

1980

THE EFFECTS OF CULTURAL AND
INDIVIDUAL SUPPORTS ON PERSONALITY
VARIABLES AMONG CHILDREN OF
HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS IN ISRAEL AND
NORTH AMERICA.

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THE EFFECTS OF CULTURAL
AND INDIVIDUAL SUPPORTS
ON PERSONALITY VARIABLES
AMONG CHILDREN OF HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS
IN ISRAEL AND NORTH AMERICA

by

(C)
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A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Psychology
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1980

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To my grandmother, Rachel Mondschein, an extraordinary woman.

To my parents, Mayer and Sala Kleinplatz, who through their courage, integrity and humanity have taught me that survival is not enough.

To my wife, Elaine Laurin, who has been my loving companion, a wise and faithful friend, and a source of hope and inspiration throughout the course of this project.

And to my daughter, Sasha, who is a joyous reminder of what it's all about.

ABSTRACT

The recent literature on children of holocaust survivors has focused increasingly on the "normal", well-functioning members of that population. The realization that serious pathology is not an inescapable consequence of growing up in a survivor family has resulted in an interest in determining the circumstances which contribute to a healthy adaptation on the part of the offspring of survivor families.

The present study was designed to explore this issue from two points of view: 1) the influence of cultural supports which contribute to healthy functioning; and 2) the influences of individual supports which facilitate healthy adaptation. A group of 16 well-functioning children of survivors and a control group of 16 Jewish subjects whose parents had not been in the concentration camps were interviewed in Israel. Two parallel groups were interviewed in North America. Four areas of personality functioning were assessed: Individuation, Aggression, Alienation, and Fantasy. In addition, five measures of support were obtained for each subject. These included: Parents' support, Relatives' support, Community support, Pursued support, and Overall support.

A 2 X 2 multivariate analysis of variance was used to analyze the results of the personality assessment. No differences among groups was found on the Individuation scale. Control group subjects were superior to children of survivors on the remaining personality measures. An interaction effect was found for the Aggression and

Alienation scales, as children of survivors in North America had more difficulty in these areas relative to the North American control group than did Israeli children of survivors relative to the Israeli control subjects.

A multiple linear regression analysis was used to assess the relationship between support measures and personality functioning for children of survivors groups. Alienation was found to be significantly related to the least squares solution of the five support systems for the Israeli group and for the combined group of 32 children of survivors. None of the other regression equations attained significance.

The results suggested that the Israeli and North American cultures differ in the degree to which they facilitate coping among children of survivors in the areas of aggression and feelings of relatedness to family, friends, and community. The Israeli culture would seem to offer greater support for healthy adaptation in these areas of functioning.

The differences between children of survivors and control subjects in both cultures on the Fantasy task indicate that the relaxed, flexible, and creative use of imagination is adversely affected in this population. Fantasy would seem to differ from the other function in that the cultural supports available in Israel do not appear to have the same positive effect on this ability as they do on the ability to use aggression constructively or on the ability to overcome feelings of alienation.

These findings have implications for children of survivors,

for the third generation, and for other traumatized groups. Further research is needed to further define the nature of the support systems which would be helpful to these groups. Replication studies would be especially helpful, since sample biases in the present study limit the generalizability of the findings.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation to the many people who have contributed to the completion of this study. Dr. Marvin Kaplan's role as chairman was the culmination of years of personal and professional association, during which he has taught me that academic excellence cannot be separated from personal growth and development. In addition he and Dr. Netta Kaplan generously shared their apartment and companionship with me during my stay in Israel. Dr. Giora Ron Frisch has repeatedly extended himself to myself and to my family. His unerring good sense protected me from some of my more grandiose designs. Dr. William Libby was most helpful in his suggestions and comments pertaining to the design of the study. Dr. Vivian Rakoff was kind enough to serve as the outside reader of the paper in spite of his busy schedule.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Chicago Association of Children of Holocaust Survivors. I first journeyed to Chicago feeling like an outsider, and apprehensive about the response I might receive. I left feeling a special kinship with this group, and feeling excited and happy about my research. I would especially like to thank Ms. Alissa Lewin Waldman, whose amazing energy and good cheer made an impossible task seem effortless. In addition she and her husband, Elliot, were gracious and generous hosts during my visits to Chicago.

I am grateful to Dr. Sheraga Serok, without whose timely help in finding subjects I would not have completed the Israeli interviews.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Ms. Nancy Lewis and Ms. Alane Witt, who were skillful, patient, and generous with their time in scoring the transcripts. In addition, Nancy was unselfishly available on numerous occasions when my work could not have progressed without her willingness to take on extra responsibilities at the Regional Children's Centre.

My thanks to Dr. Mary Broga, who arrived at RCC in time to help me through the sometimes bewildering maze of statistical design and analysis. Dr. Meyer Starr, Mr. Oleks Mitzak, and Mr. Peter O'Neill were also helpful in this regard.

Thank you as well to Ms. Mary Mangile, Ms. Irene Arseneau, and Ms. Beth Gough for assisting in the typing of the study, and especially to Ms. Rosemary Honey, whose love and support was deeply appreciated.

Dr. Martin Girash and Dr. John McGrory were helpful with their encouragement and support at various times over the past year. Dr. James Porter was especially helpful as our friendship deepened through sharing the arduous task of completing our dissertations.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks to the many fine people who agreed to participate in this study. They not only risked the emotional vulnerability necessary for the interview, but often shared their homes and hospitality, their friendship, and their support. I am richer because of them.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

At the end of World War II the concentration camp victims who had managed to survive their ordeal were confronted with the awesome task of physically and psychologically rebuilding their lives. Not surprisingly, the profound trauma of incarceration, uprootedness, and, for most, loss of family, resulted in long-term problems for the survivors.

In the years following the war there was a gradual accumulation of psychiatric data based on the assessment and psychotherapy of former concentration camp inmates. It became apparent that there was considerable overlap in symptomatology among this population. The term "concentration camp survivor syndrome," or just "survivor syndrome" (Niederland, 1961) came into use to describe this pattern of symptomatology. Chodoff (1963) summarized these symptoms as including "anxiety and apprehensiveness, psychosomatic manifestations, sleep disturbances and recurrent nightmares, obsessive rumination over the past, depression, and some unfavorable alterations in personality" (p. 325). Krystal and Niederland (1968) elaborated this picture extensively, using a statistical analysis of 149 case records to more specifically delineate the various manifestations of the syndrome.

One of the areas of difficulty for the survivor involved relationships in general, and family relationships in particular.

In reaction to the despair and loneliness of having lost their families of origin, it was fairly common for two survivors to marry and start new families shortly after their liberation from the camps. At the time that children of these families began to reach their latency and adolescent years, a number of mental health professionals became aware of this population as a unique group. Rakoff et. al. (1966), working at the Jewish General Hospital in Montreal, noticed that a disproportionate number of Jewish children brought for help were offspring of concentration camp survivors. Similarly, Trossman (1968) noted that a number of students seeking help at the McGill Student Mental Health Clinic in Montreal were children of concentration camp inmates. Shortly thereafter, Klein (1971, 1972) reported on the families of concentration camp survivors and their methods of adaptation to kibbutz life in Israel.

Historically these initial findings were followed by a period of interest in the psychopathological second generation effects of the concentration camps. Most of the literature described clinical populations, and the emphasis was upon the difficulties faced by the offspring of survivors. More recently the focus has been broadened to include non-clinical populations as well, and there has been a corresponding shift in interest from the study of psychopathology to the study of coping mechanisms in this population. The following review of the literature is organized along the lines of this chronological sequence.

Transmission Hypotheses

In the decade following the earliest interest in this area, a growing quantity of research and clinical observation began to accumulate. As it became increasingly apparent that children of survivors were experiencing difficulties more often than their peers (Sigal & Rakoff, 1971; Aleksandrowicz, 1973; Karr, 1974), several investigators turned their attention to the question of how these children might have been affected by their parents' experiences.

Rakoff, Sigal, and their co-workers found a consistent pattern of depression and behavior problems among children of survivors and developed a theory about how pathology might be transmitted from parent to child. In their earliest publication (Rakoff et. al., 1966) they suggested that the parents' preoccupation with the past interfered with their ability to deal successfully with the pressures of parenthood. Sigal (1971) elaborated upon this "pre-occupation hypothesis", suggesting several manifestations of the parents' chronically dwelling on the past: 1) overvaluation of the children; 2) lack of flexibility; 3) parental guilt over aggression; 4) children's guilt over aggression; 5) objectification of the child; 6) paternal disengagement.

While the pre-occupation hypothesis was the most comprehensive attempt at explaining the transmission of psychopathology, other investigators did suggest more specific and limited causal explanations. Barocas (1970, 1973) pointed out that the child might become a transference recipient of unconscious, unexpressed parental rage. Rosenberger (1973) suggested overidentification

with the child, or identifying the child with his dead parent (the child's grandparent), as a way in which the parent distorts the child's development. He also saw some parents as disregarding the children's emotional needs while obsessing over the provision of foods and goods.

