact that my stepfather's mother was a Holocaust survivor was mind-boggling in and of itself but when my stepfather thought about what that date meant his identity as he knew it began to come apart.

My stepfather was born in September of 1943, which meant that in March of 1943 when his mother had been arrested, she had been three months pregnant with him. From the documents provided by the Red Cross, we learned that his mother was not released from the camps until 1945. These dates could mean only one thing: my stepfather had been born in a concentration camp.

My stepfather is a Holocaust survivor.

This news was almost too much for my mother and two younger siblings to fully comprehend, but for me, it somehow all made sense. This was why he was the way he was. This explained why he was left an orphan. This explained the scars on the back of his head that he could never remember receiving. This explained why he did not know who his father was. Of course, it also led to further questions: if his mother survived, how were they separated? Why was he just learning the truth about his past now? What does this mean for him today? And consequently, what did it mean for me and my family?

These questions steered us in our investigation. The two of us first traveled to the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. Later, our whole family traveled to the camp in which he was born, as well as the city in Poland in which he was raised. Visiting these sites brought us closer to discovering the truth of his past. The man I had known all my years growing up was beginning to change before me. And in so doing, something within me began to change, as well.

By my senior year of college, we decided that we should write his life-story together. It needed to be told. He spent hours telling me stories of his childhood, while I sat listening with an audio-recorder in hand. One evening my stepfather finally arrived at the story I had heard a hundred times, but one that I would never get used to hearing. This time the telling was different. As he began this story, it was as if he was transferred back to being a six year old again witnessing the murder of his best friend, a little girl named Star. I watched helplessly as he curled up into the fetal position, rocking, shaking and crying. He

cried out for his friend's murderer to stop, but in reality he was only crying out to me.

As I witnessed this scene unfold before me, I was shocked into silence because there was nothing I could do to help him. I knew in that moment that I would never be the same nor would I ever want to be the same. I vowed that I would never forget Star, a young orphan girl killed after the war for no other reason than she was viewed as a burden to her country. I would never forget the Holocaust; for the atrocities that took place against a people simply due to their culture and religious beliefs, or for the horrible manner in which my stepfather began his life in this world. I would never forget the long-term effects the Holocaust had upon its victims, and consequently, the generations after. In this one telling of a story, I was forever changed and consequently, traumatized.

Yet, I am simply the stepdaughter. None of my stepfather's blood runs through me. His family's history, his cultural and religious background—none of this is mine to claim. His life-story, however, in constant tellings and re-tellings has become every much a part of me as my own lived experiences. I may not have lived nor witnessed any of these experiences that were shared with me, but they mean something to me. They are stories I cannot shake. I have a responsibility to them. I must live my life in remembrance of these events, vigilantly watching to ensure that similar events do not occur again. I have a responsibility to keep his story alive. I am compelled to share.

And I soon found that I was not alone.

The After Generations, or the children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors, were once seen as the future generations—the generations that would carry on the legacies of their survivor relatives (Wardi, 1992; Hirsch, 2008; Hoffman, 2004). Actual survivors of the Holocaust had a platform to speak as witnesses to the atrocities of the war and the children of these survivors were the proof that all was not lost. Today, I would argue that these 2nd and 3rd generations should not be discussed as the generations of the future; rather, they are the generations of the present. Many survivors have passed on to the next life. Those who were born in the concentration camps are nearing their 70s. They still have a story to tell, but many survivors' stories now live on only in their children and grandchildren. Thus, these After Generations carry with them the burden of a story—a story that is not wholly their own, but one that resonates as if it were.

This “burden of responsibility” is what began my interest in the subject. In researching my own experience, I found that others felt something similar. While all of our stories are unique, I knew that there was something here; something important that needed to be examined. If this burden (and honor) was so strong, what did that tell us about the long-term effects of the Holocaust on subsequent generations? And what implications might it have upon society as a whole?

A Note About Multiple Stories and Multiple Perspectives

In my initial research, I found that there were a variety of perspectives and debates among those who study the Holocaust. These perspectives ranged from

who might be considered a “true” Holocaust survivor to who has the authority to speak about the Holocaust (Cole, 2004; Finkelstein, 2000; Novick, 1999). As I read about and made sense of these varying perspectives, I could not help but feel that they all made valid points. There were those who wished to fiercely protect the discourse surrounding the Holocaust so as not to contaminate the integrity of the stories of those who had suffered and survived to tell (Bauman 1989; Lang 1990; Rosenfeld 1980). And there were those who wished to be inclusive, accepting all people with a story to share (Langer, 2000; Rowland-Klein & Dunlop, 1998).

Having knowledge of these diverse perspectives prepared me for one of my very first interviews. During this interview, the participant began the conversation by first posing a question to me. She asked, “Tell me, what constitutes a survivor of the Holocaust in your opinion?”¹ The question was direct and I could tell by the manner in which it was asked, she had a specific answer in mind. I could only give her the answer I knew to be right in my heart. I answered: “Anyone who made it out alive—whether they were in the concentration camps, hidden in homes, on the *kindertransport*², hiding in the woods, escaping to another country just in time—to me, they are all survivors.”

¹ Interview 5

² After the events of Kristallnacht, a violent pogrom staged against Jews in Germany, Great Britain allowed minors ages 17 and under to be transported by train to Great Britain. The agreement was meant to be short-term and children were to be sent back to their parents after things had settled. The result was that most of these children were left orphans after the war (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).

The individual let out a sigh of relief and said, “Good. You wouldn’t believe how many people don’t think that same way.”

Debates regarding who is considered a true survivor have ensued since the end of World War II (Barkat, 2004; Bauer, 1982; Symons, 2010). Some believe that only those who survived the concentration camps and ghettos are considered survivors (Bauer, 1982; Symons, 2010); whereas others have a more broadened view that a survivor is anyone “who was displaced, persecuted and/or discriminated against by the racial, religious, ethnic, and political policies of the Nazis and their allies. In addition to former inmates of concentration camps and ghettos this includes, among others, refugees and people in hiding” (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). In fact, a fairly recent example of this debate was played out in an article in *The Jewish Chronicle* that told the story of a Holocaust survivor in Missouri who happened to also be a Palestinian sympathizer. Shortly after her views on an Israeli/Palestinian issue came out to the public, she was rebuked by political and scholarly figures telling her that she had no right to call herself a survivor because she had never been in the camps. At the age of 14 she had been placed by her parents on the *kindertransport* and thus never suffered physically at the hands of the Nazis (Symons, 2010). She made it out of the country just before the rest of her family was deported to the concentration camps. After the war, she found that her entire family had been murdered, leaving her an orphan in a strange land. Despite the fact that she would have been placed in the camps with her family had they not preemptively placed her on the

kindertransport, her critics say that she is a *refugee* and not a *survivor*. For those who agree with this strict definition of the term, the emotional scars left with this woman as a result of the Nazis' physical abuse on her parents and extended family—leaving her the only surviving member—do not constitute her being a Holocaust *survivor*. Perhaps one might argue that the backlash she received was due to her controversial political stance, however the point remains that the contestation over terms is an ongoing debate.

This particular debate is significant to this study because it demonstrates the contested nature of language surrounding the Holocaust. There are a variety of perspectives and interpretations related to this politically, culturally, and religiously implicated topic, thus recognizing that they exist is essential. If debates have ensued over who might be considered an actual survivor, it only makes sense that there will also be those who do not believe that children or grandchildren of the Holocaust survivors should speak about the Holocaust either (Bauman 1989; Lang 1990; Rosenfeld 1980). This study demonstrates that just as there are different types of survivors, there are also multiple viewpoints related to the overarching story of the Holocaust—and one of those viewpoints is from the perspective of the child and/or grandchild of the Holocaust survivor. The Holocaust has not only affected those who lived to witness or experience the events but to the subsequent generations, as well. These members of the After Generations have a story to share and a legacy to bear. They wish not to replace the stories of their survivor relatives, but to add to them so that future generations

can truly understand the greater effect of the Holocaust on multiple generations. Thus, the following study focuses on the experiences of 18 American children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors.

The chapters that follow relate how this study unfolded. Chapter Two is a review of the literature conducted relating to members of the After Generations, along with important theories relating to collective memory, theories of trauma, and the ethics of speaking for others. Chapter Three describes the methodology utilized to conduct such a study, as well as the processes involved in analyzing the data. Chapter Four focuses on the axial analysis of the study, demonstrating how the data was used to create a performance script, while Chapter Five is the actual performance script. Finally, Chapter Six concludes the study by discussing the potential implications and limitations to the study.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The After Generations

The memories of Holocaust survivors have long been valued by those studying the Nazi Holocaust. Even when testimonials were considered unreliable, the witnesses to these particular events were so numerous that it was difficult to ignore the narratives they shared. These individuals were able to survive while so many perished, leaving many of them alone with no one but themselves to rely upon. For many, the desire to start over and create new families was immediate. Their offspring became the proof—the living legacy—that they had survived. These children grew up with knowledge of the atrocities that occurred during the Holocaust by way of first-hand accounts told to them by parents and grandparents or through the long periods of silence, when a parent chose not to speak. The trauma these parents and grandparents experienced was carried on to the next generation to be played out in new ways (Kestenberg, 1982; Krell, 1984; Lang, 1990; Langer, 2000; Rustin, 1980; Solkoff, 1982). And these secondary traumas or burdens of responsibility were then carried over to the third generation (Berger, 2010; De Mendelssohn, 2008).

While in recent years, the memories and narratives of the “After Generations”—the children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors—have become more readily accepted and recognized within the realm of Holocaust research (Berger & Berger, 2001; Eisenstein, 2006; Gubar, 2003; Wardi, 1992),

for many years, the expressed experiences of offspring of Holocaust survivors were considered a mere footnote to the larger discussion of the Holocaust and the after-effects of World War II. Gathering the testimonies of those who actually survived the Holocaust weighed more heavily on those who were intent on recording these important stories before they were lost forever. The fear that the events of the Holocaust could be repeated in the future was very real. As a result, scholars and researchers were much more interested in those who experienced the events themselves, and until the 1970s, very little consideration was given to the offspring of these survivors at all (Epstein, 1979; Langer, 2000; Rowland-Klein & Dunlop, 1998).

There is no question as to why most interest and research has been conducted with a focus on the survivor witness, as these individuals have a unique story and insight into a tragic part of human history. The fact that there are Holocaust deniers and individuals that like to lay claim to a story that is not theirs, has caused many scholars within the field of Holocaust studies to be very careful about drawing boundaries regarding who is considered a survivor and who can speak with authority on this subject (Cole, 2004; Finkelstein, 2000; Novick, 1999). Questions relating to the motives behind representing this particular past have been raised since the 1940s and should always be considered when approaching such a sensitive topic as the Holocaust. Due to this questioning, however, the belief that the only valid voices are those of the victims themselves have consequently silenced these children of survivors (Adorno, 1949; Bauman

1989; Lang 1990; Rosenfeld 1980). Survivor testimonies are indeed important and should be held in the highest regard; however, many scholars also believe that the testimonies of the After Generations can add to researchers' knowledge of the Holocaust and its long-term effects (Bar-On, 1995; Chaitin, 2003; Rosenthal, 1998).

Survivor testimonials can only tell one part of a larger, life-altering story. They speak of the indescribable events of the Holocaust. They speak of the trauma that the witness continues to endure. They do not speak, however, of the trauma that may have been passed to subsequent generations. Thus, a growing number of scholars have expressed their belief that there should not be one way of representing or talking about the Holocaust, but that many voices should be encouraged to speak so that the events of the Holocaust are not forgotten (Flanzbaum 2001; Huyssen, 1993; Kertesz, 2001; Mintz, 2001).

Within the past few decades, more research has been conducted primarily focusing on the offspring of these survivors, which provide legitimacy to the accounts provided by members of the After Generations as they relate to their Holocaust survivor parent/grandparent(s) (Bar-On, 1995; Berger, 2010; Chaitin, 2003, Codde, 2007; Rosenthal, 1998). As many individuals of the second and third generation know the stories of their parents' and grandparents' experiences during the Holocaust almost as well as they know their own lived memories, a shift in consideration has occurred where scholars are asking: when these survivors are no longer around to share their testimonies, who better to talk to

about these events? This chapter will focus on research conducted about the After Generations (Epstein, 1979; Langer, 2000; Rowland-Klein & Dunlop, 1998); theories of trauma (Caruth, 1996; Knadler, 1999); collective memory (Bal, Crewe, & Spitzer, 1999; Halbwachs, 1992; Irwin-Zareka, 1994); and the role of ethics while speaking on behalf of others (Margalit, 2002; Oliver, 2001; Zulaika, 2003).

Second-Generation Survivors

While the children of Holocaust survivors certainly have the ability to pass along the stories of their parents so as to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive, this is not the sole reason scholars have begun to consider what it is that they have to say. More and more information about the traumatic effects of these stories have been collected, demonstrating proof of enduring transmission of trauma upon the children (Epstein, 1979; Langer, 2000; Rowland-Klein & Dunlop, 1998). The effects of these memories are often expressed in the ways in which these children have been taught to interact in the world. Such remembered stories have shaped them into the people they have become. They cannot separate themselves and their knowledge of the world from the stories they have inherited. Even with the research proving that the offspring of Holocaust survivors have endured their own form of trauma, there are some who still believe that the Holocaust should focus entirely on those eyewitnesses (Lang, 1990; Lanzmann, 1995).

Gubar (2003) explains that “the argument of radical singularity or uniqueness will not sustain the exertions of those second-generation artists and scholars who feel they have to create analogies, installations, metaphors,

performances, and portraits to evoke an ever more distant atrocity that occurred before some of them were born” (p. 7). Considering only the voices of those who survived the camps ultimately negates the experiences felt by those victims’ children. The trauma may not have been experienced first-hand, but it does have the possibility of being passed on as a family legacy (or curse).

Helen Epstein (1979), the child of two Holocaust survivor parents, writes:

I knew my parents had crossed over a chasm, and that each of them had crossed it alone. I was their first companion, a new leaf, and I knew this leaf had to be pure life. This leaf was as different from death as good was from evil and the present from the past. It was evidence of the power of life over the power of destruction. It was proof that they had not died themselves...[but] I needed company, other voices to confirm that those things I carried inside me were real, that I had not made them up. My parents could not help me with this; they were part of it...there had to be other people like me, who shared what I carried...there had to be, I thought, an invisible, silent family scattered about the world. I set out on a secret quest, so intimate I did not speak of it to anyone. I set out to find a group of people, who, like me, were possessed by a history they had never lived. (pp. 13-14)

Epstein embodies what many children of survivors feel as they struggle to find their place in the midst of their parents’ past and present lives. The problem of knowing the trauma one’s parents have undergone and the inability to do anything

for them is what often leads to this trans-generational trauma (Epstein, 1979; LaCapra, 2004).

Transmission of trauma. In the 1970s, several studies were conducted focusing on the transmission of trauma to the children of Holocaust survivors. Behavioral scientists began to notice that some of the same symptoms that Holocaust survivors experienced, such as depression, guilt, anxiety, and fear of persecution, were being experienced by their children (Science News, 1978). What one study found was that in nearly 80% of the patients they observed, the onset of these symptoms occurred in the child when s/he was around the same age as his/her parent(s) when they were interned in the concentration camp (Science News, 1978).

Psychoanalytic authors such as Rowland-Klein and Dunlop (1998) explain that the parents' projection of feelings and anxieties about the Holocaust are absorbed by the child "as if she herself had experienced the concentration camps," and this in turn transforms into a variety of problems for which the child must face (p. 358). This "transgenerational transmission" of trauma has affected children in such a way that they find difficulty in determining which story is theirs and which story is one that their parents experienced (Kellerman, 2001). They absorb the stories told to them, gleaning from them messages from which they learn to interact socially.

One symptom that has been shown to arise often is that of paranoia, as children of survivors explain that they do not trust anyone (Klein-Parker, 1988).

Kellerman (2001) explains that the social learning of any child more often than not relates directly back to the “parents’ childrearing behavior, for example their various prohibitions, taboos, and fears” (p. 261). For children of Holocaust survivors, this becomes magnified in hearing the same things over and over again, such as the adage, “don’t trust anyone.”

Kellerman (2001) also explains that many children of survivors find themselves in a “double-bind of family communication” (p. 263). That is, a child might be told one thing, yet the nonverbal behavior of the parent tells another. For example, a child may have been told by his parent that he needed to be successful, however when the child wanted to go to the library, or worse, attend college away from home, the parent’s response was negative, often inducing guilt. Kellerman (2001) explains that such a double-bind “restricts the emotional development of the child and further confuses the communication that is already complicated” (p. 263). The child is rendered unable to respond appropriately, and often left feeling this way in future interactions with this parent.

Albeck (1994) explains that, while the trauma of Holocaust survivors may be transmitted to their children, these children can still develop into normal, healthy adults. He calls this “empathic traumatization,” as the children attempt to understand their parents’ stories by imagining Holocaust scenarios where they too are able to survive. Mor (1990) similarly suggests that children adopt trauma through their parents’ obsessive telling of stories or through their overwhelming silence, but that ultimately this is a vicariously experienced form of trauma and,

though long lasting, will not render the child unable to function in the world.

Both Albeck and Mor agree that vicarious forms of trauma can and do occur, but that such trauma will not keep the offspring of survivors from becoming functioning citizens within society.

Theories of trauma. According to Cathy Caruth (1996), trauma can be defined as a “wound inflicted not upon the body but upon the mind” (p. 3). Unlike a wound to the body that will eventually heal over time, the traumatic memory is much more complicated. The scars that remain after experiencing an emotional trauma are not always evident. They may come and go at whim. Often a traumatic memory does not become available to the consciousness “until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor (Caruth, 1996, p. 91). Some scholars would even argue that the emotional scars stem primarily from the actual act of remembering that traumatic event (Oliver, 2001, p. 15). According to Caruth and Oliver, the reminders of a trauma inflicted upon an individual by way of memory (i.e., in those nightmares or those moments when that memory is triggered), is where the real trauma resides. These reminders may come at any moment, which may leave that individual feeling partly out-of-control in his/her inability to predict when s/he will be brought back to that place of traumatization.

According to Knadler (2003), there are several traits that a trauma survivor may have: “intrusive memories, the hyper arousal and fear reflex, [and a] dissociated consciousness” (p. 64). Such traits are often a result of the survivor’s

recollections of an event. That is, trauma is not necessarily always about victimization. Rather, it can simply be due to the survivor's interpretation of the event and his/her subsequent responses to that event. A survivor's inability to express his/her memories or thoughts can add to the trauma. The belief that no one understands may cause the trauma sufferer to silence him/herself, thus allowing the memories to pervade internally (Knadler, 2003). The trauma then lies not in the event itself, but in the remembering of this event (Caruth, 1996). If the survivor does not speak and release these thoughts and experiences, s/he endures an even greater form of trauma in this silence.

For some survivors, avenues of expression regarding their trauma do not exist or are more difficult to find. There seems to always be a problem of listening to, understanding, and representing that arises from these stories of trauma. Caruth (1996) provides one way to address the silence that may occur when an individual cannot express him/herself appropriately. She explains that the survivor should try to speak in a "language that is somehow literary: a language that defies, even as it claims, our understanding" (p. 5). Such language is difficult to come by when speaking. By writing out one's thoughts and experiences through stories or poetry—or even in the expression through other languages such as art and music—a survivor may be able to express this turmoil. In essence, an experience of trauma that is articulated via the arts may be essential to the survivor unable to express him/herself, as it contributes to the bearing of witness to an inexpressible trauma. Trauma is not always something that can be named, but this does not

mean that it cannot be expressed or that it does not exist and affect the ways in which some individuals may experience the world.

While trauma is clearly experienced at an individual level, it is important to recognize that it can also be experienced collectively. Often the personal and the public memory are intrinsically tied. When there is a shared understanding of an event, individuals' memories and experiences are better expressed and accepted by the society in which a person lives. On a larger level, the fear and sense of vulnerability a trauma victim endures is magnified when many are experiencing the same feelings, as individuals react to one another and feelings intensify (Neal, 1998). Neal (1998) explains that "under conditions of national trauma, the borders and boundaries between order and chaos, between the sacred and the profane, between good and evil, between life and death become fragile" (p. 5). As a result, individuals each experience trauma in their own way, but when these feelings are expressed to one another and shared, the ways in which individuals understand society can be unsettling. The expressions of shared trauma blur the lines between such categories of good and evil or life and death because society sees and understands through their shared experiences that not everything is black and white. Multiple interpretations may arise and different perceptions may be shared, which also result in the blurring of such lines. This can even extend to family settings as well, as the trauma is more likely to be expressed through story, told and re-told, "embedded into our collective memories" or in our more personal family narratives (Neal, 1998, p. 201).

As Langer (2000) explains, “the issue of transmitting the effects of damaged childhood from one generation to the next is difficult to assess” (p. 337). The problem of assessing this potential transmission of trauma is mostly due to the fact that there is “no archive of such accounts comparable to the thousands that are available from the parents” (Langer, 2000, p. 337). Even with scholars’ growing interest in the generation after the Holocaust, most of the research conducted has not investigated the actual experiences of these individuals and what it means to be a child (and in more recent years, a grandchild) of a Holocaust survivor.

Third Generation Survivors

The third generation of Holocaust survivors consists of the grandchildren. Being one generation removed from the survivor, this group experiences the most animosity when trying to voice their experiences in relation to their survivor grandparent. While most can understand how trauma could potentially be passed from one generation to the next due to the breakdown in parental roles, how that trauma is then passed to the third generation is less known. Often they experience an unsettling feeling due to their belief that the trauma is not just the grandparent’s, but their own, as well. As mentioned earlier, some scholars use the concept of “empathic unsettlement” (Albeck, 1994), which was originally discussed in relation to the second generation’s interactions with survivor stories, to explain how the third generation responds to stories told to them (Berger, 2010; Codde, 2009).

Codde (2009) explains this further by describing the strong desire the third generation survivor has to know the stories of their grandparents. He contends that the third generation's trauma more likely stems from "an obsession with the opaque and inaccessible past of one's parents or grandparents" (p. 64). This realm of the known, yet unknown, is what Marianne Hirsch (1997) first termed postmemory when referring to the experiences of second generation survivors. In her description of postmemory, she explains that much of the trauma stems from what is imagined. She explains that "postmemory characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation and shaped by traumatic events that can be neither understood nor recreated" (p. 22). While the stories passed down from parent or grandparent have always been a central part of how the After Generations have come to identify themselves, they are simply the stories of their grandparents and therefore not their own memories. Thus, several studies have been conducted in relation to how these stories and interactions with second generation parents and survivor grandparents have affected the third generation (Bachar, Cale, Eisenberg, & Dasberg, 1994; Rubenstein, Cutter, and Templer, 1990; Scharf, 2007; Sigal, DiNicola, & Buonvino, 1988). A child or grandchild might imagine what it was like to live out that story, as has been explained through empathic unsettlement, but s/he will never know for certain. Thus, recent research has been conducted by and about

third generation survivors and what they are accomplishing using this postmemory (Berger, 2010; Codde, 2009).

Several scholars have focused on the creative literature that members of the third generation have written (Berger, 2010; Codde, 2009). In his discussion, Codde (2009) argues that the third generation uses the imaginative elements of postmemory in their creative writing, providing readers with a unique insight into how they have come to know and understand the world. Other scholars, such as Berger (2010), contend that the third generation is taking the trauma expressed by their survivor grandparent, recognizing how it has been reshaped by their own parent(s) (the child of a survivor), and ultimately re-articulating it in the form of history. Caruth (1996) explains that “history is not only the passing on of a crisis but also the passing on of a survival that can be possessed within a history larger than any single individual or any single generation” (p. 71). The third generation is demonstrating this today in the creative and nonfiction writings they have been publishing in recent years (Budnitz, 1999; Foer, 2002; Foer, 2005; Skibell, 1997).

While several scientific studies have focused on the second generation and the trauma that they have inherited from their parents (Epstein, 1979; Gubar, 2003; Langer, 2000) and several articles have been written that attempt to interpret the creative work of the third generation (Berger, 2010; Codde, 2010), there still have only been a few attempts at recording the narratives and experiences of the After Generations. Chaitin (2000; 2003) conducted several interviews that sought to record the life-stories of families with survivors in which

there were three generations. Her work ultimately found that the members in each generation approached their lives and their history with the Holocaust differently, but that all of them were highly influenced by this history, living their lives with constant reminders of their family's past (Chaitin, 2000, pp. 306-307).

Predisposed by the stories of their family's history, many children and grandchildren live out their lives in response to what their family members went through before them. The literature and research conducted regarding the offspring of Holocaust survivors clearly demonstrates that a child or grandchild of a survivor can be vicariously affected by the stories passed down by his/her parent. Given this, I would argue that this child should be provided a space to voice his/her stories in relation to the parent. Such expressions are a result of the after-effects of the war and are a part of the broader public memory of the Holocaust. Therefore, my study aims to discuss how sharing such traumatic stories have shaped the lives of members of the After Generations and consequently, adds to a deeper knowledge of those studying the Holocaust. Thus, my first research question is: What practical and theoretical lessons might members of the After Generations teach regarding the long-term effects of the Holocaust?

If the stories of survivor parents and grandparents are affecting subsequent generations, then it is imperative to ask questions related to how the passing down of stories can affect communities and the larger society in general. I would argue that this is essential if researchers wish to understand the greater impact of the

Holocaust as well as other social and political atrocities and their effects on subsequent generations. Thus memory, both private and public, needs to be addressed when discussing the topic of After Generation survivor narratives.

Narrative and Collective Memory

The term “collective memory” is one that describes a range of competing interpretations. Various disciplines have a stake in negotiating the complexities of collective memory. For some, the term is one which encompasses all of humanity (Caruth, 1996; Sturken, 1997); for others, it is about national pride (Blair, 1999; Bodnar, 1992; Sturken, 1997); and at other times, it describes that which bonds generations over time (Bal, Crewe, & Spitzer, 1999; Irwin-Zareka, 1994). Each varying approach utilized in studying this phenomenon (e.g., sociological, psychological, religious, historical, and narrative approaches), brings a unique ontological and epistemological viewpoint to the study. To initiate a review of collective memory and the variety of perspectives that has emerged from this subject, one cannot begin without first referring to the renowned French sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs, due to his research and influence in the field.

Halbwachs and Collective Memory

Halbwachs’ (1941) work in collective memory has greatly influenced all subsequent research conducted in this area. His writings act as a primary reference point for many scholars to expound upon within the large field of collective memory. As a student of Durkheim, who believed that all acts of memory were to some degree social, Halbwachs understood collective memory as

shared representations of the past (Coser, 1992, trans.; Phillips, 2004). He was a firm believer in the idea that the human memory could only function within a collective context. Halbwachs' work focuses on the everyday communication of memory, as it is established through imagery, dreams, and the interactions of families and communities. His understanding of a shared memory is one that requires communication. To better understand the role of communication in this process of sharing memories, Margalit (2002), another scholar in the field of memory studies explains that, a "shared memory integrates and calibrates the different perspectives of those who remember the episode" (p. 51). From this statement, Halbwachs' claim that such memory is selective is better understood, as it demonstrates how various groups can engage in different collective memories depending on their shared experiences and communication.

Halbwachs also believed that collectivity is strongly tied to the way in which groups participate in the act of remembering. He emphasized how social practices not only affect personal memories of individuals' experiences but also a community's shared memories of the past. Asking how we can reconstruct the past using our present lens, he proclaimed that collective memories are vital for understanding how the construction of identity groups, such as families, social classes, or religious organizations, come about (Halbwachs, 1941).

Though Halbwachs examined shared memories from within both the contexts of global and local memory, he made a distinction between the historical and the autobiographical memory in his writings, which later became a point of

dissension for future memory scholars. He understood autobiographical memory as being made up of those events that have been personally experienced and help to reinforce relations with those who share that memory (Coser, 1992). Historical memories, on the other hand, are not directly remembered by the individual but are recalled through commemorations or learning about the event (Coser, 1992). Thus, according to Halbwachs, the individual memory is one that will eventually be lost to time (i.e., when the last to remember passes away), whereas the historical memory is long-lasting (i.e., so long as one reads of it or celebrates the memory of that event). To some scholars however, Halbwachs essentially “wrote the individual out of a role in the history of collective memory” by ignoring the significance of the individual as it relates to the collective (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 181).

Points of divergence. Many scholars have referred back to Halbwachs’ work from a range of disciplines—memory studies (Margalit, 2002), history (Kansteiner, 2002), sociology (Coser, 1992), communication studies (Phillips, 2004). History scholars who study collective memory, for example, often cite Maurice Halbwachs due to the way in which his work currently resonates with “historiographical themes” (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 181). In other words, Halbwachs consistently referred to history and notions of what constitutes an official memory. Regardless of his discussions related to history, collective memory should not be mistaken for history despite its being a collective phenomenon. Rather, collective memory should be understood as one that

“manifests itself in the actions and statements of individuals” (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180). Historians distinguish history from memory by proclaiming history as *that which happened* and memory as *that which is remembered*, thereby giving the study of history a more official standing (Young, 2003). The language used to describe history demonstrates that the event being discussed is factual due to the documented proof (e.g., letters, government documents, videos, multiple eyewitnesses, newspaper articles, etc.) that a particular event happened in the particular manner described, essentially giving the historical event an official stamp of approval. Collective memory, on the other hand, is described as only what has been remembered and remembrance is not considered proof that something actually did occur (Young, 2003). The difference between the two may seem slight, but history resonates as more factual and true than collective memory does.

Despite the differences between history and collective memory, both are important in understanding the past. Historical scholars have utilized Halbwachs’ work, which focused on questions of historical representation as a foundation for further studies regarding the actions and practices of historical figures (Kansteiner, 2002). Due to many historical scholars’ stance regarding the involvement of the individual within collective memory, they moved away from Halbwachs’ understanding of memory and choose instead to focus on the varying actions and practices of particular significant individuals in history. Though historical scholars feel that the role of the individual is important within the study

of collective memory, they are hesitant to discuss the ordinary individual. For the most part, only those individuals deemed as historically important (e.g., political figures, war heroes, villains, etc.) are highlighted.

Scholars within other fields, such as sociology, psychology, or communication, have all diverged from Halbwachs' understanding of memory at different points as well. In the past few decades, there has been a movement in emphasizing individual stories, as they are related to the collective memory (Irwin-Zareka, 1994). Such emphases are evident in the collections of oral histories of the Holocaust and in even more recent events such as 9/11 (Carney, 2003; Griffin, 2009). These narratives help to establish a more localized, vernacular sense of the shared memory. While these narratives have added a layer of new understanding to the study of collective memory, not everyone agrees on the degree of significance such stories bring to the study.

Philosopher, Avishai Margalit (2002) is one particular scholar of memory who understands the significance of the individual. He explains that “an interpretive priority is given to the individual sense of the concept [of memory] over its use with regard to collectives” (p. 48). In other words, he claims that, in order for people to understand the collective, one must first draw upon their knowledge of individual experience. This statement does not mean that collective models cannot be used to understand the individual but rather that it is more natural for individual models to be used to understand the collective. Margalit writes, “the significance of the [shared] event for us depends on our being

personally connected with what happened, and hence we share not only the memory of what happened but also our participation in it, as it were” (p. 53).

This shared participatory act helps strengthen and establish a collective memory.

Not every shared memory has to be participatory, however. Society shares particular memories of past events, such as the Civil War, which of course no one living today actually experienced. What is known of that event is what has been taught in history books, from personal memoirs of the times, or performative reenactments of the events. Margalit (2002) explains that the “personal use of remember is akin to know, [whereas] the collective use of remember is closer to believe” (p. 59). Though an individual cannot know first-hand about the events that occurred because s/he was not there, this individual may believe that the facts that were taught are true. This notion of shared memory might be best described as tradition, as it is one that provides a version of the past that is official and “immune to challenges” (Margalit, 2002, p. 61). Shared memory can also be described as one that includes “abstract things such as attitudes and principles” (Margalit, 2002, p. 61).

Other scholars view shared memories as being distinct from collective memories (Casey, 2004). In this case, shared memories are perceived as being concerned with particular aspects of relationships that have developed over time. Such socially shared memories are not necessarily public but are more likely to be disclosed amongst friends, family, and neighbors/acquaintances (Casey, 2004). Some characteristics of a social memory would include “having the same

history,” having been in a “common place in which that history was enacted and experienced,” and/or “being able to bring the history-in-that-place into words” (p. 22). Collective memory, on the other hand, differs from this socially shared memory in that individuals who may or may not know of one another can recall a similar event, even if it is in his/her own way. Casey explains that “collective memory [in contrast to shared social memories] is distributed over a given population or set of places” (p. 23). That is, collective memory is not affected by shared identities, but rather on having been witnessed by a particular group of individuals that can share that memory of the event.

Due to the fact that there are a variety of methodological approaches and ways of framing the study of collective memory, recent scholars have begun to critique the manner by which the public and private aspects of memory have been glossed over in an effort to discuss memory work within varying academic perspectives (Irwin-Zareka, 1994; Kansteiner, 2002). There has been a growing “mistrust of the ‘official History’” that has been taught as Truth (Phillips, 2004, p. 2). Given that memory is fluid, including multiple, diverse, and potentially competing records of past events, critical scholars have begun to study memory as way to understand the varying relationships between past, present, and future (Irwin-Zareka, 1994; Phillips, 2004). In so doing, the notion of the individual and the choices made by those wielding power to maintain, create, and forget particular public memories has begun to emerge out of the larger study of collective memory (Berlatsky, 2003, Irwin-Zareka, 1994).

Memory and the Self

Several scholars have spent much of their work discussing the individual's role within collective memory (Green, 2001; Irwin-Zareka, 1994; Joslyn & Schooler, 2006; Wang & Conway, 2006). Using Halbwachs' term of autobiographical memory, discussions about how personal memories are influenced by culture, family, self-concept (i.e., motivations and/or goals), and society are prevalent. Wang and Conway (2006) explain that "the prevailing views of the self in each society may shape the ways in which the self manifests in the process of remembering" (p. 15). That is, in order for one to fully grasp how memory is interpreted and utilized on a daily basis, one needs to pay particular attention to the specific culture/society from which the person remembers. Western culture, for example, is generally focused on having and maintaining independence. Therefore, the way in which those living from within this Western paradigm may come to remember an event may be slightly influenced by qualities of independence that are appropriate to that given culture (Wang & Conway, 2006).

The self-construct an individual creates for his or her self is very much tied to culture and has deep effects on how memories are managed and recovered. A person's perception of self in relation to culture helps to form that individual's "anticipations, perceptions, interpretations, emotions, and motivations" of a memory (Wang and Conway, 2006, p. 15). This self-concept, however, may alter over time as one encounters new people and experiences. Thus, the recounting of

a memory may differ based on these new interpretations of one's altered self-concept.

Joslyn and Schooler (2006) argue that the "events of the past are inevitably viewed through the interpretive lens of the present" (p. 30). At times, one's present perspective provides a deeper understanding of the past event, whereas at other times it may cause one to subconsciously misrepresent that memory. Eber and Neal (2001) explain this particular distortion in an individual's subconscious memory by arguing that every person seeks "harmony, balance, and consistency" in his/her life (p. 6). In order to attain such an outcome, what often happens is that the individual begins to alter his or her interpretation of those past events, perhaps even changing some of the details.

While such alterations might come across as being dishonest or untruthful, generally such acts are not done out of malice, but out of self-conservation. That is, an individual may choose to do so to protect him/herself from the judgment of others to or to simply relate better to those with whom s/he is in contact.

Green (2001) writes that:

Creating a representation of oneself for others to view and understand involves utilizing shared histories, vocabulary, and narratives to demarcate boundaries within which actions and events are located. By using shared or recognizable histories and narratives, a narrator contextualizes the experiences, making them relevant, familiar, and thus more meaningful. (p. 29).

In other words, perhaps without realizing it completely, individuals remember and retell stories in a manner that draws an audience in, providing them entry points with which to relate with their story. Such tellings can also mean that an individual creates additional entry points for his/her self in order to draw out new conclusions of which s/he may not have been previously aware. This individual memory making is significant because it “introduces the crucial factor of language into memory, and thus narrative and history” (Casey, 2004, p. 21). The use of language draws in others so that these narratives can be both shared and learned. While language is essential to recalling and expressing memory, it can also lead to potential issues related to truthfulness.

Memory as Truth or truth?

As time progresses, different interpretations may arise from varying memories. While most scholars do not believe in an absolute truth, there are still times when both scholars and ordinary individuals feel the need to call out a particular version of a story as being untrue. “Academic reviews and popular media may pay homage to the philosophical doubts as to the status of reality, but in their practices, and especially in their arguments about quality, the premise of knowable truth persists” (Irwin-Zarecka, 1994, p. 145). Speaking the truth is ultimately about being faithful to the event being described. That being said, distortions in what is remembered play a significant role in how collective memories are shared and debated. What ends up being a part of collective memory represents only a portion of what may have actually occurred.

Memory can produce what some may call false information because narratives become altered over time. While inaccurate memories might be deemed by some to be problematic, Berlatsky (2003) practically explains that “history, memory, and identity are, at least partially, matters of social construction, texts not truths” (p. 107). That is, an individual will never be able to retrieve the original experience of the memory; only the images, texts, and stories remain (Berlatsky, 2003; Sturken, 1997). The complete retrieval of an experience is simply not possible, so expecting that memories be completely accurate at all times is not fair. Douglass (2003) writes that “it is not the absolute ‘truth’ of the witness’ experience but his or her experience of ‘speaking’ the speech act itself, that confronts and exceeds questions of truth” (p. 83). Such discussions of witness testimony and their truthfulness have also resonated within Holocaust studies. In response to arguments made about how representations of the Holocaust need to be truthful, Flanzbaum (2001) says we should instead “heartily applaud those works that somehow compel viewers (and especially larger numbers of them) to take another look – a deeper look, a more thoughtful look – at the event” (p. 283). Thus, memories should not be viewed in regard to how truthful they are, but rather as texts that can be analyzed.