Aleksandrowicz (1973) postulated two general parental styles among survivors. The first involved a family type in which there was a clear "parental disequilibrium", where one parent was clearly superior to the other in strength, intelligence, and ambition. The children admired and overidentified with the superior parent, while despising and rejecting the inferior one. This imbalance led to poor identity formation. The second family style involved an "affective deficiency syndrome and hyper-repression". This is somewhat similar to the pre-occupation hypothesis, in that the parent is seen as so vulnerable to psychic pain that he copes by withdrawing and denying emotionality. The child is also discouraged from direct expression of feelings to the parent, but instead acts out his resulting frustration through aggression directed elsewhere. The parent withdraws rather than attempt to control this behavior.

Trossman (1968) suggested a highly variable pattern in which different adolescents responded in different ways, depending upon the particular manifestations of parental pathology. Where parents were overprotective, the children became phobic or engaged in a struggle with their parents for independence. Where children became an audience for their parents' ruminations, they developed

depressive features. Some parents became hardened and bitter towards gentiles; their children would often rebel against this attitude, but might also become mistrustful and paranoid like their parents. Some parents communicated, directly or indirectly, the need for their children to fulfill their empty lives and vindicate their suffering; these adolescents tended to give up in despair, or angrily rebel. Some families had one parent who withdrew, leading to identity problems in the offspring, especially in those children of the same sex as the withdrawn parent. Especially frequent were symptoms of examination anxiety and impotence, and Trossman related these to feelings of guilt over succeeding akin to the parents' guilt over surviving.

Finally, Danieli (1979) suggested that some survivors who came to America welcomed what she called "the conspiracy of silence": an attitude of denial and skepticism in relation to the holocaust on the part of those who did not experience it. These parents attempted to protect their children from pain by raising them as healthy, "normal" Americans. This denial of the past led to a false insistence that "everything is all right", and a sense of bewilderment in the children, who could not understand the family's turmoil and their own guilt.

Danieli divided families where experiences were discussed into two types: those in which the parent or parents played the role of "victims", and those in which they played the role of "fighters". She described in detail the fears and conflicts engendered in children growing up in these family types.

Each of the transmission hypotheses described above was derived from the author's theoretical biases and clinical observations. However, an overview of the literature suggests that no single hypothesis sufficiently explains the relationship between parental trauma and disturbance in the offspring. The variety of clinical manifestations, as well as observations of healthy, well-functioning children of traumatized survivor parents, prevent us from adopting a single, oversimplified view of the problem. Thus Sigal (1971), despite his commitment to the pre-occupation hypothesis, questioned the "myth of homogeneity" and the "myth of uniqueness". That is, not all cases are the same; nor is the type of problem encountered by survivor families unique to such families. Furman (1973) and Aleksandrowicz (1973) voiced similar cautions against overgeneralization.

Recurrent Themes

Nevertheless, the literature does reflect certain recurring themes in the experiences of survivors and their children. The fact that these themes transcend the findings of particular authors suggest that they represent a powerful psychological influence in the lives of many survivors' families. The review of the clinical literature which follows below centers about the elucidation of three such themes, with each theme organized about a cluster of symptoms regarding problems faced by children of survivors. It was the author's goal to group the available data in such a way that a majority of the observations could be accounted for in terms of a few key constructs that are amenable to measurement.

The three themes developed below meet these criteria. That is, a large proportion of the data can be subsumed under the three constructs; and the constructs lend themselves to being operationally defined, and hence measurable. The first of the three themes concerns difficulties which relate to identity formation, particularly with regard to successful differentiation of self from parent. The second involves difficulties related to feelings of aggression and the appropriate expression of such feelings. The third relates to feelings of depression, alienation, and apathy.

The choice to organize the clinical literature according to the three themes described above does not imply that these three symptom clusters represent an exhaustive catalogueing of the difficulties faced by children of survivors. Other symptoms, and even major symptom clusters, have been described in the literature. For example, children of survivors have frequently been observed to suffer from feelings of guilt. A further recurring theme is the attitude of mistrust which children of survivors seem to take towards others. These themes might well have been developed as representing symptom clusters in their own right. However, for the purposes of this study, they have been subsumed under the categories described earlier. Thus excessive feelings of guilt are seen as contributing to problems in all three areas: they interfere with identity formation; they inhibit the expression of aggressive feelings; and they contribute to the development of depressive affect. Mistrust of others contributes strongly to the sense of alienation experienced by children of survivors.

A second issue involves descriptions of the parents' concentration camp experiences and of aspects of their parenting behaviors which seem related to those experiences. Such descriptions abound in the literature, and are often placed in juxtaposition to descriptions of the symptomatology of the offspring. There is often a compelling logic to this juxtaposition. However, as mentioned earlier, a cause-effect relationship is difficult to demonstrate, and it is not the intention of this author to imply that such a relationship exists. Rather, the discussions of parental experiences and behavior are included here because any analysis of children of survivors without reference to the transactions between the children and the survivors themselves would seem artificial and sterile.

Differentiation from the parents and identity formation. A recurring theme in the literature on children of survivors is the difficulty which members of this group encounter in the struggle to "separate" from their parents and to establish autonomous identities. Danieli (1979) studied 50 survivors and 200 children of survivors in the New York area. She described one woman's comments which suggest that, at least in her case, this difficulty related directly to her mother's concentration camp experiences:

While reflecting upon her difficulties in separating psychologically from her parents, a 30-year-old, married daughter stated poignantly, "When my mother separated from her mother (in Auschwitz), her mother went to the left (to the gas chambers) and my mother went to the right. How could I possibly do anything like that?" (p. 10)

This fear of actual physical separation seems to have general

and pervasive effects. Danieli noted that when children of survivors attempted to establish boundaries between themselves and their parents, the parents would treat such attempts as a threat to the intactness of the family. Danieli reported, for example, that in the families which could afford apartments large enough so that the children could have their own rooms, the parents would insist that the doors remain open at all times.

Furthermore, the children reported that throughout their development they were discouraged from and condemned for any assertion of autonomy, independence, healthy rebellion or desire for privacy. Their parents responded to the latter as acts of disloyalty, ingratitude, betrayal and abandonment. (p. 11)

Danieli observed that the children consequently "appeared to leave their parents' home later than other American young adults, and even when they did they remained in close contact with their parents."

Klein (1971) studied survivor families on a kibbutz and found a similar anxiety over separation in the children:

All the children tend to stay as much as possible with their parents. They dislike any kind of separation, even for a short trip outside of their home. There is a wish to protect the parent who survived the holocaust - to take special care of him and to avoid asking any questions which might hurt him. There is severe anxiety aroused by separation from family members, educators, or even friends, and a great deal of emotional energy is mobilized in the avoidance of separation or denial of it. (p. 83-84)

Another hindrance to healthy differentiation has been related to the parents' desire to have their children replace lost family members. Rakoff et. al. (1966) suggested that the children are not allowed to develop an individual identity, but instead, "become

receptacles for identities" which they do not understand, with which they have had no contact, which in time they grow to resent, and which are rarely meaningfully related to what they actually are or can become." (p. 25)

Rustin and Lipsig (1972) presented a sample of how problematic this pressure to replace another can be for the child:

While it is traditional in Judaism to name a child after a deceased relative, it is extremely rare to name a child after a deceased sibling. The naming after a deceased sibling is particularly disturbing to the child of a survivor, since it seems to contribute to his feelings of having to fill "someone else's shoes". One college student whose parents lost a child in a concentration camp commented bitterly that she was "always living with a ghost". The student had been named after a sister, and had heard many stories about her sister as she grew up. In some respects the student's sense of identity was contaminated with tales of her predecessor, which led to her feeling confused about her own identity. (p. 89-90)

Frankle (1978), herself a survivor and parent, suggested that the members of her generation are handicapped by the interruption of their own struggle for independence. That is, the normal process of separating from the parents and growing towards an independent adult identity was abruptly truncated by incarceration in the camps. Frankle drew attention to the confusion which this interruption engenders as the second generation approaches this stage of development:

In addition, we have not a memory of how it was for us to be a young adult attempting to separate from his or her parents. The issue of separation, therefore, is especially difficult, not only because to many of us our children are all we have, but also because our separation was abrupt and never truly resolved. (p. 242)

And,

Not having parents to struggle with for our own independence, not having a model of how this can be done, and not experiencing first hand the frustrations of that struggle handicap us greatly ...In one stance we confuse ourselves with our parents, our children with us, and even sometimes them with our parents. (p. 243)

Frankle's argument therefore suggests that the process of generational differentiation is affected not only by the parents' active resistance to the children's quest for individuation, but also by their lack of experience in, and familiarity with, the reciprocal role in this process.

In the extreme, these forces may lead to what Barocas and Barocas (1973) have called a "destructive identification". The parent expects the child to become an extension of him rather than a separate person, and may desperately seek his own identification through that of his child. Prince (1975) described various sorts of symbiotic attachments between parent and child, typified by one subject's statement:

My mother and I are exactly alike. [How so?]
Every respect, we think alike, we're very much alike, I mean I can picture my mother at my age, we were one person in every respect...(p. 157).