Vernacular vs. Official Memory

Much of the debates about truth claims stem from the struggles of power and control amongst those wishing to maintain or resist particular collective memories. “Underpinning contested and changing histories, and the tension

between public and hidden memories and commemorations, is a struggle for power” (Pine, Kaneff, & Haukanes, 2004, pp. 3-4). Struggles over collective memory are not only about what truly happened but are also about how identities are constructed and maintained through these shared memories. When one shares in the understanding and meaning of a particular memory, it provides a “confirmation of particular shared pasts [of which] people build their identities and make their social relations” (Pine, Kaneff, & Haukanes, 2004, p. 4). Sharing in a collective memory effectively legitimizes one’s significant role within a particular societal group.

That being said, collective memory is at the crossroads between vernacular and official memory. Official memory is dictated by governments and is often related to abstract notions of patriotism and the sanctity of a nation’s reputation, whereas vernacular memory is much more diverse (Bodnar, 1992). The vernacular memory is fluid and changes over time, portraying “views of reality derived from firsthand experience in small-scale communities rather than the imagined communities of a large nation” (Bodnar, 1992, p. 14). While the vernacular memory is not completely different from the official memory in that an individual’s memory may include pieces of the official memory, it does allow for varying perspectives that the official memory does not always permit in its telling of a story. The vernacular memory helps to produce and reproduce interpretations that may challenge the norm, thereby offering “alternative routes to legitimacy, and alternative, if often muted or hidden, criteria for shared identity” (Pine,

Kaneff, & Haukanes, 2004, p. 4). Considering official memories alone gets at only one portion of a much larger story. For example, Holocaust survivor testimonies from a number of people have been documented and recorded, telling a story of the events of the Holocaust. Yet, not all stories are told. Little is discussed regarding the after-effects of the war and what occurred shortly after the liberation of those who survived. These stories are just as important in understanding the Holocaust survivor, but are not as likely to be heard due to the abundance of those who share similar testimonies about what occurred during the war. There are implications of the past that are not included in these official memories, which are important to those sharing in a vernacular memory of the event.

Power relations play an integral role in whose story takes precedence, as power-wielding groups are able to define themselves, as well as others (Nakayama & Martin, 1999). This is why allowing alternative memories of an event to be expressed and reproduced is important in truly maintaining a collective memory. The use of vernacular discourses allows the local, unofficial voice to be heard among the overarching official memory that society-at-large is required to remember. These local memories do not necessarily have to oppose the dominant memory but rather add to a sense of community that may not be experienced when only one portion of a memory is articulated (Ono & Sloop, 1995).

Morality and Ethics

Such issues of power and claims to truth tend to always lead back to questions of morality and ethics. Perhaps Avishai Margalit (2002) frames it best with his question: “Why is it so difficult to shape humanity into an ethical community?” (p. 75). If memories are constructed with others, why is there a problem in constructing a memory that cares for others? In other words, if constructed carefully and thoughtfully, collective memory should be able to include multiple perspectives. Margalit argues that this is impossible because the notion of the collective always stands in contrast to something else. One is either a part of the collective or not; and if one is not a part of the collective, then there must be something wrong with the individual; he must be an enemy. Margalit (2002) explains that “it is a historical fact that the bond of solidarity in many nations depends to a considerable extent on hatred, whether active or platonic, of the nation’s neighbor” (p. 77). For those living in the United States, they know well the animosity felt toward “aliens” crossing the boundary between Mexico and the United States. In most cases, the individual expressing such hostility toward Mexico has little knowledge as to why such resentment is felt. This has much to do with the shared collective memories the nation has constructed of its past with Mexico, which society may often accept without understanding why or how the narrative was constructed in the first place. This could even be extended to the events that took place during World War II. The hatred of the foreigner “Jew” who did not have a land to officially call home became the scapegoat

neighbor to hate. The hatred of Jews became the solidifying force for the Germans who were trying to reassert themselves after the events of World War I.

Due to the nature of collectively shared memories, Margalit (2002) raises several important questions: should a community share some “moral memories” or should memory be left to “smaller ethical communities” (p. 78)? Are there specific memories a collective ought always to recall? What, in essence, should humanity remember? And ultimately, do we have an ethical or moral obligation to remember?

Such inquiries challenge scholars of memory because they ask the tough ethical questions most would rather ignore. Such questions touch upon issues of power, issues of self in relation to the collective, as well as ethical concerns. They call into question responsibility. Why are some events remembered over others? Are nations responsible for remembering? Are communities? Are individuals? And why are some held responsible and not others?

Though the answers to such questions may differ depending upon the event being remembered, it is clear that those who share in the accounting of a collective memory must bear the burden of responsibility. Details from memories may be forgotten or particular perspectives may be upheld, but this does not mean that one cannot be responsible with such memories. “Subjectivity is responsibility: it is the ability to respond and be responded to. Responsibility, then, has the double sense of opening up the ability to respond – response-ability – and ethically obligating subjects to respond by virtue of their very subjectivity

itself” (Oliver, 2001, p. 91). That is, much is required of those remembering. One must not only be true to the memory but to those who were a part of that memory (particularly if the event remembered was traumatic). Maintaining responsibility is not always easy, as “the initial and most serious problem for the witness is the very difficulty in admitting or even defining an ethics of responsibility” (Zulaika, 2003, p. 90). The question of how one goes about being responsible must first be answered. Despite the ambiguity in what responsibly remembering entails, witnesses are often scrutinized over whether they hold up to their share of the responsibility. They must constantly be aware of how and where their stories are shared, even at the expense of being judged by those who doubt the importance of the memory.

Clearly memories are significant to societies in the ways in which they are “presented, fought over, and disseminated” (Prosisie, 2003, p. 351). Since collective memory is inherently tied to identity and thus important not only to the past but the present and future, it is a highly charged field. There are so many questions to consider. For example, there are several questions that arise out of the discussion of a burden of responsibility, which I ultimately hope to address in this project. These questions revolve around who owns memory and what form of remembrance ought to be presented. Particularly in the memory of the Holocaust, as it is tied to familial memories, relatively basic questions about who should be remembered, who should remember, and how (by what form) should this remembrance be enacted need also to be considered. Such questions, according to

Irwin-Zarecka (1994) will help “inform the search for the right ways to secure a public presence for that memory” (p. 32). That is, of course, if there truly is a “right” way of doing anything when it comes to remembering. Thus, my second research question is: What practical and theoretical lessons might members of the After Generations reveal about responsibly remembering the Holocaust?

Memory and Storytelling

As mentioned previously, an individual’s reinterpretation of an event that occurred in the past can alter that particular memory. In effect, the truth of what actually happened becomes much less important than the meaning of the event and how it has impacted the life of the teller (Flanzbaum, 2001; Sturken, 1997). It is at this point—where the meaning of the memory begins to take precedence over the actual events that occurred—that memory and storytelling converge. Memory alone can be just a series of happenings, an event here or a statement said there, but story can provide structure and/or meaning from the memory.

A memory can also be something that does not necessarily need to be shared. We all have memories that we keep to ourselves because they are either private or may not be important enough to warrant being told. When we tell a story of a memory, we are choosing to share. Storytelling implies agency (Foley, 1991). Telling a narrative also implies that there is an audience, even if that audience is one’s self (e.g., diaries may be written as a private accounting of events that only the writer will ever see, but that writer still has an audience of him/herself—that self of the future). The fact that an audience is present (or at

least being considered) is significant because this means that there is a purpose behind the telling, even if it is only meant to entertain.

Stories also provide a point of access for both the teller and the listener. That is, in the process of constructing a story, one might come to a realization about one's self or the event described, that may never have occurred had the memory been left unarticulated (Pollock, 2005). Stories provide the decorative package that prompts further insights and meaning. Identities are regularly articulated and constructed via the telling of narratives of what one remembers. As a result, such stories ultimately add to how one perceives one's self and how one is perceived by others. For example, being denied the ability to speak or being told that one's stories are not meaningful in comparison to others may only serve to silence and further evoke a feeling of loss or trauma (Kellerman 2001). Given the significant role of storytelling in our lives, academics from a variety of disciplines have studied the impact stories have had upon the construction of culture and identity (Pollock, 2005; Petersen & Langellier, 1997).

Narratives and Storytelling

Early research into the expression of culture and identity through storytelling began in the oral tradition. The oral tradition in its most basic definition is a way to express history, rules, literature, and other cultural forms of knowledge without the use of the written word (Henige, 1988). Such stories are communal. That is, in order for a story to be placed in the canon of oral tradition, it needs to have been passed down through several generations. While some of the

stories that have been passed down orally have eventually been written down and recorded, such as Beowulf and Aesop's Tales, the point is that they are long-lasting and hold cultural messages relevant to a particular time and place that may or may not transcend to present day situations.

Walter Ong (1982) is a well-known scholar of the oral tradition who developed several theories for understanding and approaching the study. Utilizing the works of other scholars before him, Ong created a theory that combined the ways in which stories are constructed and produced with how such stories were received within the timeframe they were produced in comparison to how they are received by audiences today. In so doing, Ong furthered the study of storytelling by focusing on the products of oral societies and how they might be used to hold, manage, and share knowledge. Examining oral traditions can teach us about cultural differences and similarities between oral and literate societies (Foley, 1991; Ong, 1982).

Oral Tradition vs. Personal Narratives

While narrative research stems from work done within the oral tradition, it diverges by focusing on the personal and its potential relation to the collective. These personal stories may be shared with the larger collective, and they may be passed down through generations; however, neither is necessary in order for such narratives to be studied. Narrative research is outside of the canon of the oral tradition primarily because the personal is implicated. Narrative research might include anything from testimonies, personal narratives, and/or oral histories. Oral

histories are distinct from the study of oral tradition, for example, in that they consist of recordings of personal memories or histories of a particular time or event (Pollock, 2005). These histories are personal, and while they may share some details with the larger society from which the narrator speaks, such stories are not always structured in terms of having a plot and a cultural message at the end. They might just include a series of events or a point in time that relates back to the narrator's personal life.

The oral tradition is utilized to critically examine cultural behaviors; narrative research extends such critical examination to include the individual. Narrative research ultimately confronts issues dealing with structures of power, asking important questions about who gets to speak and in what circumstances. In so doing, narrative research implicates notions of authority and the ethics of speaking, in general. Since the personal is implicated in narrative research, the personal narrative is viewed as an object of study that works in a dialectical relationship between the person/narrative and his/her identity/experience, thus challenging the "essentializing" definitions of identity (Peterson & Langellier, 1997).

Personal narrative has grown in popularity among researchers and scholars in recent decades (Corey, 1996; Madison, 1998; Park-Fuller, 2000; Peterson & Langellier, 1997) sparking some controversy as to how it should be used and whether it constitutes acceptable research. Personal narrative has been praised for its ability to utilize the personal voice to conduct meaningful studies (Park-Fuller,

2000) and for the way in which it has been used to reveal the problems marginalized peoples face as a way to bring awareness and generate change (Madison, 1998). In the same vein, narrative research has also been critiqued for its “ethical ambiguity,” the way in which it highly regards the victim, its potential for excluding other voices when highlighting one’s own voice, and the potential it has for reinstating privileged discourse (Alcoff, 1991; Park-Fuller, 2000). These problems related to who has may speak need to be addressed when embarking upon narrative research.

Who Can Speak? Telling Ethical Stories

Given some of the critiques related to speaking for or about others, several scholarly debates have ensued over this controversial issue. Speaking for others, in particular, has been highly criticized and even rejected within some communities (Alcoff, 1991). According to Alcoff, the debates came out of two sources. The first is that an individual is unable to transcend his/her location. That is, one’s lived experiences and the social markers that come with that particular position affect the meanings of what is being said. Extending from this point, the second issue is that one’s social location might be more privileged than another’s. Thus, a problem arises when the “practice of privileged persons speaking for or on behalf of less privileged persons has actually resulted (in many cases) in increasing or reinforcing the oppression of the group spoken for” (p. 7). Clearly this is problematic, as it raises the question then of who should be able to speak. An easy answer to such a question might be that individuals are to only

speaking for those groups in which they are a member. This, however, is too overly simplistic, as identities overlap, often placing an individual in several competing categories. If scholars were to clearly delineate who fits more into which category, one identity might end up being privileged over another, which does not solve anything but rather adds to a larger problem of having to choose. This leads to another rather complicated point for the individual who “declares herself to be on the side of social justice...but who, on the other hand, speaks from a position of the elite, the class against which the subaltern is defined” (Lakritz, 1995, p. 7). Can this individual speak, or based upon her elite standing in society, is this person to remain silent?

Speaking For Others?

Alcoff (1991) also addresses this problem by questioning whether it would be ethical for scholars wishing to avoid speaking for or about others to “abandon” their “political responsibility to speak out against oppression” (p. 8). When limitations are placed upon potential speaking voices, this may also become problematic. Those who may have spoken out might now feel compelled to remain silent regarding issues that are not directly related to them out of fear of speaking out of turn. Statements of ‘well, that’s their problem, not mine’ may arise; forfeiting the responsibility we have as social agents to enact change in the face of oppression.

Ultimately what these questions ask scholars to consider are the ways in which we represent others as well as ourselves. For even in speaking for

ourselves, we occupy a specific position, highlighting some characteristics over others (Alcoff). The creation of the self occurs when speaking publicly, something that would also be done when speaking for or about others. The difference here would be that, in speaking for one's self, that particular individual is the one with the power to choose how s/he wants to be represented. Lakritz (1995) explains that the individual speaking for him/herself is "capable of accepting or rejecting all or part" (p. 5) of whatever representation is being made. In speaking for others, those 'others' do not have that agency. In an individual's representation of the other, s/he ultimately makes that choice for the other, which is where the main problem lies.

So, in what ways might this problem of speaking for and about others be handled? Alcoff (1991) proclaims that "anyone who speaks for others should only do so out of a concrete analysis of the particular power relations and discursive effects involved" (p. 24). She highlights four ways in which this might be accomplished. The first is that the desire one might have to speak for or about others needs to be carefully thought out and analyzed. To always be the speaker is a "desire for mastery and domination" (p. 24). If a scholar is honestly hoping to uncover and make known the oppression of a particular group, then s/he does not want to partake in further silencing or dominating that particular group. So, in analyzing what drives one to speak on behalf of others, an individual needs to also "interrogate the bearing of [his/her] location and context on what it is [that s/he is] saying, and this should be an explicit part of every serious discursive practice [one

engages] in” (p. 25). Alcoff suggests that this can be accomplished collectively with others so that they may be able to highlight aspects that individuals might potentially downplay if left to their own devices.

Such collective engagement leads to being accountable to what one chooses to research and explore through writing. Alcoff argues that “speaking should always carry with it an accountability and responsibility for what one says” (p. 25). Deciding to whom one should be accountable can prove problematic, as it is both a political and epistemological choice that can be contested and as it is contingent upon what one is studying. Regardless of this fact, there should always be a “serious and sincere commitment to remain open to criticism and to attempt to actively, attentively, and sensitively to ‘hear’ (understand) the criticism” (Alcoff, 1991, p. 26). This is significant primarily because when one is open to critique, one is also open to the possibility for interpretations that one may not have considered. Such accountability shows that, though the researcher of a particular study, this person does not believe that s/he holds all of the answers. Instead, it allows the study (and subsequent scholarly product) to remain flexible—not static—and always moving toward further understanding.

In our openness for critique, Alcoff (1991) is able to assert her last point. She asks that the speaker focus not only on the content of what has been spoken, but rather on the effects those claims have on various audiences. She argues that speaking should be considered an event with a “speaker, words, hearers, location,

language,” etc. (p. 26). Moreover, each speaking event should be viewed as separate, coming from a very specific location, so as not to be generalized or taken as a universal truth. This is particularly significant because if any of these elements were to change, a new evaluation would be required. In other words, what has been spoken shall never be considered the end of the larger conversation.

Ethical Obligations?

Alcoff (1991) provides one perspective on the ethics of speaking for or about another. She warns that, in order to ensure that the telling of a story is ethical, one needs to pay careful attention to one’s motivations. While she does not specifically say it is ethically wrong to speak on behalf of others, she errs on the side of being silent to avoid the slippery slope of further oppression of the silenced other. Irwin-Zarecka (1994) furthers this dialogue by asking questions regarding who is to remember and why. Such issues, she claims, “very much inform the search for the right ways to secure a public presence for that memory” (p. 32). She notes a transition has occurred between “memory-as-possibility to memory-as-necessity” (p. 37) within the framework of Holocaust memories, thus creating an imperative to tell stories, leaving some asking if there are “right” reasons to remember and “right” ways of expressing that memory (p. 37).

Avishai Margalit (2002) poses a potential challenge to the perspective of having a “right” way of expressing memory by asserting that “there is no obligation...to be engaged in ethical relations” (p. 105). He goes on to assert that

“being moral is a required good; being ethical is, in principle, an optional good. The stress is on ‘in principle.’ There is no easy exit from ethical engagements, many of which are forced on us in much the same way that family relations are” (p. 105). In other words, Margalit argues that being ethical is part of interacting with and having relationships with others; it is not a necessity, but it should be considered. If one wishes to maintain friendships and other meaningful relationships, then one ought to be ethical.

Given this perspective, what might this mean in regard to telling the stories of others? In this case, I believe Margalit (2002) would respond that the relationship one has with those stories (and their original owners) will drive the speaker’s ethical obligation to deliver the story well. Is it imperative to be ethical? Not necessarily. However, if one wishes to remain in good standing with the community for which the story relates, then being self-reflexive and open about one’s intentions for telling the story, is a must. Margalit adds that “we ethically ought to remember on two counts: for the sake of the goodness within the relation and for the sake of the goodness of the relation” (p. 106). When stories are told or lived memories expressed, others are implicated. That being said, how memories become represented through narrative should be taken into consideration. Any story that is told without being self-reflexive or taking into account the potential implications the telling might have upon those others that may be closely related would be an unethical telling. There are choices that must be made about what ends up being articulated and what is best left unsaid. Such

ethical considerations about how to represent stories/experiences become important, particularly because they call into question the nature of what constitutes being ethical. That is, while the individual may be telling the story, how might the collective become implicated in the meaning-making process? This leads to my third and final research question: Given the blurred boundaries of story ownership, how are members of the After Generations narrating their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s)' stories? Moreover how do their narrations demonstrate those blurred boundaries through the (re)presentation of their family's story? And how might they ethically (re)present these stories to others?

It is evident that the narratives of children of survivors may be an important link to understanding the greater long-term effects of the Holocaust. The lack of information regarding this transmission of trauma is what is hindering further knowledge of the Holocaust's impact on the greater community. While scholars of the Holocaust may question who is appropriate to speak on behalf of those who either witnessed or perished during the events of the Holocaust (Adorno, 1973; Howe, 1988), others ask important questions about the responsibility of keeping this past very much alive (Gubar, 2003; Langer, 2000). They argue for the continual teaching of the Holocaust as it affects children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of those survivors. Questions of responsibility and ethics arise out of the literature of collective memory, challenging researchers and scholars to think about the larger issues at hand. Listening to the stories and experiences of children and grandchildren of survivors

and representing these narratives in a manner that is accessible to the larger community is just one way to arrive at these effects. In the end, by understanding how the trauma of the Holocaust has affected children of survivors, one may also come to a better understanding of how trauma is transmitted and the ways in which the passing down of stories can affect both the individual and society as a whole.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

The children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors are considered the generations after the Holocaust. They do not remember the actual events of the Holocaust, but they do remember and have experiences with those who survived such atrocities. They do not bear the scars on their bodies, but they do bear the emotional scars related to knowing and loving a survivor who suffered. Thus, the narratives, experiences, and stories of these members of the After Generations are important and significant to studies of memory and the legacy of remembering the Holocaust.

In this section, I discuss the methodologies utilized to answer the research questions posed in the previous chapter. Specifically, this section provides a justification for utilizing qualitative methodology, information and background regarding my position as the researcher, the participants involved in this study, details surrounding procedural techniques that include obtaining and collecting interviews, notes on ensuring methodological rigor, data analysis and interpretive procedure, and lastly, a justification for using performance as a way to represent the research.

Overview

Justification of Qualitative Methodology

The majority of research conducted about the After Generations up to this point has been completed using quantitative methodologies, primarily looking at

the statistics related to the offspring of Holocaust survivors who have experienced trauma as a result of their parent/grandparent, as well as the degree to which these individuals have suffered the transmission of trauma (Kellerman, 2001; Klein-Parker, 1988; Mor, 1990; Science News, 1978). While the quantitative work that has been accomplished in this area is significant in proving that the transmission of trauma from parent to child can and does occur, these studies do not get at the actual experiences and stories of the second and third generation survivors. The statistics are important, but allowing the narratives and experiences to stand alongside these numbers can provide a fuller picture of what it means to bear this traumatic legacy. Therefore, I chose to approach this research project qualitatively to study members of the After Generations' struggle with holding, learning, knowing, and living with their parents' and grandparents' Holocaust memories.

Conducting a study using qualitative methodology provides an opportunity for critical conversations regarding the experiences of After Generations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and uncovers the potential for scholars to pursue theory generation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For example, not only does this project shed light on the joys and struggles this group undergoes on a daily basis, this project also examines how traumatic events have been passed down to subsequent generations as a legacy of remembrance. In so doing, this study implicates society, as it asks that individuals consider the complexities of memory and narratives in people's everyday lived experiences. Additionally, while this project

is not focused on the generation of theory per se, it can provide a space for understanding how the theory of memory and trauma relates to members of the After Generation.

Moreover, qualitative research affords freedom for self-reflection that I believe is essential to my project due to my own role as a stepchild of a Holocaust survivor (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Generally, qualitative researchers study phenomena from within their natural settings, attempting to interpret these occurrences by the meanings people bring to them. These meanings are often derived from multiple perspectives and methods for collecting data. Qualitative research encourages the use of multiple methods, as they can be used in an effort to create a more thorough understanding of the phenomena being studied. It is a strategy that adds “rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5) to what is being examined and interpreted. Such research can include case studies, personal experience, interviews, life stories, artifacts, and cultural texts. Due to my close proximity to the project as a member of the After Generations, I not only chose to interview members of this group through semi-structured and ethnographic interviews but also referred back to my own personal experiences as a child of a Holocaust survivor. The goal of this research was to ensure that the experiences expressed by my participants were central to the project and not just a description of my interpretation of their narratives. That is, I made sure to incorporate the voices of my participants by quoting them verbatim, allowing them to do the speaking for themselves. Within qualitative

research, the researcher should be considered a human instrument (Morrow & Smith, 2000). That is, the tool through which the data is gathered is the researcher. Guba and Lincoln (1985) argue that “all instruments are value based and interact with local values, but only the human being is in a position to identify and take into account these resulting biases” (pp. 39-40). The researcher is in a unique position to not only gather the data, but to interpret the data as well, which means that s/he engages in a reflexive process based in theory, experience and composition.

In addition to utilizing multiple methods and encouraging self-reflection, there are also some ontological and epistemological assumptions of qualitative research that are important to note. The most obvious is that it emphasizes the qualities of a topic (e.g., the culture being studied). Qualitative work critically asks whether the study being done communicates something to researchers about the world. The processes and meanings that arise from such a study are primarily what differentiate it from quantitative studies, which focus more on measurements (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). What drives qualitative research is its focus on the socially constructed nature of reality, the relationship between the researcher and that which is being studied, as well as the contexts surrounding and/or that shape this inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Lastly, qualitative research relies on thick descriptions of the social world (Geertz, 1973). Such descriptions provide a deeper awareness about how a group of individuals may perceive and understand the world. These specific details help put the topic of study into context and often

provide insights that may have gone unnoticed without such detail. The children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors may be a relatively small and unique group of individuals; however, they have the capability to teach important lessons regarding the legacy of memory and the responsibility to remember (Gubar, 2003; Margalit, 2002; Oliver, 2001). Thus, the next section will detail the specific ways in which data can be collected through the interview process.

Data Collection via Interviews

In most qualitative research, interviews are utilized to collect data from members within the field. The reason for its widespread use has much to do with the fact that it is highly adaptable (Lindlof, 1995; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). For example, an interview may take place in a formal setting such as a boardroom, a casual setting such as a coffee shop, or an intimate setting at a person's home. These interviews are also flexible in the amount of time a researcher may choose to spend with a participant. More recently, the medium through which an interview has been conducted has become more flexible as well. While the majority of qualitative researchers may contend that the most effective interviews are those that take place face-to-face due to the nonverbal nuances that a researcher may note during the interaction, interviews via the telephone, through email or online chats, and through technology, such as Skype (which allow people to speak face-to-face via the internet), have also become common ways to conduct interviews today (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Due to the adaptive nature of the interview, many researchers appreciate that it can be formal or informal,

structured or unstructured, or that even the content of the interview is not necessarily dictated by the researcher.

Lindlof and Taylor (2002) explain that, depending on the interview's purpose and structure, the participant may be the individual directing the encounter. For example, the participant may choose to not answer a question, begin discussing another topic altogether, elaborate on some questions, and/or provide one word answers to others (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 171). This interview structure demonstrates how researchers and those participating in the study should be considered equals, as they are both investing in the project and developing it together (Ellis, Kiesinger, & Tillmann-Healy, 1997; De la Garza, 2008).

The interview does not come together simply through asking questions of the participants. Rather, the questions asked of those choosing to be interviewed should be developed in order to better understand their "experience and perspective" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 173). In conducting effective qualitative research, the researcher is asked to acknowledge that the stories and narratives provided represent each participant's unique perspective about that topic. This viewpoint may also lend itself to providing a better understanding of how participants come to conceptualize their experiences through the act of storytelling. In so doing, the particular language they choose to use and the ways in which they have come to understand and describe past events become a central part of the interviewing process. Getting at this language requires selecting the

appropriate type of interview for the occasion. While there are multiple interview types to choose from, I chose to interview participants using semi-structured and ethnographic interviews, as they best fit the goals of my study.

Semi-Structured interviews. The majority of literature in the realm of qualitative studies supports the semi-structured interview as a method of data collection (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006) explains that the semi-structured interview coincides with grounded theory method well because both are “open-ended yet directed, shaped yet emergent, paced yet unrestricted” (p. 28). Having this balance is particularly important when dealing with topics that are sensitive like the Holocaust, as it provides an open-ended format that allows the participant to say as much or as little as s/he chooses.

The semi-structured interview is a unique balance between the structured and unstructured interview. The structured interview is one that is focused, adhering to the interview guide at all times and ensuring that each question is answered and/or acknowledged in some way (Fontana & Frey, 2005), whereas the unstructured interview is open-ended, allowing the interview to be free-flowing and casual (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Thus, the semi-structured interview uses a combination of the structured and unstructured interviews by embracing the open-ended questions provided by the unstructured interview while still using a structured interview guide that allows the interviewer to refer back to at a lull in the conversation or if the interviewee happens to get off topic (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999).

The semi-structured interview is useful to those using interviews as a means for data collection because it can provide as much structure and flexibility as the researcher and participant desire. In effect, each interview could be different dependent on the personalities of the individuals being interviewed. A semi-structured interview is generally a scheduled meeting, which allows the interviewer to prepare sufficiently for the interaction through the development of an interview guide. At the same time, this type of interview has the potential to take on a life of its own as the questions are open-ended providing the interviewee with the possibility to move in any direction s/he sees fit to discuss. Though the personalities of those interviewed may dictate the structure and possible direction of the interview, the interview guide is a tool used to ensure that important key questions are asked of each participant, ultimately providing a specific trajectory for the interaction (Patton, 2002). The interview guide provides the backbone or guiding framework of each interview and helps the interview to stay on task while also allowing for flexibility in the discussion. Thus, both the researcher and the interviewee have the opportunity to direct the interview at varying points during the interaction (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte), placing the researcher and the participant together `as equals as they share in the development and generation of the data for the project (Ellis, Kiesinger, & Tillmann-Healy, 1997; De la Garza, 2008).

The semi-structured interview is not the only interview type that allows both the researcher and participant to share equally in directing the interaction,

however. While the majority of my data came from the 18 semi-structured interviews I conducted over a two-year time period, additional data arose out of ethnographic interviews as well. Through the informal manner in which they are conducted, ethnographic interviews are also highly collaborative.

Ethnographic interviews. Informal conversations often occur during a researcher's time in the field (Patton, 1990). These situational conversations are generally spontaneous and happen as the researcher and participant interact with one another in a location that is familiar and comfortable for the participant (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). When such casual conversations arise, the researcher may note the relevance of the subject matter to his/her research and ask questions of the participant to elicit further information regarding the topic at hand. These questions are not formed prior to this encounter but rather arise naturally from the conversation (Lindlof, 1995).

Three such instances occurred while I conversed casually with potential participants at a meeting with several members of the After Generations. In our conversations, participants brought up important points that I found relevant to my research questions. I discovered that these off-the-cuff conversations were ripe with important information. I asked each of these individuals if they would be interested in participating in the project and upon agreement, scheduled to meet with each of them using the semi-structured interview I spoke of earlier. Scholars argue that the reason this casual conversation is so effective is that participants feel more inclined to discuss particular topics as they arise naturally,

rather than being asked formal questions as one would if in a structured or semi-structured interview (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Patton, 2002, Schatzman & Strauss, 1973).

While the casual feel of the interview may allow participants to feel more inclined to speak, problems can arise from this type of interviewing. Lindlof (1995) explains that participating in these ethnographic interviews requires the researcher to be able to quickly identify the point of interest and develop a line of questioning on the spot. Such quick thinking can be difficult for many researchers to accomplish adequately. Many times the researcher will find a better question to ask after the conversation has ended, thus requiring him or her to conduct a more structured or semi-structured interview later on in the interview process. Depending on the nature of the questions that remain, the interaction could be considered a follow-up interview or an opportunity to participate in member-checking. Also, while the ethnographic interview is considered one of the more flexible ways of getting a participant to open up, the data that it produces is not always comparable to the data gathered after giving a more structured interview, as much of the information provided could be irrelevant to the research topic (Lindlof, 1995, p. 170). Despite these minor limitations, there are many benefits to interviewing participants.

Whether utilizing a semi-structured or ethnographic interview, many members of the After Generation with whom I spoke reflected upon and articulated for the first time their experiences as a child or grandchild of a

Holocaust survivor. For so many of the After Generations, their parent(s)' or grandparent(s)' stories felt larger-than-life, causing them to feel as though their own experiences, trials, and life stories were insignificant or less important than those held by their relatives. The opportunity to express their beliefs, perspectives, and lived experiences in relation to those of their parents and grandparents was something many had never been granted prior to this interaction with this project. In addition, interviewing these 18 individuals reminded me of my own experiences as a child of a Holocaust survivor. In so doing, I recognized that I needed to critically examine my experiences as a member of the After Generations, which provided me with a unique opportunity to express my perspectives, as well.

Researcher's Position and Reflexivity

As the stepdaughter of a Holocaust survivor I had a particular standpoint and frame of reference prior to starting this project, and it was necessary for me to reflect on my point of view by engaging in constant reflexivity (Haraway, 1988). My role as a member of the After Generations is the reason I chose to pursue this line of research, so to pretend that I could be entirely objective throughout this process would have been unethical (Goodall, 2004). Moreover, objectivity is not a goal within qualitative work. The researcher's position when pursuing a study is an important component of this type of work. Recognizing that my voice and perspective would inevitably come through, I needed to be aware that my viewpoint is both partial and subjective (Margalit, 2002; Richardson, 2000). Due

to my personal experiences, I was already cognizant of some of the issues that members of the After Generations frequently face prior to the start of this research; however, I wanted to ensure that my own experiences did not become the central focus of this project. I wanted my experience to be just one of many that were expressed during this study—no more or less important than the others. Given this desire to maintain balance and equity (Holman Jones, 2005) I recognized the importance of continually examining my role and experiences as I interacted with these individuals by documenting my influence on this study through journal writing and member checking (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Richardson, 2000).

Prior to beginning the interview process, I reflected on my own standpoint and experiences as a Holocaust survivor's daughter through journal writing. I had just completed writing my stepfather's life story (Rath, 2008), so I felt very much tied to his narrative. I wanted to be sure I remembered all of the emotions and reactions I was feeling regarding the responsibility I was given to share his story. These journal entries spanned several months and included my beliefs, emotional connections and feelings, as well as personal traumas related to my role as a member of the After Generations. During this time of journal writing, I also gave birth to my second child. My son's birth spurred a flurry of new emotions that had me critically reflecting on all that it means to be a member of the After Generations. I commented on the obligation I believe I have to uphold and to remember the atrocities of the Holocaust, as well as the legacy of responsibility

with which I plan to pass on to my own children. It was important for me as a researcher to be aware of my biases and to recognize these upfront as well as throughout the interview process (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001). Recognizing these preconceptions and beliefs at the outset allowed me to have a better sense of how I would eventually come to frame this project.

Such reflexivity allowed me to be more prepared to engage in conversations with other members of the After Generations as I was more deeply aware of my connections to the Holocaust via my stepfather. As a result, I believe this self-awareness resonated with those who participated in the study. Together, we shared stories and co-constructed meanings (De la Garza, 2008). That is, I made sure that each of the participants understood that they were a part of the construction of this study by inviting them to ask me questions and by providing an open dialogue.

While a researcher might focus on the co-creation of meanings derived from the interaction with the participants and others encountered in the field, s/he may still be constrained by a Western, linear way of thinking that involves a form of “mastery” over participants in a study. To try to overcome this obstacle, De la Garza (2008) calls for a shift toward a more circular form of thinking that is often expressed in Native American culture. Within this circular form of thinking, there is no beginning or end, as everything moves in phases or seasons. Ontologically, this form of thinking requires relational observations and co-constructed meanings, and a rejection of the premise of the author/researcher as the master—

the one with all the answers or the person in control (as an interviewer/interviewee relationship may imply). In order to keep from falling into an easy trap of “mastery,” I have tried to be reflexive, double-checking that I remain “honest, reflective, humble, relational, and mindful” (De la Garza, 2008, p. 628) of my language as I represent this group of After Generations.

Moreover, such qualitative research provides a space for critical reflection of not only that which is being studied but also of the researcher and his/her relationship with the participants and the topic in general (Charmaz, 2009; De la Garza, 2008). Within ethical qualitative work, a researcher situates her/himself within the study, honestly reflecting on the role s/he plays in the research. One way such reflection may be accomplished by the researcher is through the process of recording his/her thoughts, emotions, and potential biases through journal writing. The journal writing process may also help with any relationships that may develop, as dialogue between the researcher and those closely associated with the topic being studied is highly encouraged. In qualitative studies, dialogue is highly encouraged and relationships between the researcher and those closely associated with the topic being studied tend to develop. Such dialogue requires that the researcher be amenable to new ideas and perspectives, which may more likely occur if the researcher has taken the time to reflect on his/her own thoughts and perspectives. That being said, researchers should also be resolute in their efforts to describe their participants and that which has been expressed and/or

observed in non-colonizing ways (De la Garza, 2008). Therefore, knowing where and how data was obtained is important to understanding these relationships.

Participants and Interview Process

In the spring of 2010, I began conducting interviews with children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors. While I had originally chosen to interview children of Holocaust survivors, my project grew to include multiple generations. I found that after initially reaching out to these second generation survivors, their own children (i.e., grandchildren of survivors) also showed an interest in the project. Several members of the third generation contacted me via email and asked if they could participate in the project along with or instead of their parent(s). In addition, I found that a few of the second generation survivors were also considered third generation survivors, as both their parents and their grandparents had survived the Holocaust. All of these individuals were quite invested in the history of their families and felt a strong desire to do something. Staying true to the integrity of qualitative research, I allowed what was emerging to take precedence over my pre-conceived ideas of what the study should look like while still adhering to my interview guide as the guiding framework for discussion. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) agree that such “scene casting will often modify a priori notions of what is suitable” (p. 82). Thus, the third generation’s immediate interest led me to extend the project to these subsequent generations.

By the summer of 2011, I had conducted 18 in-depth interviews with these children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors. While this sampling may be

considered small, it is not meant to be representative of the After Generations as a whole. In qualitative research, samples tend to be smaller, as it is more important to reach theoretical saturation than it is to have a large number of participants (Patton, 2002). In addition, the number 18 was not random; its significance is in the Hebrew word for the number “chai,” which means life. These After Generations serve as living legacies to the survival of their parents and/or grandparents from the Nazi Holocaust. For some of my participants, they even represent a life that was lost.

Participant selection and recruitment. In the beginning of my research process, I initially utilized criterion sampling, finding individuals who met the standards of being either a child or a grandchild of a Holocaust survivor (Patton, 2002). Shortly after my prospectus for the project was accepted by my dissertation committee, I received notice that a new group of second and third generation Holocaust survivors was being formed. I was thrilled, as prior to this point I was not sure where I would locate participants for this study. I attended their first meeting where it was determined that the group had a strong desire to remain connected to their history while simultaneously hoping to reach out into the community and speak from personal experience about the Holocaust. At these monthly meetings, I had an opportunity to meet people from all walks of life who shared a common history of the Holocaust. I approached several of these individuals personally and asked if they would be interested in participating in my study. Most responded that they were interested. However, due to personal

obligations, family issues, and uncertainty about sharing such a personal story, two or three individuals chose not to participate.

While only a handful of these members allowed their stories and experiences to be recorded for my project, I did have several participants outside of the Phoenix area contact me after meeting my stepfather, a Holocaust survivor. As a speaker, he travels nationally and internationally and is often in contact with other Holocaust survivors and their children. He informed many of my project and several contacted me to participate. From this point, snowball sampling (Lindlof, 1995; Patton, 2002) was utilized, as individuals I had already interviewed began providing me with the contact information of those they believed would also be interested in participating. By the end of the interview process, I had spoken to 11 individuals in Arizona, one individual in England, two individuals in Kansas, and one individual from each of the following states: New York, Texas, California and Washington.