Rustin and Lipsig (1972) describe such a symbiotic attachment in a young woman whose identity was strongly tied to her parents' experiences in the concentration camps, to the point where her role as a survivor's child "is her only claim to being a person" (p. 91).

Other accounts of symbiotic relationships include that of Lipkowitz (1973), who reported on an adolescent patient who was so strongly attached to his parents that he quit therapy when his

therapist gently encouraged him to begin to individuate. Sigal (1971) noted some evidence of a wish for separation in a 15 year-old boy, but this was overshadowed by the boy's strong need to be close to his mother in a very infantile way. The boy was reported as achieving this by assuming the role of a poor suffering child.

Phillips (1978) described a breakthrough in the treatment of a 27 year-old graduate student by helping him to recognize and transcend his "overwhelming identity as a child to his parents as 'holocaust survivors'" (p. 375). Rosenberger (1973) presented the case of an adolescent boy who was referred for problems in school and depression. Many of his behaviors appeared to strongly parallel aspects of his father's concentration camp experiences. In a similar vein, Axelrod (1979) reported that 13 out of 24 children of survivors admitted to the Hillside hospital in New Jersey were admitted at an age corresponding to that of one parent's age of incarceration in a concentration camp.

The pervasiveness of the issue of separation among children of survivors is suggested by Russell (1974), who described his work with 36 survivor families and their adolescent children, the latter being the "identified" patients. He saw the child's separation from the family and its pathology as the central goal of family therapy. Using this as a criterion, Russell reported that 23 of the 36 offspring were unchanged or worse.

Finally, a direct measure of separation was described by Karr (1973), who found that adult children of two survivor parents lived an average of 4.7 miles from the parents' home. In

comparison, children in families with one survivor parent and no survivor parents averaged 9.0 miles and 7.0 miles from home respectively.

A useful framework for conceptualizing the difficulties discussed here is provided by Karpel (1975), who defined individuation as a "process by which a person becomes increasingly differentiated from a past or present relational context" (p. 66).

He described four relational modes: pure fusion, unrelatedness, ambivalent fusion, and dialogue.

In Karpel's paradigm pure fusion represents the immature stage of relatedness characterized by infantile dependence and total identification with the other, so that conflict and struggle are avoided or denied. Unrelatedness represents the immature "attempt to reject or deny this state of dependency" (p. 70) by assuming a schizoid stance in relation to the other. Thus pure fusion and unrelatedness, while opposites in one sense, both reflect attempts to deal with otherness through denial, and thereby to avoid the struggle inherent in any meaningful relationship of self to other.

Ambivalent fusion represents a transitional stage between pure fusion and dialogue. It is an unstable period characterized by,

...the conflict between progressive tendencies toward differentiation and regressive tendencies towards identification, between the responsibility and self-support that characterize individuation and the blame, guilt, and manipulation for environmental support that characterize fusion.
(p. 73)

Dialogue is the term that Karpel uses to describe the "mature stage of human development, in which the poles of 'I' and 'We' are

integrated in such a way that they nourish and foster one another" (p. 77-78). In this stage differences are no longer avoided, but dialogue is sought, and each individual sees himself as a unique and separate person who nevertheless maintains his sensitivity to the needs of the other.

Karpel's description of individuation is presented in the context of a typology of transactional relationships between partners. A parallel description in terms of the individual's struggle towards a mature adaptation is presented by Polster and Polster (1974), who adapted Otto Rank's thoughts on individuation to a Gestalt framework:

[Rank] asserted that the primary struggle in life is for personal individuation, also a preordinate concern in Gestalt therapy. This struggle is waged in the individual's effort to integrate his polar fears of separation and union. Separation brings with it the danger of loss of relationship to otherness, while union brings the risk of loss of individuation. Constructive resistance to these fearsome alternatives leads to a new creative integration of these classically opposed forces. (p. 314)

One of the focuses of this study will concern the ability of children of survivors to achieve such an integration between these two forces. The degree to which an individual has achieved this integration can be viewed as the degree to which he has progressed along the continuum from immature denial (pure fusion or unrelatedness) through anxious awareness and conflict (ambivalent fusion) to a mature, differentiated state of relatedness (individuation).

For the purposes of this study, individuation will be defined as follows:

The integrated individual is one who has achieved a balance between identifying in a healthy way with the valued, positively perceived characteristics of his parents, while differentiating in areas which have been established as unique and separate from the parents. His awareness of, and appreciation for, both the similarities and differences between himself and his parents leaves him with a firm and positive sense of self in relation to his family of origin.

Aggression. A second recurring theme in relation to children of survivors is that of difficulties surrounding the experience and expression of feelings of aggression. The literature suggests that these difficulties manifest themselves in one of two ways. In some cases the child of survivors has been described as being extremely frightened of any aggressive impulses in himself or in others. In other cases he has been reported to act out his aggression in socially inappropriate and destructive ways.

Klein (1972, 1973) found that the kibbutz offspring of survivors frequently denied or otherwise defended against their feelings of aggression, as though afraid that they might become sadists if they were to acknowledge these feelings. At the same time they tended to react fearfully and passively to the expression of such feelings by others. Rustin and Lipsig (1972), Laufer

(1972), and Rosenberger (1973) each reported on a case of children of survivors where one of the central dynamics of the client involved the repression of feelings of aggression and rage. Such repression is generally seen as stemming from either the guilt over expressing anger to parents who are already so miserable (Phillips, 1978); or from the incorporation of the parental identification of all aggressivity with Nazi brutality (Danieli, 1979).

Sigal (1971) observed a frequent acting-out of aggression towards siblings, parents, or authority figures other than parents. He speculated that the child might be responding to non-verbal messages from the parents encouraging him to act out their own repressed aggressivity. In a later paper, Sigal et. al. (1973) cited Krystal as describing the possible mechanism whereby this might occur:

The parents may unconsciously encourage the children to further displays of aggressive behavior, having the children express what they, the parents, cannot permit themselves to express because of the burden of guilt they carry over the death of their own parents and siblings. (p. 326)¹

They found children of survivors who came for family therapy to score significantly higher on items related to aggression and psychopathy on the Behavior Problem Checklist than did children of

1. Barocas (1970) described these children as "transferential recipients of parental unconscious and unexpressed rage."

parents who were not survivors (also in family therapy). This was true for both the 8-14 year-olds and the 15-17 year-olds. Earlier, Sigal and Rakoff (1971) had compared children of survivors with children of central European immigrants who did not lose family or personally experience incarceration in camps. They found that parents who were camp survivors voiced more complaints of excessive sibling rivalry and problems in self-control or control of the children's behavior. A most reliable and frequently reported complaint was that of fighting among the children. The authors interpreted this as displaced anger at the parents, and a symbolic protest against the emotional barrenness of the relationship with the parents.

A useful way of approaching these two types of observations - the inhibition or acting out of aggression - is by regarding them as distortions in the healthy encounter between "self" and "not-self". Polster and Polster (1974) cited Perls' emphasis on chewing as the prototype for "making the world assimilable to one's needs when it hasn't started out that way", (p. 74). A failure to do so leads to "swallowing whole", or introjection. On the psychological plane, introjection is,

...the neurotic mechanism whereby we incorporate into ourselves standards, attitudes, ways of acting and thinking, which are not truly ours. In introjection, we have moved the boundary between ourselves and the rest of the world so far inside ourselves that there is almost nothing of us left. (Perls, 1976, p. 35)

Perls viewed the antidote to such introjection to be an aggressive engagement of the experience:

If you can realize the necessity for an aggressive, destructive, and reconstructive attitude toward any experience that you are really to make your own, you can then appreciate the need mentioned previously to evaluate aggression highly and not to dub them glibly "anti-social"...

To eliminate introjects from your personality the problem is... to become aware of what is not truly yours, to acquire a selective and critical attitude toward what is offered you, and, above all, to develop the ability to "bite off" and "chew" experience so as to extract its healthy nourishment. (Perls et. al., 1951, p. 190-191.)

Perls described four modes of aggressively encountering the environment: annihilation (blotting out a painful or dangerous stimulus), destruction (breaking down and reorganizing that which will be assimilated), initiative (mobilization in the direction of the object of aggression), and anger (the emotional response to the frustration of the attempted aggressive response). He saw these as necessary functions of good contact. In contrast, he saw hatred, vengeance, premeditated murder, ambitiousness and compulsive love-hunting as habitual fixations of the healthy functions. As a result of repression, the damned up aggressiveness may be turned inward upon the self (retroreflection), or inappropriately outward upon the image of the self in the environment (projection) (Perls et. al., 1951).