Consent. Obtaining consent from each participant was required, as I asked permission to audio-record each interview session, informing each of them that part(s) of the interview could potentially be used in the creative construction of a performance representing the experiences expressed through these interviews. The study is meant to benefit my participants; however, given the nature of the topic of the Holocaust, I recognized early on when obtaining IRB approval, that my participants could easily be traumatized or re-traumatized by telling their stories out loud. In line with the IRB guidelines, I provided each participant with

the contact information of a trained counselor familiar with patients who have a family history with the Holocaust so as to ensure that my participants came to no harm (Creswell, 2009; Schram, 2006).

To maintain confidentiality, I explained to each of my participants that their names would be protected using a pseudonym and that all information, such as recordings and transcripts of the interviews, would be securely locked and later presented to the participant if s/he so desired or destroyed by means of deletion of USB drives and/or shredding of hard copy materials. In order to keep track of and recall information when needed, I ended up labeling each interview transcript with a number corresponding with the order in which I interviewed each participant (an order of which only I know), allowing me to still maintain confidentiality.

Interviewing process. Most of these interviews lasted anywhere between 70 to 120 minutes. The time was dependent on the personalities of those with whom I interviewed and their willingness to share stories and keep talking beyond the initial questions I posed. I conducted 12 face-to-face interviews in people's homes or in coffee shops/cafes, five interviews via the telephone, and one interview via Skype. I found that those I met with face-to-face tended to have longer interviews (approximately 90-120 minutes) than those with whom I spoke via Skype teleconference or phone (approximately 70-90 minutes). I also noted that those who had personal connections with my stepfather (two participants knew my stepfather prior to our interview) tended to speak more openly at the

outset than did those who did not already have an established personal connection with me.³

I started every semi-structured interview with the same standard opening questions included in my interview guide; however, depending on the participant, I frequently strayed from the guide to allow the individual the freedom to respond to the questions and move in a direction that made sense to them. I would often refer to the guide during a lull in conversation, but I generally allowed our interactions to feel more like a conversation than an interview, as I found early on that the individual provided more explanations and greater depth of feeling when approached from this manner. As all of the interviews were audio-recorded, maintaining a conversational feel was easier because I could focus on what each participant was saying in the moment, rather than feeling the need to jot down their every word in my notes.

After each interview, I recorded my thoughts and reactions to the interactions I had with each participant through the self-reflexive act of memo-writing (Charmaz, 2006), as part of the process of this research included my own experiences and understanding about what it means to be a part of this group of individual. In some instances, particularly those in which I had a long commute home from an interview, I chose to audio-record my reactions. On other occasions, I chose to write my thoughts down in a notebook a couple of hours later. The audio-recordings were later transcribed and were used as data along with the notes I had written. While the time frame in which I recorded my

³ See appendix for a table of demographics of the 18 participants.

reactions to each interviewed differed by a couple of hours, I made sure to always reflect upon these interactions the very day they occurred in order to maintain consistency. These post-interview memos became central to how I positioned myself as both a researcher and a child of a survivor and served as data that was later analyzed.

Interviewing participants from different states (and even another country – though this individual was raised in the United States) and varying demographic characteristics such as gender, careers, and age groups demonstrated the breadth of this particular study. While the data collected should not be considered representative of the entire After Generation population, it acts as an excellent start to understanding the long-term effects the Holocaust has had upon later generations and what this means about ethically remembering and representing those affected. To better understand the manner in which the collected data was analyzed, the analysis process is discussed below.

Data Analysis

Grounded-Theory Approach

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the perspectives of members of the After Generations, the grounded theory approach was utilized as a guiding framework for data analysis. The grounded theory approach is particularly useful in this type of study because it is emergent (Charmaz, 2006). That is, the themes and categories for analysis were not pre-determined but rather arose out of the in-depth coding and analysis that took place. Such an emergent process allowed the

data to speak for itself while being simultaneously intertwined with the added layers of my perspective as a member of the After Generations and as a researcher.

Grounded theory was developed by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss (1965; 1967). While these individuals initially created this method of theory construction together, they later went their separate ways in terms of their understanding and utilization of the method (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010). As a result of their individual and combined efforts, they managed to create a methodology that many scholars have adopted and utilized to conduct research in varying fields of interest today, including the areas of social sciences (Mruck & Mey, 2010; Strubing, 2010), critical and feminist studies (Gibson, 2010; Olesen, 2010), and information systems (Urquhart, 2010).

The fact that so many different fields of interest have adopted grounded theory method, however, has caused it to become a rather contested concept (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010). The name grounded theory alone has the potential of drawing confusion as some refer to it as the *result* of the research process, whereas others refer to it as the actual method used *within* the research process (Charmaz, 2003). As Bryant and Charmaz (2010) candidly state, “the methods world will have to accept that the phrase Grounded Theory has now become part of common parlance, resonating with both meanings: the method and the resulting theory” (p. 3). To be clear, however, this study speaks of grounded theory as the *method* by which the data was analyzed.

The practice of grounded theory involves thorough collection of data from semi-structured interviews and in-depth analysis, constructing codes that emerge from the data, making constant comparisons during each stage of the analysis, advancing theory development during both the data collection and subsequent analysis, memo-writing, and recognizing that research should not be generalized but used instead for the construction of theories (Charmaz, 2006). In their earliest work, Glaser and Strauss (1967) invited readers to “use grounded theory strategies flexibly and in their own way” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 9). They also argue that practical grounded theory research must be useful to the participants by being understandable to all layman, general enough to apply to many topical areas, and allow participants to utilize the work completed in some manner in their everyday lives (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 238-243). This study does just that. Using grounded theory as a process to generate theories, I took it a step further and allowed those emergent themes and categories from which the theory was derived to be used to develop a script to represent this data through performance. As Bryant and Charmaz (2010) note, “grounded theory strategies allow for imaginative engagement with data,” creating a “space where the unexpected can occur” (p. 25). Such engagement with the data is an ideal way to weave in performance, creating a representation of the data with which others can interact.

Process of Analysis

As each interview was completed, I began transcribing my interviews. I had two undergraduate research assistants and a transcriptionist help me

transcribe each of the interviews. In order to ensure accuracy of these transcripts, I went back through each interview and listened to each audio-recording while reading along with its transcript. This process also provided me with an opportunity to re-familiarize myself with each interview, as several months had lapsed between the actual interviews and the completion of their transcripts. Approximately 350 pages worth of data emerged from these interviews. Another 45 pages of data emerged from ethnographic interview notes and personal notes.

Once interviews were transcribed, I then began the process of analysis through open coding (Charmaz, 2006). Using grounded theory method, I went through each interview and jotted in the margins initial themes or categories that stood out to me. These themes or “codes” were emergent; they were not preconceived ideas generated prior to the interview and subsequent analysis. Data analysis and coding occurred in multiple phases. The analysis was first conducted using line by line coding, which enabled me to get beyond the stories and experiences I was told, instead focusing on important questions related to what was happening in the data, concerns participants were expressing, and any questions the data was able to answer. Line by line coding yields initial codes that effectively disassembled the data (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008), and provided a direction for analysis, enabling me to see the project as a whole rather than becoming too selective and “focused on a particular problem” (Holton, 2010, p. 275).

At the start of this open coding process, I found that my codes tended to be rather abstract in that they did not really get at the essence of what participants were trying to express. After reviewing each transcript several times, I began to anchor these abstract concepts to codes that were derived from the actual language used by my participants. These in vivo codes provided me with a new lens with which to understand what was happening in the data, while ensuring that the categories were truly derived from the participants' voices and not just my own conceptions (Charmaz, 2006).

During this process of open coding, I also participated in memo-writing. In these reflective notes, I remained transparent about my thoughts and reactions to the research, particularly as I was coding the data. Grounded theorists ask that a researcher be prepared to study something for which they may never have intended and become aware of the preconceived ideas they may bring to the study (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Recognizing my own preconceived ideas became essential for me, as my close proximity to the project as a child of a survivor often brought with it specific ideas about what it means to be a member of the After Generations. Memo-writing also provided me with an opportunity to reflect upon the categories emerging from the coding process, ensuring that the themes being developed were theoretically grounded. Memo-writing helped me to clarify both major and minor themes that emerged from the data, providing a guide with which my analysis began to form (Charmaz, 2006).

From the memo-writing process, I created a codebook (De la Garza, 2011) that included the definitions of each theme, the properties of that theme, actual exemplars from the data, the effects this thematic code has on the After Generations, and the literature that supports this information. The codebook was essential in grounding my work in the framework of this study and the supporting literature, as well as helping me to eventually visualize how each category was related to and linked with the next. Through this grounded theory research, each exemplar from the data was compared to another similar exemplar to demonstrate both the similarities between participants' experiences, as well as any differences. These exemplars were also compared to previous scholarship in the field, which helped define particular properties of each theme that emerged. This constant comparison ensured that both similarities and differences in the data were noted and that consistency was upheld (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Once the initial open coding was accomplished, I used Strauss and Corbin's (1998) axial coding to bring these fragmented sections of data back together as a whole. The purpose of axial coding is to link the larger themes to the sub-themes, making sure to ask important questions such as how they are associated (Charmaz, 2006). Some scholars believe that axial coding is unnecessary, making matters more complex than they need to be (Urquhart, 2010); I have found, however, that axial coding provides a visual of the relationships between categories and sub-categories, which proves useful when bringing the purpose of the project as a whole back into perspective after having

remained fragmented for so long while in the open coding process. Axial coding ultimately seeks those relationships, which are mapped out using in vivo codes, to tell the stories of what is going on in the data.

The axial coding that took place first required me to write down each of the themes/concepts for the research questions posed and consider in what ways they were connected, either through their meanings and properties or due to the fact that one could cause another to occur. In order to demonstrate this interconnectedness, the axial coding was drawn out as a map. I drew circles around each emergent concept and then drew lines between these concepts to reconsider potential meanings between these categories. When each of the three maps that corresponded to each research question was completed, I transferred them to the computer, generating a “cleaner” version of the map so that I could then write memos regarding the mapping process and any new insights gained from recognizing the new connections I had not previously noted (see Appendix E).

While these maps were not meant to encapsulate the entirety of the data, they did provide a two-dimensional visual for seeing the data in a fresh, new way. The axial coding process also brought me to the next step in my research, which was to begin writing the results of this study as a performance script. The visual representation of these axial maps moved beyond the verbal text to a more embodied text, allowing the themes and categories to come to life in a way that

only performance could allow, as it provides a space where audiences can engage with the material visually and aesthetically (Miller & Taylor, 2006).

The in vivo labels, then, became quite important because it was at this point in the process where the performative analysis began. According to De la Garza (2011), “a performance piece from grounded theory method is always a piece of the analysis, as it embodies the analysis in a way that can be collectively witnessed in symbolic, narrative, and visual ways” (p. 3b). From these in vivo labels, I began to creatively construct a performance piece that could embody these themes and represent the narratives and experiences of the After Generations as they were expressed to me through the interviews.

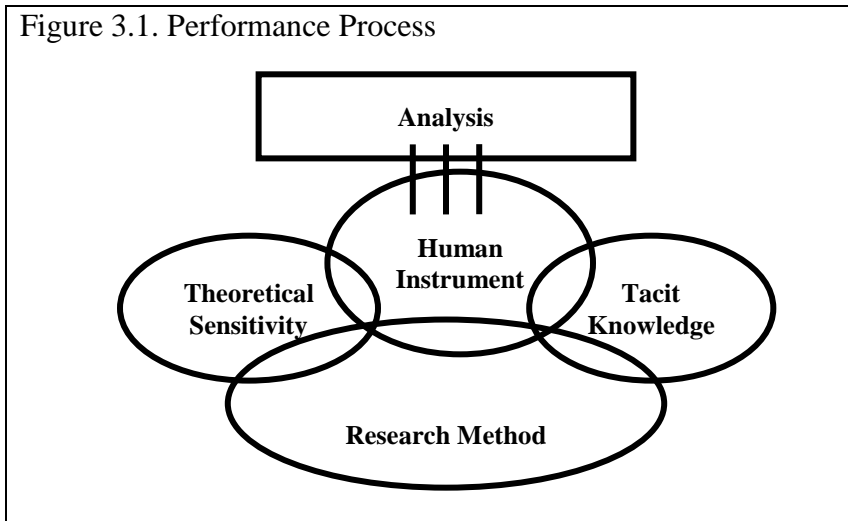
This methodological process goes beyond one simple subjective interpretation. Rather, this grounded performance process honors participants by utilizing their own language while simultaneously integrating the words of the participants with the interpretation of the researcher and tacit knowledge. Thus, performance accords the researcher an opportunity to connect emerging themes and experiences. For example, when considering how I might frame the performance out of the data before me I not only had to think about the issues at hand, but I also had to consider how I might best stage these issues. In so doing I was forced to think about them both theoretically and experientially. In other words, I approached the staging process through the perspective of theoretical sensitivity as well as tacit knowledge.

Prior to interviewing these 18 participants, I had engaged in thorough research of the topic of children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors. From this research, the interview process, and my own experiences as a member of the After Generations, I began to think about the connections between themes in a theoretical manner; however I needed to incorporate the theory with tacit, experiential knowledge as well. I did this by going back to the notes I had taken while I had interviewed each of the participants. These notes were not included in the initial data analysis, as they were not what the participants actually stated in their interviews. Rather, these notes indicated how participants reacted when discussing particular events or stories. For those I interviewed face-to-face, I watched as one's "shoulders slumped while discussing her mom's disinterest in her writing"⁴ or how another "pounded the table."⁵ These notes about the body or vocal tone of the participant as s/he spoke on varying topics related to the Holocaust became the focal point for how to stage the performance and pay tribute to the body as a tool through which stories are told and expressed. Below is a diagram demonstrating the ways in which the researcher/human instrument (Guba & Lincoln, 1985) may approach this particular performance process described above.

⁴ Memo: 3/17/2010

⁵ Memo: 1/22/2011

Figure 3.1. Performance Process



From this framing process, a performance script emerged out of the direct in vivo language stated by the participants in my study, as well as the notes I took regarding the bodily reactions of participants as they spoke. The completed script eventually branched out into a larger narrative about what it means to be a member of the After Generations. The characters in the script are a representation of the 18 individuals interviewed in this study and are not meant to be a representative of all second and third generation survivors. Rather, the intent of this performance script and the eventual performance is to allow audience members, whether they are also members of the After Generations or not, to find entry points with which they can relate and bring about awareness and/or new conclusions regarding the long-term effects of memory and trauma. The significance of this awareness is that it “introduces the crucial factor of language into memory, and thus narrative and history” through performance (Casey, 2004,

p. 21). The use of language and story-telling through performance draws in others so that these narratives can be both shared and learned.

Validity of Analysis

Prior to discussing how data should be represented, a discussion regarding validity is important. Every study should ensure that it meets standards of rigor and validity, but deciding upon which criterion to utilize makes for a difficult choice. In fact, opinions vary among qualitative scholars whether validity, as is traditionally defined, is even applicable to qualitative research in general. These multiple perspectives may be a result of the belief that no method can provide absolute truth and that those who claim such truth should be considered highly suspect (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Richardson, 1994). For the purposes of this project I choose the appropriate criteria as outlined by Altheide and Johnson (1994) to demonstrate the validity of this line of inquiry and to ensure that this study can meet the highest of standards.

Altheide and Johnson (1994) argue that to ensure that a study meets standards of validity, it is important to consider the point of view from which data is collected, analyzed, and represented. They contend that “good” ethnographic research is one that certifies analytical realism, or seeing the world as interpreted and socially constructed (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). In other words, these scholars argue that the meanings derived from a given study are co-constructed, as they are produced through communication and dialogue. Given the co-

constructed nature of the study, Altheide and Johnson (1994) offer the following advice regarding evaluative criterion.

The first point these authors mention is to recognize that there are multiple perspectives in any given study, particularly an ethnographic study. Each person interviewed or observed has a particular viewpoint and it is important to demonstrate the multi-vocal characteristics, or the characteristics of many voices, as well as incorporate the voice of the researcher. Reporting a study utilizing only the voice of the researcher does not make for a valid interpretation; however, indicating how the researcher's voice fits in amongst the many voices of the participants demonstrates the variety of perspectives involved and provides credibility to the study conducted. I accomplished this by staying true to the language chosen by each of my participants by directly quoting them as much as possible. The *in vivo* language became central to the emergent themes and analysis process, as well as the later representation of the data through a performance script.

A second point Altheide and Johnson offer as a way to ensure that multiple perspectives and ideas are maintained is through member checking. Member checking requires the researcher to take "findings back to the field and determin[e] whether the participants recognize them as true or accurate" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 242). I did this by going back to the individuals I interviewed and asking them if I had understood them correctly by asking them to read from a portion of my analysis. In one instance, I called a participant with a question

related to something she had mentioned in her interview and she informed me that I had misunderstood her. In another 30 minute phone conversation, she provided further explanations about this topic.

Another way I participated in member checking was to ask individuals with whom I interacted if they had ever had similar experiences as those that were mentioned in previous interviews. For example, one gentleman explained to me that all second generation survivors have been made to feel at one point or another that they were expected to please their parents (whether in attaining a particular job, having children, or maintaining the Jewish faith). This statement interested me and I asked subsequent interviewees if this were true in their experience. I received mixed results, as about half of those I asked did not agree with this statement at all. Such member checking became essential because I very well could have taken this gentleman's statement as one of general truth, but instead I checked with others to see if it was indeed applicable to all. In the same vein, I found that in some casual conversations I had with two or three participants regarding my own experiences with the Holocaust, they pointed out areas that were unique to my experience that did not resonate with their personal experiences as a child or grandchild of a survivor. These conversations were helpful in ensuring that I did not use my own experiences as a second generation survivor to speak for all of my participants.

In ensuring that all perspectives are heard and not silenced, Altheide and Johnson (1994) also call for a thorough description of the process utilized while

conducting this study. Such description includes information related to the researcher, methods, participants, and how the researcher comes to his/her interpretation. The authors ask that all tacit knowledge be explained, even if it seems like common information. All of this information gives the readers a more thorough understanding of the project as a whole. Such explication also makes researchers consider those things that they may have taken for granted, providing an opportunity for all to better understand the process by which this research was conducted.

The last criterion advocated by Altheide and Johnson (1994) relates back to ethics. They argue that a statement regarding the author's perspective and influence on the research process should be included in the data report. Such a statement is essential to make clear the researcher's standpoint and how it may influence the subsequent findings and analysis. I believe that I accomplished this via journal writing, as I sought to record and analyze my perspective along with those whom participated in this study alongside me.

For the purposes of this project, however, ethics should also be discussed regarding the sensitivity of the topic at hand. The Holocaust is a subject that many wish to talk about but are unsure how to do so as a result of the debates surrounding the ways in which it should be approached and subsequently represented. Given that the final product of this project will result in a performance script written to represent the narratives, stories, and experiences of

the members of the After Generations I interviewed, it is important to discuss the ethics of representing narratives related to the Holocaust.

Summary

Memories of the Holocaust may be dying along with its survivors, but the legacies they leave behind continue to haunt members of the After Generations. Legacies of death and survival leave specific obligations upon the second and third generation survivor about how and in what form these memories should be remembered. These memories and narratives were collected via semi-structured interviews, transcribed, and later coded and analyzed using grounded theory methods. After constant self-reflexivity, memo-writing, and comparisons, the emergent themes were then transformed into a performance script that enabled these narratives and memories to be represented and interacted with on-stage. The following chapter will provide an in-depth discussion of the axial analysis process and the manner by which this data was transformed into a performance script.

Chapter 4

AXIAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I articulate the findings from this study via the axial analysis conducted from the interviews of 18 members of the After Generations. The axial analysis maps generated to answer each research question are displayed along with an explication of each theme, its properties, as well as exemplars from the data. These maps are utilized to explain how children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors can teach practical lessons regarding the long-term effects of trauma upon not just the survivor, but later generations, as well. Finally, I address the theoretical and practical lessons the axial analysis and subsequent performance script speak to in response to the research questions posed in this study.

Axial Mapping

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the final stage of the analytical process I embarked upon for this study involved axial coding. This process included the literal mapping of the themes/categories I found as I analyzed the transcripts and notes taken from each interview. The purpose of such mapping is to be able to engage with concepts in a manner that might demonstrate how each concept is related to the next, ultimately addressing each of the research questions which frame the study (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). By engaging with the themes in this manner, multiple layers of meaning, understanding, and analysis emerged from the data in new ways. The act of visually representing the relationships

between the emergent themes became a helpful catalyst necessary for conveying the analyzed data in a performance script. Seeing these themes connected to one another on the map allowed the performance script to materialize naturally from these relationships. As one theme was written into the script, it easily led to another telling a larger narrative about what it meant for each participant to be a member of the After Generations. In sum, the axial analysis assists in articulating the imminent form in stories and experience (i.e., the genres that may arise out of the data), which can be used in the development of generic considerations and scriptwriting.

Each map is drawn to display the major themes that answer the research questions posed in this study. The arrows found in each of the maps demonstrate how one theme is related to another and/or to the question itself (See Figure 4A). Arrows moving from and between themes indicate their relationships with one another and demonstrate how one theme may cause another to occur. Some themes interact interchangeably, whereas other relationships between themes may only move in one direction. For example, in the first research question which asks how the After Generations can teach individuals about the long-term effects of the Holocaust, an arrow leads from the theme of “trauma” to that of “resilience” because the narratives provided by members of the After Generations demonstrated that various forms of trauma caused several of those interviewed to feel like and/or become resilient, either in the present moment or at one point in their lives (See Figure 4.1). There is no arrow moving from the theme of

“resilience” back to that of “trauma” because the data did not indicate that this type of relationship existed between the themes. None of the participants ever mentioned or alluded to the possibility that being, feeling, or acting out a form of resiliency caused further trauma. For each of the axial maps presented, I offer a conceptual summary of the relationships between concepts as expressed to me through the narratives of the After Generations members and discuss each of the themes as they relate to the research questions.

The Long-Term Effects of the Holocaust

The following axial map displays concepts that address the first research question: What practical and theoretical lessons might members of the After Generations teach regarding the long-term effects of the Holocaust? The themes that emerged were responsibility, guilt, resilience, and trauma along with the sub-themes of responsibility and trauma that included identity, pride, reclamation of symbols, fear, neurosis, abuse, victim archetype, and anger.

When looking at Figure 4.1 below, one can see that there are a variety of long-term effects that the After Generations experience as a result of being a second or third generation survivor. These effects are not singular and experienced in and of themselves; rather they are caused by one another or are a result of one another. Together, these themes demonstrate the ways in which children and grandchildren have been affected by the Holocaust.

Figure 4.1. Axial Maps of Long-Term Effects

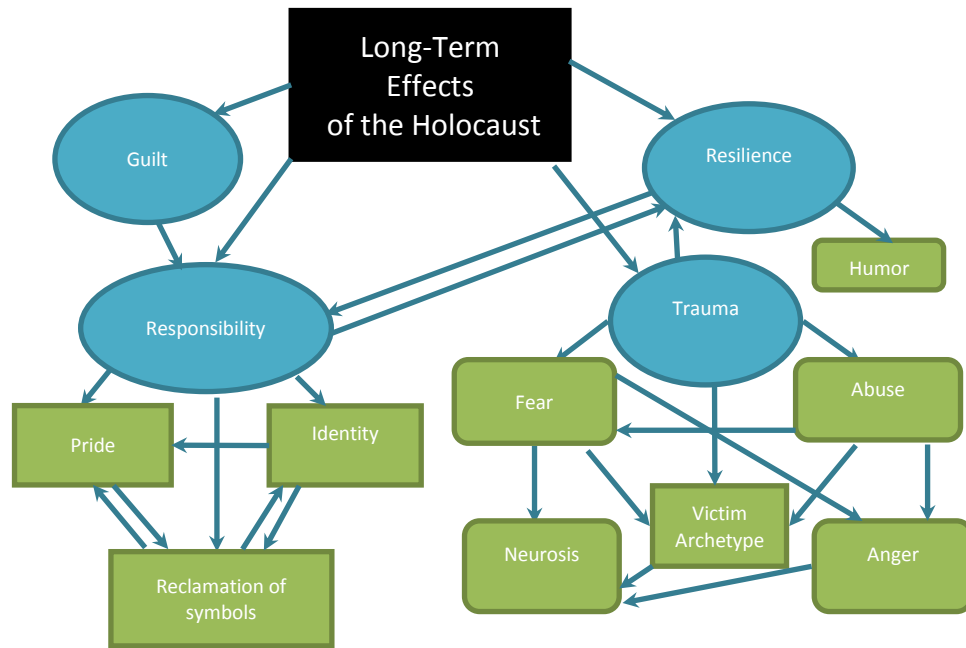


Figure 4.1. Axial map of the first research question asking, what practical and theoretical lessons might members of the After Generations teach regarding the long-term effects of the Holocaust?

To fully understand Figure 4.1, it is helpful to understand the labeled themes and the ways in which each theme interacts with another. Starting on the left-hand side of the map, the theme of guilt is labeled. Feelings of guilt in relation to being a child or grandchild of Holocaust survivors caused several individuals interviewed during this study to experience a burden of responsibility toward remembering and honoring those who endured the Holocaust. Many members of the After Generations understand that they are alive because of the suffering borne out by their parent(s) and/or grandparent(s) (i.e., a form of guilt that some expressed), which later caused them to act upon this feeling of responsibility. This responsibility (with properties of identity, pride, and

reclamation of symbols that will later be discussed) often led to a form of resilience. By remembering those who survived the Holocaust, many members of the After Generations came to recognize the strength of their forefathers, leading them to enact or attempt to enact a similar form of strength.

Knowing whether this feeling toward responsibility is what caused one to enact a form of resilience or if it is these acts of resilience that members of the After Generations inherited that caused them to form this sense of responsibility, however, is difficult to determine. From the examples provided by those interviewed, the themes mapped out above seem to affect one another equally. Even the last theme of trauma (which also has several properties that will be discussed later) can also lead to resilience. Second and third generation survivors have learned how to be resilient when facing adversity, as they too have endured multiple types of trauma just by being the offspring of Holocaust survivors. While trauma and responsibility may not speak to one another directly, altogether these themes tell a grander story about how the long-term effects of the Holocaust have impacted these children and grandchildren of survivors. All of these themes emerged from the data and were implied in the majority of the interviews conducted. In the following sections, I will describe the themes that emerged and the ways in which they inform and answer this first research question.

Trauma: “If Another Holocaust Happens Again, It Might Happen to Me.”⁶

When discussing the events of the Holocaust, the mention of trauma is not surprising. Less expected, however, is a discussion related to how the offspring

⁶ Interview 2, p. 26

of survivors have endured trauma as a result of the Holocaust. None of the participants interviewed in this study were present or alive while the events of the Holocaust took place; yet all of them have indicated in their narratives either an implicit or explicit reference to the trauma they have endured by simply being a child or grandchild of a Holocaust survivor.

A simple definition of trauma may be explained as a psychological experience that can cause injury or pain (Caruth, 1996). Such trauma can then cause a variety of other forms of responses that can affect an individual long-term. The analysis of the data collected in this study clearly demonstrates how trauma can also result in a variety of emotions such as fear, neurosis/paranoia, and anger. These emotions can be made manifest from trauma as a result of the breakdown or malfunction of parental roles (Brennar, 2005; Codde, 2009), the silences experienced when a parent or grandparent would not or could not speak about his/her experiences with the Holocaust (Peskin, 2004), indirect knowledge learned about the Holocaust (Hoffman, 2004), and/or the post-memory experiences a child/grandchild might experience as s/he attempts to relate to his/her survivor relative (Albeck, 1994; Codde, 2009; Hirsch 1994). Unfortunately, another form of trauma After Generations may have experienced is through direct abuse (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983; Lev-Wiesel & Amir, 2005).

Abuse: “The abuses I’m talking about were in the hundreds.”⁷ When an individual has been physically or emotionally harmed by a caregiver over a long-period of time, this person has suffered abuse (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze,

⁷ Interview 8, p. 8

1983; Lev-Wiesel & Amir, 2005). In some cases, there may have been only one act of abuse, yet the results of that one act can be long-lasting as feelings of shame, embarrassment, self-blame, rejection/abandonment, and self-doubt may manifest (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983; Lev-Wiesel & Amir, 2005). Many studies have been conducted about abused children turning into abusive adults (Dixon, Browne, & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005; Widom, 1989). Such studies demonstrate that the abuses individuals experience as children are carried with them as they enter into adulthood, manifesting in varying aspects of their lives (Dixon, Browne, & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005).

According to Lev-Wiesel & Amir (2003), Holocaust atrocities and sexual abuse are considered to be two of the most serious childhood traumas. These types of trauma can scar children both psychologically and physically. While members of the After Generations did not experience firsthand the atrocities of the Holocaust, many of them were told stories about what their parents and/or grandparents suffered at the hands of their captors. The fear that these members experienced as a result of stories that were told was very real. Certainly one cannot compare the actual trauma to a vicarious experience of that trauma; however, vicarious traumatization can occur and does affect psyches, particularly those of children (Epstein, 1979; Langer, 2000; Rowland-Klein & Dunlop, 1998). For a handful of those interviewed for this project, sexual abuse was unfortunately a fear they did endure firsthand. For several members of the After Generations I

interviewed, this type of abuse suffered at the hands of their survivor parent(s) was very real and very frightening.

For example, toward the end of our interview, Participant 14 (P14) began to share how she had endured years of sexual molestation at the hands of her survivor stepfather. While she never provided specific details, she alluded to the trauma she felt when she finally broke her silence decades later. After finding the courage to share this personal trauma with her husband and older sister, she decided to break the news to her older brother. P14 explained:

My brother just sort of shrugged his shoulders and said, “Well, that was a long time ago. You’re okay now.” I felt so hurt. It may seem extreme, but it was almost worse than the abuse itself because he just shrugged it off like it wasn’t a big deal. He didn’t know how many years of shame and suffering I faced; how I blamed myself and thought it was me. (Int. 14, p. 24)

In P14’s experience, the long-lasting effects of the abuse have followed her into adulthood.

Participant 8 (P8) was one of the most vocal about the abuses he endured as a child at the hands of his mother, a Holocaust survivor. While raised early on by his grandmother (also a Holocaust survivor), he was forced to live with his mother and new husband when he was in his early teens approximately around the time he was to prepare for his Bar-Mitzvah. Upon moving in with his mother, he began to suffer a variety of abuses. Although he never named exactly what these

abuses entailed, it became quite evident in his discussion regarding the array of abuses he experienced that the results of these acts upon him have been long-lasting. At one point during our interview he explained that, “I was scared to be in the house all the time because I didn’t want to live with the abuse. It was extremely difficult” (Int. 8, p. 12). Having to constantly fear one’s own well-being is both stressful and discomfoting. Toward the end of the interview, P8 also commented on not having thought of all this abuse in quite some time. He said, “There is a reason I generally don’t talk about all this. I don’t want to really live it all over again” (Int. 8, p. 23).⁸ These traumatic memories have clearly affected him in multiple ways.

Other forms of trauma endured by children relate to the relationships they have with the adults in their lives. For example, forms of neglect or the malfunctioning of parental roles can also be devastating for a child to endure. Participant 15 (P15) told one story related to her stepfather, a survivor of the Holocaust. Her mother had married P15’s stepfather after her first husband had passed away due to illness; however, this new husband was never very well either. He had psychological issues as a result of the trauma he had endured while interned in one of the Nazi concentration camps. He had lost everything in the war—his job, his home, and his entire family. In the short year and a half that he and P15’s mother were married, he had tried to commit suicide several times. On his last attempt, he finally succeeded. P15 said, “It was me. I found my

⁸ As mentioned in the Methods section, all participants were provided the name of a psychologist with whom they could speak after our interview if they chose.

stepfather—he had committed suicide. I was only a young teenager. He'd been troubled and this wasn't his first attempt at suicide, but I found him when he finally pulled it off...[long silence]" (Int. 15, p. 7). Her stepfather's inability to function in this life as a father and husband caused him to take drastic action, leaving P15 with traumatic memories she still has difficulty speaking about today. While her stepfather never physically or sexually abused P15, the emotional scars he left her with have been long-lasting. Perhaps not all forms of trauma are as intense as finding one's parent dead or as severe as sexual and/or physical abuse; nevertheless, trauma can directly affect the decisions and reactions of those who have experienced such moments, often causing those who have been abused to fear for their well-being even when not in imminent danger.

Fear: “*You Forget to Enjoy Life Because You’re Afraid Someone is Going to Take it from You*”.⁹ Fear often manifests after enduring some form of abuse or traumatic event. This response results from a feeling of impending danger, pain, and/or experiences that may be either real or imagined (Ekman & Davidson, 1994; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006; Plutchik, 1980). Fear is a biochemical and neurological emotion (Damasio, 2004) that is both automatic and uncontrollable (Ekman & Davidson, 1994; LeDoux, 1996; Zajonc, 1980) and processed both consciously and subconsciously (Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006). In fact, Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal (2006), psychologists interested in the concept of fear as an impetus for aggression, explain that in stressful situations fear overrules all other emotions and reactions.

⁹ Interview 8, p. 8

Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal explain that fear “may operate irrationally and destructively because defensive reactions are not only evoked as a result of cues which directly imply threat and danger, but also by conditioned stimuli which are non-threatening in their nature” (p. 371). That is, while fear is uncontrollable, it can also be learned from direct or vicarious experiences. For example, several of the participants in this study expressed having felt a form of fear in relation to their knowledge or experience with the Holocaust and their loved ones. Most of the fear experienced did not stem from a direct encounter with that which stimulated this fear (i.e., the events of the Holocaust) but rather through observation and vicarious experience.

Participant 2 (P2) explained that:

Persecution had already happened with the Jewish people, so it kind of hit home even more. If another Holocaust happens again it might happen to me...and I think that just really frightened me. And that’s probably one of the reasons why I was scared of all of the images of the Holocaust and stuff because when you’re younger you tend to have more of an imagination and tend to put yourself into movies and the books you read. I think that was just too close—not too close to reality—but too real for my imagination to handle. (Int. 2, p. 6)

P2’s knowledge of the Holocaust and the implications of it—namely that if one was Jewish one would more likely be persecuted—were enough to frighten her as

a child. Her father had been persecuted so who was to say that she, too, would not be persecuted one day?

For members of the After Generations, much of this fear came as a result of viewing images related to the Holocaust. Many references were made regarding the movie *Schindler's List* and other Holocaust-related books and films, as for many, the images they evoked brought fear into their lives:

“Right after I learned my dad was a Holocaust survivor I saw *Schindler's List*. And that just—it scared me so much because it was just...oh, it was horrible.” (Int. 2, p. 26)

“Let's put it this way, you remember the movie *Schindler's List*? When I watched *Schindler's List* I could not get out of my chair because I cried so hard and if I talk about it more I will cry now because it just reminded me so much of so many emotions...the fear and the abuse.” (Int. 8, p. 12)

“Now I know I can't see the movie about the Holocaust. I can remember crying. I cry easily anyway. I can remember some of these stories. I remember reading the book and just sobbing.” (Int. 11, p.15)

“I'd say mom, I can't watch this, I'll throw up and she'd say, 'That's okay, you'll watch it' and I'd throw up. I have a real hard time right now. I mean, I don't mean right NOW, but you talk about mental illness, that's my mental illness. I have a major war. I have a war going on in my head. I'm like my mother. I'm like living it because she gave me such a vivid picture of what it was like to be her that I have a hard time functioning sometimes.” (Int. 14-15, p. 6)

All of these statements indicate the intensity with which these images brought about fear. While some could argue that these movies could potentially frighten anyone who views them, I argue that the After Generations members' proximity of the Holocaust to their lives is what draws out that intense fear. That is, knowing that one's mother, father, grandmother or grandfather lived through the abuses witnessed as one watches these films or reads these stories is difficult to

take in as these are people with whom one is intimate; to think of them suffering (particularly as a child) is very painful and frightening on multiple levels.

For Participant 14 (P14), the images her mother forced her to view as a young child have caused her to express a form of paranoia and fear that is not common to an individual who has not actually experienced a traumatic event such as a war. P14 describes this feeling a trigger that sets her off. These triggers can be anything—an image, a noise, or even a remark made by someone. Most research related to triggers can be linked to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as individuals who have experienced something traumatic, such as a war, will respond in ways that may seem abnormal for the situation (Shay, 1996; Steele, 2010). Shay (1996) discusses the ways in which Vietnam veterans have suffered with psychological trauma for decades after the war, often as a result of small triggers that cause the individual to react. Though P14 did not experience the events of the Holocaust firsthand, she was told of these atrocities and was taught to always be on guard. She witnessed her mother react in startling ways and she subsequently picked up some of these habits. Thus, similar to a veteran of war, these triggers affect P14's interactions. In trying to describe her everyday mindset, she explained:

Something in me is triggered and it could be nothing, but it will remind me of a story I was told or something that I was forced to see. Like, I'll give you an example, my husband didn't even know this until a couple of months ago, but my least favorite holiday is the 4th of July because every

4th of July my mother told me to listen; to listen because that's what bombs sound like. And then she would relate it to a story about when she was a child and how this is what she thought it was and this is what it ended up being and this is the aftermath of it. And so, I can't stand the 4th of July. I just can't stand it. But, everyday there's something that triggers me to take something that's pretty and put it the middle of a concentration camp—and that's why I say I was there in the camps—I have such a vivid picture of what the camps look like. (Int. 14-15, p. 8)

The fear P14 described is one that could easily be developed into a form of neurosis, which is also quite common amongst Holocaust survivors and subsequently, their children and grandchildren (Science News, 1978). In fact, Fein and Hilton (1994) conducted three studies that focused on the negative consequences that suspicion can have on perceivers' judgments, arguing that fear can lead directly to paranoia and/or the development of neurosis.

Paranoia/Neurosis: “You just never know what people are up to.”¹⁰

Paranoia is the belief, whether real or imagined, that there are people or forces that are set out to harm an individual (Fenigstein & Vanabke, 1992). It usually emerges out of suspicion and distrust (Fein & Hilton, 1994) and is directly linked to a person's beliefs and/or expectations about others (Kramer & Messick, 1998). In the case of members of the After Generations, particularly in reference to those interviewed in this study, observing or learning of their parents' or grandparents' misfortunes have caused some to worry that the same will happen to them

¹⁰ Interview 8, p. 9

(Hardin, 1998). Now this does not always translate into the development of true paranoia; however it can spur on the development of specific neuroses in relation to this fear.

While those exhibiting true signs of paranoia generally do not recognize that their behavior is out of the ordinary, those who have developed particular habits or neuroses often do understand that others may view their behavior as irrational. Participant 2 is one such individual who recognizes that she may come across as a bit extreme.

And I've always had, ever since learning my dad was a survivor, kind of like a hesitance towards governmental control. I know that sounds crazy, but to me governments are kind of scary because they can just suddenly turn on their own people and put them in concentration camps...and I've always been cautious about trusting people too because again it's just because I have the example of the Holocaust of people turning in their own neighbors and their own family even. (Int. 2, p. 36)

The fact that P2 offered that what she is saying may sound “crazy” demonstrates that she is aware that her belief system about governmental control might seem a bit extreme to some; however, her other comments are a direct justification for her feelings of distrust. Her beliefs may not be the norm, but based on the stories told to her by her father and her knowledge of what occurred in the lives of many within the Jewish faith and culture, they have caused her to be especially careful so that she never gets caught off guard like her family did not so many years ago.

Other individuals interviewed have a deeper level of neurosis, as they participate in particular behaviors that may seem rather odd to outsiders.

Participant 8 discussed some of his behaviors below:

My wife says I am observant. At a restaurant I would have my back to a wall. It's a small statement but it is what it is. I go into a place where I feel uncomfortable and my own jewelry I take off. And if I go into a place where I feel uncomfortable, I literally take down the numbers on the license plates of the vehicles in the parking lot. I still do this to this day. I am programmed. (Int. 8, p. 9)

According to P8, his grandmother taught him to be vigilant as a young boy and to survive no matter what. To survive meant that one should not trust others, which is evident in P8's statement. He said he must always be on the lookout, always on the watch for something awry or out of place. By doing so, P8 is protecting himself from potential harm. This need to protect also extends to others as he discusses his family: "My wife always tells me to relax...I always sleep closest to the door that way if anything happens they have to get to me before they get to someone I love" (Int. 8, p. 9). Reviewing the entirety of the section this quote is taken from, there is never one reference to who "they" may be. "They" could be anyone. P8's desire to be in control and on guard for whomever might be out to get him or his family is not uncommon for those raised not to trust others. Being careful with one's trust was taught both implicitly and explicitly to members of the After Generations (Kellerman, 2001; Rowland, Klein & Dunlap, 1998).

A similar sentiment was expressed by another member of the After Generations. During Participant 14's (P14) interview, she and I were sitting outside in her backyard, which was adjacent to two or three other homes that had 2nd floor balconies. In order to demonstrate how her mother's narratives affected her psyche, P14 referred to the balconies above and said, "See that house over there. I sometimes think that it would be a great place for a sniper. Always, always. I am always thinking about who might be lurking in the shadows. Who might get me next?" (Int. 14, p. 6). While those who do not share the experience of having survivor parents or grandparents might feel that such thoughts are unreasonable and illogical, for several members of the After Generations I interviewed they are perfectly normal and understandable (Stein, 2009). For some, the stories shared with them by their parent(s)/grandparent(s) were told in detail, describing particular horrifying events in detail. For others, the lack of stories told by their parent(s)/grandparent(s) (i.e., the moments of silence when it was evident that these parents/grandparents were not sharing everything) left these offspring with the task of imagining what may have happened, so the *not knowing* left them in a state of paranoia that something could happen and that they might not be prepared.

While most of the individuals from the examples above were children of Holocaust survivors, grandchildren of Holocaust survivors experienced similar behavior as well. Participant 3 (P3) relayed a narrative from when she was a child. Her grandmother had told her stories about needing to find a hiding place

when the Nazis arrived at their homes. Such stories resonated with P3 and caused her to think about where she might hide if someone ever tried to come take her away. One day while with a babysitter she decided to find that hiding place—much to the later dismay of her mother—who upon returning from her outing was unable to locate her daughter. P3 explained, “I was just doing it to see—If someone came to take our whole family, where would I hide in the house?” (Int. 3-4, p. 16). Even though she was a young child, the need to prepare in the event that someone was to come and take her away was very real and frightening. By reproducing the story her grandmother told her, P3 demonstrated empathic unsettlement—imagining or acting out stories told to members of the After Generations by their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s) (Albeck, 1994). The trauma that these offspring experience may be imagined, but it is a direct result of the very real events that impacted survivors of the Holocaust. The interactions or *postmemory* experiences that members of the After Generations have as a result of their survivor parent(s)’ or grandparent(s)’ stories have resulted in many of them becoming cautious or distrusting of others (Hirsch, 1997).

Anger: “We have a lot of repressed anger and I’d say illness.”¹¹ The last property to be discussed in relation to the After Generations’ experience with trauma is anger. Anger is an intense feeling or response to someone being wronged (Devito, 2003; Freyd, 2002). According to the literature on anger, it can be both emotional and self-protective (Devito, 2003); a result of misplaced

¹¹ Interview 4, p. 3

emotions such as sadness or fear (Freyd, 2002; Shay, 1994); and/or experienced vicariously (Freyd, 2002). Through the analysis process of this dissertation's data, the sub-theme of anger emerged multiple times, as individuals expressed their frustrations with growing up knowing only too well that hatred exists.

For example, Participant 1 (P1) demonstrated a form of anger over the losses he experienced as a result of being a child of a Holocaust survivor. P1's father told him a story about a young friend of his who was murdered as a young child. P1 said, "It makes me angry because I wish I could know her and I can't" (Int. 1, p. 4). His anger at the situation is due to his inability to do anything about it, as this loss happened before he was born. On the other hand, this anger is also misplaced. Rather than deal with the sadness he feels knowing that his father had lost such an important person in his young life and that this resulted in his never getting to know her, P1 turns to anger (Freyd, 2002; Shay, 1994).

Another example of misplaced emotion became evident in Participant 5's (P5) statement: "I feel angry because [the Holocaust] meant that I was born in a very specific situation of a lot of sadness, a lot of restrictions, [and] a lot of loss" (Int. 5, p. 9). P5 actually mentioned these misplaced feelings as she explained how sometimes she does not feel it was a fair life she was born into given the burden she was born to carry. Freyd (2002) explains that "anger, for many, is an 'easier' emotional state than is grief or fear. Although there is much to be angry about, there is also much to grieve and much understandable fear" (p. 6). In order to manage such feelings, many individuals choose to direct their energy and

attention on anger. Those living within a Western-based culture, such as the United States, often perceive displays of sorrow and fear as signs of weakness. Displays of anger, however, demonstrate strength and righteousness. Therefore, choosing to react with anger is often an individual's first-choice response as s/he can display emotion and not be considered weak (Freyd, 2002).

While anger is a very real emotion, it is not always a result of wrongdoing against the person angered. Sometimes it is felt due to the perception that someone else has been treated wrongly. This vicarious anger can manifest in a variety of ways. For example, Participant 9 (P9) grew up despising Germans. Angry at them for being a part of a nation that allowed such atrocities to occur, she did not trust any Germans with whom P9 came in to contact. P9 states:

When I grew up anytime anybody would say they were German and had a German last name the first thing that would come to me was: "What was your grandpa doing during the war?" That's how I was as a child. Anytime anything was German or [had a German] last name, the war was on and all I was thinking was: "Who are you? Who are your parents and what are you doing?" (Int. 9, p. 12)

In this case, P9 allowed her anger and mistrust toward the German Nazis to affect potential friendships and interactions with others who shared a German heritage. Not surprisingly, P9 was not the only to respond in this manner. Participant 11 (P11) shared a similar feeling toward anything related to Germany: "I've never bought anything German. I would not buy a book, flag...we never did anything

German...I've been all over Europe. I've never been to Germany and never will” (Int. 11, p. 13-14). In both cases, neither woman ever had a negative experience with a German native herself. Such anger was a response to the vicariously learned knowledge that someone very near to them had been hurt by members of the German Nazi party and that their families were forever changed as a result (Freyd, 2002).

While these examples demonstrate anger as a result of wrongdoings imposed upon those close to them, other participants also mentioned experiences of wrong-doings directed at them. Participant 17 (P17) became agitated at one point in our interview when he recollected what it was like growing up Jewish among non-Jews: “Do you know what it’s like to be called names everyday—even by your supposed best friend? I was called a *kike* all the time. I hated it. I got in more fistfights than you can ever imagine” (Int. 17, p. 5). While this may be a relatively common experience for many Jewish youth growing up in America in the 1960s-1970s as well as in later years, P17 felt a greater intensity of anger due to the fact that being Jewish is what caused many in his family to perish. The hatred directed at him through name-calling was the same name-calling his families had received in the years leading up to the internment of millions of Jews. He could not shake such knowledge. His fear of the same happening to him or to those he loved caused him to turn to anger and resentment.

Trauma can take on a variety of forms, either through fear, anger, feelings of paranoia, and/or the development of neurosis. Such trauma can be experienced

firsthand (Caruth, 1996) or through vicarious traumatization passed from parent to child (Freyd, 2002), as this relationship is a made up of a very complex bond that results in disappointments and guilt between parties as each strive to live up to the roles expected of them. While members of the After Generations did not experience firsthand the traumas that occurred during the Holocaust, they have endured their own forms of trauma as a result of learning secondhand about the traumas through the stories shared with them and also as result of coming to an understanding that their parent(s) and/or grandparent(s) suffered physically and emotionally. Knowing that their parent(s)/grandparent(s) survived and gave them life is meaningful to the members of the After Generations; the fact that they persevered against all odds is not lost on them. In fact, the knowledge of the trauma their survivor relatives endured and how they survived has often led members of the After Generations to feel varying forms of guilt.

Guilt: “I Guess I Did Not Want to Disappoint”¹²

During the data analysis, I found that most of the participants alluded to feeling some form of guilt in relation to their role as a child/grandchild of Holocaust survivors. According to Wiseman, Metzl, and Barber (2006), who studied 52 individuals born to mothers who were survivors of Nazi concentration camps, feelings of guilt become evident when an individual believes s/he has caused damage, loss, distress, or disappointment to a significant person in his/her life. I found this to be true amongst those I interviewed as well. The majority of

¹² Interview 5, p. 8

the time participants expressed guilt when they believed they disappointed or *considered* potentially disappointing their parent(s)/grandparent(s).

When interviewing participants, I came across several who mentioned that they felt a strong desire to please their parents/grandparents by way of attaining particular professions (i.e., namely those occupations regarded as “professional,” such as attorneys, doctors, educators, accountants, etc.), marrying those within the same Jewish faith, and keeping particular traditions. This desire to please also resulted in guilt when individuals wished to do something other than what was expected of them. For example, Participant 5 (P5) mentioned how she had career plans that differed from those of her survivor parents. Her parents argued that she should get a job that could sustain her; however, P5 wanted a job in which she could feel passionate. In her own words, she states:

I was supposed to be a doctor. My parents had these expectations of me to have a great education and become this great doctor, but I wanted to do something else. I liked writing and language, but they were a little upset with me when I told them my major was in creative writing. In fact, I finished my Master’s in creative writing. I didn’t listen to them at first, but I guess I didn’t want to disappoint them. So, I became a lawyer. [Int: 5, p. 8]

In the end, she justified her decision to follow through with her parents’ request by admitting her desire to please them (Interview 5, p. 8). Although P5 did not

explicitly state as much, she alludes to allowing those feelings of guilt to propel her in her decision to become an attorney.

One of the properties of guilt is that it is interconnected with responsibility. That is, in order for an individual to feel guilty, s/he must take responsibility or at least feel a form of responsibility in regard to the perceived violation (Erikson, 1963; Wardi, 1992). This can come about through the act of avoidance. That is, guilt is altogether avoided by doing what is expected of the individual in the first place. Sometimes, this type of guilt causes those to accept blame. Even if there are others to blame or if that person did not even do anything wrong, this person can still feel convicted and full of guilt (Lindsay-Hartz, 1984). Some of these feelings of guilt are self-inflicted. That is, no one is intending for this individual to feel bad or as though they have committed an act of violation; rather, the individual is the one who is putting that pressure on himself or herself. Russell (1980) explains that, in the case of children of survivors, guilt comes through the “impossibility of fulfilling all the expectations placed on them (i.e., provide restitution for what was lost, do something worthwhile to make up for parents’ loss, etc.)” (p.178). The heavy burden of these high expectations that have been placed on second and third generation survivors by their survivor parent/grandparent, whether explicit or not, have greatly affected the relationships between parent/grandparent and child of several members of the After Generations interviewed for this project.

This leads to another property of guilt, which is relationship-oriented. For many of the participants I interviewed, feelings of guilt were primarily a result of feeling as though they had an easier life and more options than their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s) (Russell, 1980). This type of guilt is relationship-oriented in that it is spurred on by the perceived relationship and the complexities involved in this close affiliation (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1995; Vangelisti, 1998). In this case, the guilt has less to do with self-image and more to do with perception of self in relation to others (De Mendelssohn, 2008; Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Niederland, 1968; Wardi, 1992).

Such guilt often comes in the form of regret. For example, Participant 9 (P9) was raised by another family because her mother, a Holocaust survivor, had been admitted to a mental institution. P9 was embarrassed to have a mother “put away” and would only visit her mother when she was required, which resulted in awkward encounters (Int. 9, p. 12). Years later, upon reflecting on her mother’s life and what she must have gone through, P9 had a greater appreciation for her mother; however, it was too late to express this to her as she had passed away. In our interview, she stated: “I let her hug me, but I never hugged her back. I wish I had” (Int. 9, p. 16). This feeling of guilt was expressed in her regret for not treating her mother with the respect and appreciation she deserved. Hence, the relational dynamics between parent/grandparent and child are unique and can be an area where guilt may arise.

A third property of guilt that became evident when analyzing the data was related to the ways in which people feel lost, isolated, out of place, and without a voice when they are feeling guilty (Lindsay-Hartz, 1984). This property was best articulated by Participant 3 (P3), a grandchild of Holocaust survivors. P3 expressed that those who were not survivors of the Holocaust had no right to complain. She states:

No matter what we did or complained about. I mean, we could have been complaining about not being able to finish something or whatever, and my bubby's (i.e., grandmother's) response was always the same: "We came here to this country with only \$18 in our pocket but we made a life." So, basically our complaints were pointless. You see my grandparents were very opportunistic. They had the belief that they survived so they'll take any opportunity because life is that precious. So, we basically didn't have a right to complain. And to this day, I think about this. If they could do what they did, then I have no right to complain. [Int: 3-4, p. 6]

Participant 1 (P1) shared a similar sentiment by explaining that he often felt as though his life story was "boring compared to my father's. It's not that I need to compete, it's just that how can I ever complain when he went through what he did?" (Int. 1, p. 10). Both P1 and P3 expressed feeling as though anything they had to say would be compared to their parent's or grandparent's experience—whether true or not—and this caused them to remain silent and essentially without a voice to express their own experiences. On the other hand, neither P1 nor P3

hesitated to share the stories of their parent(s)/grandparent(s) as this was a legacy they are both proud to bear.

Members of the After Generations have endured varying forms of guilt as a result of being a child or grandchild of a Holocaust survivor. Knowing that their parent or grandparent survived, knowing that their parent or grandparent endured incredible hardships and trauma, and knowing that no complaint or hardship they could ever have will amount to anything as horrific as witnessing the deaths of friends and family members takes a toll on the offspring of survivors. The events of the Holocaust may have taken place in the late 1930s and 1940s but the long-term effects are still having an effect on generations today. The guilt a child or grandchild might feel may not be entirely a negative consequence of the long-term effects of the Holocaust, however. After analyzing the data from the interviews conducted, I found that the theme of guilt was often linked to the responsibility members of the After Generations felt toward their role in remembering the Holocaust.

Legacies/Responsibility: “If I Tell These Stories, They Won’t Happen Again”¹³

Wardi (1992), a child of Holocaust survivors and Holocaust scholar, explains that the responsibility a child or grandchild may feel in regard to the stories passed down from past generations may also be termed a *legacy*. A legacy is something of importance that has been handed down from generations’ past (Krell, 1997; Wardi, 1992) or a responsibility to one’s ancestors (Brenner, 2005).

¹³ Interview 3, p. 19

I found that many members of the After Generations interviewed for this study appreciated this term, expressing through the sharing of their experiences how such responsibility is both a privilege and an honor.

One of the properties of the theme of legacy/responsibility is that children of Holocaust survivors are considered equivalent to *memorial candles*. That is, they are the living legacies of those who survived (Wardi, 1992). In the Jewish tradition, it is not death that is remembered and sanctified, but life (Krell, 1997, p. 743). In other words, the life that is cherished is not necessarily that of the survivor, but the product of the survivor. The proof that there was a survivor is in the legacy born to a child of a survivor and subsequently, to a grandchild of a survivor. Therefore, the children and grandchildren of these survivors have special meaning. Wardi (1992) explains that

The actual physical existence of the babies that were born had the power to spread some light in the middle of the chaos. These little children were given the role of lifesavers for the confused souls of their parents. But the parents saw the children not only as lifesavers, but also as new content for their lives. (p. 27)

That is, the Holocaust survivors lived for and through the second-generation survivor children, which resulted in both positive and negative repercussions.

Everything the parent was unable to do, the child had the potential to fulfill. For those survivors who had missed opportunities in education, efforts were made so that their children would excel in their schooling. For those

survivors who had lost brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and parents, their children became the center of their world, their true family. In essence, these children became symbols for everything lost during the Holocaust and ultimately became a potential means by which some of these people and/or things could be reclaimed (Wardi, 1992). As Participant 10 (P10) explained:

Being a second generation, I partnered and worked with [many with the same experiences]. Their experiences of their parents were that they were meant to bring *nachat*—meaning pleasure. And it was an obligation of the children to now bring pleasure to the parents and the family because of all they had gone through. It seemed to be a common theme...that it was their responsibility to bring their parents pleasure. One had to be very responsible and in this generation they had this obsession to do whatever they could to please their parents. Some would say that it was a Jewish deal, but [for] the second generation it was even much more so. Some [survivor parents] would say, “God gave me you so that you could bring joy and pleasure into my life. That is your responsibility.” [Int. 10, p. 9]

Thus, the children, then, felt a great burden to live up to the weighty expectations of their parents. Brenner (2005) explains that “even though *second*, the descendants are the *only* children of the survivors; they are the transmitters of the parental legacy and, therefore, it is incumbent upon them to ensure that the parental experience will not be forgotten” (p. 87). For many, this legacy is both an honor and a burden.

When interviewing the participants in my study, I found that several felt torn between the desire to meet the expectations set up by their parents and their own wishes for their lives. One individual I interviewed (P16) explained this phenomena quite eloquently as he described how, as a teenager, he was reminded by his survivor grandparents that his family had survived the Holocaust, so he was expected to go to “school...grow up [in the] Jewish faith, and find a Jewish girl” (Int. 16, p. 5). While this was something that he was told to do, he found that as he grew older he recognized why they had such demands on him. P16 explains, “my interpretation of [their demands is due to the fact that] somebody lost their life in the Holocaust. I feel that I owe it to them to do what I feel I need to do” (Int. 16, p. 5). In his case, he knew that he personally “needed to marry someone Jewish and have Jewish kids” in honor of what his grandparents survived for—the faith and his family (Int. 16, p. 5).

Others felt a need to bear the burden of responsibility in their own ways—even if counterintuitive to what their parents initially desired of them. For example, in honor of her heritage and family history, Participant 14 (P14) had a Star of David tattooed on her wrist. While the Star of David is a sign of honor and a symbol of identity amongst those of the Jewish faith and culture, she explains that “if my mom would have seen it today she’d have been upset that I tattooed my body because that’s what they did to those interned in the camps. I don’t see it that way. I see it as now everybody will know I’m Jewish and I’m proud” (Int. 14, p 17). Although the act of tattooing her body was done out of

respect toward her ancestors and what they went through, P14 knew her mother would have disapproved, and out of respect for her, waited until she had passed to the next life before expressing this form of honor and remembrance. In tattooing her body, she also attempted to resist the stigma of tattoos in the Jewish culture and to reclaim her freedom of choice with the Star of David.¹⁴ In essence, she took what was forced upon her survivor parents—being tattooed and having to wear the yellow Star of David—and reclaimed them both as a sign of honor, respect, and pride for her ancestors.

Regardless of the manner in which each participant had articulated this obligation to remember and honor their parent(s)/grandparent(s), the point is that all 18 of the participants expressed having this burden of responsibility. Brenner (2005) writes that “the obligation to bear witness has become especially important; the telling of suffering signifies not only the rescue of the parental story, but also the restoration of the moral values defeated by terror” (p. 88). This sentiment is also expressed by participants in my study.

In our interview, Participant 2 (P2) remarked that “the history [of the Holocaust] needs to be kept alive, people shouldn’t forget. I’m very protective of it. It shouldn’t be wiped away, you know. And we’re very active against Holocaust deniers too” (Int. 2, p. 30). Her statement, although straightforward, is

¹⁴ Tattoos or markings on the body are explicitly prohibited in the laws of the Torah. Leviticus 19:28 states, “You shall not make gashes in your flesh for the dead, or incise any marks on yourselves: I am the Lord.” This law is broken if one purposely makes marks on his/her own body. Therefore, those who were forcibly required to have tattoos on their body via the Nazis are not in violation of this law as this was not their choice (Lucas, 2011). Even those who do not follow all of the laws of the Torah may find that having a tattoo is a reminder of the Holocaust and thus considered improper and/or insensitive.

quite insightful. She comments on needing to protect the history and stories of the Holocaust because they have the potential to be wiped away. All that was done to those who perished in the Holocaust was systematically thought out and there are still those who maintain the ideals for which members of the 1930s-1940s Nazi party believed. If the parents and grandparents of these children could survive, then the second and third generations see it as their responsibility to remain strong and carry on these stories to future generations. Thus, the burden of responsibility that an individual experiences as a result of being a child or grandchild of a Holocaust survivor, is very real and very important, as bearing this responsibility means that one must remain steadfast and resilient.

Resilience: “My Family Survived the Nazis; I Can Survive This”¹⁵

To survive the Holocaust meant that a survivor had to demonstrate some form of resiliency. Being resilient meant that an individual had the “ability to maintain or regain mental health, despite experiencing adversity” (Herman, et.al, 2011, p. 259). While Herman et al. (2011) note that personal, biological (i.e., genetic), and environmental factors play a role in resilience, this characteristic can also be learned (Caruth, 1996) and/or demonstrated in multiple ways (Herman, et. al., 2011; Kirmayer, et. al, 2011). To be able to survive in any setting was of the utmost importance to many survivors of the Holocaust, and they would often impart this knowledge to their children and in both implicit and explicit ways.

For example, one way that Participant 11 (P11) remembers learning what it meant to be a survivor was in the story of how her parents married. She

¹⁵ Interview 5, p. 9

explains that “people were getting married after knowing each other for a week, two weeks. [My parents] knew each other three months. The only reason they got married was because my father said he would take care of [my mother’s] mother and sister” (Int. 11, p. 3). In this story, P11 speaks of her parents’ marriage and of the marriages of many individuals who survived the Holocaust as an example to demonstrate how they just kept moving forward. The reason many survivors married so quickly after the war was that their entire families were gone—either murdered or missing (Helmreich, 1996). Without the support of family, these survivors were alone. These individuals did what they felt they had to do in order to survive beyond the war; part of this survival instinct came about through the creation and development of new families.

Others mentioned witnessing this resilient spirit among their survivor relatives firsthand. Participant 5 (P5) spoke of her father as being a person who maintained a strong work ethic—even in the midst of physical and emotional pain: “He has always been you get up the next day and go to work no matter what” (Int. 5, p. 7). P5 never heard an excuse given by her father and he, consequently, expected few from his children.

Another example of this resilient spirit was provided by Participant 8 (P8), who gave a detailed narrative about a time when he had accidentally swallowed a bottle of aspirin as a young child. He remembers his grandmother distinctly saying, ““you are not going to die...I didn’t survive the Nazis so that you would die”” (Int. 8, p. 6). At this point, he realized the significance of her survival and

explained that, “That’s when I kind of took what little information I could [and let it] resonate with me” (Int. 8, p. 6). In this instance, P8 understood that, like his grandmother, he should be strong and survive no matter what the cost. Clearly, observing one’s parent(s)’ and grandparent(s)’ behavior in particular circumstances taught each of these members of the After Generations what it meant to be resilient.

While each individual interviewed had a unique story, I found that several of the male participants spent time talking about what it meant as a man to be a survivor, as a good number of the males interviewed served in the military at one point in their lives. Survivorship was first taught to these men by their parents and grandparents at a young age, and they credit these lessons to why they are still alive today. To explain what having resilience means generally, Participant 8 (P8) said, “As a survivor, and in that environment, the only factor of survivorship in its purest forms is yourself. If you don’t have a belief system that validates who you are, you’ll not exist and won’t survive. Survivorship is a process of long growth” (Int. 8, p. 16). Such a process of growth can take years of observation and learning through the examples of one’s survivor parents and grandparents.

In a more specific example, Participant 8 (P8) demonstrated how he had been affected by the events of the Holocaust through the observations and cherished moments he spent with his grandmother.

I give [my grandmother] 100% responsibility for any achievements that I succeeded in my life...I mean, I spent time in Vietnam, I was a wounded

Vet; there are things that have happened in my life [where] survivorship was a key factor in my life. I have had pistols blown at me and guns put in my mouth. There have been many, many things that happened to me—shot and still survived. I had my grandmother tell me at a very young age that the key to success on this planet was survivorship. And I think she learned that from the camps because that is not a normal factor for what children learn. You learn to adjust and just adapt, but survivorship became paramount. (Int. 8, p. 9)

For P8, the greatest lesson he ever learned was to be resilient. He is a firm believer that, had his grandmother not been a survivor of a concentration camp and not shared the lessons learned from that experience, he would not have learned to persevere like he has. To be a survivor meant everything; it meant that everything fought for and accomplished would not be in vain (Int. 8, p. 8). To P8, this part of his family's suffering was altered into something positive. He was also not the only person interviewed to have learned the importance of resiliency.

Participant 10 (P10) shared a similar example. Both his father and his grandparents were survivors of the Holocaust; although none of them ever really spoke much about it. The knowledge of their surviving the Holocaust, nevertheless, stuck with P10, as he observed how they made a new life for themselves. They restarted their lives, created a business, and became quite successful. More importantly, he remembered how they stood strong in difficult times, such as when the KKK came into their town and tried to scare his family

out of his neighborhood (Int. 10, p. 7). He observed both his father and grandfather stand firm and witnessed how their good standing in the community caused all their neighbors to rally around them and push the KKK out of town. This memory stayed with P10 when he later left home to attend West Point Academy, where he soon learned that his success could only come from perseverance and resilience. Upon arriving at West Point, P10 experienced his own form of persecution due to his Jewish heritage. He was bullied mercilessly during that first year; however he did not give up. He persevered like his father and grandfather had done before him. P10 explains:

I think [being a child and grandchild of Holocaust survivors] has driven me to be demanding and the survival technique and instincts and the drive to really get to the bottom of things is at the core of who I am and in many cases in everything I've done. I can stand back and say I don't know why [people] are the way they are. This happened the way they happened—but I am a survivor, too. Of my West Point class, I had three roommates who were killed in military action. And so, why did I survive and they didn't? I don't lose a lot of sleep over these things. I do think that there is some special place, some special fate. I mean we all make our own destinies, but is it because I had some kind of deeper instinct for survival? Was I in the right place at the right time? I don't know...but I do know I'm here for a reason. (Int. 10, p. 10)

P10's survival instinct, whether learned or inherited, demonstrates how resilience is one effect of being a child or grandchild of the Holocaust. For many, knowing that member(s) of their family were survivors of the Holocaust meant that they could also be survivors when and if the time were to come for them to fight for what they held dear.

Throughout the narratives provided by these members of the After Generations, it is evident that resilience is seen as a positive characteristic (Kaplan, 2012). Most, if not all, of the participants in this study mentioned feeling somehow stronger as a direct result of being a child/grandchild of a Holocaust survivor; their parent(s) and grandparent(s) demonstrated and taught them that to survive means persevering when others quit.

The themes of trauma, guilt, responsibility, and resilience that emerged from the data speak together to answer the ways in which members of the After Generation can teach theoretically and practically about the long-term effects of the Holocaust. These exemplars demonstrate how the transgenerational transmission of trauma can be experienced through the telling and re-telling of stories (Kellerman, 2001). Firsthand trauma experienced by a survivor can be learned by the After Generations via observations, lessons taught by their survivor parent/grandparent, or by the interpretations they have made regarding these shared memories (Caruth, 1996; Kellerman, 2001; Neal, 1998). Caruth (1996) discusses traumatic memory by explaining that it can often be unconscious and can impose itself on the mind at whim. While she speaks primarily of the

survivor as the person who witnessed or experienced firsthand a particular form of trauma, members of the After Generations demonstrate through the direct experiences with their parent(s)/grandparent(s) that traumatic memory can affect an individual vicariously as well.

Through the actual experiences of After Generations as they are expressed in these interviews, it is evident that survivors of a traumatic event can and do pass along their fears, pains, and sufferings. And while at first glance this may seem to be a very negative result of the parent/grandparent relationship with their offspring, this is not necessarily the case. The trauma endured can also teach further generations what it means to be a survivor and how having such resilience will get one through difficult problems or events. As Participant 18 (P18) stated, “If my stepfather could survive the atrocities of the Holocaust, then I can survive and deal with the problems I face head-on, too” (Int. 18, p. 23). Thus, the themes that emerged from these interviews with members of the After Generations validate the fact that these long-term effects do exist. But, what does this mean in terms of the Holocaust in general? Why might the transmission of these long-term effects matter in relation to remembering the Holocaust?

The Responsibility of Remembering the Holocaust

One long-term effect the Holocaust has had upon members of the After Generations is the strong desire to remember the Holocaust in an ethical and responsible manner. This desire to remember, which was mentioned by all 18 of those interviewed during this project, led to the second research question: What

practical and theoretical lessons might members of the After Generations reveal about responsibly remembering the Holocaust?

This is an important question, but it leaves a lot for interpretation. What might responsibly remembering entail? Well-known scholar of memory and ethics, Margalit (2002) does not provide a definitive answer, however he does explain that due to personal experiences and perspectives related to remembering, all memories are subjective. From this subjectivity, responsibility becomes essential. Details are remembered and others are forgotten, both intentionally and unintentionally. Such ambiguity is the cause for many critics' discussions about Truth. Such critiques are what often silence people from telling their stories, as they are afraid they will be called out and told that the stories they have shared are untrue or missing important facts. Should I share my story? Should I keep these to myself—safe from any critiques? Should share only pieces of the story? All of these questions are common, particularly in sharing stories that remember a contested and highly debated topic such as the Holocaust. Actually defining an ethics of responsibility is a very complicated endeavor to take on, as ambiguity always exists; however, members of the After Generation demonstrate particular strategies as they try to live out their legacies by consistently remembering the Holocaust in the conscious decisions they make in their daily lives. Figure 4B below displays the following themes that emerged from the analysis process: legacies/responsibility, resilience, the importance of education, religion/tradition,

and hope, along with the sub-themes of responsibility and resilience that include identity, pride, reclamation of symbols and humor.

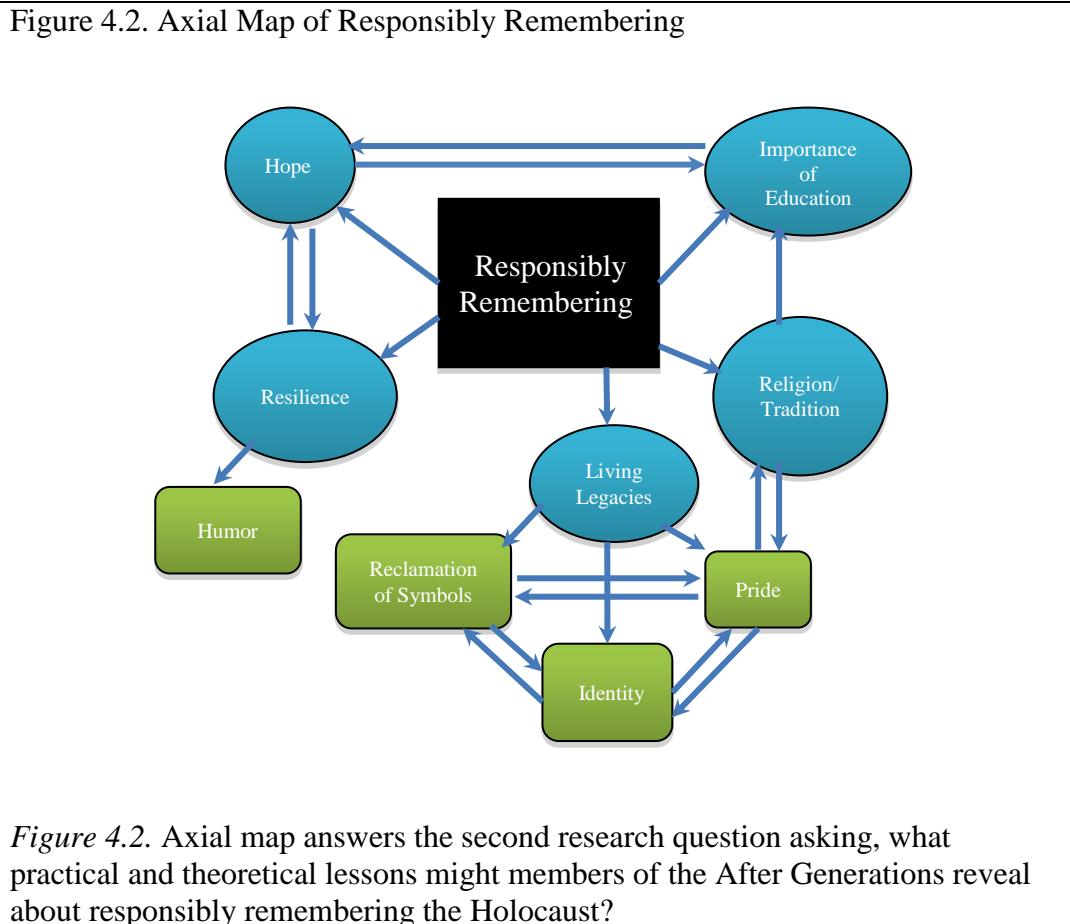


Figure 4.2 demonstrates that there are a variety of ways that members of the After Generations try to responsibly remember the Holocaust. One theme that arose out of the data was that of education. Having an education meant that these children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors would have opportunities that their survivor parents and grandparents did not have and such opportunities would provide hope for all future generations. For many of the second and third generation survivors interviewed, this hope is what taught them to be resilient in

the midst of the trials they often felt as a result of being a child/grandchild of a Holocaust survivor. Several individuals remarked that they were taught that to lose hope would be the first step to losing the ability to survive. Yet, to have hope one had to be strong and maintain positivity despite any struggles. As is indicated in Figure 4.2, these three themes inform one another. The other two themes displayed in this axial map demonstrate how members of the After Generations believed they were living out their lives responsibly by being the living proof (i.e., legacy) of their parent(s)/grandparent(s) survival.

Several members of the After Generations explained that to responsibly remember the Holocaust one should live out every day with meaning and intention. In the cases of those interviewed, these intentions often resulted in the performance of cultural traditions or religious rituals to honor their forefathers. Thus, many commented on how it was important for them as second-generation survivors to learn these traditions and rituals and educate their own children (i.e., the third generation) so that those practices would not be forgotten. While some of the themes that emerged from the data and that answer the second research question may not speak to one another directly, altogether they tell a grander story about how members of the After Generations have been responsibly remembering the Holocaust. All of these themes arose from the data and were implied in the majority of the interviews conducted. In the following sections, I will describe the themes that arose, their relationships with one another, and the ways in which they inform and answer this second research question.

Education: “They Wanted Their Kids to Be Professionals”¹⁶

Most of the participants interviewed in the study mentioned education as something that was central to their lives growing up as a child/grandchild of a Holocaust survivor. Having an education meant having choices. These choices ultimately led to having success in society, bringing success to the family, learning one’s culture, and/or having a sense of survivorship (Botticini & Eckstein, 2005; Hoffman, 2005). Education was not to be taken lightly.

According to Hoffman (2005), the Jewish population became one of the most powerful groups in the United States within a relatively short period of time. The transition from being near the bottom of the social hierarchy to becoming a powerful minority within financial institutions, the media, and even politics in a relatively short time is difficult to achieve—even within a progressive country such as the United States. The reason for this rapid move toward the top was due to the amount of emphasis placed upon education within the Jewish culture. Botticini and Eckstein (2005) argue that one reason members of the Jewish culture focus on education and professional trades goes back to early centuries when restrictions were placed on these individuals due to their religious beliefs. They were not allowed to own land, which meant that very few were farmers and most became tradesmen as these were the primary occupations Jewish men were permitted to hold. Such restrictions inspired a religious and educational reform, encouraging the Jewish people to become literate and propelling them toward more professional areas of life (Botticini & Eckstein, 2005).