This model is consistent with Daniel's observation that survivor families tend to adopt one of two roles in relation to the world: the role of "victim" or the role of "fighter" (Danieli, 1979). She described the children in the former type of family as follows:

...many children of victims reported genuine difficulty in asserting themselves and in expressing or

experiencing anger. Difficulty in self-assertion combined with fear of being wrong - and, therefore being brutally attacked - often inhibited creative, self-initiated tasks and their completion in the offspring, despite their ambition and talent. Assuming authority was also frightening to the children because it was associated with the possibility of abusing one's power (and acting like a Nazi) or becoming ineffectual and inconsistent (like their parents).
(p. 17)

On the other hand, children of "fighter" families seem caught in a different, but equally debilitating role:

Families of fighters also do not trust outside authorities. Unlike victims, however, they did permit aggression against outsiders. Family members were 'never again' to let another holocaust catch them unprepared. Fighter families were supposed to fight enemies rather than avoid them. Fighters rarely chose victims for friends. Their attitude towards victims was that of anger and contempt. (p. 24-25)

Danieli pointed out that the children of "fighter" families felt forced to seek out dangerous situations through which they might establish their right to membership in the family. One subject described vividly the power of this injunction:

I didn't even notice the danger aspect of it. The only thing I knew was the injustice was going on and that I had to take care of it. When my parents came to the hospital, my mother was holding back her tears, but my father was openly proud of me. Now that we are talking about it, eight months later, it is the first time that it dawned on me that I might have been killed.
(p. 26-27)

Danieli concluded her observations on children of "fighter" families by noting that, "because these offspring had to be in charge, they had difficulty in sharing and delegating responsibility to others, both interpersonally and professionally."

Two important points are worth noting here. First, both sets of offspring were described by Danieli as experiencing difficulty because they had introjected their family's roles as victims or fighters. In terms of the Gestalt model described earlier, the primary source of the difficulty is the failure to critically "chew" and "digest" the proffered roles.

Secondly, in both cases the distortion of the healthy aggressive functions apparently leads to difficulties of a wide-ranging nature. It is the individual's "stuckness" at one polar extreme with regards to this function that prevents him from adapting to a wide range of situations which require a discriminating, flexible sort of aggressivity.

As with individuation, this study will focus on the ability of the individual to use aggression in a creative, contactful way: neither shrinking from the encounter with the environment, nor intruding upon it in an inappropriate manner.

For the purposes of this study, healthy aggressivity will be defined as follows:

The person who has attained an integrated, healthy relationship to his own aggressivity is one who is in good contact with his own aggressive feelings and has learned to use these in a creative, problem-solving fashion. He is capable of being assertive and confrontative when necessary, and is generally unafraid of conflict with others. He deals with confrontation and conflict realistically, appropriately, and creatively,

consistently moving toward resolution.

Depression, alienation, and apathy. A third theme appearing frequently in the literature on children of survivors surrounds symptoms of depression, alienation, and apathy. Descriptions of these symptoms are almost always presented in the context of the depression and withdrawal from society of the parents themselves. In view of this, it is helpful to examine the nature of the parental symptoms before proceeding to those of the offspring, bearing in mind that the connection between the two, while appearing obvious, has generally been assumed rather than demonstrated.

Upon his liberation from the camps, the survivor was confronted with the profound sense of loss of family, home, friends, and community. The basic sources of his social identity had been destroyed and he was left feeling alone and uprooted in an alien environment. While the immediate task of rebuilding his life often allowed the survivor to postpone his grief and mourning, the full meaning of what had happened would often materialize after the survivor had resettled and had begun to adjust to his new surroundings (Niederland, 1968). The effective result was described by Niederland as follows:

A frequent clinical picture...is characterized by a pervasive depressive mood with morose behavior and a tendency to withdrawal, general apathy alternating with occasional short-lived angry outbursts, feelings of helplessness and insecurity, lack of initiative and interests, prevalence of self-depreciatory attitudes and expressions.. In extreme cases there is something of a 'living corpse' appearance or quality in these victims...(p. 12)

One particularly difficult component of this process was the conviction that others could not possibly relate to the survivor's experience. The survivor is often acutely aware of the defenses which others employ against confronting the horror of the holocaust experience. The extent of such defensiveness is suggested by Tanay's observation that,

The inability of the survivors to make an overt request for treatment is matched by the reluctance of therapists to have such patients under their care. Even a one-time evaluation of survivors is very stressful for the therapist, and therefore professional contacts are consciously or unconsciously avoided...(Tanay, 1968, p. 224)

In the face of the denial, and real or perceived hostility with which their accounts were greeted, survivors often became increasingly alienated from their newfound host communities. Their depression was therefore compounded by a sense of unconnectedness to all but their own families or other survivors. Both the mood and isolation of the parents appeared to have had their effects on the children. Rakoff et. al. (1966) stress that poor family organization, rigid or ineffectual limit-setting unrelated to the child's needs, and a lack of involvement in the world often led to apathy, depression, and emptiness in the children. Alternatively, the child might behave in an agitated, hyperactive way which expressed his dissatisfaction with his parents and with the greater society.

Often the depressive effects of growing up in a survivor family manifest themselves most acutely during adolescence, when the child's peer relationships take on added importance and his biological and psychological development enter a new phase.

Trossman (1968) observed that the repeated exposures to stories of the concentration camps often led to depressive reactions in the child. Lipkowitz (1973) reported that a 16-year old who displayed a number of bizarre, apparently schizophrenic symptoms, turned out to be depressed. Rosenberger (1977) described his work with a 19-year old with recurrent feelings of depression.

Depressive symptoms might extend into adulthood, as shown by Prince (1975), who, in intensive interviews with 20 children of survivors, found depression to be the most prevalent symptom. Of the 20 subjects, 11 described periods of depression serious enough to be considered clinically symptomatic, and four others reported episodic depressions, but Prince could not describe these with confidence as symptomatic. Many of these subjects had felt isolated, alone, and lonely from childhood on, and perceived this as being due to their inability to "fit in", and as having felt different from their peers. Phillips (1978) described the case of a 27-year old graduate student who experienced many of these feelings of depression and isolation stemming back to his elementary school years. Trachtenberg and Davis (1978), reporting on support groups of adult children of survivors, found one theme to be a feeling of alienation from both non-Jews and American Jews. Like the survivors described above, one of the members in the Trachtenberg and Davis group expressed her refusal to accept the sympathy or understanding of American Jewish peers.

One way of dealing with the above observations is from the point of view of the process involved. Perls (1976) has presented

the Gestalt view of the organism as a holistic being operating to maintain a state of homeostatic equilibrium within the context of an ever-changing environment. The mechanism by which the organism maintains this equilibrium is that of selective contact with, and withdrawal from the environment:

This contact with and withdrawal from the environment, this acceptance and rejection of the environment, are the most important functions of the total personality. They are the positive and negative aspects of the psychological processes by which we live. They are dialectical opposites, part of the same thing, the total personality. Those psychologists who maintain a dualistic conception of man see them operating as opposing forces which tear the individual into pieces. We, on the other hand, see them as aspects of the same thing: the capacity to discriminate. This capacity can become confused and can function badly. When it does, the individual is unable to behave appropriately and consequently we describe him as a neurotic. But when the capacity to discriminate functions well, the components of acceptance and rejection, of contact and withdrawal, are always present and active. (p. 23; emphasis in the original)

From this point of view, the symptoms described earlier might be viewed as a manifestation of the failure to "contact" the environment in a discriminating fashion. Energy turned inward - retroflection - rather than outward in continual exchange with the environment, might well lead to the kinds of problems described.

The individual suffering from these difficulties might well compound his problems by failing to take responsibility for his experienced isolation and pain so that rather than contacting his experience and moving on, the depressed person becomes increasingly enmeshed in a dull, lifeless existence. He does not look to others for support because he projects onto them his own anger and

dissatisfaction. His fears of contact lead him into confluent relationships, where surface agreement masks underlying conflict, so as not to experience the fear of encountering the other. When conflicts do arise, he feels either disproportionately guilty or worthless, or self-righteous (Polster & Polster, 1974).

To the extent that the depressed or alienated person is able to engage his own experiences, he permits himself to begin to contact others without fear. To the extent that he has taken responsibility for his own feelings, he is able to deal with conflict realistically and creatively. To the extent that he is open to himself as he is, he no longer needs to project his disapproval onto others, but can acknowledge his needs, motives, and feelings without judging himself for their existence.

This study will focus in part on the ability of children of survivors to selectively contact and withdraw from the environment, with an emphasis on the degree of interpersonal relatedness, and on the affective tone accompanying their functioning in this respect. For the sake of convenience and brevity, the term "alienation" will be used to describe the process that is occurring when an individual is functioning poorly on this dimension of experience.

For the purposes of this study, the alienated individual will be defined as follows:

The alienated individual is one who is highly critical of himself, and who feels alone, lonely, and cut off from family, friends, and community. He feels unhappy, and experiences himself as helpless to change his situation.

Use of the Gestalt Model, and the Fantasy Meta-function

The reader will note that the Gestalt framework has been used as a model for organizing and interpreting the three thematic clusters described above. The choice of this framework was based upon the ready applicability of the Gestalt emphasis on the dialectical approach to understanding man's behavior to each of these symptom clusters. The three particular themes described above can be viewed, on a more abstract level, as having a common property. That is, all three themes - individuation, aggression, and alienation - are concerned with the degree of successful integration of polar forces achieved by the individual. The relatively individuated person has succeeded in integrating the tendencies towards separation and union. The individual who is able to aggressively encounter his environment in a growthful, problem-solving fashion has transcended the opposing tendencies to avoid conflict entirely on the one hand, or to pursue one's own end without regards to the needs of the other. The individual who feels related to those about him has learned to contact and withdraw from the environment selectively and intelligently, without getting stuck at one extreme.²

An important ego function which contributes to the ability to achieve such integration is that of fantasy. Perls (1976)

2. Perls (1976) indicated that loss of excitement and boredom accompany compulsive contact.

defined fantasy as "that activity of the human being which through the use of symbols tends to reproduce reality on a diminished scale." Polster and Polster (1974) have described four major purposes of fantasy:

- 1) contact with a resisted event, feeling, or personal characteristic;
- 2) contact with an unavailable person or unfinished situation;
- 3) exploring the unknown;
- and 4) exploring new or unfamiliar aspects of oneself. (p. 256)

These contactful functions of fantasy are crucial aids to problem-solving and growth. The process whereby fantasy is employed as a force towards integration may be seen as a higher-order level of functioning which subsumes the more particular effort at achieving integration as described above in relation to individuation, aggression, and alienation. The impairment of this "meta-function" might well interfere with the successful integration of one or more of these particular areas.

A further interest of the study then, is whether children of survivors are able to use fantasy as an aid to integration. For the purposes of this study the successful use of fantasy will be defined as follows:

The person who uses fantasy successfully is able to use his imagination in a relaxed, flexible, and creative fashion as a means of exploring and enriching himself.

Review of the Non-Clinical Literature

The above review of the literature was primarily concerned with the nature and extent of the difficulties faced by children

of concentration camp survivors. To a large extent, this emphasis reflects the bias common to most of the early investigators that studied the problems of children of survivors. For the most part, those investigators were clinicians who were confronted with that sub-population of children of survivors which had suffered most extensively. As so often happens, there was a tendency to over-generalize from this sub-population. Thus the first studies published about children of survivors tended to stress the serious consequences, indeed the psychopathology which ensued as a result of growing up in a survivor family. This pessimism is reflected in Rakoff's concluding remarks:

With the accumulation of knowledge and the unfolding of the concentration camp experience through the damaged generations, one may fairly ask if indeed there were any survivors.
(Rakoff, 1966, p. 21)

However, even among those early investigators there were some who warned against the premature assumption that this was a "damaged generation". Trossman (1968), despite his own observations on the negative effects of the concentration camp experiences of survivors on their adolescent children, suggested that comparisons with non-patients as well as with children of survivors who were not in concentration camps were needed. A similar note of caution was sounded by Sigal (1971), who highlighted the bias involved in reporting on clinical samples:

These observations and the studies to which we have referred deal with the families that have not functioned well. Inevitably, those are the ones that appear in our clinics and in our offices. The awkward phrase, 'concentration camp survivors suffering from the concentration camp survivor's syndrome', sometimes appears in this chapter in

order to indicate an awareness that there are concentration camp survivors who do not currently show signs of disturbance. (p. 64)

Sigal's awareness that a "normal" group of survivors existed - that pathology was not an inevitable result of the concentration camp experience - was matched, in the next few years, by a growing appreciation for the complexity of the problem of defining the second-generation effects of that experience. Two sources of information have gradually led to a more balanced view, with a less psychopathological bias. The first includes descriptions in the North American literature written by investigators who encountered children of survivors in non-clinical or quasi-clinical settings. The second involves descriptions of children of survivors who have been raised in Israel. The following discussion will concern itself with findings from these two sources, as well as with the concomitant shift in emphasis from diagnosis and treatment towards support and prevention.

The non-clinical North American literature. Fogelman and Savran (1979) recruited children of survivors in the Cambridge, Massachusetts area into a series of "awareness" groups. Despite the many difficulties found among these group members, the authors discriminated their findings from those of earlier investigators with clinical samples:

...What is lacking in the psychiatric research, however, is any indication of the range and degree to which the [symptoms] are present. From reading the case material, one would conclude that these people are functioning at extremely impaired levels. On the whole, we have not found this to be the case. Most research in this area is done on a clinical

population, whereas our experience is with non-clinical and well-functioning segments of children of survivors, which is probably far more representative of this population as a whole. (p. 224).

This view - that children of survivors usually must face some difficulties in their lives as a result of their parents' experiences, but that these difficulties do not preclude successful functioning - is also held by Trachtenberg and Davis (1978), who ran a support group for children of survivors in Skokie, Illinois:

Before describing what the literature reveals regarding children of survivors, it is important to note that the data are extracted basically from a clinical population. Although we have identified similar patterns of behavior in the individuals in the group, let us not forget that like their parents, children of survivors are unique and distinct individuals; and as a group, they have generally found healthy ways of dealing with their lives. Many of them may be emotionally scarred, as were their parents, but they are not walking around bleeding.

Kuperstein (1979) contrasted the negative findings in the clinical literature with anecdotal material obtained through interviews with non-clinical children of survivors. She found that the five children of survivors whom she interviewed suffered from tension and complaints similar to those described in the clinical literature, but that her interviewees reacted much less intensely; they struggled with their conflicts in a manner similar

to that described in the anecdotal literature reviewed by Kuperstein.

A recent example of similar anecdotal descriptions is the popular book "Children of the Holocaust" (Epstein, 1979), in which several children of survivors, as well as Helen Epstein herself, detail the struggles which they have encountered as a result of their parents' experiences. Despite the intensity and painfulness of these struggles, many of the subjects described in the book are successful, well-functioning people.

Reports on Israeli children of survivors. The North American descriptions of relatively well-functioning children of survivors are a most recent phenomenon, each of the studies cited above having appeared within the last two years. However, a more benign view of the adaptive potential of survivors and their families was suggested as early as 1971 by Hillel Klein, who studied 25 such families living on an Israeli kibbutz (Klein, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974) and who reported on a number of strengths and coping mechanisms among the children. Neither the acting out of aggression nor the feelings of depression were seen with the frequency or intensity that had been reported in earlier clinical studies. Despite some difficulties, these children were also able to form positive identifications with parents and other adults, to find appropriate outlets for aggression, and to cope effectively with difficult social and personal situations.

Klein suggested that the discrepancy between his findings and those of the early North American investigators could be accounted

for in terms of the "rebirth" experience of Israeli survivors through identification with the process of building a new society (Klein, 1972).. More concretely, both the anguish of loss and the feelings of aggression resulting from the holocaust found socially supported outlets in Israel:

...The apparent absence of the intrapunitive mode of handling hostility...and the lack of experienced psychic disturbances is attributed to this opportunity for group expression of mourning and aggression among the survivors.

The avenues for coping with the holocaust experience are psychologically satisfying and socially approved. The group expression of grief partially compensates for the inability of the individual to mourn at the time of his loss. In the kibbutz, the suffering is reinterpreted in a collective rather than an individualistic manner so that the survivors feel that they suffered and survived in a group and that their experiences form an integral part of Jewish history. In this respect, the kibbutz has provided an institutionalized coping mechanism which has freed libidinal energies to be used for constructive ends.

The survivors have channeled their aggression into political ideologies and an intensified in-group feeling. They are also able to legitimately direct it against an external enemy. These activities tend to alleviate the humiliation, degradation, and helplessness felt during the persecution. (Klein, 1973, p. 402-403)

Furthermore, such institutions as the Museum of the Holocaust and the Day of the Holocaust represent methods by which the whole country can identify with the survivor. The latter symbolizes death and rebirth on a national level (Klein, 1971).

In addressing himself more directly to the second generation, Aleksandrowicz (1973) pointed out that his subjects, unlike those of Rakoff (1966), Rakoff et. al. (1966), and Trossman (1968), have little trouble integrating their parents' demands that they a)

merge with the culture around them; and b) act as a continuation of the lost families.

...The explanation is simple: Rakoff's survivors were lonely aliens in an indifferent world; ours could easily acculturate themselves in a Jewish state and indeed most of them did. Moreover, there was less need for the parents to ask from the child to be a sort of living memorial to their tragic fate and their lost families. This function has been taken over and institutionalized by the state itself. (Aleksandrowicz, 1973, p. 391)

This sort of institutionalization might well have an extremely liberating effect as far as the children's identity formation is concerned. Newman (1979) pointed out other aspects of Israeli society which contributed to the individuation process, as well as to the child of survivors' ability to deal with aggression.

...Because every child enters the army at age eighteen, separation is institutionalized and made less painful for individual families. For the children there is the existence of a larger, more recognized reference group of other survivors' children than they would find in any other country. Since their parents' suffering is institutionalized within the national structure, they have less trouble identifying with it and separating from it. And in their participation in the wars that have dotted Israel's history, the younger generation can turn their aggression outward to defend their country and undo the passive submission of the victims and survivors who came before them. (Newman, 1979, p. 50)

The feelings of isolation and alienation so commonly reported among children of survivors in North America might well be much diminished within the context of a relatively friendly and sympathetic culture. Kuperstein (1979), who grew up in Israel and emigrated to the United States at the age of 14, described the alienation that her interviewees experienced. For example, one of her subjects found that other children would not believe the

stories which she tried to share with them regarding the holocaust. Schoolbooks described a World War II which bore little resemblance to the war he had learned of at home. By contrast, Kuperstein experienced no such feelings of alienation.