¹⁶ Interview 5, p. 5

While the importance of education may be a cultural characteristic that many within the Jewish culture share, it is particularly common amongst Holocaust survivors and their families (Hoffman, 2005). Participant 18 (P18), for example, felt the pressure to pursue an education from both of her parents. She remembered a phrase her father repeated to her over and over again, “They can take away your home, your possessions, your loved ones, but they can never take away your education” (Int. 18, p. 7). This phrase resonated with P18 as a youth, which compelled her to attain her Master’s degree. She now shares this same sentiment with her own children.

Participant 11 (P11) also demonstrated how important education was to members within the Jewish community by providing an example from her graduating high school class: “The Valedictorian was a Holocaust survivor’s son. I was Salutatorian, a Holocaust survivor’s daughter. And maybe in the top ten was another Jewish kid” (Int. 11, p. 9). P11 recalls that there were probably only a handful of Jewish students in the entire school. The fact that three of them were in the top 10% of the class and that two of those were Holocaust survivor’s children demonstrated (at least in her community) how significant having an education and excelling meant to this group.

In reflecting upon her parents’ parenting skills, Participant 5 (P5) came to her own conclusions regarding the importance of education.

Their goal was to educate us...that we went to school, that we finished school. I wanted to go and design clothes and work with textures, but that

was unacceptable. They wanted their kids to be professionals. They wanted something solid that was going to get us through no matter what. I think a lot of their parenting was about crisis prevention. (Int. 5, p. 5)

P5's parents wanted to protect their children from the possibility of failure or instability, which is very common for those who have lost something in the past. Many of these survivor parents/grandparents did not have such educational opportunities. For other Holocaust survivors, their education and means (i.e., their status in society and their wealth) are what actually aided them in their survival. Education, for many, became invaluable.

How might education allow members of the After Generations to responsibly remember the Holocaust, though? One way is that members of the After Generations are able to pay homage to the hard work of their forefathers. Due to the fact that many Holocaust survivors desire to see their children/grandchildren succeed academically and professionally, attaining an education is a concrete way they are able to make their relatives proud. Remembering the struggles of one's forefathers is important to members of the After Generations and is something they intentionally strive to achieve through the telling of their relatives' stories or through the act of carrying out various traditions.

Several participants also mentioned that these educational opportunities have provided them with higher social statuses and more influence. In so doing, this status has allowed them to earn the respect of others around them. Their

positions as CEOs, attorneys, accountants, realtors, educators, and bankers provide them with an opportunity to educate and share their knowledge and experiences. For example, Participant 16 (P16) took time to explain that, in his career position within a prominent financial institution, he does not actively engage in conversations about being Jewish; however, he has found from time to time that the subject gets brought up in conversations with clients. In these moments, he finds that, if people ask, he will share his story and views this as an opportunity to educate others about the Holocaust from the knowledge he has gained from his grandparents. P16 stated:

I feel that I have a responsibility to educate them as much as I can. I'll talk to people if it gets brought up in conversation. I try to keep it out of work. Sometimes conversations like that come up. But if someone is going to ask me a question about the Holocaust—about my culture—I'm not going to not answer. Especially being out in Arizona, there's a lot of uneducated people. Sometimes the comments that they make can come off ignorant. I'm not a genius; I don't know everything there is. If someone asks a question maybe I can find a way to relate to that person from my experience...and sometimes my position at work allows those conversations to happen. (Int. 16, p. 7)

Having had the education and the means to attain the high position he holds at work, P16 is respected by his peers and clients. From this position, P16 is able to effectively remember his grandparents' struggles by means of educating those

who may know little of the Holocaust and its after-effects. He has the ability and credibility to educate others by virtue of his education and experience. P16's story also demonstrates that education is not a one-way street. Having an education means that one has not only taken the time to become knowledgeable in a subject but is also willing to share one's knowledge with those around them. Thus, taking that extra step and choosing to educate others is of great import and value to those who share the legacy of remembering the Holocaust.

Legacy/Responsibility: *"I have an obligation to make sure that the stories get passed on."*¹⁷

Part of the responsibility bestowed upon members of the After Generations is in the simple remembrance of the Holocaust. While the theme of responsibility answers part of the first research question, it can also answer this second question regarding how one might responsibly remember the Holocaust as well. Such answers come from exemplars found in the data that expressed the desire to teach others about the Holocaust. Participant 2 (P2) expressed that she believed it is her duty to keep her "father's story alive, definitely for my children and definitely at least, at the very least, [to] tell it to the people around me" [Int. 2, p. 23]. This desire to educate the people she loves is something that propels P2 to cherish and keep the narratives she has learned from her father. Participant 1 (P1) expressed his desire to not only share the stories but to also teach by showing his children firsthand where such events took place. He says:

I want [my children] to...know their heritage and possibly take them to a

¹⁷ Interview 10, p. 8

place like Israel or something like that or to Poland and have them see the camp, so they can see where it was and what went on and see the place where my father lived. In this way it's not just a story; it's actually there...and they can kind of get a feel...of what happened. (Int. 1, p. 8)

By seeing the place his father survived, P1 hopes that his children will have a greater understanding of the legacy they carry and of the importance of remembering.

Participant 6 (P6) took this sentiment further by expressing her desire to reach out to those who may not be as close to her as her family members are. She explained: “even with non-Jewish people I believe...that you have to teach [the Holocaust] because there is so much hate in this world. I think it is really important to keep having programs to teach [about the Holocaust]” (Int. 6, p. 4). This same notion regarding the creation and maintenance of programs to educate others about the Holocaust also became a central focus of the monthly meetings I attended with other second and third generation survivors for the Phoenix chapter of the Generations After group—a group of second-generation and third generation survivors and their friends. From notes taken during these meetings, I found that these particular members of the After Generations were highly invested in the education of children. They wanted to go into the schools with their survivor parents, grandparents, and/or other Holocaust survivors in the Greater Phoenix area and teach youths about the real effects of hatred and bullying through personal narratives related to the Holocaust. Discussion was made about

how to get a program started to support these survivors and/or members of the After Generations who wish to educate and share their personal narratives. Their desire was to be able to connect the past events of the Holocaust with relevant issues today.¹⁸

While these monthly meetings were simply discussions about what might be done to educate the public about the Holocaust, other members of the After Generations I interviewed for this project had already been educating audiences in varying ways. One participant (P9) in particular has dedicated her life's work to the education of others about the Holocaust as well as to battling Anti-Semitism in general. She is unique to the larger group of individuals who participated in this study in that she is a woman who was raised in the Jewish faith but who accepted Jesus as her Messiah as an adult. Even though many of her family members have disassociated themselves from her, as a Messianic Jew, she is invested in educating both Christians and Jews to remove hatred from their vocabulary. P9 described how hatred is what "prompted me to create a TV show to educate Christians about Anti-Semitism and where their Jewish Messiah grew up and to let Jews know that there's a core group of Christians that do love them unconditionally and will do something in the event that there is another Holocaust" (Int. 9, p. 24). Her television show is nation-wide and has been picked up in several countries overseas. Her life's work has been invested in avoiding the same kind of hatred that destroyed the family into which she was born.

¹⁸ This group stopped meeting in the spring of 2011 due to lack of leadership.

Another participant (P12) in the study also expressed a responsibility to teach others about the Holocaust; however, his talents are in the arts. While this older gentleman spent the majority of his life working as an architect, once he retired he began a new project making *life masks*, or likenesses of actual Holocaust survivors. He explains that the Nazis' use of propaganda made Jewish people look like vermin with uncharacteristically large noses and foreheads. In making these masks, he not only preserves the actual likeness of a survivor of the Holocaust, but he also dispels those notions that the Jewish people are somehow subhuman. He told me in our interview:

I always felt that after I learned [about the Holocaust and how it affected my extended family] I would want to do further for generations to learn about the Holocaust through artwork. Artwork is a little different than the documentation because it already exists...it's a little different and good to add more documentation. [Int. 12, p. 3]

This alternative documentation has already served to teach many as his artwork has been displayed in both museums and exhibits around the United States.

Another individual I interviewed (P13) was in the process of writing a book about his grandparents' life stories, as they lived through and beyond the Holocaust. When asked whether he felt a responsibility to his grandparents' stories, he remarks:

I have a responsibility to the Holocaust as a whole, the history of it. I don't necessarily think I have a responsibility to my grandparents' story, but I

would try to get their story out there and I would like to get the book published because...I think when you can personalize history it makes it more memorable to audiences and readers and that's why I'm writing their story...I don't know if it's an obligation to my grandparents' story, but an obligation to history and its obligation to communicate to other people that we have history at our fingertips and we tend to let it fly, let it slip away into the grave...and with this book that I have been writing, it's one: capturing and personalizing the Holocaust, but secondly: it is a warning against anybody who has grandparents that are still alive and anyone who is still alive and capturing that story because obviously history is important and obviously we learn from it. (Int. 13, p. 12)

In capturing his grandparents' stories, P13 is conserving a piece of history about the Holocaust in general. His grandparents' story teaches individuals not only to be aware of the atrocities that occurred as a result of the Holocaust, but it also acts as a reminder that those among us will not be on this earth forever. Therefore, it is also a lesson in cherishing and appreciating what exists in the present.

Perhaps the most poignant statement made regarding the obligation some of the participants felt to educate and share stories related to the Holocaust came from Participant 3 (P3), the granddaughter of Holocaust survivors. P3 remarked: "Why? Why do I have to continue telling these stories? Because if I tell these stories [another Holocaust] won't happen again" (Int. 3, p. 14). The burden and

honor lie in her ability and willingness to share these stories so that no one ever experiences any such atrocities ever again.

For other participants, attending events that make tribute to the Holocaust was another way they were able to responsibly remember. Participant 16 (P16) explains that, “Any time I’m in an area where there’s a Holocaust Memorial thing I try to go to it. I’ve been to the one in D.C. I’ve been to the one in Israel. I went to the old one in Michigan” (p. 7). Participant 14 (P14) also discussed going to a Holocaust Memorial Museum in her hometown, “I had never gone to the Holocaust Museum [in hometown] but everybody went, I mean people took field trips. So, before we moved, I thought, ughh, maybe I better go so I don’t know maybe I’ll never get to see it. So, I went. I went because I felt obligated to go” (p. 9). Even though she had no desire to actually see the museum because she felt she had already witnessed enough Holocaust material in her lifetime, she knew that this was one way she could honor her family legacy and remember the Holocaust.

Participant 7 (P7) talked about her visit to the Holocaust Museum in Florida, while several others spoke of visiting the Holocaust Museum in Israel. P15, for example, said: “I went to a museum in Israel when I was there—Yad Veshem. And I looked at every single thing in there. And that’s when it really comes to life for you” (Int. 15, p. 9). Walking through the museum did not necessarily mean that one will responsibly remembering; however allowing the artifacts and information to resonate “is, to me, a way that I can really reflect and

understand what my grandparents went through. I can learn more always—because that is what it means to be responsible to the Holocaust” (Int. 6, p. 4).

Participant 2 and Participant 3 both attended the Washington D.C. Holocaust Memorial Museum’s tribute to Holocaust survivors. Participant 3 attended in the 1980s, whereas Participant 2 attended in 2003. Both women described having had different experiences; however, they each explained how this tribute affected them positively and caused them to want to take action. For Participant 3, this meant that she began recording her grandmother’s life story shortly after the event. Participant 2 decided that she would continue on her education in Archaeology with a focus in archaeology from the Holocaust. For these women, responsibly remembering the Holocaust meant doing something to further their knowledge and understanding of the events.

Berger (2010) writes that, as a whole, members of the After Generations reveal “the truth that memory and trauma, even in the face of silence, form an ineluctable part of the human experience, and that the attempt to transform the legacy of Holocaust trauma into history will, no matter the format, continue in the future” (p. 158). This statement reflects a common theme expressed in the stories of those interviewed. The Holocaust is not of the past because the effects of the trauma live in the present with its survivors and their offspring. Those members of the After Generations who desire to educate others about the Holocaust clearly identify with it and maintain a sense of pride regarding their connection to this history. Six million people perished during those years of systematic murders.

Only a small number in comparison survived; being the child or grandchild of a Holocaust survivor meant that your ancestor beat the odds. Their survival, whether by providence or by sheer will, is something that most members of the After Generations took pride in and acknowledged. According to one individual, being the grandson of a Holocaust survivor is “an honor because my grandmother beat Hitler. She kicked his ass because she lived” (Int. 16, p. 3). Not only is this statement full of the pride he feels toward his grandmother, it also demonstrates the significance of resiliency. How to responsibly remember and honor one’s survivor relatives, however, asks that one do something. Some members of the After Generations have found that the best way they can accomplish this is through observation and maintenance of cultural traditions important within the Jewish culture and religion.

Religion/Tradition: “One thing my grandparents taught me in their stories was to have Jewish values”¹⁹

Many members of the After Generations articulated in their interviews that they believed they could responsibly remember the Holocaust by honoring their religion and/or cultural traditions. While it might be feasible to assume that all of the Holocaust survivors and their families addressed in this project are of the Jewish faith, this was not the case. Participant 2’s great-grandmother, for example, was raised Jewish but converted to Christianity upon marrying her husband. When the Nazi party started interning the Jewish people, she and her two daughters (one of which was P2’s grandmother) were placed in concentration

¹⁹ Interview 6, p. 5

camps despite their Christian faith. So, according to her heritage, P2 is Jewish, but she grew up as a member of the Catholic faith. Other individuals interviewed in this study indicated that their families were not religious at all and did not even believe in God. Two individuals interviewed in this study converted to other religions as adults. Regardless of the religious beliefs held by these individuals, it is important to note that all of them expressed a strong desire to uphold and maintain Jewish values and traditions—some of which were coupled with the Jewish religion.

To understand why and how such traditions are maintained amongst members of the After Generations, one must understand that the sharing of stories and oral history is a central part of the larger Jewish culture as a whole, “Storytelling in Jewish life continues to be an ongoing, effective way of transmitting cultural heritage and thereby the sharing of values of the people” (Schram, 1984, p. 33). While rabbis and religious teachers are certainly in a position to pass along these rich cultural and religious values, family members can provide this as well. In fact, members of the family often have access to more personal and relevant narratives, which live deep within a family, narratives that can help the After Generations connect to their ancestors’ unique characteristics. Hoffman (2005) explains that “Jews today need motivation to *be* Jewish; no longer does society force it on them, and no longer is having Jewish parents enough to ensure that the children will remain committed Jews” (p. 53-54). In other words, it takes an extra push by family members to ensure that Jewish men

and women remain faithful to their culture and religion. One way this can occur is through the rich narratives of a family's past. Participant 18 (P18) explained the impact storytelling had in her family:

My dad is a storyteller. He often wouldn't tell me things directly or explicitly. He'd tell a story instead. Like, one time I didn't want to play with this little girl down the street anymore because new kids had moved in on our block and they were more interesting. So instead of telling me, "Go and play with her," he told me a story about how when the Nazis were forcing all the Jews to wear the Star of David, the friends he had his entire life leading up to that point wouldn't talk to him anymore. He told me how it broke his heart and that he'd never get over it. He didn't need to tell me anymore. I went straight to that little girl's house and told her I'd always be her friend no matter what. (Int. 18, p. 12)

The narrative taught P18 the importance of steadfast friendship and loyalty, which are characteristics that were obviously valued by her father. This lesson was not only about friendship, but also about having perspective and seeing from the viewpoint of others.

Religion and traditions are also demonstrated through performance acts or rituals. In the Jewish religion, there are a number of holidays and ceremonies that take place throughout the year. These events are rituals that often have deep significance to the history of the Jewish people and their relationship with God. Participant 11 (P11) explained that "we were a Kosher home...I didn't go to

school on the holidays and we were the only [Jewish kids] in that school” (Int. 11, p.5). Keeping Kosher, in the simplest of explanations, means that one is following guidelines from the Torah specifying dietary restrictions (Chinitz & Brown, 2001). It also means that several sets of dishes are required in a household to ensure cleanliness (e.g., dairy and meats are not to mix as a specific commandment in the Torah states that one should not boil a calf in his mother’s milk. This is considered unclean). Those who kept Kosher had to maintain particular traditions and learn the rules regarding what was considered clean or unclean. P11 explains that the tradition she grew up learning is one that she follows today in honor of her father, a survivor of the Holocaust. “My house is Kosher. My mother isn’t anymore. But my house is Kosher. I belong to a synagogue. My daughter went to Hebrew High” (Int. 11, p. 6). Maintaining the religious aspect of the Jewish culture is important to P11, as it means that she is upholding the Jewish faith; the same faith that members of the Nazi party tried to destroy.

Other participants spoke of religious traditions during their interviews that were related to the ceremonies held to honor young men’s and women’s ascent into manhood or womanhood. These traditions were often a significant part of their lives because it meant that they had studied parts of the Torah, learned to read in Hebrew, and had an opportunity to celebrate this exciting transition amongst family members and friends. This tradition also set young Jewish people apart from others in their community. Participant 7 (P7) explained that she “was

probably the only person among all the kids at school that had a Bat Mitzvah, even though all my friends were Jewish. I mean, I went to Bar Mitzvah parties, but never Bat Mitzvahs” (Int. 7, p. 10). A Bat Mitzvah is a celebration for young women into adulthood. Her family was very religious, as her father and uncle were both professional cantors who were musically trained to lead congregations in prayerful song. She mentioned how she often felt isolated from others within her community because they were not familiar with Jewish traditions, and even if they were, they were never as religious as she felt her family was.

Participant 16 (P16) had the opposite experience. His family, while slightly religious, did not expect him or his siblings to participate in this type of ceremony. For him, participating in his Bar Mitzvah and later his confirmation meant honoring his grandparents and was less about the religious aspects. He was interested in God, but he was more interested in demonstrating to everyone that he was going to carry on Jewish traditions and beliefs out of respect for his ancestors. He said, “Out of the five of us [kids] I was the only one to go all the way through and finish. I did that for [my grandmother] but also for me because I knew what it meant to her. That’s why I do a lot of what I do because I know how much it meant to her” (Int. 16, p. 12). For P16, remembering the struggles that members of his family endured is one way he knows he can make a difference and remember the Holocaust by way of maintaining some of these religious traditions.

Participant 2 (P2) spent some time during the interview discussing how important she felt it is to teach her children about what her father endured as a survivor of the camps. For her, sharing those stories in an age-appropriate manner will keep her future children involved and invested in their family's past. However, P2 believes the key to responsibly remembering and sharing the legacy of her father's stories with her children is through the celebration of the Jewish heritage. Even though she herself was not raised Jewish, she explained that she wants her children to "celebrate some of the Jewish holidays, like Passover and Hanukah. And I want them to grow up respecting and understanding the Jewish religion. I want them to grow up knowing and understanding more than I did...I want them to be very proud of where they've come from and proud of their grandpa surviving and providing for his family. I want them to be proud of that" (Int. 2, p. 31). Educating her children about the Holocaust and their Jewish culture will not only teach them of their heritage but also teach them to be proud of their history.

Similarly, Participant 1 (P1) discussed the importance of passing down these stories and ensuring that his Jewish heritage does not get overlooked. He explains that he wants his children to "know the culture of Judaism...and know their heritage" (Int. 1, p. 8). To do this, he will share his father's stories and teach them what it means to be Jewish by imparting them with strong values of loyalty, community, and responsibility (Int. 1, p. 8). For several members of the After Generations, educating their children is linked to the responsibility they feel as

second-generation survivors as well as to the identity and pride they hope to pass on as a legacy.

For a number of the participants in this study, these values also included dating and marriage. For some, making sure to only date or marry within the Jewish faith is the surest way to honor their parents/grandparents and their Jewish roots. In his discussion regarding Jewish youth and the distinction many make regarding being Jewish by faith and/or Jewish by culture, Hoffman (2005) argues that this ability to choose is compromising what it means to be Jewish altogether. One argument he makes as to the cause of such compromise is through interfaith marriage. Hoffman (2005) provides a statistic from the National Jewish Population Study of 2000 stating that “over the last 30 years, intermarriage rates in the United States have soared, and today are well over the 50% mark” (p. 53). While these statistics are older, more recent statistics from 2010, remain relatively the same (“Jewish Population in the United States,” 2010). This is a problem for Hoffman and many who advocate the restoration and maintenance of the Jewish identity. Many Holocaust survivors feel likewise and have persisted in the belief that marrying within the Jewish faith is one way to ensure that their Jewish heritage is preserved.

Participant 6 (P6) explained her thoughts on intermarriage:

But one thing my grandparents taught me is to have Jewish values and we weren't really Orthodox or anything. We had holidays with our whole family. You know personally I have some friends that don't date non-

Jewish people and I kind of put that on myself because I don't remember anyone telling me to, right. Like my cousins date non-Jews and I think they're great, but for some reason I just feel like I could never do that to my [family]. (Int 6, p. 5)

From this short excerpt it is evident how the Jewish values P6 had been taught by her grandparents relate directly to a discussion of marriage. Dating non-Jews, in her estimation, would not be a way to live up to those values. And while no one explicitly told her that this was expected of her—in fact, her own cousins do not feel that this is important to them—P6 decided this for herself. To honor her family would be to uphold Jewish traditions, and upholding Jewish traditions means marrying someone who understands them and who can maintain them alongside her.

Other members of the After Generations felt similarly. Participant 7 (P7) remembered a specific event after she had divorced and was dating. Even as an adult with a young child, she was feeling the pressure from her parents to only date Jewish men:

When I was in high school, there was absolutely no question that I would go out with anyone who was not Jewish. My father put the word out...even after I was divorced I had a memory of my daughter, who was maybe 7 or 8 years old. Anyway I was out and my mom was at my house with my daughter and I got a call from a guy that I was seeing off and on—nothing serious—but he left his name: [Italian name]. When I got

home my mother said—and I was in my 40s—“[Italian name] called! And what does he want?” I was like, “oh my god!” (Int. 7, p. 21)

This Italian last name was a giveaway to her mother that he was not Jewish, and she made sure to express as much to her daughter. P7 explained later on in her interview that, due to her parents’ strong convictions about dating and marrying only Jewish men, she could never remain serious with anyone who was not Jewish. Even though she did not feel that being Jewish would be an important component for being compatible, she knew that, if she were going to be truly happy with that person, he would need to be acceptable to her parents. She even went on to state: “If [my daughter was] to marry someone who wasn’t Jewish, I wouldn’t be thrilled—I’d get over it—but I wouldn’t be thrilled” (Int. 7, p.20).

Participant 9 (P9) explained discussions she had regarding interfaith marriage as she spoke of her upbringing. She was raised by a foster family due to her mother’s mental condition (brought on as a result of having survived the Holocaust), and her foster mother continually reiterated the fact that P9 was to be raised with Jewish values because that was what her mother had asked her to do. P9 stated, “They always told me you are a Jew and you are going to marry a Jew, yadda, yadda, yadda. Christians you can’t trust and they persecute you” (Int. 9, p. 22-23). P9 even reflected upon her childhood friends and remembered that they were all Jewish, too. Surrounded by others of the same background provided a solid community where those shared values could develop. This was important

for many survivors of the Holocaust, as those within the Jewish faith were the people they could trust.

Hope: “I’m alive. This is my family. Because I’m alive they’re here.”²⁰

When thinking of the Holocaust, it is easy to reflect on all the atrocities of that time and to point to the animosity and distrust that was taught to members of the After Generations; however, one cannot ignore the positive outlook on life that most of the members carry and expressed in their interviews. One theme that came out in each interview was that of hope. Hope is an interesting phenomenon in that it often stems from a desire for relief from a negative experience (Lazarus, 1991). Experiencing a sense of hope in the midst of perceived chaos takes “cognitive elements of visualization and expectation” (Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006, pp. 372-373). In other words, hope does not just materialize from thin air; rather, hope takes a form of motivation or desire to want better and to know deep down that something better does exist. In truth, hope is quite complex as it can contain both positive and negative elements. Individuals engaged in hope understand that to achieve the goals that have been set out for them, pain may be involved through varying trials or costs (Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006). In essence, hope is a state of mind that requires new ways of thinking and the courage to press on through the present in order to realize a better future.

For many members of the After Generations, hope was expressed in the small things in life. For example, knowing that her mother and father survived, Participant 5 (P5) talked about how her parents’ hope came from their children

²⁰ Interview 2, p. 24

and that this hope is now continued through their grandchildren (i.e., P5's sister's children). A similar sentiment was shared by Participant 2 (P2) as well.

My dad was being documented for this documentary being made at a [concentration camp] and he was telling his story within the camp and it just meant so much to me that he was able to tell his story of how he had managed to survive this camp; how he had kind of overcome the death part of the camp and that made it more like there was hope, you know, from the inside of this camp. Because my dad was standing in the camp [saying], "I'm alive. This is my family. Because I'm alive, they're here."
(Int. 2, p. 24)

Her father's resiliency and ability to go back to the camps demonstrated to P2 what it means to have hope. Standing on the same ground as those who had perished years before—some of whom were possibly relatives—P2 understood that she *was* the hope. The hope is in the perseverance and the strength it takes to never give up, which are traits P2's father demonstrated to her on numerous occasions.

Even in their own lives, members of the After Generations have experienced their own struggles and desire to maintain a sense of hope. Participant 10 (P10) had recently lost his wife to cancer leaving him with three children to take care of on his own. He was asked to go to a conference for his company several months later in a relatively rural town. During the down time at this conference, they brought in a psychic as a form of entertainment. P10 was

not a believer in psychics; however, he decided to play along. In their meeting, the psychic told P10 of his recent loss. She explained that connections from his unique past would help mend his recent loss; as he would meet his future wife as a result of his past experiences. P10 was impressed that she knew so much about his past but was not a believer in this direction for his future as he was still in mourning for his wife and could not fathom a future wife.

Nevertheless, thinking about it did some good for him as it provided him with the idea that there was potential there—there was hope. One year later, he received a phone call from a woman he did not know. Her uncle had attended West Point Academy during World War II as a Jew and had suffered abuse as a result of anti-Semitic views—similar to P10’s experience at the Academy. The woman also had heard through mutual acquaintances that he had been recently widowed, as had she. They decided to meet for coffee and by that following year they were married. Through the experience of being a Jewish man in the military, P10 found a second love. In this story, P10 said, “I never would have thought that this would have happened, but it did. And I [believe] just thinking about the possibility—wondering if I would ever meet someone—kept me going in that year and a half after my wife died. It gave me something to think about and actually hope for” (Int. 10, p. 12). For P10, this hope came from the potential of something new and exciting. Even in the midst of his sorrow, he was able to focus on *what could be* instead of *woe is me*. P10 attributes his positivity in the

midst of pain to his upbringing, as both his father and grandparents persevered and found hope in their new home, occupation, and life in the United States.

Participant 3 (P3) also provided a story of hope that was passed on by her grandmother and later realized by P3. This story is one of both the past and the present and is a beautiful reminder of the legacy these members of the After Generations carry with them every day of their lives. When she was a young girl, P3's grandmother told her a story about when she was liberated from the concentration camp. Her grandmother had been sick and in the infirmary for a week or two prior to the liberation, and one night while she lay resting, a gentleman approached her bedside. He took her hands into his and placed an egg in them saying, "Take good care of this." She did not remember what happened next; she only remembered that when she awoke, the camp had been liberated and she was no longer holding that egg.

P3 speculated that the episode was merely a dream or a hallucination as a result of her grandmother being so ill and malnourished. For years, P3 contemplated this story, wondering what the egg symbolized and whether this man was an other-world guardian sent to give her grandmother hope in the midst of her situation. Then, one night, P3 had a dream. In the dream, she was at shul²¹ and was standing next to her mother singing a song together in beautiful harmonies. As the music ended, they headed outside and were milling about when a gentleman approached her. He motioned for P3 to open her hands, which

²¹ Orthodox Jews typically refer to the synagogue as "shul," which is a Yiddish word for school. The synagogue is considered a place of worship and study.

she did and he placed something in them. When he moved his hands away, she saw that she was holding a bright yellow baby chick. When P3 awoke, she knew immediately that this story was a continuation of her grandmother's story. She knew that her grandmother had survived by holding onto hope and that P3 was also now a part of that process. Not only would she carry the responsibility of her family's heritage, but she would also be the legacy, as well.

For many of the members of the After Generations interviewed in this project, hope was an important concept. While it could be easy to dwell on the traumatic events their parent(s)/grandparent(s) endured and the unconventional upbringing many of them experienced as a result of their parents' trauma, each person interviewed also spoke of having hope. To them, remembering that their family members were survivors of the Holocaust did not mean only remembering all the horrific events that occurred. Rather, remembering that their family members survived was what truly mattered. Participant 18 (P18) explains,

My parents wouldn't want me to play the "woe is me" card because they didn't want or believe in sympathy. I know I could say, "Oh my parents went through this and that" and people would be impressed, but so what? I'd rather say my parents survived and they gave me life. My family is here because [my parents] had the belief that things could get better, that they could start over again and still have a good life. That's hard to do. Is it natural, I don't know? All I know is that, if I learned anything from them, it's that, if I am to talk about the Holocaust, I don't need to only talk

about all the bad stuff. My parents didn't survive to talk about the bad things. They survived because they had to hope it could be better than what they just survived. (Int. 18, p. 24).

To responsibly remember the Holocaust is to also remember that hope persisted despite all that was done to wipe it out. The traumatic events that occurred during the Holocaust should never be forgotten, but forgetting the resilient and ever-hopeful spirit of the survivor and his/her ability to pass this along to subsequent children would also be a travesty.

Resilience: *“The point is, is that we survived and they were resilient.”*²²

While the theme of resilience was briefly discussed in relation to some of the long-term effects the Holocaust has had upon members of the After Generations, this theme also provides further understanding regarding how one might go about responsibly remembering the Holocaust. All that was taught to these children and grandchildren about resiliency is used in the present to remember the events of the Holocaust through the members of the After Generations' own acts of resilience.

In order for one to persevere in the midst of chaos and trials, one had to hope that there would be something better on the other side of what they were currently experiencing. Krell (1997) shares:

And so, resisting despair, Holocaust survivors who came to North America with nothing built the United States Holocaust Memorial

²² Interview 6, p. 8

Museum at enormous financial cost. Penniless, tuberculosis immigrants from displaced persons camps who were not deemed acceptable for immigration into Canada participated in rebuilding the State of Israel. Children who survived the Holocaust after years of hiding and torment rose to positions of great responsibility in many countries. (p. 97)

For each of the children and grandchildren interviewed in this study, resilience was a trait that they also saw in their survivor relative and later found within themselves, as well.

Participant 5 (P5) articulated what many of the After Generations I interviewed tried to express in terms of the resilience they believe they have inherited from their parent(s)/grandparent(s) in her statement: “There are times when I get overwhelmed and say, ‘Huh, what are you going to do to me?’ My family survived the Nazis. I can survive this” (Int. 5, p. 9). The will to continue on is not easy, however. Knowing someone in your family survived something worse than what one may be currently going through could certainly compel members of the After Generations to persevere against the odds. Kirmayer (2011) explains that resilience “is a dynamic process of adjustment, adaptation, and transformation in response to challenges and demands” (p. 85). This dynamic process, however, is best suited when there is a contribution from families and support groups to help cope with the demands of everyday life (Herman, et. al, 2011). Such coping strategies often come in the form of humor.

Humor: “I have a sense of humor and I like to laugh.”²³ Being resilient is not only about remaining strong in the face of adversity but is also about self-preservation. Maintaining one’s sense of humor in the midst of everything that may be going wrong is just another way that some members of the After Generations demonstrate their resilience. In fact, research regarding Prisoner of Wars (POWs) has been conducted that indicates humor as being an important ingredient in maintaining resilience during captivity (Henman, 2001). Such prisoners found humor to be their main coping mechanism, providing light in the darkness surrounding them.

In Participant 8’s (P8) discussion regarding some of the difficulties Participant 8 (P8) has endured during his lifetime, he ended by saying:

I always make light when I go places and when I buy something. I try to humorize a lot. It helps me cope. And I’ll go buy something in the city and I’ll go “Christian” this guy down. Or I’ll walk in some place and in a restaurant and I’ll ask what is free and they will say nothing is free. And I will pull out my Star of David around my neck and I say this is Jewish MasterCard or Visa so it is free. That’s been my coping mechanism since I was a kid. (Int. 8, p. 17)

While some could potentially be offended by the comments P8 made in this statement, he took these derogatory stereotypes that are often directed toward and (made about) those with Jewish backgrounds make light of them. His belief was that, if people were going to make fun, he would be the one in control. This

²³ Int. 5, pp. 9-10

reclamation of stereotypes through humor is one way he copes with the hatred he and his family have experienced in the past. Turning negative stereotypes into something that one might laugh about is one way to express one's humor; however, others also found humor embedded in the stories shared with them by their survivor grandparent(s)/parent(s).

Holocaust survivors, much like POWs, discovered that, in order to survive the hardships they faced, they had to continue laughing. Life was not smooth-sailing for survivors in the years following the Holocaust. They had to start new families, find new jobs, move to new areas of the world, and endure illnesses or other such sufferings. Yet, many survivors were serious the whole time. Many of those I interviewed spoke of their survivor relatives' humorous moments. Participant 1 (P1) recalled his father telling him a story about enacting his revenge upon some bullies he encountered one evening.

So, at dinner he'd tell us stories sometimes, like one time when he had this friend who looked different—he said his face was smashed—I don't know, but the neighborhood kids were making fun of him and calling him names and that made my dad's friend cry. So, my dad decided to pay them back. He climbed up on the roof of one of the bullies' houses and waited one day until they came home. When the kid came back home, he hurled a bag of poop right on his head. I remember me and my sisters laughing with my dad whenever he told us this story. If I were to get

revenge, that's the way I'd do it, too, when they least expect it. (Int. 1, p. 12)

P1 observed from his father that not only is a sense of humor important, but it is also essential to maintain one's sense of sanity.

Other individuals found humor in the stories shared with them by their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s) as well. Participant 13 (P13) remembered vividly a story he was told as a young boy by his grandmother. Although he does not recall whether his grandmother intended to be funny, he can see the humor in it every time he recalls this memory today.

When I was a kid, the stories were never told. They were like sketch versions of the Holocaust. [My grandmother would say], "We all had a bowl to eat and drink out of at the camps and one night some girl stole my bowl and went to the bathroom in it." You know, she didn't even tell me if the girl pissed or took a shit in her bowl. That was the story I remember always hearing as a kid. And then my grandmother would come and put food in front of me and it was a bowl and I'd be unfazed because I don't remember ever pushing the bowl of food away. It was a strange story to tell—to tell {P13 laughs} right before eating a bowl of chicken soup. So, I received these stories; these harmless stories that you could almost relate to in a strange sort of way, like I know that I wouldn't like it if someone peed in my lunch at school. (Int. 13, p. 8)

In this recollection, P13 found humor in his grandmother's rather random story. He recalled that she told such stories in seemingly unlikely places and times, but upon further reflection they always served as some sort of punch-line. For P13, who has spent years writing his grandparents' story, a funny side note in the midst of the sad stories depicted helped him remember his grandparents as they really were—regular people who have also survived the Holocaust. To P13 and many of the other participants interviewed, sharing and representing the stories told to them by their parents and grandparents is an integral part of responsibly remembering the Holocaust.

The themes of education, responsibility, religion/tradition, hope, and resilience that emerged from the data speak together to answer the ways in which members of the After Generations can reveal theoretically and practically how to responsibly remember the Holocaust. Practically speaking, these exemplars demonstrate how the memory of the Holocaust has become ingrained in the minds and lives of those who never actually experienced such events but who have a real connection. This social memory or shared history is what unites many of these members of the After Generations while also compelling them to bear this responsibility through the maintenance of traditions, religion, and storytelling (Casey, 2004). The choices that each individual makes in order to remember and honor this history are important to note, as they demonstrate how the individual memory is intrinsically tied to the collective memory (Berlatsky, 2003; Irwin-Zareka, 1994). The choices that are made also speak to culture as the cultural

traditions and beliefs of a particular group of people (in this case, those of Jewish heritage) often dictate how one might choose to remember responsibly (Wang & Conway, 2006). In other words, when speaking of memory and how to remember, one must always take into consideration culture and the role it plays in influencing this act of remembering. The significance culture plays in influencing how and what individuals choose to remember brings us back to the theoretical question Margalit (2002) posed regarding whether we are ethically or morally obligated to remember. Clearly, those members of the After Generations interviewed believe that they are obligated. And from the exemplars discussed in this section, an ethics of responsibility in remembering the Holocaust seems to have emerged. I argue that to responsibly remember might be in the very act of choosing to share the narrative—so long as one recognizes his/her motivations behind the choice to share, reflects upon how the memory is being delivered (i.e., the representation), and is accountable to others implicated in such tellings. Through their actual experiences, I believe members of the After Generations demonstrate this ethics of responsibility in their everyday choices to remember in their art, writing, life-work, as well as from within their local communities in a manner that teaches others about the events of the Holocaust while still remaining true to the essence of who their parent(s) and/or grandparent(s) were.

From the exemplars provided above, it is evident that the children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors interviewed in this study have made a concerted effort to responsibly remember the events of the Holocaust via the

choices they make as they live out their lives and interact with those around them. They demonstrate how they plan to carry on traditions, live out a life that honors those who came before them, and maintain hope for the future. Thus, the themes that emerged validate the fact that responsibly remembering the Holocaust while also honoring their forefathers is of the utmost importance. In so doing, many allowed the stories shared by their parent(s)/grandparent(s) to become central to their own lives, blurring the boundary between what is their story and what is not. The telling of these stories is important in the education of others; but also in the maintenance the After Generations members' own identity with the Holocaust. The problem in such telling, however, is in the ethics of who is doing the telling and in what ways these stories are being (re)presented, which leads to the final research question(s).

Story Ownership and (Re)presentation

The exemplars described in the previous sections have demonstrated how members of the After Generations have not only been affected by the events of the Holocaust but have also taken steps to honor their family legacy by responsibly remembering the Holocaust. In this act of remembering, however, many members of the After Generations have found that they face an ethical problem: who owns the stories told? Furthermore, how are those stories represented? The themes and exemplars discussed earlier demonstrate the complicated issue with this notion of story ownership: Is the survivor's story *only* his/her story? Can a child or grandchild of a Holocaust survivor tell this story?