...Since I lived in Israel as a child I did not experience a sense of isolation, or of being different because the parents of most other children were also survivors. The Holocaust was emphasized in school and the existence of Israel and the need to defend it as a home for the Jews were often explained as a measure to prevent another Holocaust. In general, children of survivors who grow up in Israel experience less conflicts with their Jewish identity. The continuous necessity to defend Israel provides new meaning to the lives of their parents and to their own. Everyone is more obsessed with the strong image of the Israeli Jew, and the suffering of the past is often denied or used only as a motive for the present fight. Survivors and their children in Israel do have unique problems of their own, but they usually do not feel isolated or different. (p. 17)

While no direct comparison of the functioning of Israeli and North American children of survivors has been attempted, Klein and Last (1974) did study the attitudes of American and Israeli Jewish youth towards victims of the holocaust. They surveyed four groups within each culture, ranging from subjects who had at least one survivor parent through subjects whose parents were well removed from contact with the holocaust. They found that degree of closeness to the holocaust did not affect the knowledge of the holocaust in Israeli subjects, but that such an effect was present in the American sample. Among those farthest removed from the holocaust, Israelis answered factual questions about the holocaust correctly 61% of the time, Americans only 10% of the time.

They also found that Israelis were uniformly empathetic towards holocaust victims, but American youths expressed less empathy the further they were experientially removed from the holocaust. The latter sub-groups expressed much more anger and contempt towards survivors than did their Israeli counterparts. Also, more of the North American subjects avoided expressing any sort of emotional attitude towards holocaust victims. These findings lend support to the idea that Israeli children of survivors grow up in a more sympathetic, supportive environment than do their American counterparts. Moreover, the Klein and Last study addresses itself solely to the attitudes of Jewish youth. The gap surely widens when the total cultures are taken into account.

Support groups. The relative lack of sympathy and support for North American children of survivors - perhaps in conjunction with the growing tendency in North America for people who have shared similar experiences to form mutual support groups - led to a sudden growth in children of survivors' awareness of themselves as a group sharing a common history and a common set of problems. Support groups such as those described earlier (Fogelman & Savran, 1979; Trachtenberg & Davis, 1978) began to form in several cities with large Jewish populations. Many of the members of these groups were well-functioning professionals who had independently become interested in exploring this aspect of their identities (Epstein, 1979). The strength of the need for such groups was reflected by the response to Helen Epstein's article on children of survivors

in The New York Times Magazine (Epstein, 1977):

For a full year after my article appeared in The New York Times Magazine, I received letters from children of survivors throughout the United States. The letters were long and intimate, like letters from long-lost relations. Some were written by teen-agers still in high school; others by professionals whose stationery bore impressive letterheads. Some wrote that they had read and reread what I had written for several days in succession, unable to fathom how thoughts that they had believed to be so personal, so secret, so particular to themselves could be shared by others. (Epstein, 1979, p. 338-339)

Another outgrowth of this interest was the First International Conference on Children of Holocaust Survivors, held in New York in November of 1979. Approximately 400 children of survivors - many more than had been anticipated by the organizers - converged from all over North America to hear presentations by researchers and therapists, to discuss their own experiences, and to form networks through which ongoing communication could occur.

Adaptive Potential and the Availability of Supports

The growing awareness of the existence of a group of "normal" children of survivors in both Israel and North America raises a further question. That is, what sorts of variables can account for this group's having emerged relatively unscathed when compared to those described in the earlier articles written about children of survivors? The Israeli literature described above suggested several institutionalized support systems available to second-generation Israeli children of survivors. But how, in the absence of such supports, did the "normal" second-generation North Americans cope with their parents' legacy? The beginnings of an

answer to this question were suggested by Greenblatt (1978), who conducted intensive interviews with 10 adult children of survivors, five of whom had been in psychotherapy, or were in psychotherapy at the time of the study (clinical group). The other five subjects had never been in psychotherapy. The non-clinical group described a "closer-knit, outspoken, non-secretive environment" (p. 22).

The clinical group, by contrast, described "tense, chaotic emotionally charged, anxious, depressed, and secretive atmospheres" (p. 22).

The clinical group's reports indicated that the camps had been discussed more frequently, with more detail, and at an earlier age with these people than with those in the non-clinical group.

One way of conceptualizing this issue is by viewing children of holocaust survivors, as having an adaptive potential which can allow them to compensate successfully for the stresses generated by their parents' experiences. Greenblatt's comparison suggests that certain kinds of family environments might facilitate the utilization of this potential, while other family environments might hinder it. The question remains whether other sorts of experiences might be discovered to be similarly facilitative or hindering. The discovery of such experiences would be helpful in providing guidelines for assisting the offspring of massively traumatized individuals to cope successfully with the task of overcoming the hazards of growing up in their families. Further, if the claim that the Israeli culture is more supportive to children of survivors than the North American one could be substantiated, then it would be possible to suggest ways in which similar parallel supportive institutions could be developed elsewhere.

Such individualized and institutionalized supports might well prove helpful to a third survivor generation as well.

Statement of The Problem

Following reports by Rakoff et. al. (1966) and Trossman (1968) suggesting that children of concentration camp survivors appeared to seek help in disproportionately high numbers, a series of publications described some of the types of difficulties faced by the second generation. Most of the observations regarding these difficulties can be grouped according to three clusters of problems: 1) problems related to differentiation from the parents, (e.g., Sigal, 1971); 2) problems related to the experience and the expression of feelings of aggression (e.g., Sigal & Rakoff, 1971); and 3) problems related to depression, alienation, and apathy (e.g., Rakoff et. al., 1966).

However, recent reports describing children of survivors in a non-clinical population (e.g., Greenblatt, 1978), as well as a series of reports by Klein (1971, 1972, 1973, 1974) describing the children of survivors on an Israeli kibbutz, have provided evidence of the potential for a healthy adaptation in this population. The contrast between these two groups of reports raises the question of what types of supports - either of an institutionalized or individualized nature - might be available to facilitate such a healthy adaptation.

The present study represents an attempt to explore this issue through a direct comparison between the children of survivors in North America and in Israel. A comparable group consisting of

individuals whose parents were not in the concentration camps was examined in each location.

Two types of dependent measures were explored. A semi-structured interview (Selltiz et. al., 1976) was employed to measure individuation, aggression, alienation, and fantasy as these have been defined in the review of the literature. The items measuring the first three were constructed by the author in accordance with these definitions. A fantasy adapted from Stevens (1973) was used to obtain the data pertaining to fantasy functioning. The actual scores were obtained through ratings made by independent raters who scored each item according to pre-defined criteria specific to that item.

The second set of dependent variables measured was the degree to which subjects experience themselves as having received support from various sources in dealing with their feelings about the holocaust. The subjects were asked to rate themselves along a five point self-report scale for each of 13 measures of experienced support as well as on a global measure of support. The scale was constructed by the author based on his own supportive experiences, as well as those described by other children of survivors of his acquaintance.

The study is designed to explore two questions:

- 1) Do differences in the cultural milieus of North America and Israel produce differences in personality functioning on the four personality measures?

A multivariate analysis of variance (Cooley & Lohnes, 1971)

will be used to assess whether or not such differences appear. It is hypothesized that North American children of survivors experience more difficulty in these areas than do Israeli children of survivors.

2) Are there specific individualized support systems which can be related to improved functioning in one or more of the four personality measures?

A multiple regression analysis (Cohen & Cohen, 1975) will be used to assess the predictive power of the individualized support systems for the personality functions.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

The study involved 64 subjects (Ss) belonging to one of four groups of 16 Ss each. These groups will be referred to as the North American Experimental (NE) group, the North American Control (NC) group, the Israeli Experimental (IE) group, and the Israeli Control (IC) group.

The NE group consisted of 16 North American Jews, 18 years of age or over, but born not earlier than the end of World War II, one or both of whose parents had been incarcerated in a concentration camp. The NE Ss included only people who were born in North America or who immigrated to North America before the age of 8.

The NC group consisted of 16 Ss meeting the same criteria as those in the NE group. However, the group includes only Ss neither of whose parents had been subjected to incarceration in a concentration camp.

The IE group consisted of 16 Israeli Jews with one or both parents having survived the concentration camps. These Ss included only native Israelis or Israelis who immigrated to Israel before the age of 8.

The IC group consisted of 16 Ss meeting the same criteria as those in the IE group. However, this group was comprised only of Ss whose parents had never been in a concentration camp.

Most of the Ss in all four categories were obtained through friends, relatives, and acquaintances who were asked to make the initial contact with the S and to briefly explain the general nature of the study. If the S expressed a willingness to participate, the examiner (E) contacted the S directly and arranged for the interview. After the interview Ss were asked whether they would contact others who might be willing to participate, and the above procedure was repeated.