These are questions that are significant and important to address if one wishes to responsibly and ethically remember the Holocaust.

Given the blurred boundaries of story ownership, my third research question asks three separate—yet equally significant—questions. Research question three asks: How are members of the After Generations narrating their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s)' stories? Moreover, how do their narrations demonstrate and/or address those blurred boundaries through the (re)presentation of their family's story? And how might they ethically (re)present these stories to others? The three questions that comprise RQ3 are important to address in addition to the research questions already posed. While members of the After Generations can certainly teach others from their experiences, many still struggle with the concept of story ownership. Research question three not only asks what members of the After Generations can demonstrate from their experiences, but how they come to communicate (i.e., talk about the stories, rather than share those stories) about those stories. To maintain narrative fidelity (Fisher, 1984) and remain ethical in their expressions of this history with the Holocaust and their survivor relative's stories, members of the After Generations are required to grapple with these blurry boundaries.

Story Ownership: “Even though it’s not my story, it’s...become my story”²⁴

The concept of story ownership is one that I struggled with both theoretically and experientially as the stories that were shared with me by my stepfather have come to feel like they are my own. I can tell these stories

²⁴ Interview 1, p. 10

backward and forward as if I had experienced them. I can even visualize these shared narratives as if I had been there. The difference between my own lived memory and the “memory” that I have of my stepfather’s stories is that in my actual memories of the moments I experienced firsthand, I am the primary actor. In the memories my stepfather has shared with me, I am a bystander—an omnipotent presence who watches him experience the moment, knowing where he has been and where he will end up in the future. I never replace my stepfather in the reflections of these stories. I do not visualize myself doing these things or experiencing these moments, but I can picture my stepfather as a young boy, as if I had witnessed him experiencing these snapshots of his life—those specific snippets that he chose to share with me. In fact, sometimes I almost feel more comfortable sharing these engaging stories more than my own rather mundane, everyday stories.

In recognizing this difference in how I experienced and later reflected upon my stepfather’s stories, I could not help but wonder if I were a little “off” (i.e., was I a little crazy?). I also felt that if I were going to embark on a process of understanding these blurry boundaries then I needed to be honest with myself as well as with my research. Thus, I asked myself some difficult questions. The first set of these questions was: Why do I feel so tied to these stories? Even though they are not my own, why do I feel so compelled to share these stories? Was it that I wanted to move people with my stepfather’s story; was I looking for a reaction from people; did I just want to wow people? The second set of these

questions was related to my motivations: What are my motivations for sharing these stories? What do I get out of the process of sharing that makes me want to continue to participate in this act of telling?

In this honest reflection I had to admit that part of me does enjoy the reaction(s) I receive from audiences after telling them stories of my stepfather's past. These stories are so unique and compelling that it is difficult for others not to respond and such responses are usually affirming. As humbling as it was to realize that perhaps I was trying to appeal to an audience out of my own self-indulgence, achieving a particular response out of an audience did not fully answer the question as to why I feel so tied to these stories. Simply hoping for a response or a reaction out of an audience did not take into account how these stories would come to me as a form of comfort or as a solution for dealing with a problem I was facing or an issue I was trying to come to terms with on my own. In such moments, these stories spoke to me personally and without an audience nearby. After days of reflection, reading, and journal writing, I accepted that there was no simple answer. My relationship with my stepfather and his stories is complicated, meaningful, and personal. My stepfather has influenced me in multiple ways, particularly through the stories he has chosen to share with me—and later had me share with others through the writing of his life story—as they have influenced my world-views, perspectives, and even some of the decisions I have made. He asked me to tell his story once in the form of a novel; now his story has become a part of my own story through the very act of sharing it.

Corey (1996) explains that personal narratives are about “rearranging tensions between difference and normality, acceptance and ostracization, silence and speech” (p. 57). I came to understand these tensions through the stories my stepfather told (and the ones he chose not to tell) and later developed my own narratives that adopted some of my understandings regarding these tensions. I have found that the particular stories of his that I tend to share with others have resonated with me beyond the stories themselves. For instance, the story of how my stepfather’s adopted mother protected him turned into who I wanted to be as a mother—willing to sacrifice myself for my children’s personal well-being, no matter the cost. The story he told detailing how he witnessed his best friend’s murder has propelled me to advocate on behalf of abused children. And the story of his ultimate forgiveness of the Nazis was the witness I needed to forgive the grudges I had been carrying. I initially thought that perhaps this was just my own unique experience with these narratives; that maybe because I had spent time writing his life-story, his stories may feel more real to me. As a result, I felt compelled to ask other members of the After Generations—did they, like me, feel that the boundaries between their parent(s)/grandparent(s)’ stories and their own stories were blurred as well? At the time I developed this question I was not sure where it might lead me, but I soon found that this question was compelling to many of the participants—maybe not necessarily in the same ways that I understood the term—yet all members were strongly opinionated in this area nonetheless.

Participant 1 (P1) was the first person I interviewed and I was nervous to hear his response. I wondered if he would even understand the question I was asking. My nerves were unfounded when he quickly responded:

I go places and they ask me about my life and one of the first things I will bring up is [that my dad is a survivor]. It's almost like that's my identity—that story—even though it's not my story it's almost become my story; it's almost my life. I tell them that story instead of telling them that I was homeschooled or I did this or I did that. I tell them about that because I feel that it's a better way for them to understand who I am than me actually telling them about my life. (Int. 1, p. 10)

While this participant understands that these stories are not actually his he finds that some of his father's stories communicate more about him and the man he has become than do the stories about things/events that he actually experienced firsthand. For P1, his father's stories are just as much about him as they are about his father because these stories are where he learned most of his life lessons and values. P1 talks about his father's stories in a very conflated manner. His identity is so enmeshed within these narratives his father shared that he finds it difficult to see where his father's story ends and his begins.

Participant 2 (P2) also discusses her relationship with her father's stories. She explains that she sees her own life story as a continuation of her father's story by explaining that their "stories are connected. It's not my own very personal story, but then again it is in a way. It's connected to mine, if that makes sense"

(Int. 2, p. 23). Again, P2 may not really believe that she experienced her father's stories firsthand but rather understands these stories as those that have shaped her into the woman she has become. These stories have caused her to react, reflect, engage with, and experience life in a manner that allows her to interact with people in ways she may not otherwise have had if her father had chosen to never share these stories. P2's experiences have now become a continuation of her father's life story.

Similarly Participant 3 (P3) explains that she also feels a strong connection to her grandmother's stories. For a long time she felt a little too connected to these stories, as though she were not living her own life. However, upon further reflection she came to the realization that these stories (i.e., her grandparents' pasts and what they shared with her) were as much a part of her life as her own lived experiences. She says, "So, I look back now and say these *are* my stories and to people on the outside, they're like: 'Well, that's not your story.' I mean I think one of the places I see myself is where I cuddle [their story] and nurture it, you know, because it's a large part of me" (Int. 3, p. 36-37). Even though others try to negate these feelings by telling P3 that the narratives her grandmother shared with her are not owned by her, she finds that such boundaries regarding story ownership are not so black and white. She understands these stories as being central to who she is as a person and recognizes how much they have shaped her life. Again, P3 expresses the fact that despite what others may think regarding these stories, her relationship with her grandmother's narratives is

very deep and far more complicated than simply saying that one is her grandmother's story and the other is her own story.

Participant 14 (P14) also believes her life has been shaped by the stories her mother shared with her. P14 says:

I was born in the 1950s. It's not like I lived these experiences with the Holocaust or anything. Yet, my mom told me so much. She showed me such vivid pictures. They are my stories, you know? I mean, I know they aren't, but I wouldn't be who I am today if it weren't for her telling me all this stuff. I raised my kids based off of what I learned from these stories. Yeah they're my mom's, but they're also mine. Man, as I talk I realize how messed up I am. (Interview 14, p. 6)

P14 demonstrates how influential her mother's stories were in forming her understanding and perceptions of the world. In her estimation, had these stories not been shared with her, she would have developed into an entirely different person—perhaps even having raised her own children differently. These stories, though not her own lived experiences, have shaped her lived experiences and therefore, are as much her stories as they are her mother's stories. Yet the complicated nature of these blurred boundaries is evident as she articulates “how messed up” she is for thinking this way about her relationship with her mother's narratives. Participant 5 (P5) comically surmises this strong connection best by saying, “I mean, unless I have a lobotomy [those stories are] still all there” (Int. 5, p. 36-37).

Perhaps a reason why story ownership is an issue for many members of the After Generations has to do with the underlying power struggle implied in the term “ownership.” Implicit in the idea of ownership, particularly in narrative or story ownership, is that there is someone in control of the presentation and interpretation of a given narrative (Smythe & Murray, 2000). Having ownership of the shared narrative equates to having control over how it is told and the ways in which it might later be represented. None of the members of the After Generations interviewed during this study expressed any desire for control over their survivor relative’s stories. The participants’ inability to express through language the complex relationship they have with these stories may account for these blurred boundaries. Many of them were heard saying something equivalent to “it’s my story, but it’s not” because they have no other way to express this relationship to the narratives shared with them without coming across as though they are stripping these stories away from their parents or grandparents. In reality, for those interviewed in this study the desire to maintain power over the way in which their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s)’ story is told or represented comes down to the need to protect the integrity of that narrative. This is one place where the boundaries of story ownership become rather blurred. The stories told to the After Generations by their survivor relatives were significant to how they came to understand the world and how their identities came to be shaped and constructed. Therefore, while these offspring do not wish to claim these stories as

their own lived experiences, they do want to protect these stories and ensure that they are shared in an ethical manner, upholding the integrity of the stories.

Members of the After Generations demonstrate that narratives are “multi-voiced and intertextual representations” (Shuman, 2006). Narratives are not entities of their own, but are highly relational—both personal and shared. Claiming authority or ownership becomes complicated. Can there truly be a rightful owner? Shuman explains that storytelling is about using a particular story beyond the personal experience it represents, connecting this experience instead to a more collective experience. Due to this collective experience and the multi-voiced representations that occur, she goes on to argue that these representations actually “undermine the authority of ownership” (p.149). That is, due to the multiple people/perspectives implicated in any given story, claiming complete ownership of a narrative is not possible. Given the After Generations’ relationship to the stories shared with them by survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s) and the varying representations that may occur when sharing these narratives, it makes sense that children and grandchildren of survivors might struggle with the blurred boundaries of story ownership.

One of the conundrums that members of the After Generations face related to story ownership was the feeling of entitlement (Shuman, 2006). Knowing and understanding their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s) intimately, members of the After Generations expressed the belief that they can speak (i.e., are entitled to speak) of the Holocaust in a knowledgeable and informed manner—and therefore

should be free to speak on behalf of their survivor relatives. They understand the events of the Holocaust through their relatives' stories and can provide their own personal examples related to their own unique relationship with these stories. Simply being a relative of a survivor does not necessarily mean that one is entitled to sharing those narratives, however. Many children and grandchildren of survivors have had expectations placed upon them by others (who may or may not be connected with the Holocaust) asking that they prove that they have a right to share their parent/grandparent's story. This need to prove authenticity prior to sharing a story goes back to the official versus vernacular debate (Alcoff, 1991). Who has the right to speak? Shuman argues that those who are able to claim such entitlement by evoking empathy or the "insistence that telling others' stories can further understanding" (p. 152), may more quickly overcome this hurdle of ownership. In other words, through the exertion of empathy the telling of the narrative now has a purpose that is clearly not self-motivated, rather the telling is now grounded in furthering understanding and community.

While a majority of the participants felt that their own stories are as much theirs as their parent(s) and grandparent(s)' stories, there were other members of the After Generations who insisted on making a distinction. While individuals such as Participant 6 and Participant 13 could not deny feeling a unique bond with their parent(s)/grandparent(s)' stories, they would never claim these narratives as their own. Participant 6 (P6), for instance, acknowledges that these stories were meaningful and a part of her history; however she views them more as her family

story. “We have the same foundation. It’s my family’s history and I think it’s not my story because I wasn’t there...I think it’s important to pass it along, but I don’t think I own [these stories]” (Int. 6, pp. 6-7). For P6, these stories mark the foundation of her family. The entire family can claim these stories as their history; however, P6 could never claim them as hers specifically. To her, such a claim would require P3 to have witnessed these events firsthand, which obviously she did not.

Participant 13 (P13) explains why he does not claim ownership to these stories by expressing his understanding of the stories in terms of an inheritance. He says:

I don’t feel like I own the stories. It will always be something that I say belongs to my grandparents. This is something they passed down to me and when you get something passed down to you, I don’t think you ever feel an ownership for it...Anyway, I don’t think it’s important who owns the story. I think that it is important that the stories are told and I mean, I will always connect to the Holocaust and I think that is a big part of who I am as a Jew. (Int. 13, p. 13)

Having inherited these stories does not mean that P13 automatically claims ownership; rather it means that he now has a greater sense of responsibility to them. P13 sees these stories not as what happened to his grandparents but as something that happened to the Jewish population. He feels his responsibility is to ensure that this story gets told so that others can hear, learn, and avoid further

persecutions. Thus, in his estimation the stories are in his possession now because his grandparents' have passed the legacy on to him. Therefore, it is now up to him to continue to tell his grandparents' story so that no one will ever forget.

The essence of storytelling, regardless of whether it is owned by someone or inherited from someone, is that it is shared. Stories are not meant to be kept to oneself but are meant to be communal so that others may learn and grow from the lessons and insights they provide. Those members of the After Generations that chose to participate in this study graciously and willingly shared their stories so that others might learn from their experiences, and in extension, from their survivor relative's experiences. To write excerpts of these stories in this dissertation is a start; however, the scope of this dissertation will not reach the larger population. As mentioned previously, language can only go so far in explaining a complex relationship such as the members of the After Generations have with their survivor relative(s) stories. By embodying the language of the survivors and illuminating the complexities behind their emotions, performance offers a deeper understanding of the relationship between members of the After Generations and their survivor relatives' stories. The goal of this project is to not only understand what it means to be a member of the After Generations but to also teach others the significance of the long-term effects of the Holocaust across generations. Therefore, if the goal is for society as a whole to truly learn from the experiences of these children and grandchildren of survivors, then their stories

should be shared in some manner that might reach a wider audience (i.e., those outside the walls of academia). While movies, books, poetry, artwork, and other forms of representation have been made to represent the Holocaust, very little has taken the perspective of the members of the After Generations. While poetry and novels have been written, still lacking is an embodied representation of what it might mean to be a child or grandchild of Holocaust survivors. One way to accomplish the task of educating people about the long-term effects of trauma beyond the walls of academia is to take the data that emerged from the interviews and write a performance script that can embody the narratives provided.

Representing the narratives and events of the Holocaust, however, is no easy task.

Crisis of Representation

Representations of life are a natural part of performance, but such representations can become controversial when discussing sensitive topics such as the Holocaust. In 1949 Theodor Adorno wrote a line stating, “Poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric,” to which a number of responses have been made and continue to be made 60 years later (1986, trans). Some scholars believed Adorno meant to silence the arts and the inappropriate use of language regarding the Holocaust altogether (Steiner, 1998). Others viewed his dictum as a challenge to overcome this “injunction against poetry” (Gubar, 2003) and others asserted that by looking beyond this single statement at the whole of his larger essay, Adorno was merely stating a dialectal tension that he felt needed attention (Hoffman, 2005; Martin, 2006; Rothberg, 2000). The varying interpretations of this dictum

over the last six decades have led to many debates regarding whether the Holocaust can or should be represented via the arts.

Adorno never expressed any ill-will toward poetry or the arts in general; rather, his main concern with the arts was with the varying ways in which the Holocaust was being represented by those trying to understand these traumatic events. Given the horrific crimes of the Holocaust, he argued that it would be impossible to authentically represent the events as they occurred. Doing so would result in an artistic rendering that moved beyond that which could be critiqued; as there are no guidelines for how such trauma can be expressed, thus potentially moving it outside the realm of what is considered 'the arts' altogether (Hoffman, 2005). Adorno also argued that due to the absolute reification that resulted from the actions taken by Nazis, the events of the Holocaust are unable to be sufficiently represented through the arts. That is, because the Nazis stripped their victims of any sense of autonomy, going so far as to revoke their victims' human characteristics by treating them as objects, the Nazis essentially rid them of any agency. These victims had no freedom, no choice, and no individuality—even in death. Thus, on-stage the physical body complicates this representation of trauma simply in its existence as a body that has a choice to walk away from whatever bodily harm being represented in that moment.

Martin (2006) explains that the dramatic genre falls short in its ability to represent the Holocaust primarily because its central focus is that of agency. The writer/creator/performer is always given the freedom of choice in the creation of a

text or character. As a result, this particular genre cannot work in the context of the Holocaust because “choice” never existed. Those who agree with Adorno’s dictum might even go so far as to say it is impossible to represent an atrocity such as the Holocaust via the arts due to this lack of agency. While Martin (2006) might agree with Adorno’s assertion to an extent, he insists that to remain silent is also insufficient. As a consequence, we are at a potential impasse and ethical conundrum. How can we represent? Should we represent? And if representation is possible, who should partake in this artistic rendering? These are questions that are not easily answered. Just because they are not easy however, does not mean that they should be left unanswered.

Susan Gubar (2003) addresses ways in which the arts can be utilized as a form of representation of the Holocaust in her book *Poetry after Auschwitz*. She understood Adorno’s statement as a challenge to the arts and found way(s) in which to utilize poetry to represent the Holocaust. Gubar argues that in the 60 years that have passed since the beginning of World War II, memories of the Holocaust have been fading along with the passing of many of its survivors. Only the child survivors of the Holocaust are left, leaving much of the testimonials that are remembered among those that were recorded or those which were inherited by the children and grandchildren of survivors. Today many schoolchildren only have a vague idea of WWII and the suffering millions of people endured. Students are often simply taught the numbers of those murdered, leaving out the real people who endured these events in exchange for a quick paragraph summing

up what transpired. Due to this lack of knowledge, Gubar asks the question: how can we remember that which is not known? Perhaps one answer can be found in the arts, as it is a way to make the events as they happened vivid again. Gubar's answer would be poetry. I would extend her definition to include the arts as a whole, and more specifically, embodied performance.

In order to establish how poetry can be a point at which individuals might access knowledge about the Holocaust in a manner that is respectable, Gubar (2003) discusses the process of creating a poem. She explains that the lyrical utterances that are written on the page come from a place of intense feeling, which may be similar to a traumatic experience of an indescribable moment in time. Though these feelings are intense, in writing them out on the page one might find a sense of safety not otherwise present when vocally narrating a story because the process of writing and the choices that can be made while writing provide some semblance of control. Using the lyrical utterances of poetry and/or the very words of those who have shared these stories as the foundation for an embodied performance is one way that the After Generations' narratives can be expressed.

While the written word might be a starting point, focusing only on what is written can omit emotions and reactions that are experienced through the body. In academia the body is a site of knowledge that is often overlooked. One's physical reactions through the body, however, have the potential to lead to another deeper, more organic level of understanding—even if it is understood merely in one's

unconscious (Marshall, 2002). Being aware of one's body and utilizing it as a site of knowledge can provide an ideal space for further meaning-making to emerge. Marshall further argues that the body is the mediator between the individual and the rest of the world. The body is read and interpreted by others before the individual even has a chance to speak. Humans judge and perceive others primarily through the nonverbal behavior being communicated via the body (Pease & Pease, 2004; Remland & Jones, 2005). Therefore, to deny the body's role in understanding one's interactions and perceptions would be to essentially deny the possibility for further meaning-making to occur. While focusing on the literary is certainly worthy, it does not provide the multi-vocal characteristics that may come when one also allows the body to speak.

By utilizing the body as a method for discovering further knowledge (Conquergood, 2005), the individual can extend what is learned through the written word and experience it physically (Bogart & Landau, 2006). Marshall (2002) asks that the individual creatively engage the body through practice and exercise. One should not just sit and talk about *doing*; one should *participate*. Performance provides an opportunity to engage in understanding via both mental and physical means; it is an act of becoming where one can experience new pleasures and pains. By paying attention to the body, an individual may engage in a more thorough dialogue of self-understanding. This can only truly be accomplished through surrender (Bogart & Landau, 2006). By releasing the need

to be in constant control of one's body, one opens him/herself up to more creative and transformative possibilities.

The approach of representing Holocaust-related themes via embodied performance is one of which many scholars (Adorno probably included) might be wary. I argue that a performative approach can artistically represent difficult subjects within the realm of the Holocaust in an ethical and meaningful manner. I mentioned earlier that Adorno's claim that poetry is "impossible after Auschwitz" stemmed from the arts' inability to represent the lack of freedom and choice that was experienced at the time. To Adorno, the performer's body would be an insufficient representation because of the lack of physical restraints as well as the freedom one has as a performer. Adorno was absolutely correct in this assertion. To authentically represent mass deaths is beyond our understanding and it would be inauthentic to try to replicate such atrocities on-stage. Yaeger (1997) also warns of the potential for "consuming trauma," or gaining a sense of pleasure out of watching such atrocities or profiting from others' suffering (p. 225). These are justifiable critiques of performance and should be thoughtfully considered.

I offer an alternative perspective in this study, however. I believe that the very choice that Adorno felt made the arts insufficient in 1949 is what makes it credible today. The time that has transpired between the actual events of the Holocaust and today is over 60 years. Most of those who survived these camps are no longer present to speak for themselves. Though they may be no longer, the need to share these stories is still just as important. Thus, it is imperative that

these stories continue to be told. Using Bogart and Landau's (2006) concept that there is no right or wrong answer within the creative process, but rather there are only possibilities—I believe it is entirely *possible* to creatively explore the potentials of such sites of agency from within the realm of Holocaust studies.

From within this choice to represent the Holocaust via performance and the possibilities in which it can provide, the space for such artistic rendering of the Holocaust can occur. Adorno and others were concerned that there might be a misrepresentation or a contrived effort to represent something that was beyond articulation. As these survivors are steadily dwindling in numbers, who is now responsible for their memories? Should these stories die with them? How should they be represented? Whose voices should be heard? Performance can answer these questions by providing a site of continual dialogue beyond the grave. Underiner (1998), a critical scholar of theatre, argues that “theatre acts as an important and ongoing intervention...negotiating a shifting position among competing calls of nostalgia and progress, authenticity and hybridity, identity and identifications” (p. 350). That is, theatre and performance can be utilized to tease out the varying perspectives of a controversial subject. One needs not become the survivor on stage (though one can), or even speak as the victim. Instead, the central focus of performance as it is used in this study can make relevant links to present conditions today, shedding light on the after effects of the Holocaust and how it continues to linger on in the legacies left by those survivors, rather than focusing on the events themselves.

Adorno also seems to speak of victims as only those who perished during the Holocaust. What of the survivors? Though they may have been stripped of their freedom and agency while under Nazi control, they do have some agency today. Advocators on behalf of all of the victims, both survivors and those who have perished, have their agency as well. Two such choices are to either speak or to remain silent. From my perspective, remaining silent is the unethical choice; the *impossibility* (Gubar, 2003; Margalit, 2002).

By giving flesh to the stories that have been passed down to subsequent generations or to the stories that second or third generation survivors may have experienced in their interaction with their parents, audiences may viscerally react, participate, and engage in ways that the written word might not provide—for example, through the relational interactions with their parent(s)/grandparent(s)' stories and/or the freedom (or lack thereof) they have in sharing these narratives. Performance is a space where messages struggle out and are experienced physically. The audience can vicariously experience the events portrayed on the stage and in so doing might even become vicariously traumatized as well. Scholars of literature explain that individuals not only acquire “important information along with the vicarious experience uniquely available through art but also [by means of] cultivating and maintaining the habits and skills of interpretation that are essential to good ethical practice” (Hunter, 1996, p. 312). Art, literature, and performance tell stories (albeit framed differently) and in the telling of stories there is always an audience. Therefore, the audience provides an

additional layer of understanding and perspective to the story-telling process in general (Conle, Li, & Tan, 2002; Hunter, 1996). What many of these scholars of literature have found is that vicarious experiences can resonate with an audience in significant ways (Conle, Li, & Tan, 2002). Audiences do not simply walk away from having witnessed someone's story; rather they may ruminate over it and later apply the lessons, morals, or other unique entry points to their practical lived experiences. Thus, the poetry for which Gubar (2003) so valiantly advocates, the spoken narratives, and the autoethnographic accounts rendered in academic writing are just a few of the forms of discourse that have the possibility of becoming transformed into performance and vicariously experienced by audiences.

This study extends Gubar's efforts to represent the Holocaust by taking those lyrical utterances as well as those narratives and life experiences shared by members of the After Generations and incorporating them into a performance. The purpose of the performance is not to represent the Holocaust, as Adorno feared would happen (and has happened over the years). Rather, it is meant to represent a sample of experiences of those who have unique perspectives of the Holocaust and the Holocaust survivor. The children and grandchildren of survivors have very real perspectives of the events and its after-effects, having grown up with survivor parents and grandparents. The Holocaust and its atrocities cannot be fully represented, but the long-term effects of that traumatic event can and should be represented. Such a performance, then, allows both

performers and audiences to interact (i.e., be in dialogue) with the messages being conveyed. The embodiment of these long-term effects tells not only the story of those with such experiences, but fuels audiences to respond by subsequently sharing their own narratives, addressing larger aims (Underiner, 2010).

The After Generations were taught to remember from birth, carrying a heavy responsibility with them every day of their lives. By opening up and listening to one's body as a site of knowledge, performance acts as a space where those who do not know or those who have forgotten may participate in the (re)construction of such memories and relate their impact on present situations. Performance is a space where those remembrances and this burden of memory can finally be articulated.

The following chapter is a performance script created out of the narratives and actual in vivo language shared with me by the 18 participants involved in the study. Though the characters are fictional, they represent key themes that emerged from the analyzed data. While this performance is currently in script form, my goal is that it will be taken to the stage to be engaged with by diverse audiences.

Chapter 5

PERFORMANCE SCRIPT

After the Darkness: the After Generations' Story²⁵

LIST OF CHARACTERS:

JULIE – Woman in her mid-forties

MARJORIE – Woman in her mid-fifties

DAVID – Man in his late forties

TALL MAN

MR. ROSENBLUM – Julie's father. Voice only.

MOTHER – Voice only

YOUNG GIRL – Voice only

TONY DELFIANO – Voice only

VARYING VOICES – Number determined by casting director

Snapshot #1

INT. HOME OFFICE - MORNING

[Lights come up and the audience sees a woman stage left at a table with a mess of papers and writing utensils scattered about. It is morning. The character, a 2nd/3rd generation Holocaust survivor, is dressed in a robe with a large coffee mug. Desk lamp on table is turned on. She rustles through some of the papers and finds a cut-out of an obituary. She reads aloud.]

JULIE

"Helen J. Rosenblum, born September 1931 and died January 2012. Survivor of Auschwitz concentration camp, she and her beloved cousin moved to the United States together in 1948, the sole survivors of their family. She lived a long, full life as a wife, mother, and teacher for nearly 35 years. She is survived by her husband Abraham (also a Holocaust survivor), three children, Rachel (Mark), Gene (Marie), and Julie, as well as five grandchildren. Services will be held at Mt. Sinai Funeral Home on Wednesday."

[She opens the back of a frame and places the obituary inside of it.]

²⁵ For potentially updated versions of this script, please contact Sandra Rath at Rath.Teacher@gmail.com

JULIE CONT'D

She died on a Monday. Her funeral service was on a Thursday. For mom, all of this is finished. Complete. Over. She survived. She lived. And now she rests.

[Clears a space on her desk to place the frame.]

JULIE CONT'D

The weight of my family's history has been with me since the day I was born. I remember it in the stories shared with me and in the silent moments that were not shared-those moments I was forced to remain an outsider to the Holocaust. The effects of the Holocaust on my family have made me who I am-and I wouldn't trade it for anything-even a normal childhood. I found that since I started writing my story-their story-I have begun to respect my parents in a new way.

[Picks up spiral notebook and opens it and turns a couple of pages while speaking]

JULIE CONT'D

To write her story, their story, my story-our story-has been my greatest privilege. This story reflects a past that I cannot claim, yet it has been woven into the very fabric of my being-it is my present and my future.

[Julie begins to write as lights dim over her.]

Snapshot #2

INT. KITCHEN - DAY

[Lights come up center stage. A woman stands in her kitchen near a table set up with a large pot, a bowl of whole unpeeled potatoes, and a carton of eggs. There is a knife and a potato peeler, as well. Sitting on the table is also a list, which she begins to read aloud:]

MARJORIE

“After Generations Dinner Menu –
Marjorie brisket

David salad
Suzanne pasta salad
Jacob matzo brei
Julie knish
Robert challah bread and dessert
Marjorie (me) potato kugel”

[Marjorie takes the peeler and begins to peel potatoes. As she looks down at the peeler, she chuckles, and continues to peel]

MARJORIE CONT'D

I remember my grandmother hated peeling potatoes.
I can't help but think about my Bubby every time I
end up with a peeler in my hand.

[Marjorie takes care to peel around the entire potato create one large piece]

MARJORIE CONT'D

My mother's mother didn't survive the war, but my father's mother did. She was just such a fantastic story-teller. Sometimes she would hold me tight in her lap as she spoke, and other times she'd stand over me pointing her index finger in my face as though lecturing me. She'd be so engrossed in her own stories that I think she often forgot she was sharing this story with me. Being a Holocaust survivor, she was incredibly strong. And she was so different with me than my mother. They were both survivors, but she told me stories. Mom didn't. Neither did dad, really. Bubby was my hero. I remember one story she told me about how she had spent months peeling potatoes as her job in the camp. It was tedious, but she was a hard worker and kept to it diligently until one day when she became sick. She was placed in an infirmary to recover and found herself slipping in and out of delirium. One night while she lay resting, a tall man came in to visit her.

[At this point, the lights dim slightly and focus is drawn to the back wall behind her, as shadows of the grandmother and a tall man appear behind a projector screen. A silhouette of the grandmother sitting up in her bed and another silhouette of the tall man standing beside her bed is shown on the screen. The man, with his hands cupped together as in offering, holds them out to the "grandmother." She is weak and does not move. The man gently takes her hands

and places an egg in her cupped hands, allowing the audience to see it, and speaks:]

MAN

Take care of this and protect it always.

[Then quietly he rises from his kneeling position and walks off-stage leaving the grandmother alone in silhouette form holding this egg. In the meantime, Marjorie grabs an egg from the bowl. The spotlight is back on Marjorie. She speaks:]

MARJORIE CONT'D

My grandmother awoke to the camp being liberated.
She didn't have the egg and she never saw that man
again.

[Actor takes the egg that is in her hand and cracks it open into the bowl. She finishes peeling that potato and begins to cut into chunks, dropping them in the pot.]

MARJORIE CONT'D

The Holocaust is always there; always lingering,
waiting to torment me or comfort me in the little
connections, the small reminders, and the things
that no one else seems to notice.

[Shrugs shoulders as if in acceptance]

MARJORIE CONT'D

I can't let the Holocaust be just a faded memory.
Yet, at the same time, being a child and grandchild
of survivors of the Holocaust do carry with it a lot
of baggage.

[Oven timer goes off. Marjorie is startled. The voices of other 2nd/3rd generation survivors begin to speak-responding to one another. Lights dim, leaving simply the voices and a dark stage.]

VOICE-OVER #1

I was abused as a child. And I think-maybe if my
mother hadn't had to go to a mental institution, and
maybe if the Nazis hadn't forced her to go into
hiding, and maybe if the war had never happened-
maybe, just maybe, I could have had a normal
childhood, with a normal upbringing, and two

loving parents, and not placed in foster care where the abuse occurred. So I blame it all on the Nazis.

VOICE-OVER #2

If another Holocaust happens again, it might happen to me.

VOICE-OVER #3

I will never have kids. It's a choice I'm not willing to risk. I get so overwhelmed that I will do to my children what my parents did to me.

Snapshot #3

[Lights come up on Julie. She is sitting at her desk, sipping her coffee. Julie grabs her notebook and flips through a couple of pages. She then begins to read aloud what she has written. Pictures of iconic images of American culture come up on the projector screen—happy families, mother/grandmother in aprons, apple pies, etc.]

JULIE

I wonder what it would have been like if the past I had been born into was peaceful, if the break of my amniotic sac was a soft smooth line, if I entered this world with a burp and a sigh instead of a big bright scream. What if my mother was rose petals and ruffles, what if my mother's mother wore ruffles and smelled of rose petals or wore any clothes at all or was buried in a shroud or left a scent or a mark to mark her resting place, as if a body whose bones have been scattered can be said to rest at all. Who knows? If only I knew her story, if only the clues hadn't been so scattered about. In the years it has taken to re-assemble it all, the bones, cracked and dried, have left a dust so fine, they still offer up clues in the wind. If only I came from a place of laughter and joy, if only I could have realized my tragedies as they occurred. Does this make sense? Does a life of nightmares with faceless ghosts make any more sense to a six-year-old born under the flag of freedom and apple pie? I don't know. But my story is an attempt to separate what is and was from what could have been and what they told me was as much of a lie as they could bear to tell while hoping to hang on to their souls. And what I'm trying to

say, I don't really know, but all I remember is that by the time I was six, my smile was gone and the stones in the pit of my stomach had already started to grow.²⁶

[Sits straight up, shakes her head as she takes in what she has just written, and pushes the notebook away from her as the lights dim again.]

Snapshot #4

INT. FAMILY ROOM - AFTERNOON

[Lights come up on stage right. A man is sitting in an armchair in the middle of what should look like a living room. There is a television he is looking at and he is holding onto the remote. His chair is angled in such a way that others can see him and his "television". The audience sees what he is watching on this screen. He is flipping through channels. First we see news of hate crimes and hear "According to the United Nations, nearly 200,000 people have been killed as a result of the conflict in Darfur. Click. Next we see the History channel documentary on the Holocaust that lists statistics. Click. Then we see a commentary on Holocaust museums across the US. Click. Then we see "Schindler's List coming up next..." and get a small taste of its theme song (it should fade out so we don't hear the whole thing). He is obviously perturbed by what he has seen.]

DAVID

I never experienced the Holocaust firsthand, but those images are always there. I've gotten to the point where I can't stand to hear or see anything related to the Holocaust. The truth is I have already seen enough.

[Images of various concentration camps begin to pop up on the projector mirroring his "thoughts".]

DAVID CONT'D

I saw things as a child that no child should ever see. Yeah, they were in books or on television and they could not compare to what my parents saw with their very own eyes, in-person; but they were real to me.

[Looks into the audience]

²⁶ Entire excerpt is written by Participant 5

DAVID CONT'D

I'll be straightforward with you: there are times when I really feel like "I have a war going on in my head" and it's nothing I've even experienced myself.

[Images on the projector become a little darker (more sinister), as we see crematoriums and men with guns].

DAVID CONT'D

I can't help but put myself in the position of my mother because "she gave me such a vivid picture of what it was like that I have a hard time functioning sometimes." I was the third and youngest child, and I think she was just desperate for someone to understand why she was the way she was, but she left me feeling such fear I didn't want to be at the house anymore. Though my mother endured the pain of having gone through the horrors of the Holocaust, I endured it, too-through her.

[Iconic images of emaciated individuals, piles of the dead, and other horrific scenes from the Holocaust begin to project on the screen behind him, along with the theme music of Schindler's List. They begin slowly.]

DAVID CONT'D

My mom knew I was affected by these images. She knew it was hard for me, but she would force me to look anyway. She'd say:

[He speaks as if in mother's accented voice]

DAVID CONT'D

"There's a show on, David, come over here now, sit down and watch it.

And I'd watch it.

[The images gradually move faster and faster as the stage lights dim so that the spotlight is on David. All other attention should focus on the projection screen. As the images grow faster and faster, he doubles over and begins to rock back and forth as though ill. He no longer speaks-all we experience is the melancholy of the Schindler's List theme song and the rapid movement of the images. It should feel uncomfortable-there should be a vast distinction between the two in terms of

appropriate rhythm/pacing. His rocking should increase with the images, until finally he can no longer take it. David yells:]

DAVID CONT'D

STOP! "Mom, I can't watch this anymore, I'll throw up!"

[At this line both the music and the visuals are shut off immediately and the stage lights go bright. David smiles an obviously fake smile]

DAVID CONT'D

And do you know what her response was?

[Spoken in mother's accented voice:]

DAVID CONT'D

"That's okay, you'll watch it'

[He gives a deadpan look to the audience]

DAVID CONT'D

So I threw up.

[The emergency broadcast system signal starts beeping on the screen, causing the man to snap out of it. Lights dim as voice-overs begin speaking.]

VOICE #1

I spent a lot of summers with my grandparents, but it felt like every night my grandmother would wake up and scream...constantly, constantly [voice trails off].²⁷

VOICE #2

In 3rd grade they read us a story about the Holocaust. I was just scared. I don't think I could comprehend how atrocious and horrific it really was. But I knew that these things happened—like burning people. It's unthinkable. And for someone 6 or 7 years old you think you can't burn someone in an oven, can you? You barbeque chicken in the oven—not people. I always got so upset.²⁸

²⁷ [adapted: Int. 3-4, p.12]

²⁸ [adaptation: Int. 6, p. 3]

VOICE #3

My least favorite holiday is the 4th of July because every 4th of July my mother told me to listen. She wanted me to listen because she said that's what bombs sound like. I can't stand the 4th of July. I just can't stand it."²⁹

VOICE #4

"Other 2nd generation survivors would talk about how their refrigerators were always kept as full of food as possible. Stocked, because god forbid you'd ever be hungry. And you were always to have silver. You know, have silver platters, silver tea pots, that sort of thing. We learned that you should always have cash and have silver to barter with because this could be your ticket out if needed."³⁰
You'll find lots of silver in my house.

VOICE #5

"At a restaurant I always have my back to a wall. It's a small statement but it is what it is. If I go into a place where I feel uncomfortable, then I take off my own jewelry."³¹

VOICE #6

"When I was growing up, anytime anybody would say they were German or had a German last name, the first thing that would come to me was: 'what was your grandpa doing during the war?'"³²

VOICE #7

"My father told me a story where he brought a friend over to spend the night (who wasn't Jewish) and when the kid came over, my grandma couldn't sleep and my father saw her in the morning and said what are you doing? 'Well, I've been up all night.' And he asked her why. She said, 'well I wanted to make sure he wasn't going to murder us.'"³³

²⁹ [Int. 14-15, p. 8]

³⁰ [Int 3-4, p. 13]

³¹ [Int. 8, p. 9]

³² [adaptation: Int. 9, p. 12]

³³ [Int. 13, p. 15]

VOICE #8

I've always had a hesitance towards governmental control. I know that sounds crazy, but to me governments are scary because they can suddenly turn on their own people and put them in concentration camps...even here in America. I've always been cautious about trusting people too, because again I have the example of the Holocaust where people turned in their own neighbors and their own family members, even.³⁴ Who can you trust?

VOICE #9

“See that house over there. I sometimes think that it would be a great place for a sniper. Always, always. I am always thinking about who might be lurking in the shadows. Who might get me next?”³⁵

VOICE #10

“You just never know. You just never know what people are up to. I don't trust anyone but my close friends and some family members. We've been through too much to risk being able to trust what others have to say. It could happen again. And I'm not going to sit here and just let it happen to me.”³⁶

[After the last voice-over, lights come back up on Julie, the writer]

JULIE:

I wanted to understand my mom—know what it was like for her—but I was a child. I was just a child.

[As she begins to write, a young girl begins to speak as a voice over—should be clear that this voice is actually what Julie is writing in that moment—a reflection of her thoughts as a child.]

Snapshot 5: (voiceover of young girl)

YOUNG GIRL'S VOICE

“I wonder why I am here. I wonder about my mother. Did she go to school when she was six? Did

³⁴ [Int. 2, p. 36]

³⁵ [Int. 14, p. 6]

³⁶ [Int. 8, p. 9]

she wonder what it was all about? Did her mother make her go, sigh with relief when she was gone? Or was my mother already trapped inside her box by then, with her mother and her mother's stares and with no stuffed bear to play with?

I do not know if my mother ever got to do homework, if she sat in the back seat in the first grade and wondered why she was sent there, if she studied the same things I studied and stared at the back of the other first graders' heads, if she ever even knew about lunch boxes that were not crumpled brown bags, if she ever ate sandwiches crawling with worms.

And of all the things I already know, even at six, these are things I don't know and will never find out. These things I don't know will make me angry one day. These things I don't know will make me sad someday. For now, these things just make me wonder.

I wonder if my mother would like to go to first grade. If she has never been there, then maybe we can change places for a day. I will pack her a bag of mold and worms. I will stare her off to school. Out of the side of the window, I will watch her walking away, crumpled bag and all. Maybe I will see the school bus drive by. I will let my mother sit in my seat in the back of the class and stare at the room and wonder what she is supposed to learn.

And I will stay home when my mother goes off to school and will drink a cup of coffee and smoke a cigarette. I will clean up the ashes and try not to think of the box I grew up in, of the things that happened in the box, of the things that happened that I will never tell anyone about, of the bear I never had. I will try not to cry. I will stare at the walls and make up the beds and I will try not to cry all day.”³⁷

[Telephone rings to indicate the end of the voiceover. Julie gets up and walks upstage toward the phone sitting on a low bookshelf. She hits the loudspeaker on the phone rather than picking it up.]

³⁷ Entire excerpt written by Participant 5

JULIE

“Hello?”

MR. ROSENBLUM

Hi, Julie.

JULIE

“Oh, hi dad. How are you doing today?”

MR. ROSENBLUM

I’ve had better days. Planted some flowers in the garden that your mother liked.

JULIE

That’s nice. I’m glad you are getting outside. I haven’t been out yet. I’ve been doing some writing and am heading to Marjorie’s house for a dinner party.

MR. ROSENBLUM

Oh, I’m sorry. I should probably let you get ready then.

JULIE

“No, no, it’s okay. I have time. I don’t mind speaking with you.”

MR. ROSENBLUM

So, a party, huh? Are you bringing that Delfiano guy? (tone should be accusatory)]

JULIE

[Exasperation in her tone.] No, dad, I’m not. You know, he’s a nice guy—even if he isn’t Jewish.

MR. ROSENBLUM

Maybe, but, people who aren’t Jewish just can’t be trusted, Julie. You know that.

JULIE

[Sighs.] Let’s not talk about this right now. Besides, it’s really just a dinner party with my friends who

are children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors like me.

MR. ROSENBLUM

Oh, you're meeting with them again? What for, Julie? It's all in the past. There's no need to relive it.

JULIE

We're not reliving it, dad. It's about honor. To us, the best way to do that is to figure out ways we can continue to educate people. We don't meet all the time—just once a month—and talk about what we can do. Besides, it's just nice to be with people who have that same experience.

MR. ROSENBLUM

I guess...

JULIE:

You should come with me tonight. I know my friends would love to have you. What do you think?

MR. ROSENBLUM

I don't know. Won't it be strange that I'm the only survivor?

JULIE

Who cares? It's all about community. A couple of us might be speaking in the public schools soon, so maybe you can give us some of your input.

MR. ROSENBLUM

I don't want to put you out.

JULIE

Don't even worry about it. Marjorie won't mind. In all honesty, I don't know why I didn't invite you in the first place.

MR. ROSENBLUM

Ok, but only if it's not a problem.

JULIE

No, it's not a problem, dad. It's fine. I'll see you tonight. Love you.

MR. ROSENBLUM

Love you. Bye.

[Hangs up phone, looks at her watch, walks to her desk and starts to straighten papers as the lights dim]

Snapshot #6

[Lights come up center stage. Marjorie begins setting a dinner table. She has forks, spoons, knives, plates, napkins, glasses, etc. all sitting on a side table. Have enough for eight settings. The table is being set for a dinner party. As she sets a place setting, she begins to reflect back to a prior experience]

MARJORIE

I remember my first real formal dinner. My family and I had flown to D.C. to attend the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum for a tribute weekend honoring the survivors of the Holocaust. When we arrived at the event I was really surprised at how many people were there. I mean, there had to have been thousands of people there. Maybe I was expecting a bunch of older people, but there were people of all ages. I heard so many different languages as I walked by different groups of people. There were at least a hundred different languages and dialects being spoken—it was amazing. On that first day, we sat outside in the grass by the Mall and watched as names were being read out loud. I remember hearing things like, “Oshowitz looking for Robomowitz” as names would flip on the screen. Others took the microphone and said things like, “Hi, I’m Abe Kaufner and I’m looking for my sister”.

[Continues to set the table]

MARJORIE CONT'D

I was so moved. Here I was sitting next to my brother and sister, knowing they were safe and alive, and here were these individuals who were still

hoping and still wondering what ever happened to their siblings. Though I never saw anyone reconnect with their loved ones, I did hear people in the crowd jump up and yell when particular names were called. One time a woman ran up to the stage, grabbing the microphone to tell the man looking for his sister that:

[Marjorie demonstrates excitement as she tells this story]

MARJORIE CONT'D

“I knew her! Ok, I’m not your sister but I knew her! We were friends in the camps and she gave me bread and we survived together.”³⁸

There were tears and crying, but they were tears of hope and resolution. I was literally witnessing people putting the pieces of their broken pasts back together. The shapes all didn’t fit perfectly anymore, there were still holes and missing pieces, but they were getting information they didn’t have before and finding some sense of peace.

[Memorial quotes found below should start popping up on the screen behind her].

Memorial Quote #1:

“I have survived and am here with my children and grandchildren. We will never forget and will pass on this memory so that this horror will never be forgotten.”

— Tribute participant, Scroll of Remembrance inscription

MARJORIE CONT'D

The night after, we had a formal dinner to honor the survivors in a large hall near the Mall. We had to wait in a huge room as people received their seating assignments. I found the experience to be sort of eerie because here I was in the midst of all these people who shared this traumatic experience that I didn’t.

³⁸ Interview 3-2, pp. 15-16

[Continues setting the table. Two quotes come up on the screen at the same time as Julie continues to speak.]

Memorial Quote #2:

I am a survivor of Auschwitz and Buchenwald and I am most grateful to this Museum for letting the world know of the darkness that befell the Jews of Europe during World War II. Thank you.

— Tribute participant, Scroll of Remembrance inscription

Memorial Quote #3:

In loving memory and tribute to my beloved parents -- For teaching me to trust and to love despite the darkness they experienced. The horrors of the Holocaust become increasingly incomprehensible, but the heroism and resilience are eternally inspiring.

— Tribute participant, Scroll of Remembrance inscription

MARJORIE CONT'D

And the truth is I was scared. I mean think about it. Here were all these Holocaust survivors and their loved ones in the same building. I'd heard about Holocaust deniers in school and from my parents. How easy would it have been to just blow up the building or gas us and rid the world of the last remaining witnesses? Perhaps I had heard one too many stories and seen one too many scary movies. I had a pretty warped sense of humanity. Or maybe I just truly understood the dark reality of human nature.

[Pauses. Takes a seat at the table. The next memorial quote should come up as she continues to speak]

Memorial Quote #4:

"Thank you for remembering my family—my aunts and my uncles and my cousins—and my

half-brother, killed age 4, whose name my father never spoke."

— Tribute participant, Scroll of Remembrance inscription

MARJORIE CONT'D

When they finally allowed us to enter the dining room, I found my table pretty easily.

I looked up and on the screen behind me was a huge welcome to all Holocaust Survivors, their families, and friends.

[She should look behind her at her screen. It will read "Welcome survivors, survivors' families, and friends"].

MARJORIE CONT'D

People all over were brimming with excitement.

They were enjoying the moment, knowing that this was a place not for mourning the loss of those who had perished, but for rejoicing in the fact that they were alive. In that moment, it hit me. This is who I am. I am a member of the Generations After. I am a 2nd/3rd generation survivor. These people understand me in a way that others will never be able to understand me. In that moment, I fully identified for the first time with the Holocaust.³⁹

[The last two memorial quotes come up on screen and sit there for a moment to allow the audience to reflect on what has just been shared with them.]

Memorial Quote #5:

Thank you Survivors and the ones who contributed to this Tribute, thanks for helping the world to never forget, because we are all witnesses.

- Tribute participant, Scroll of Remembrance inscription

³⁹ Interview 2, pp. 8-9

Memorial Quote #6:

I believe the Museum concretely makes us all witnesses so that what happened "over there" can never be forgotten. I come here in memory of my beloved parents ... and for the future of my children ... May they never forget what happened to their grandparents and the millions of others.⁴⁰

— Tribute participant, Scroll of Remembrance inscription

[Marjorie continues to set the table and then if time permits goes back into the “kitchen” and begins to straighten up]

MARJORIE CONT'D

There are times that I feel extremely angry about my situation, though—where I come from, my childhood, my hang-ups—because it meant that I was born in a very specific situation of a lot of sadness, a lot of restrictions, [and] a lot of loss.⁴¹

But, then I remember a time a few years back when my boss was coming down pretty hard on me, asking me to stay late every night and threatening me with losing my position. I just thought—“huh? What are you going to do to me?”⁴² You can threaten my position, but whatever. I’ve come this far. I have how many years of history riding my back? My family members are survivors of the Holocaust! What could you possibly do that could be any worse than that?

Everything fell into perspective in that moment.

For this, I am obligated. And I guess I can accept this responsibility. After all, my parents were survivors—both victims and rebels⁴³--they could be very persuasive in their guilt-induced arguments.

⁴⁰ All memorial quotes retrieved from: <http://www.ushmm.org/tribute/followup>

⁴¹ Interview 5, p. 13

⁴² Interview 5, p. 13

⁴³ Wardi, D. (1992). Memorial Candles: Children of the Holocaust. London:Tavistock/Routledge. 114-149.

[Smiles] Even so, I want to honor them because—let’s get right to it—they were not supposed to survive. And based on the odds, *I* shouldn’t be here, either.⁴⁴

[Parental voice-overs begin. Parents have accented voices. Director’s choice: Marjorie can either freeze during these voice-overs or she can respond to the back and forth by rolling her eyes or becoming visually irritated]:

MOTHER’S VOICE:

“You need to be home before dark. Who knows who might try to snatch you up.”

FATHER’S VOICE:

I came here with only \$12 in my pocket. That’s it. And I made a life. No one can take that away from us.

MOTHER’S VOICE:

“Why do you always say ‘my friends do this, my friends do that? The only people you can trust are your family members. Forget about your friends.’”

FATHER’S VOICE:

You don’t survive because you are strong or intelligent—you survive because you’re prepared. We must always be prepared.

[Marjorie is clearly annoyed and yells:]

MARJORIE

“Aaaah!”

[The voices stop.]

MARJORIE

In a way, a lot of “their parenting was about crisis prevention”.⁴⁵ They taught us what to do to avoid varying situations, but we were never allowed to just be; to just enjoy life.

⁴⁴ Interview, 5, p. 13

⁴⁵ Interview 5, p. 13

[Lights dim on Marjorie, while simultaneously coming up on stage right, where we find the man sitting forward with his arms resting on his thighs.]

Snapshot #8

DAVID

My biggest fear growing up was about someone snatching me up in the middle of the night. I tried out several hiding places in the event that something like this could happen. In fact, one time when the babysitter was over, I hid in the linen closet.⁴⁶

[He gets up and ducks behind the armchair]

DAVID CONT'D

She looked all over for me and when she couldn't find me, she freaked out.

[Another actor calls out: "David! David!"]

DAVID CONT'D

I didn't answer. I was practicing for when the real time came. I knew how to keep real quiet because my Bubby told me how the soldiers would pretend they had left even though they were quietly waiting for hiding Jews to make a mistake by breathing too loudly or by softly murmuring to one another.

[At this point a man in uniform should walk behind the back screen—audience sees his silhouette—he is obviously searching for David as he moves behind the screen knocking things over and then becoming very quiet. David stage-whispers:]

DAVID CONT'D

I wanted to be prepared because you just never knew when they might come. I wasn't even sure who "they" were, but I knew "they" existed because they had come for my family once and only a few had survived.

⁴⁶ Interview 3-4

[Man in uniform leaves and actor stands up from hiding place and finishes his monologue here.]

DAVID CONT'D

I was eventually found fast asleep under some sheets.

[David chuckles at the memory. He sits back down on the couch as lights dim over him.]

DAVID CONT'D

I'm still cautious. You better believe I check every license plate of any car parked near me in a parking lot. And I only sit with my back to the wall in restaurants. I don't trust anyone. My grandmother and my time in the military taught me that much.

[David sits back down on the couch as lights dim. Lights simultaneously come up on Julie, who is sitting at her desk writing. She puts down her pen and looks up at the diplomas hanging in frames on the wall nearby]

JULIE

My greatest fear was receiving anything less than an "A" on my report card. "If you got a B it was,

[Says the following in an accented voice, mocking her parents]

JULIE CONT'D

'What's wrong?' How could you let us down? This is the one thing we ask of you? We didn't have opportunities like you have. Why would you want to waste your time in art class? Focus on your math so you can get better grades. Are you trying to hurt us? Do you want us to be upset? Why would do this to us? Why? Why?!

I could count on one hand how many B's I got in my life. So I was always one of the best students.⁴⁷ And I wasn't the only one. In my high school graduating class there were about 350 students, and of them only ten of us were Jewish.⁴⁸ The year I

⁴⁷ Interview 11, p. 9

⁴⁸ Interview 11, p. 5

graduated, the Valedictorian was a Holocaust survivor's son. I was Salutatorian. And there were several other Jewish kids in the top ten percent.⁴⁹ That's just how it was for us. You couldn't do anything if you weren't doing well in school.⁵⁰ In actuality, though, it probably kept me out of trouble.

[Phone rings again. Julie walks to the living room where the receiver is and looks at the caller ID. She considers picking it up, holding the receiver, but never pushes the button. The phone continues to ring three more times before we hear the recording.]

In Julie's voice:

Hi you reached Julie Rosenblum. I'm not here to take your call, but if you'd leave your name, number, and a brief message, I will get back to you as soon as I can. Thanks.

BEEP.

[A man's voice on the line.]

TONY DELFIANO

Julie? Julie, are you there? Listen, it's Tony Delfiano. Was wondering what you were up to this weekend. Anyway, uh, give me a call some time, okay?

[Julie cradles the receiver, standing there holding it for a second, before setting it back down. Clearly she is confused about her feelings for this man. She puts her hands over her face for a moment before proceeding.]

JULIE CONT'D

Ugh. Why even at my age do I still feel torn about dating a guy who isn't Jewish?

[Mocking her parents again from the previous conversation]:

JULIE CONT'D

Why? Why?!

[Sighs.]

⁴⁹ Interview 11, p. 9

⁵⁰ Interview 11, p. 10

JULIE CONT'D

Sometimes I feel so alone.

[Spotlight stays up on Julie, but now another spotlight comes up on David where he is still sitting forward on the couch]

DAVID

No one could ever understand my childhood.

[Another spotlight comes up on Marjorie where she is standing in the kitchen or still setting places at the table (she is wherever we last left her)—others are still in their own spotlights as well. The stage should not be fully lit; there should be three individual spotlights on each character]

MARJORIE

Even if I could tell my story, I wouldn't even know where to begin.

[Lights dim on stage. All actors leave the stage. The audience hears the sound of a doorbell and off-stage we hear Marjorie say:]

MARJORIE

Hi Julie. Oh, hello Mr. Rosenblum, I'm so glad you could make it with your daughter.

DAVID

Hey everyone, so glad to see you all. Where do you want me to put my salad?"

Snapshot #9

[Lights dim to black. Stage is in complete darkness. There is a long silence before we are jarred by the beep, beep, beep of an alarm clock. We hear some groans, as someone turns it off. We then hear footsteps and the lights go up and we see Marjorie standing before us in her robe once again, looking sleepy. She walks into the kitchen and grabs her coffee mug. Then she walks into the dining room where dirty dishes sit waiting to be cleaned. She sighs, clearly not thrilled with the thought of having to clean up, but then smiles]

MARJORIE

Last night I had a dream. I was at a Shul service with my mother. We were singing a song of praise I've never heard before and we were harmonizing in perfect tune.

[A soft melody begins to play as she speaks]

MARJORIE CONT'D

The song filled me with a sense of peace I have never known or felt before. When the service eventually came to a close, we headed outside. My eyes needed to adjust to the bright sun, so my mother and I stood together for a moment, taking in the warm spring air. I looked back at the entrance to the synagogue and noticed a tall man search the crowd around me before settling his gaze on me.

[The man seen behind the screen at the beginning of this performance, now steps onto the stage in the light. He and Marjorie lock eyes and stare at one another for a moment. He slowly makes his way across the stage toward her. With cupped hands, he makes a gesture of offering. Marjorie holds out her hands in acceptance, as the man gently places a baby chick in her palms and the audience hears a distinct peeping sound. She immediately brings it to her chest, holding it close. She looks back up at him and the two smile at one another. The man then turns around and walks off the stage. Marjorie stands there, still holding the baby chick, as the lights begin to dim to black. Music plays through the end as audience listens to the final voice-overs.]

VOICE-OVER #1

I believe stories that are passed down in a family are where true history lives. And if the person who witnessed that story isn't there anymore, then it should go to the next in line. It is the next generation's duty to keep that story alive.

VOICE-OVER #2

I think it is sort of my duty to keep his story alive, definitely for my children and definitely at least, at the very least, to tell it to the people around me.

VOICE-OVER #3

I know how important it is to keep my grandparents' stories going because I can't turn on the TV and just listen to them. To see my grandparents at this age—and they've been around for so long—I know the time isn't so far into the future when they won't be here anymore. But

beyond that these testimonials should be taught to everyone. This isn't one culture's story. I have to teach this story because there is so much hate in this world. I think it is really important to keep having programs to teach. I plan to be even more involved now than I ever have.

VOICE-OVER #4

I feel that I have an obligation to make sure that these stories get passed on. Or at least share those stories with the people I love.

VOICE-OVER #5

I have a responsibility to the Holocaust as a whole, the history of it... When history is personalized, it becomes more memorable to audiences and readers. I believe it is our obligation to communicate to other people that we have history at our fingertips and we tend to let it fly, let it slip away into the grave...and with this book that I have been writing, it's one: capturing and personalizing the Holocaust, but secondly: it is a warning against anybody who has parents or grandparents that are still alive, to listen and cherish their stories.

VOICE-OVER #6

If they can survive, so can I.

[END]

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In 2008 I had the privilege of listening to the testimony of a local Holocaust survivor in Phoenix. At the close of his moving narrative I approached him and told him of my own relationship with the Holocaust as well as my desire to study its long-term effects for my dissertation. In the course of our conversation about the relationship between survivors, their stories, and their offspring he told me that his son was not even aware that he spoke to audiences about the Holocaust. This surprised me. Was there a reason for his not knowing? Did his father choose not tell him or was the son just not interested? When I asked the gentleman about this, his response was slow. He explained that he did not know what his son thought about his stories. He did not want to bother his son with information about the Holocaust and therefore never talked with him about it. I nodded my head and thanked him for his time, but I could not shake away this comment. How odd, I thought, as this did not mirror my experience. In contrast, I consistently made efforts to ask my stepfather questions about the Holocaust. I was resigned to accept the fact that this father and son might have a different type of relationship with one another or one that just did not lend itself to the asking of questions. I thought about this encounter for a couple of weeks afterward, but over time it slipped from my mind.

Two years later, in 2010, I met a man at one of the Generations After meetings that was hosted throughout Phoenix who agreed to interview with me

for this project. As coincidence would have it, he happened to be the son of the survivor I had encountered years before. While interviewing him I could not help but mention the conversation I had had with his father back in 2008. I told him how his father had responded to my question and asked him what his thoughts were about the way he had answered. The survivor's son laughed and said,

Bother me? My entire life has been about the Holocaust. Even when we didn't talk about it or it wasn't brought up, I always wondered about it. Even when I didn't care to think about it—which I didn't for a while there—I couldn't help myself. Bother me with it? [chuckles] He couldn't get around it if he tried. (Interview 17, p. 6)

I understood exactly what this survivor's son meant. Even with the best of intentions, his father could never shield his son from the knowledge and impact of the Holocaust. Without even trying, the survivor father had impacted his son. This son chose to attend meetings related to people whose relatives had survived the Holocaust. Talking about and doing something to continue educating others about the Holocaust was important to him. This organization was something he felt he needed to take part in even if he did not know exactly why. As he stated in our interviews, "I don't know why I go [to these meetings]. The Holocaust is a part of me somehow. And one day my dad won't be here anymore. I should know as much as I can."

Discussion

According to a recent news article out of Israel, it is estimated that one Holocaust survivor dies every hour (Eglash, 2012). With each death there is one less person that can share his/her personal experience with the Holocaust, leaving the children and grandchildren of these survivors—members of the After Generations—with the legacy of remembering on their behalf. This is a heavy responsibility and often an overwhelming one due to the horrific nature of the events that took place during that time period. For those who participated in this project, giving a voice to their experiences and re-telling their survivor relative(s)' stories was just one way they were able to carry out this responsibility among the myriad of other ways they have already found to live out the legacy as a child or grandchild of a Holocaust survivor.

My hope is that this study has provided additional insights about the long-term effects of the Holocaust on members of the After Generations, as well as brought attention to their desire to carry out the legacies that have been passed on to them. In the following sections, I provide a brief summary of the three research questions posed in this study before offering methodological, practical, and theoretical implications, as well as limitations and directions for future study.

Long-Term Effects of the Holocaust

The first research question posed in the study asked, what practical and theoretical lessons might members of the After Generations teach regarding the long-term effects of the Holocaust? This question was addressed in Chapter Four

in the section entitled “The Long-Term Effects of the Holocaust.” From the interviews conducted and the subsequent analysis of the data, several themes arose that helped answer and better understand these long-term effects upon subsequent generations.

The themes of trauma, guilt, responsibility, and resilience that emerged from the data speak together to answer the ways in which members of the After Generation demonstrate long-term effects of the Holocaust both theoretically and practically. Firsthand trauma experienced by a survivor can be learnt by members of the After Generations through observations of their parent(s)/grandparent(s), lessons taught by their survivor parent/grandparent, or the interpretations they have made regarding these shared memories (Caruth, 1996; Kellerman, 2001; Neal, 1998). The experiences of those interviewed became exemplars that demonstrated how trauma (e.g., “If another Holocaust happens again, it might happen to me.”), guilt (e.g., “I guess I did not want to disappoint.”), responsibility (e.g., “If I tell these stories they won’t happen again.”), and resilience (e.g., “My family survived the Nazis, I can survive this.”) have forever altered the way(s) in which members of the After Generations live out their everyday lives. They are unable to separate themselves from the Holocaust because the Holocaust has always been a part of their lives, out in the open or hiding in the recesses and dark corners of their minds.

Responsibly Remembering the Holocaust

My second research question asked, what practical and theoretical lessons might members of the After Generations reveal about responsibly remembering the Holocaust? This question was addressed in Chapter Four in the section entitled “The Responsibility of Remembering the Holocaust.” From the interviews conducted and the subsequent analysis of the data, several themes emerged that helped answer how members of the After Generations have chosen to responsibly remember the Holocaust.

The themes of education, responsibility, religion/tradition, hope, and resilience that arose from the data speak together to answer the ways in which members of the After Generations can responsibly remember the Holocaust. While the children and grandchildren of survivors never witnessed the events of the Holocaust themselves, the memory of those events has been imprinted in their minds and lives—as if interwoven in their very DNA. They have heard their parent(s)/grandparent(s) stories, experienced extended periods of silence from their survivor relative(s), and witnessed their parent(s)/grandparent(s) live lives often dictated by fear. The children and grandchildren are these survivors’ living legacies. They are expected to never forget the events of the Holocaust nor the fact that their parent or grandparent survived. This experience with the Holocaust unites many of these members of the After Generations as well as compels them to bear this responsibility through the maintenance of traditions, religion, and storytelling (Casey, 2004). Through their desire to remember, members of the

After Generations demonstrate how they plan to carry on these traditions, live lives that honor those that came before them, and maintain hope for the future. The themes that emerged—education (e.g., “They wanted their kids to be professionals.”), responsibility (e.g., “I have an obligation to make sure the stories get passed on.”), religion/tradition (e.g., “One thing my grandparents taught me in their stories was to have Jewish values.”), hope (e.g., “I’m alive. This is my family. Because I’m alive they’re here.”), and resilience (e.g., “The point is, is that we survived and they were resilient.”)—validate the fact that responsibly remembering the Holocaust while also honoring their forefathers is of the utmost importance to the members of the After Generations. In so doing, the stories shared with them by their parent(s)/grandparent(s) have become an integral part of their lives. They demonstrate the centrality of the Holocaust in their lives through the everyday choices they make to continue to responsibly and actively remember; through their art, writings, life-work, as well as from within their work in their local communities. These acts of remembrance are important in the education of others; but are also quite significant in the construction and the maintenance of members of the After Generations’ identities as well.

Story-Ownership and (Re)presentation

Finally, given the blurred boundaries of story ownership, how are members of the After Generations narrating their survivor parent(s)/grandparent(s)’ stories? Moreover how do their narrations demonstrate those blurred boundaries through the (re)presentation of their family’s story? And

how might they ethically (re)present these stories to others? The questions that make up research question three were addressed in Chapter Four in the section entitled “Story Ownership and (Re)presentation.” From the interviews conducted and the subsequent analysis of the data, several themes arose that demonstrated how complicated the issue of story-ownership is when sharing and teaching stories that have been passed on by others. Through several exemplars, the messiness of story-ownership is discussed and an alternative form of representation, which takes into account these blurred boundaries of story ownership, is offered as further analysis in the form of a performance script.

In answering the first two research questions, the themes and exemplars that arose from the data demonstrate the challenge of story ownership and ethical representation. They highlight the problems associated with the ethics of storytelling and provide a platform with which a potential solution related to representation could be offered. The importance of ethical story-telling and representation is evident, as both Margalit (2002) and Alcoff (1994) call for considerations to be made regarding how stories are told. The essence of storytelling, regardless of whether it is owned by someone or inherited from someone, is that it is shared. Therefore, it is important to recognize that because stories are shared, this also means that a story cannot be owned by one person. The very nature of stories—the expression of one’s experiences and life lessons—allow them to be communal (Ong, 1984). Stories are not meant to be kept to

oneself but are meant to be collectively shared and, I argue, collectively witnessed so that others may learn and grow from the lessons and insights they provide.

Methodological Implications

Eighteen members of the After Generations were interviewed in a semi-structured or ethnographic interview format for this study. These individuals were children of Holocaust survivors, grandchildren of Holocaust survivors, or were both children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors. The interviews were conducted via face-to-face interactions, several phone conversations, as well as one conversation via Skype; all of which lasted between 70-120 minutes. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed and the resulting data was later analyzed using grounded theory method and the axial analysis process. My reactions to these interview interactions and their similarities or differences to my own personal experience as a child of a Holocaust survivor were recorded and included in the data analysis, as well. A variety of themes emerged from the data, which informed the three research questions posed in the study. The analysis was conducted using grounded theory methodology.

The practice of grounded theory involves thorough collection of data from semi-structured interviews and in-depth analysis, constructing codes that emerge from the data, making constant comparisons during each stage of the analysis, advancing theory development during both the data collection and subsequent analysis, memo-writing, and recognizing that research should not be used to generalize (Charmaz, 2006). The themes and categories for analysis were not pre-

determined. Rather, they arose out of the in vivo language provided by members of the study, as well as the in-depth coding and analysis. Grounded theory strategies provide the flexibility to gather and analyze data in creative ways (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010), which worked well for this study as it allowed those emergent themes and categories from which the theory was derived to be used to later develop a script to represent this data through performance.

Grounded theory method provided a working process that allowed the participants in the study to speak for themselves, using their own language (in vivo) to inform the themes that arose from the data. From the in vivo language, the performative analysis resulted. De la Garza (2011) notes that a performance piece developed as a result of the use of grounded theory method should also be considered a part of the analysis. What the performance element of the analysis does is embody the data in such a way that it might be “collectively witnessed in symbolic, narrative, and visual ways” (De la Garza, 2011, p. 3b). While grounded theory method has been widely used among scholars from diverse fields of interest as well as in ethnographic work such as that which was conducted during this study (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001), its use in the performance arts has been limited. The steps taken and methods utilized during this project to provide further understanding might be a concrete example for those performance scholars looking to take their ethnographic research and bring further life to it through the embodiment of the in vivo language that emerges from the interviews conducted. The resulting performance is not simply about reaching wider audiences (though

indeed this is one reason a scholar might choose to develop an arts-based analysis), but rather about coming to a deeper understanding regarding the intricate relationships between emergent themes, particular individuals, and the research questions. An embodied performance can highlight information that the academic does not make apparent. The performance tells a larger story about the topic, allowing audiences to interact with and respond to the data in ways they may not have been able otherwise. Audiences and participants alike can come to a deeper understanding of the analysis, learning collectively through the visual and narrative what it might mean, for instance, to be a member of the After Generations and the implications involved in having and sharing this identity.

While the development of the script emerged from the in vivo language and overall data, the script and its subsequent performance informed the analysis as well. During the process of developing the script and thinking about staging and how to cast the performance, I began to receive an awareness of concepts that did not initially surface during the interviews that were conducted or during the subsequent analysis. As I thought about the archetypal characters that seemed to be emerging from the analysis, I kept coming back to what all members seemed to be saying—they felt alone in their experiences. These individuals intellectually understood that there are others who share similar experiences with them, some even discussing how they joined support groups, as well as defining the collective nature of being a member of the After Generations; however the majority of their experiences were described as though they were alone (or at least felt alone) in

these feelings. During the process of envisioning ways in which the data could be embodied through multiple characters, this tension of being part of a collective, yet feeling alone (Corey, 1996) became one that I just could not ignore.

Therefore, in order to embody this tension, I created three characters that emerged out of the interviews. These characters all share the stage together throughout the performance; however, through specific lighting and staging directions, they do not interact until the very end (and even in the end, the audience does not physically see this interaction). The purpose of such staging was to demonstrate the uniqueness of each of their stories, while showcasing similar themes between all three. Such staging was also developed in order to demonstrate how even though in close proximity to one another, feelings of isolation were strong. What tie each of these three characters together are the multiple voices that are triggered as voice-overs. Much of the script is written using direct language from the transcripts (in vivo language) so that the true experiences of the participants are evident and subsequently experienced (witnessed) by the audience. The physical bodies on stage are separate, never interacting; yet the multiple voices connect one to the other regardless—thus, demonstrating the tension of being alone amongst others. The voices and these three main characters do not interact—rather, they co-exist. As each character moves through his or her day, the off-stage voices remind the audience that these experiences are indeed shared by others. While this tension was not fully articulated in the interviews conducted, it

was made visible as I began to think about how the data could be embodied on stage.

Using the grounded theory approach to analyze data and transform it into embodied text provides an awareness that the academic (i.e., written text) does not always make apparent. Just as the creation of the script provided an awareness of the data that was not apparent from the initial analysis, there is also a very real possibility that viewing this embodied performance will provide a similar awareness on audiences, as they bring with them their own experiences and context that might also inform the text. Madison (1998) argues that “performance matters because *it does something in the world*” (p. 278). That is, performances allow the possibility for not only change to occur, but for others to be moved to enact or participate in this change. Performances are not static; they alter and change with each new telling and/or presentation. In turn, each individual within an audience brings with him/her their own experiences that provide layers of understanding and connection to this embodied text. Madison further argues that “subjectivity linked to performance becomes a poetic and polemic admixture of personal experience, cultural politics, social power and resistance” (p. 279). In other words, as the audience views a performance they are drawn into it relating with the topic from their own experiences and viewpoints. From this process of witnessing, the analysis will continue to be ongoing.

Methodological Limitations

Given all that has been said regarding the methodological choices that were made for this project, there are some limitations to this study that need to be addressed. While grounded theory method ensures that the themes and categories emerge from the data, the coding process itself is rather subjective, which can lead to bias. While subjectivity is an asset to a qualitative research study such as this one, potential biases—when not addressed—can be detrimental to a project. The themes that emerged from the analysis of this study were not mutually exclusive, but overlapped in varying ways. My interpretation of the data and the subsequent coding that was developed out of this interpretation could be considered biased, as my world-view and perspective may influence this interpretation. In fact, my understanding of the data could be different from another researcher simply due to variances in our perspectives and world-views. To avoid researcher bias as best as possible, I made sure to ground my analysis in the actual language used by those interviewed in this study. While most qualitative researchers would agree with my coding process, it is possible that their own interpretations would have them code items a little differently. While this limitation is important to address and reflect upon, recognizing how to work through such limitations is helpful. During the process of my analysis I was acutely aware that such biases existed, therefore I participated in member-checking (as discussed in the Chapter Three) to ensure that participants felt comfortable with some of these interpretations. I also continually went back to

the language used by each participant—using his/her own words to ground my analysis. The performative representation of the analysis is also valuable in terms of addressing this potential bias as it allows the analysis to remain ongoing. By witnessing the embodied text, audiences are able to respond and react, sharing their interpretations and understanding of the text that might counter any potential existing bias.

Another potential limitation to this study is that due to the nature by which members were asked to participate (i.e., primarily via snowball sampling or by virtue of being a member of the local Generations After chapter in the Phoenix area), those interviewed were already inclined to speak about the Holocaust. In other words, the individuals interviewed chose to speak with me because of their passion for their family's history. While I would like to believe that every offspring of a Holocaust survivor feels that they are a living legacy, I am sure there are many children or grandchildren of Holocaust survivors who do not share similar experience(s) and/or feelings as those interviewed in this study. They may not feel any burden to share their family stories or carry on a particular legacy. Those who do feel this responsibility to remember were more likely to respond to my call for participants simply due to this inclination. Thus, this minor limitation should be taken into consideration.

Finally, it is important to note that all of the members interviewed during for this study were either born in the United States or have lived within the United States for the majority of their lives. This is significant as their cultural

upbringing within the U.S. may contribute to their desire to uphold and share the stories of their parents and grandparents in ways that may differ from members of the After Generations who live in other parts of the world (i.e., Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Israel, South America, etc.).

In either case, such limitations do not take away from the ways in which the Holocaust has continued to affect those generations who came after the war. The long-term effects mentioned in the analysis have caused those members of the After Generations interviewed for this project to seek out ways to responsibly live out the legacies of their survivor relative(s). Thus, the following section discusses some of the practical implications regarding the narratives and experiences shared by members of the After Generations, which demonstrate how members have already begun to responsibly remember the Holocaust.

Practical Implications

In every story, there are multiple viewpoints. The story of the Holocaust is no exception. There were multiple people affected—victims, survivors, refugees, perpetrators, and the offspring of those who lived to hear of these events. Every one of those individuals implicated has a story to share regarding the Holocaust. While the actual historical events and the witnesses to these events are essential to understanding what took place during that time, the story does not end in 1945 when the camps were liberated. The story also includes the effects of the Holocaust as they were felt in the years after the war and are continuing to be felt today, as has been detailed in the narratives and experiences shared by those

members of the After Generations in this project. Members of the After Generations do not want to replace their parent(s)/grandparent(s)' stories with their own; rather, they hope to demonstrate how traumatic experience does not end with the event itself, but is carried on by the survivor and can later be passed on to the survivor's children or grandchildren. The Holocaust and its long-term effects are the legacy these children and grandchildren have been given to carry—whether they want to or not. Thus, one significant implication that emerges from the findings of this project is that these members of the After Generations feel a strong desire to live out the legacy that has been passed on to them by their survivor parent or grandparent. While most of those interviewed for this project spent time speaking about the long-term effects of the Holocaust upon them, they did not dwell here. Rather, they focused intently on how they aim to conscientiously remember and honor their family history.