This procedure produced a sample consisting of a number of Ss who were related through marriage or through family of origin. Three Israeli Ss in the IE group had spouses in the IC group. Two other IE subjects were brother and sister. Five North American Ss in the NE group had spouses in the NC group. Two other NC subjects were husband and wife. Two pairs of siblings were also among the NE subjects.

Table 1 summarizes some of the relevant characteristics for each subgroup. All groups had a majority of female Ss, except the NC group, which had an equal number of males and females. The age ranges and means were roughly similar, although the NC group was slightly older on the average. A majority of Ss in all groups were married. Each subgroup was composed of individuals who were well-educated, with most having obtained degrees beyond high school.

Almost all of the parents of the NE and IE subjects had lost one or more members of their immediate family (parents, siblings, spouses or children) as a direct result of the

TABLE 1
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS IN EACH SUBGROUP

Subgroup	Sex		Age Range	Mean Age	Marital Status		Education		S's Parents Lost Family		
	M	F			S	M	High School**	Higher Degree	Neither	One	Both
NE	7	9	20-33	27.8	4	12	4	12	0	1	15
IE	6	10	22-32	27.2	6*	10	4	12	1	0	15
NC	8	8	22-33	29.3	3	13	2	14	12	1	3
IC	6	10	19-32	27.0	6	10	5	11	5	5	6

* One of the "single" Israeli children of survivors was widowed.

** Or equivalent.

holocaust. However, the control groups differed considerably in this respect. The parents of 12 of the NC subjects had not lost any immediate family in the holocaust. Only five IC Ss had parents who had not lost immediate members. One or both of the parents of the remaining 11 IC subjects had lost family members in the holocaust.

The Ss were almost exclusively at a middle class socio-economic level. Those few subjects who were not currently at that level had realistic aspirations of achieving such a status in the near future.

Instruments

The total interview consisted of five sections: the Personal Data sheet, the Structured Interview, the Introductory Fantasy, the Rosebush Fantasy, and the Support Systems Rating Scale. In addition, the S was asked to describe his feelings about participating in the study at the beginning and at the conclusion of the interview.

The Personal Data Sheet. This face sheet (see Appendix A) was used to collect demographic data pertaining to the subject and his parents. This data covered a variety of information relevant or potentially relevant to the study or to other analyses of the results that might occur subsequently. Included were: age; date of birth; marital status; number of children; education; occupation; army experience; age of immigration; and number and ages of siblings. Data pertaining to the parents includes: age; occupation; country of residence prior to World War II; location during World War II; members of immediate family who died during World War II; and members of immediate family who survived the war.

The Structured Interview. This interview consists of 15 questions devised by the author to tap the three personality dimensions developed above (see Appendix B). The first five questions comprise the I-scale, which is intended to measure operationally the S's success in individuating himself from his parents and in establishing his own identity. The A-scale is made up of the next three questions, which are intended to measure operationally the ability of the S to use aggression creatively and appropriately in encountering and dealing with conflict. The last seven questions, the D-scale, are intended to measure operationally, the S's sense of well-being, with an emphasis on his connectedness to family, friends, and community.

The items for each scale were selected so that various aspects of the constructs being measured could be examined. It was the intention of the author to choose items which would yield information that was descriptive of each S's functioning in the three areas described above. For example, item A-1 (see Appendix B) was designed to elicit self-descriptive information which could be used to assess the S's ability to be assertive in an appropriate way. This quality has been described as problematical for those children of survivors living in "victim"-type families, as those were defined by Danieli (1979):

The questions are all open-ended in nature, and the S was able to respond as succinctly or as expansively as he desired. The E could question the S, but his questions were aimed at clarifying the response where ambiguity existed. Where a response

seemed unscorable (see scoring methods, Appendices G and H) or the S has misinterpreted the question, the E would rephrase the question so as to elicit a scorable response, but avoided changing the essence of the question or phrasing it in such a manner as to bias the response.

The open-ended style was considered the most appropriate for this design because of its superiority in addressing complex issues involving the exploration of a process (Selltiz et. al., 1973). The questions were initially chosen because of their logical relationship to the personality dimensions being measured. The final format and wording of items was reached through a series of steps involving testing and refinement. The test was pre-administered to three North American relatives of the author, two of whom were children of survivors; the third was not a child of survivors. Questions which seemed to elicit stereotyped responses were administered to 2 other Ss, and were replaced if no variation of response was obtained. A further administration of the entire test was given to an Israeli daughter of survivors. The record of this interview was examined by the author and two colleagues, and further modifications were made until a concensus was reached on each question. This resulted in the final version of the questionnaire as it was used in the study. None of the Ss used in refining the instrument were included in the study.

The Fantasies. The fantasy task was introduced to elicit another "level" of information about the functioning of Ss. While the Structured Interview is designed to provide self-report

information about how Ss function in situations, the fantasy is a task which allows relatively direct observation of the S's ability to utilize imaginative functioning productively.

The brief introductory fantasy (see Appendix C) is based on one taken from Passons (1975). It was used as an introduction to the Rosebush Fantasy, and as a way of helping the S to relax and to become familiar with the task of imagining a situation and verbalizing his fantasied thoughts, feelings, and imagery.

The Rosebush Fantasy is a guided fantasy (see Appendix D) and is a modified version of the one described in Stevens (1973). It was used primarily to measure the degree to which the S is able to utilize fantasy in an integrative fashion. Raters were instructed to score the S's response for relaxation, flexibility, and creativity (see Appendices G and H).

The Support Systems. This scale (see Appendix E) was constructed by the author based on data obtained from conversations with several children of survivors about what they had found helpful to them in working through the feelings which they confronted in relation to the holocaust. The 13 items chosen include all the support systems which were mentioned other than those which were judged to be highly idiosyncratic. The scale is intended as a method for determining the degree to which each S in the survivor groups perceives himself as having received support in coming to terms with the feelings that were elicited as a result of having grown up in a survivor family. The S was asked to rate each of 13 potential sources of such support along a 5-point rating scale

ranging from "A great deal of help" through "No help at all". The S was also asked to mention any additional sources of support not listed.

Procedure

After the S had expressed his interest in being involved in the research, he was contacted by the E who introduced himself as a son of two survivors doing his doctoral research with children of survivors. The E then described the general nature of the research. This included a brief explanation of the cross-cultural nature of the study, the fact that the research involved a study of support systems, and of the fact that a tape recorder would be used to obtain a verbatim transcript of the S's answers to a personality questionnaire.

The S was told that the interview would usually take between one and two hours, and that it would be important for the interview to take place in privacy and without interruptions. A mutually acceptable time and location was established.

The Personal Data Sheet. After setting up the tape recording equipment, the E began the interview by asking the S how he felt about being involved in the study. His answer was noted and after it was ascertained that the S was comfortable and ready to begin, the Personal Data Sheet (Appendix A) was introduced as follows:

I'm going to ask you some factual questions about yourself and about your parents. First of all, how old are you?

This section included questions about the S's parents and their history of incarceration. It was felt that the S's willingness to be open and responsive to the subsequent questionnaire would be at least partially dependent upon the degree to which an atmosphere of empathy and trust could be established during the first section. Conversely, to the degree that the S felt himself to be the object of a cold, impersonal inquiry, he would be likely to be closed and defensive in the subsequent parts of the interview.

Accordingly, the E attempted to be communicative, and sharing throughout the gathering of the initial data, although without shifting the focus to himself for any but brief periods of time. This sometimes involved discussing his own background, some of his parents' experiences, and some of his feelings about those experiences. Moreover, the degree to which such information was shared varied with the degree to which the S seems to be interested in the E's experiences and the degree to which this emerged spontaneously out of this section of the interview. It was felt that the sacrifice in terms of time would be more than compensated for by the establishment of a positive rapport between the S and the E. It was felt that this rapport would be essential in eliciting the desired information in the following, more standardized interview, where the S was asked to reveal aspects of himself without reciprocal self-disclosure on the part of the E.

The Structured Interview. Once the Personal Data Sheet had been completed, the tape recorder was turned on and the E introduced the structured interview as follows:

Now I'm going to describe to you some hypothetical situations, and I'd like you to tell me how you would respond in each of the situations.

As mentioned earlier, the E followed up the initial stimulus with further questions when he felt that the S had misinterpreted the question, when clarification was needed, or when the response to the question seemed unscorable. However, while the E occasionally rephrased the question for these purposes, he avoided doing so in a manner which might bias the S's response.

The Fantasies. After the Structured Interview was completed, the fantasies were introduced as follows:

For the next section, I'm going to describe to you two fantasies. The first one is for practice only and will not be used in my results; the second one is the one I will be using for my study. In listening to these fantasies, it is important for you to be as relaxed and as comfortable as possible. Some people find that it helps when they close their eyes; others feel more comfortable with their eyes open. Whichever feels right for you is okay. So, here is the first fantasy. Imagine that, etc...