Through the stories shared in this study, members of the After Generations made it clear that those who have experienced trauma can and do pass along similar suffering to those close to them. The exemplars demonstrate the variety of ways trauma has manifested in their everyday lives. Learning from the experiences of these children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors is incredibly important to the offspring of those who have also suffered trauma of some kind. For those POWs who come back from war, the knowledge that their traumas can be passed to their children might compel them to get the necessary counseling for themselves and their children. For those who have witnessed the

deaths of their comrades in war, the trauma will not only live with them for the rest of their lives but may live on in the telling of these stories. Even if this survivor were to choose to remain silent, this silence could still affect his/her children. Many survivors of the Holocaust took different approaches when it came to sharing their experiences, yet in every choice that was made, their children (at least in those interviewed) were also affected. Children are highly sensitive and aware of their parents' moods even if they do not fully understand them (Chaitin, 2003; Damasio, 2004; Epstein, 1979). This is why learning from the experiences of members of the After Generations might help those in a similar situation to recognize that vicarious traumatization does happen; in this manner such individuals could deal with the issue rather than ignore it and hope that the result is not similar.

While those who have suffered through war are probably more likely to experience the same types of trauma that a survivor of a Holocaust might have endured, there are multiple kinds of survivors. In fact, victims of sexual assault, those who witnessed and survived school shootings, or even those who survived the recent shooting during the midnight showing of a movie—the trauma they bear, the fear that they felt, the nightmares and paranoia that may develop may all be passed down to their children and/or grandchildren. Thus, there are lessons that can be learned from those who have already come through this experience. There are practical ways that those who suffered from traumas, children or grandchildren who have experienced vicarious traumatization, and/or practitioners

and counselors who work with trauma victims can address these cases by learning from the experiences of the After Generations.

This learning need not stop with the ways that trauma might be passed along to the offspring of survivors of a traumatic event, either. Members of the After Generations can also demonstrate how these long-term effects of the Holocaust can be turned into more positive attributes such as strength, resilience, maintaining a sense of humor, and holding onto hope. These positive attributes are used to honor and remember their survivor relatives and are examples of how one might turn a negative event such as the Holocaust into something that has shaped the lives of those that have come after into something more positive.

Members of the After Generations have done this by conscientiously remembering and honoring their parent(s)/grandparent(s) by going back to their roots. They have found cultural traditions or religious traditions that honor their Jewish heritage and allow them to feel connected to their history. Sharing family stories (i.e., survivor narratives) with subsequent generations is another way members of the After Generations can remember and carry out these legacies.

Narrating Experience

Narratives serve an important role in the relationships that developed between survivor parent/grandparent and child/grandchild. Through narratives, members of the After Generations are able to better articulate the ways in which they have been vicariously affected by the Holocaust and how these effects compel them to responsibly remember the Holocaust. The role of narrative in

understanding the experience of a child/grandchild of a Holocaust survivor suggests that the individual's ability to narrate his/her role, relationship, and subsequent responsibility to remembering the Holocaust may inform his/her perspective on the overall experience as a member of the After Generations. Members who were able to move beyond the disheartening stories of "loss" and link these to more positive attributes of resilience, were able to articulate a more concrete way of how they might live out their family legacy. Conversely, those who continued to focus on the harms and losses their survivor parents/grandparents experienced, had difficulty expressing how they might represent the stories shared with them. Thus, the practical implication of this study is that it allows these voices to be heard and represented in a manner that embodies such experiences and resonates with others viscerally and aesthetically. Members of the After Generations teach what it might mean to be a child/grandchild of a Holocaust survivor and ultimately, what it might mean to be an offspring of any type of survivor of a traumatic event.

Theoretical Implications

For those who grew up as a child or grandchild of a Holocaust survivor, the Holocaust was always present, located at the edge of every conversation or in the backdrop of every decision made in the family. Despite its constant presence, discussing their specific experiences with the Holocaust was difficult for some members of the After Generations interviewed in this study. Who would want to hear their stories, they wondered. And would anyone even understand? This

project provided the opportunity for members of the After Generations to speak and share their own story in relation to their parent(s)/grandparent(s)' experience with the Holocaust in a setting that placed the focus on them and not their survivor relative, which was a new experience for many. Members of the After Generations are accustomed to people asking questions about their survivor relatives, but have found that they are rarely ever asked to share their own experiences. For a few members of the After Generations, the lack of personal questions asked of them has suited them just fine, as these individuals have found that speaking about their survivor relative's experiences is easier (and more interesting) than discussing their own experiences. Even these individuals, however, commented that sharing their story for this project was a positive experience because they were finally provided with a chance to share what many of them have wanted to express for some time.

Narrating one's experiences as they relate to their survivor parent or grandparent is far more complicated than just telling a story. Implicated in this telling are many individuals. The story is not just about the individual, but about everyone who may be tied to this narrative (Margalit, 2002; Peterson & Langellier, 1997; Pollock, 2005)—particularly the survivor relative. Ethical considerations regarding who may speak about particular topics must be considered, as this in turn affects the ways in which experiences and individuals are represented (Alcoff, 1991; Margalit, 2002). Therefore, as members of the After Generations express their experiences, detailing the long-term effects the

Holocaust has had upon them, they must do so ethically and responsibly, as they are not only sharing stories about themselves but about their survivor relatives and the many other people who may share similar experiences of transgenerational transmission of trauma (Kellerman, 2001).

Margalit and Alcoff challenge those scholars attempting to understand memory and remembering by asking the question: Who is responsible for remembering? Certainly museums and memorials have been around the world in an attempt to remember the Holocaust, but what of the individual? What is his or her responsibility? Margalit argues that the significance of a shared event depends on whether we are personally connected to what happened. Duties of memory exist, but only in regard to an individual's ethical communities—the thick relationships we have with friends and family members. In other words, humans care about events and memories that impact them in some manner. Those are the memories with which we feel responsible. For members of the After Generations, the Holocaust has impacted their ethical community in such a way that they feel compelled to “never forget.” Yet, some feel that as generations pass, this memory will eventually be forgotten. Therefore, I argue that to responsibly remember begins with the very act of choosing to share the narrative. As long as one recognizes his/her motivations behind the choice to share, reflects upon how the memory is being delivered (i.e., the representation), and is accountable to others implicated in such tellings, then one is being responsible in his/her remembrance. For example, during the interview process there were

certainly a number of sad and disconcerting narratives shared, but what the majority of the members of the After Generations interviewed ended up expressing dealt with themes of hope, responsibility, and perseverance. While it would have been quite easy to dwell on the negative effects of the Holocaust in a project such as this, it was important to not fall victim to the danger of consuming trauma (Yaeger, 1997) by turning the sufferings of millions of people into “rhetorical pleasure or professional profit” (Gubar, 2003, p. 4). Therefore, together with those who chose to participate in this study, we made an effort to responsibly remember the entirety of the experience; to reflect not only on the negative side of being a child/grandchild of a Holocaust survivor, but on the positive aspects of this significant relationship, as well.

Language can only go so far in describing complex relationships such as those that members of the After Generations have with their survivor relative(s)’ stories, however. In some instances, there are no words to express the feelings one might have in regard to his/her relationship with the stories that have been shared and passed along. The inability to express through language this complex relationship may account for a blurring of boundaries related to story ownership; however, embodying this language and the complexities behind the emotions involved via performance offers the potential for a deeper understanding of that relationship. The goal of this project was to not only understand what it means to be a member of the After Generations but to also teach others the significance of the long-term effects of the Holocaust across generations. Therefore, for society

as a whole to truly learn from the experiences of these children and grandchildren of survivors, the data that emerged from the interviews (i.e., the experiences, narratives, and language shared with me) were utilized to write a performance script sharing their experiences in a new and engaging platform.

Theoretical Limitations

One potential limitation should be considered in relation to the resulting performance. The performance does not encompass all members of the After Generations' experiences. The performance is also not meant to make any generalizations about the Holocaust, either. The Holocaust cannot be truly represented and no claim should ever be made about having fully represented the events of the Holocaust. Adorno (1949) made it clear that every effort we put forth to represent the Holocaust will be futile. He is right. This does not mean, however, that we should not try to bring the long-term effects of the Holocaust to people's attention through performance. Rather, in every performance we should be aware and acknowledge this futility. We should not make the mistake of believing that what we represent is "what really happened" (Martin, 2006). In so doing, there are also other ethical obligations that should be considered as a performer, particularly when representing the words and experiences of others. Care should be taken to construct and, whenever possible, collaborate on the script with those whose stories are being performed.

Future Studies

While this project is certainly important, research into the long-term effects of trauma should not end here. Future work could be completed to more systematically develop the ethics of responsibly remembering I briefly lay out in the analysis section of this study. Expounding upon this concept could further future research in similar areas of study. For example, future studies comparing the vicarious traumatization experienced by members of the After Generations with the children and/or grandchildren of survivors of war, genocides, sexual assault, etc. might teach us further about the greater effects of trauma and what can be done to reduce its impact on future generations and how to responsibly remember these traumas. While digging deeper into the negative aspects of the effects the Holocaust has had upon members of the After Generations is important, pinpointing where the positive effects of hope and resiliency come from might also be useful to study so as to better help those who may experience similar forms of trauma from their parents/grandparents. Such studies might even be helpful to the children of those who perished during the 9/11 attack, as well.

Further studies might also be conducted among members of the After Generations, as well. Given that those who participated in this particular study were all American citizens, there is potential for further research amidst those living elsewhere in the world. Focusing on the ways in which the themes of legacy and responsibility are experienced in the context of other nations (e.g., perhaps in relation to other forms of oppression that may be present within these

countries) may be of additional interest and add to our understanding of what it might mean to responsibly remember.

Further research could even be conducted within the group of After Generations here in Phoenix. The desire to continue educating future generations about the Holocaust was shared by everyone I interviewed during this project. Many spoke about how fearful they are of speaking on behalf of their parents, wondering how they might continue to educate children if they do not have the skills they believe are necessary to share these stories well. This is a direct need and one that I believe communication practitioners could easily support. Through the development of storytelling and performance workshops, members of the After Generations could be equipped with the tools necessary to enter schools confident enough to share their stories. From the process of working with members of the After Generations in group and one-on-one settings, such workshops would possibly provide fodder for future studies on story ownership and storytelling, as well.

Concluding Thoughts

Three months after I interviewed the son of the survivor I had heard speak in 2008 he emailed me and informed me that his father had passed away. In his correspondence with me, he wrote:

I cannot help but think about what my dad said about how he did not want to bother me. This statement resonates with me because I can now understand what he meant by it. He didn't want to hinder me. He didn't

want to keep me from my goals or have me go through life fearing everything. What my dad didn't realize is that his experiences with the Holocaust taught me just that—to achieve my goals and to live life unashamed and unafraid. My dad is my hero. And now he is gone. Who is going to be that hero for my family now? Who is going to keep his story alive? Thanks to our conversation a couple of months ago, I know that the answer to that question is me. I will keep his story alive. And this won't be a “bother” to me like dad might have thought. It will be an honor. Thank you for letting me share his story and my story. My journey is now just beginning.⁵¹

As I sat at my computer reading this email, I cried. What neither this son nor his father could know is that they had also given me a gift. I was given a new self-assurance about the importance of this project. This study is not just important to me, to my stepfather, to all the members of the After Generations who have a story to share, but it is important to all present and future generations—every man, woman, or child who needs to learn about the after-effects of the Holocaust (or any form of trauma) on its victims and subsequent generations.

The findings summarized above point to practical, theoretical, and methodological implications for communication scholars, scholars of the Holocaust, and consultants or practitioners that interact with individuals who have suffered from trauma. More importantly, this project has provided members of

⁵¹ Interview Correspondence – 12 December 2010.

the After Generations with an opportunity to voice their stories as they are framed by the Holocaust. Whether children or grandchildren of Holocaust survivors, those interviewed for this study have demonstrated varying ways in which the Holocaust continues to affect them and their families. More importantly, however, they demonstrate the ways in which the stories told to them by their survivor relative can be responsibly remembered and represented today.

As Participant 5 (P5) so aptly stated,

You know, you've got to take the good from what you have. And I've worked real hard to do that. That's important to me. I don't want to go to my grave resentful and angry about what happened to me. I really want to take whatever I can and be optimistic and hopeful. There are always going to be hard times. Without darkness there cannot be light. I've just learned that it's how you handle those dark times. I ride it out knowing that I'm a survivor's child. If they could survive, so can I. (Interview 5, p. 11)

The events of the Holocaust should never be forgotten, but neither should the strength, perseverance, and hope that rose out of these trials be forgotten either.

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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL LETTER

To: Sarah De La Garza
STAUF

From: Mark Roosa, Chair *SM*
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 10/22/2010

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 10/22/2010

IRB Protocol #: 0909004323R001

Study Title: Picking up the Pieces: Long-Time Legacies of Children of Holocaust Survivors

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2).

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

APPENDIX B
CONSENT FORM

Dear Potential Participant:

I am a doctoral candidate within the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication at Arizona State University under the direction of Dr. Amira De la Garza. I am conducting a research study focusing on the long-term legacies of the Holocaust, specifically those legacies passed from parent-survivor to child. This study serves two purposes: to better understand the experiences of second generation Holocaust survivors as they relate to their survivor parents; and to provide evidence for including and representing second-generation narratives within mainstream Holocaust studies.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve a 1 to 1 1/2 hour interview. The interview will be confidential and your participation in the study is voluntary. Additional interviews may be requested; however you are not obliged to schedule another. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. Also, throughout this process you will retain the right to not answer any question, and/or to stop the interview at any time. Pseudonyms will be used both in my notes and in the reporting of my research. The results of the research study may be published and a performance script will be created and performed at the Marsh Theater in the San Francisco, CA area. This performance will represent some of the major themes that arise from these interviews. In all instances of publications and performances, your name will not be used unless you indicate otherwise.

Although there may be no direct benefit to you, the possible advantage of your participation can be found in offering others a better understanding of your experience as a second generation Holocaust survivor. In addition, the interview may benefit you, in a healing and cathartic sense, through the sheer act of telling someone your stories and experiences. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

I would like to audiotape this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be taped; you also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know. Recordings will be kept in a locked drawer in Stauffer A341 at Arizona State University, for the duration of the study. All audio and/or video versions of the interview will be erased upon completion of the dissertation

project, unless you choose to retain this information for your own purposes.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please call me at (480) 374-0629 or Dr. Amira De la Garza at (480) 965-3360. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788. Please let me know if you wish to be part of the study.

Sincerely,

Sandra E. Rath

*You need only sign the sections in which you agree to participate.

Any section you do not feel comfortable signing, please leave blank.

I agree to participate in the interview:

Signature

I agree to be video-taped as part of this interview (i.e., via Skype or video recording):

Signature

I agree to only be audio-taped as part of this interview (i.e., via Skype or audio recording only):

Signature

I agree to allow audio versions of the interview to be integrated into the final performance script and performed at the Marsh Theater in San Francisco:

Signature

I agree to be contacted for final review with the possibility of using my name in the presentation of the resulting research:

Signature

Printed Name

Date

APPENDIX C

AFTER GENERATIONS TABLE OF DEMOGRAPHICS

Participant	Age Range	Gender	Role in After Generations	Occupation	Number of Children
Participant #1	20-25	Male	Child/Grandchild**	Military	0
Participant #2	20-25	Female	Child/Grandchild**	Student	0
Participant #3	30-35	Female	Grandchild	Teacher	0
Participant #4	55-60	Female	Child	Teacher	2
Participant #5	50-55	Female	Child	Attorney	0
Participant #6	20-25	Female	Grandchild	Hillel Student Representative	0
Participant #7	55-60	Female	Child	Teacher/Technology Consultant	1
Participant #8	50-55	Male	Child/Grandchild*	Accountant/Military	1
Participant #9	50-55	Female	Child	Television Producer	2
Participant #10	55-60	Male	Child/Grandchild*	Military	3
Participant #11	55-60	Female	Child	Real Estate	1
Participant #12	60-65	Male	Child	Artist	8
Participant #13	25-30	Male	Grandchild	Teacher/Author	0
Participant #14	50-55	Female	Child/Stepchild**	Banker	2 children, 2 stepchildren
Participant #15	55-60	Female	Child/Stepchild**	Accountant	2
Participant #16	25-30	Male	Grandchild	Banker	1
Participant #17	55-60	Male	Child/Stepchild**	Real Estate	2 children, 2 stepchildren
Participant #18	50-55	Female	Child/Grandchild*	Teacher	2

*Participants that fall into a child/grandchild role are those who have a minimum of one parent and one grandparent who were survivors of the Holocaust.

** Participants that fall into a child/stepchild role are those who have a minimum of one birthparent who was a survivor of the Holocaust as well as a minimum of one stepparent who was a survivor of the Holocaust.

**The age(s) of these participants may seem odd to be considered children of a Holocaust survivor. Their situation is unique, however. In the case of these siblings, their father was a toddler/pre-schooler who managed to survive one of the Nazi work camps with his mother. He did not have these two children until he was in his mid-forties. Therefore, due to his young age in surviving the camps and his older age in having these children, these two participants are considered both children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors.

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW GUIDE

Verbal Introduction Script

First, I would like to thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. My step-father is a Holocaust survivor. He was born in Stutthof Concentration Camp in September of 1943. He grew up as an orphan in Poland, unaware of his horrific start to life. Ten years ago he learned the truth of his past, sending him down a chaotic path of self-discovery. This path not only affected him, but all of us children, as well. We have learned much about our family and ourselves through this journey. Though every story is unique, my siblings and I feel a sense of solidarity with other children of survivors. They "know" what we "know" - something that those who did not have survivor parents cannot "know". Thus, began the impetus to this research. The purpose of this study is to better understand the experiences of second generation Holocaust survivors as they relate to their survivor parents; and to provide evidence for including and representing second-generation narratives within mainstream Holocaust studies. I have particularly asked for your interview in order to gain an understanding of your perspective and insight as a child of a Holocaust survivor.

Before we begin our interview, however, I have here a consent form that I would like you to read over and sign if you are willing. What this document does is protect you and any information you might provide with this interview. Your participation in this research will not be made known to others. Thus, your name will be changed and all recordings of this meeting will be destroyed after having been transcribed (unless you express the desire to retain this material). You also have the option of notifying me at any time during the interview or after if you happen to change your mind and wish this interview to not be used within my research. Please take some time to read this over. My intention is for you to feel as comfortable as possible during this interview. Therefore, while I have a list of questions to ask you, if you feel uncomfortable with a question or choose not answer one, please make that clear and I will be more than happy to move on. Again, I thank you for your willingness to participate in this research.

Interview Guide

Background of 2nd Generation Survivor

1. When did your family move to the United States (*developing rapport*)?

Probe: What state did you move to?

2. Do you hold a job? If so what is it that you do (*developing rapport*)?

Probe: If no job: ask about school or volunteer work.

Probe: Is this a job/activity that is shared with other family members? (in other words, do any other family members also have this job?)

3. Do you have any siblings?

Probe: How many? Are you the oldest, youngest, or middle child?

4. Do you have your own family?

Probe: If s/he has children: how many? What ages?

5. What is your family's religious background?

Probe: Do you currently practice this religion?

Background of Parent(s)

5. Which of your parents was a Holocaust survivor?

6. Which concentration camp did s/he survive?

7. How old was s/he when s/he was placed in this camp?

8. How old was s/he when s/he was released?

9. How old was s/he when you were born?

Role of Storytelling

10. When did you first learn that your parent(s) had been a survivor of the Holocaust?

Probe: If you remember, how did you respond?

Probe: Who told you that your parent(s) was a survivor?

11. What was a familiar story shared in your household?

Probe: How did this story affect you?

Probe: What did this story teach you, if anything?

12. What story (or stories) was shared detailing something your parent(s) may have experienced during the Holocaust? Elaborate.

Probe: Do you remember the first time you heard this story?

Probe: How did you react?

Probe: How do you feel about this story? Are there any emotions attached to it?

12. What role, if any, has this story played in your own life?

Probe: Do you share this story with others? Close friends? Partner?

Children?

Description of Childhood

13. What was it like growing up in your household?

Probe: Paint a picture of everyday life at home.

14. What kinds of activities/chores/interactions/etc. did you participate in as a

family that other families you knew did not?

15. What activities/chores/interactions/etc. were you not allowed to do that others could?

16. Survivors of the Holocaust are often said to exhibit particular behaviors as a result of being a prisoner in a concentration camp (Solkoff, 1992). What behaviors, if any, did your parent(s) exhibit?

Probe: How have these behaviors affected you today?

Probe: Have these behaviors influenced you in any way?

17. How was the topic of the Holocaust handled in your household when you were a child?

Effects of Having a Holocaust Survivor Parent

18. How is the topic of the Holocaust handled in your household today?

19. Does the fact that your parent is a Holocaust survivor have any direct bearing on your life today? How so?

Probe: In what ways does this fact manifest itself in your life and in everyday interactions?

20. How does the fact that your parent was a Holocaust survivor affect the 3rd and 4th generations in your family?

Concluding Remarks

21. What advice or words of knowledge would you give someone who also has a survivor parent?

22. What advice would you give to survivor parents about sharing their stories

with their children?

23. Is there any story or additional information you feel like adding (*Loose Ends*)?

APPENDIX E

AXIAL MAPS

Theme 1: Guilt

“I guess I didn’t want
to disappoint.”
[Int 5] 1B

“We basically didn’t
have a right to
complain.”
[Int 3] 1C

“I let her (mother) hug
me, but I never hugged
back. I wish I had.” [Int
9] 1A

Theme 2: Trauma

"if another Holocaust happens again...it might happen to me..."
[Int. 2] 2A

"In the 3rd grade we were reading a book and the teacher read something that got me upset." [Int 6]

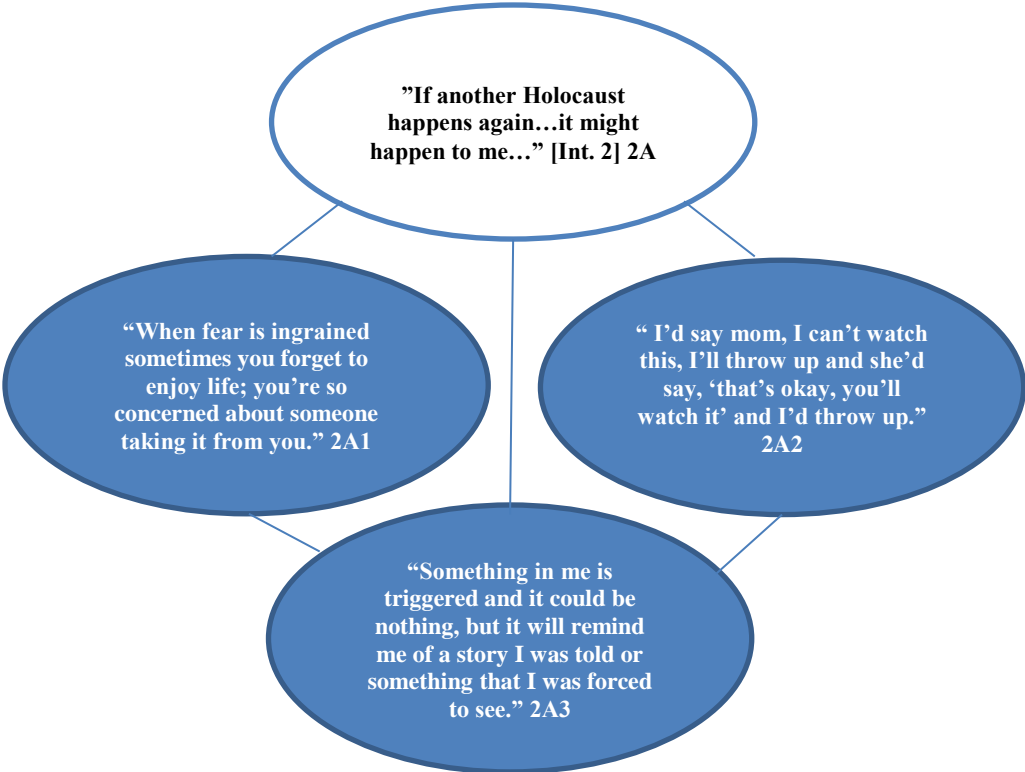
"You just never know. You just never know what people are up to." [Int. 8]
2B

"You know, who wants to admit their mother is crazy?"
[Int 9]
2E

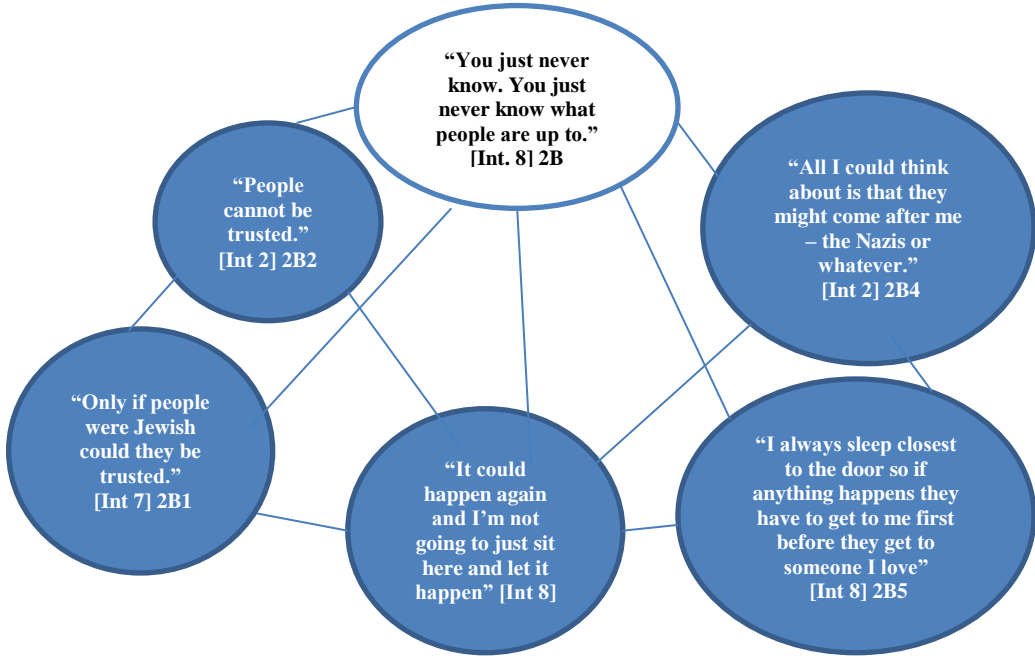
"2nd generation survivors have a lot of repressed anger, I'd say, and illness." [Int. 3-4]

"Your stories of abuses of three or five – but the abuses that I am talking about were in the hundreds" [Int.8]

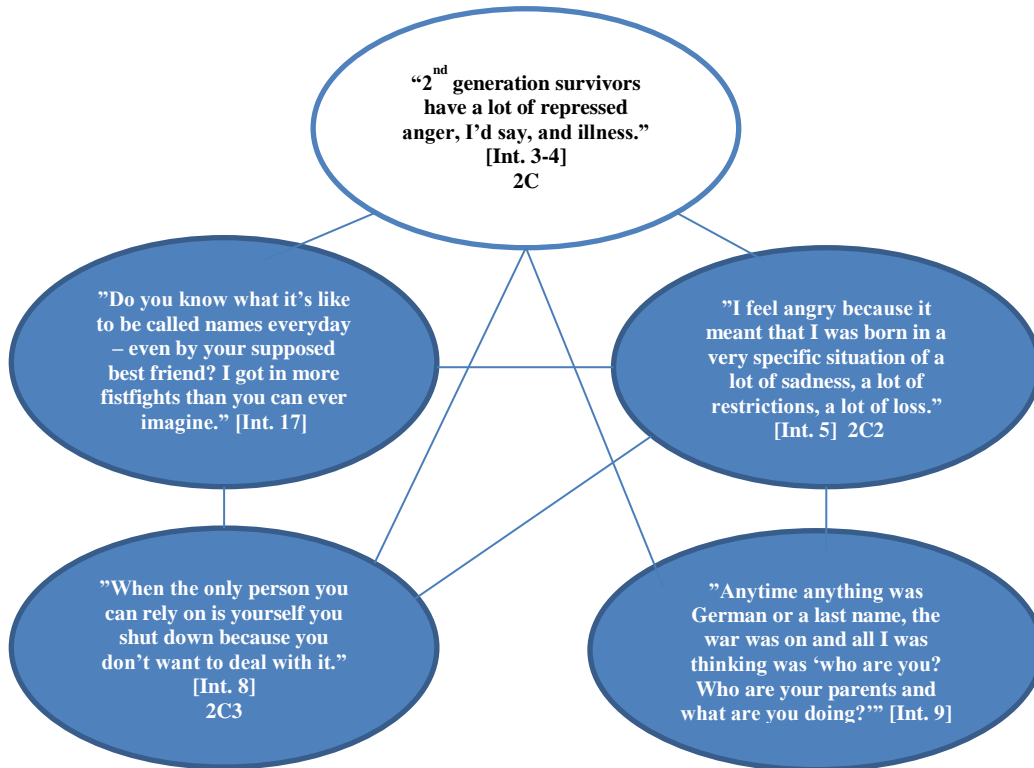
Theme 2A: Fear



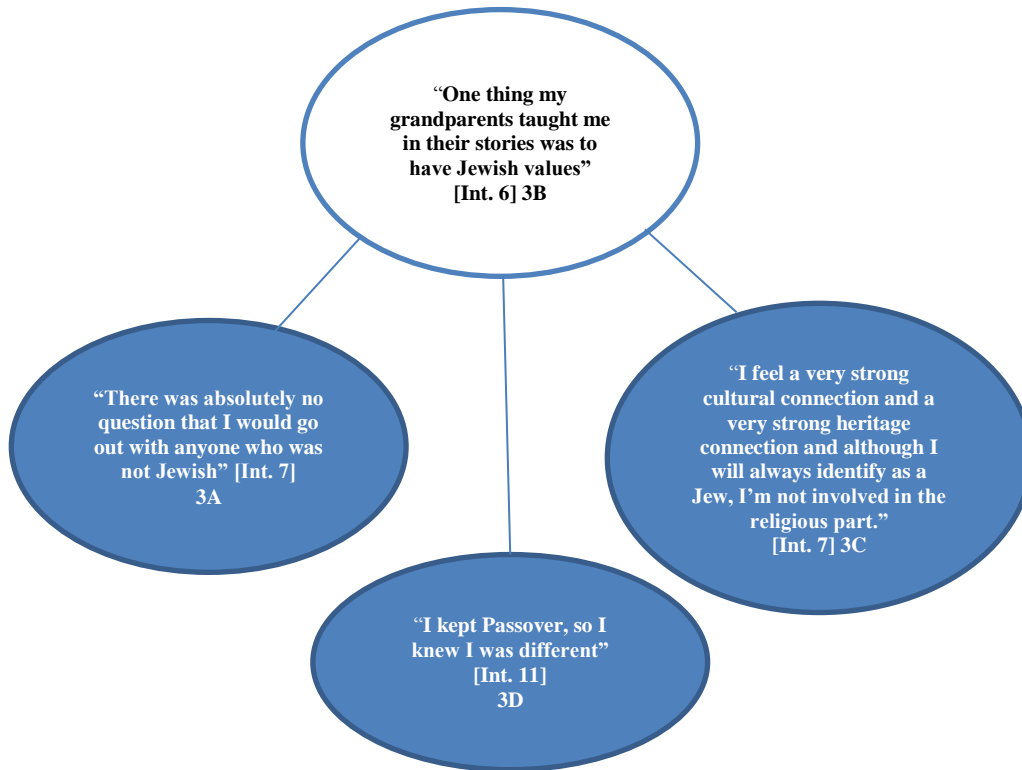
Theme 2B:
Paranoia/Neuroses



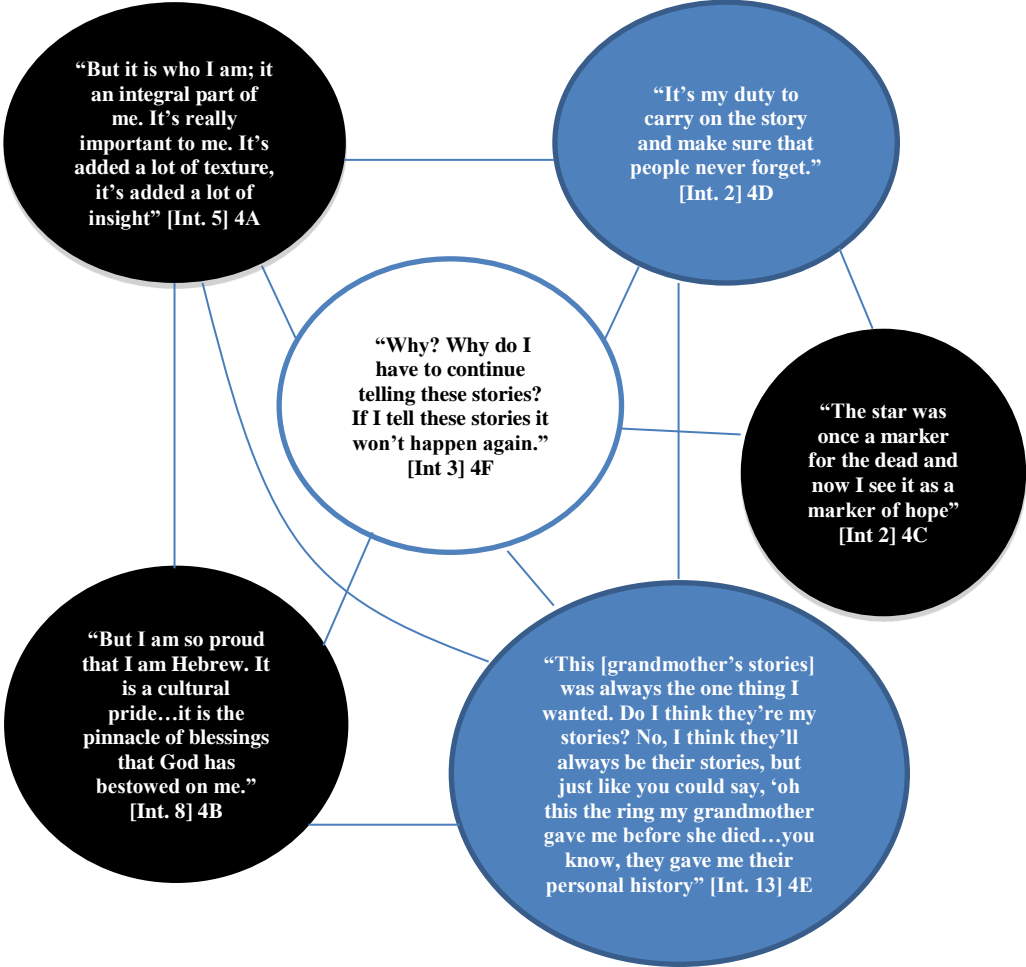
Theme 2C: Anger



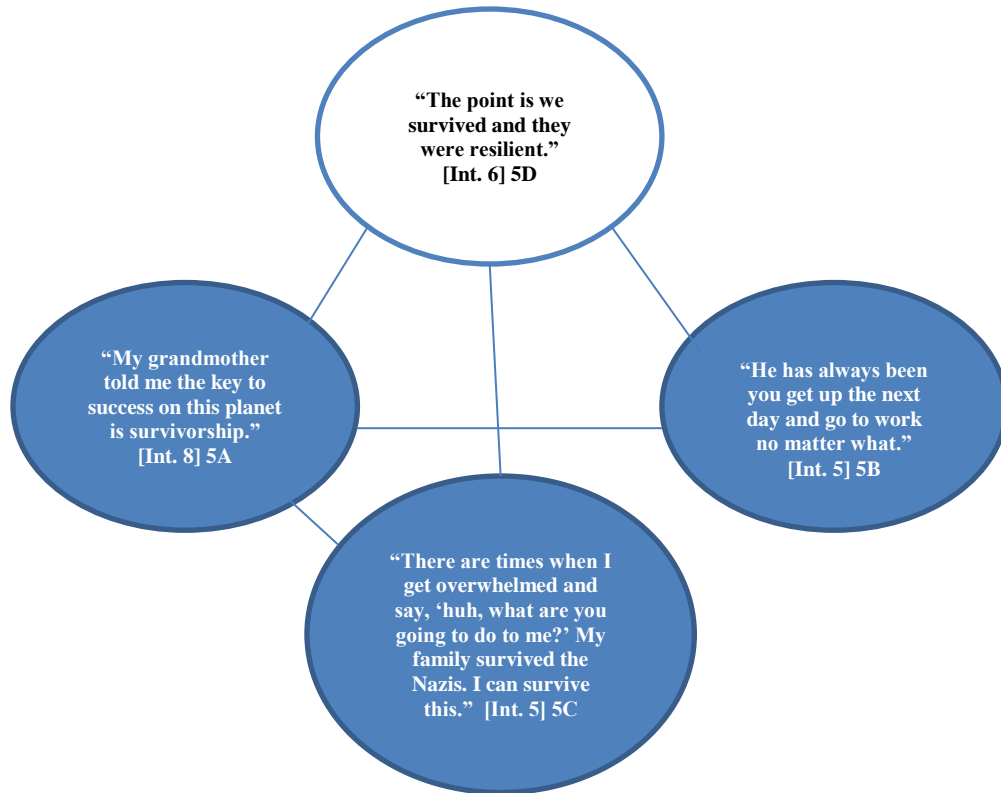
Theme 3: Religion/Traditions



Theme 4: Legacies & Responsibility



**Theme 5:
Resilience/Survivorship**



Theme 6: Importance of Education