Occasionally, if the S had related a particularly poor Introductory Fantasy - that is, with little attention to thoughts and feelings - the E would ask the S what he might have thought or felt in the situation he described, before proceeding to the Rosebush Fantasy. Otherwise, the E continued as follows:

Good. Now you have the idea. The second fantasy is a little different in that it involves several parts, and I would like you to wait until I have finished describing all the parts of the fantasy. I'll let you know when I've finished, and then you can describe to me what you became aware of in your fantasy. Remember that it is important for you to feel as relaxed and comfortable as possible. For this fantasy, I would like you to imagine that you are a rosebush. Etc...

The Rosebush fantasy was accepted without comment, and the Support System rating sheet was introduced.

The Support System. The S was shown the Support Systems rating-sheet and the following instructions were given.

For the next section, I would like us to fill this sheet out together. Read the instructions at the top, and then I'd like to tell you exactly what I'm trying to get at before we begin.

After the S had read the initial question, the E proceeded

as follows:

What I'm trying to see here is the degree to which each of these has been helpful to you.

I'm making the assumption here that for people whose parents were in the holocaust - as well as for Jews whose parents were not in concentration camps - the holocaust may have created certain difficulties and raised certain issues.

The first type of difficulty would involve problems created through growing up in a family with a parent or parents who were in the concentration camps. In other words, I am assuming that their experiences affected the manner in which they raised their children, and this in turn may have created some problems for the children.

The second sort of difficulty would involve more general issues raised by the very fact of the holocaust. That is, what sorts of beliefs, concerns, philosophical problems, and so on, might you have been confronted with as a result of knowing of this aspect of your history.

What I am looking for here, is the degree to which each of these people or things has been of help to you in coming to some terms with the

feelings which you have encountered and struggled with in relation to the holocaust.

Ss were encouraged to ask for clarification where the meaning of the instructions seemed unclear or ambiguous. The S was then asked to provide a rating for the degree to which his father had been helpful to him. Once this rating was given, the S was asked to explain in what way his father had been helpful, and his answer was noted. This served two purposes: a) ensuring that the S was replying to the intent of the question; and b) providing additional data as to the process whereby support was effectively provided. For example, the father may be perceived as having been supportive because he was willing to discuss the child's fears; on the other hand, he might be perceived as having been supportive because he stressed the positive aspects of his survival. This procedure was followed for each of the sources of support mentioned.

Once the Support Systems form had been completed, the S was asked: "How do you feel about this study now that you have completed it?" His answer was noted, and he was encouraged to ask the E anything that he would like to know about the study. On many occasions lengthy discussions ensued.

Transcripts

The S's tape recorded responses to the Structured Interview were transcribed verbatim. The only deviation from this involved the rewriting of ungrammatical statements made by Israeli

Ss. These were re-written in such a manner as to make them understandable to a rater. However, the substance and meaning of the altered statements were left intact. Where there was ambiguity as to the S's intended meaning, the original statement was transcribed verbatim. Appendices G and H include illustrations of original verbatim transcript and of the modified version given to the rater.

Scoring

The Rating Scale. A 6-point rating scale ranging from a score of "1" (Poorly integrated) to a score of "6" (Well integrated) was used to score each of the S's responses to the Structured Interview, as well as each of three dimensions of his response to the Rosebush Fantasy. A two-step rating procedure was developed. 1) The Individual Item Criteria (see Appendix F) described the criteria for a score of "1" and a score of "6" for each item. The rater was instructed to score the item at the point on the continuum which in her judgement most closely approximated the degree of integration represented by the S's response. 2) A secondary set of criteria for overall level of functioning on each personality dimension (see Appendix G) was devised describing the general characteristics of each of 6 hypothetical Ss attaining overall scores of "1" through "6" on a 6-point scale for each of the four personality dimensions. The raters were instructed to use this guide as an aide in deciding between two adjacent scores when the primary guide (Appendix F) seemed insufficient in determining this.

Training the raters. Two raters, one an M.S.W. (R1) and the other with an M.A. in speech pathology (R2), were used. The raters were asked to familiarize themselves thoroughly with the two sets of criteria (Appendix F and Appendix G). The E then discussed these with the raters in order to clarify any ambiguity. The raters were then given two training protocols (neither belonging to Ss in the experiment) and they, as well as the E, scored these protocols. Scores were compared and discrepancies were discussed.

Rater reliability. Once the E was satisfied that the raters were adequately familiar with the coding system, each rater was given the same 8 protocols to score. These had been pre-selected, with one protocol being taken at random from each subgroup of protocols assigned to each rater. Thus each rater scored 4 of her own protocols and 4 of the other rater's protocols. The E rated these same 8 protocols as well, and inter-rater reliabilities were calculated for each scale using Pearson product-moment correlations. The results are summarized in Table 2.

As reported in this table, ratings on the Aggression, Alienation, and Fantasy scales were highly reliable. However, the R1 x R2 reliability on the Individuation scale was considerably lower. The correlation of each rater's scores with those of the E's suggested that R1 and the E were using the I-scale coding system reliably ($r = .81, p < .005$), but that the ratings of R2 and the E were not reliable ($r = .48, p < .05$). Consequently, it was decided that the raters would divide the protocols as per the

TABLE 2
INTER-RATER RELIABILITIES

Scale	Correlation		
	<u>R1</u> X <u>R2</u>	<u>R1</u> X <u>E</u>	<u>R2</u> X <u>E</u>
Individuation	.63	.81	.48
Aggression	.87	.93	.94
Alienation	.84	.86	.85
Fantasy	.94	.95	.90

original design for the Aggression, Alienation, and Fantasy scales, but that R1 would score all of the Individuation scales.

Support Scores. Each source of support was rated by each subject from "1" (No help at all) to "5" (A great deal of help) (see Appendix E). The following support scores were obtained for each S:

- 1) Parental support (PS) (Father + Mother)
- 2) Relatives' support (RS) (Siblings + Other relatives)
- 3) Community support (CS) (Other children of survivors + Friends + Teachers + Religious leaders)
- 4) Pursued support (PuS) (Discussion groups + Books, films, theatre, etc. + Religious activities + Political activities + Psychotherapy)
- 5) Total support (TS) (the total of the 13 support systems mentioned on the Support Systems form)
- 6) Overall support (O) (S's rating of overall support).

Miscellaneous supports mentioned by the S were noted as well.

Analysis of the Results

The MANOVA. A 2 X 2 multivariate analysis of variance (Cooley and Lohnes, 1971) was used to explore the effects of Location (Israel vs. North America) and Status (children of survivors vs. control group) and of their interaction, on personality functioning in the four areas described above. Table 3 summarizes the experimental paradigm.

TABLE 3
EXPERIMENTAL PARADIGM

	Location	
	North America (n = 32)	Israel (n = 32)
Status	NE	IE
	N = 16	N = 16
Children of Survivors (n = 32)	4 Personality Scores for each <u>S</u>	4 Personality Scores for each <u>S</u>
Control (n = 32)	NC	IC
	N = 16	N = 16
	4 Personality Scores for each <u>S</u>	4 Personality Scores for each <u>S</u>

Previous research (see Chapter I) would indicate that a status effect will be present. That is, children of survivors would be expected to score lower on the specified personality dimensions in comparison to subjects whose parents were not in concentration camps.

It would be difficult (and not germane to the present study) to predict whether or not a location effect would be found, since no norms have been established for the general population in either location for the scales being used. For the same reason it would be difficult to interpret either an observed difference or the lack of one between Israelis and North Americans.

The hypothesis that children of survivors in Israel receive more institutionalized supports than do those in North America would lead to the prediction of an interaction effect between status and location. That is, it is predicted that Israeli children of survivors will function better relative to the Israel control group than the North American children of survivors will function relative to the North American control group.

The multiple regression. A correlation table will be constructed to determine the intercorrelations among the personality scores and support scores. A multiple regression analysis (Cohen & Cohen, 1975) will be performed to obtain a linear regression equation describing each personality measure as a function of the support variables. Tests of significance will be performed to determine which of these equations indicate a significant relationship. Where such significance is obtained,

further tests of significance will be used to determine which support scores contribute significantly toward prediction of the personality score. The general form of the equation will be as follows:

$$y' = a + b_1PS + b_2RS + b_3CS + b_4PuS + b_5O,$$

where y is the predicted personality score, a is the intercept, and b_1 through b_5 are the partial-regression coefficients attached to each of the support measures.

This analysis will be performed for each group of children of survivors independently, as well as for the combined group of children of survivors.³

³. Comparable data was collected for the control group and may be of value in further research.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The results of this study will be presented in two parts. The first part is a description of a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for the four personality measures. The second part describes the correlational relationship between scores obtained on the support measures and those of the personality measures, as well as multiple linear regression equations of each personality measure onto the support scores.

MANOVA Results

Winer (1962) has discussed the relative costs of Type 1 and Type 2 errors in relation to exploratory studies. He argued that too little emphasis has been placed on the power of a test, and that mistaken acceptance of the null hypothesis (Type 2 error) can be caused by a failure to appreciate the limitations of the experimental design. Winer suggested that when the reality of working conditions imposes such limitations the use of .05 and .01 levels of significance can result in a low-power test with a high probability of Type 2 error. He concluded that the use of .30 and .20 levels of significance may be more appropriate when Type 1 and Type 2 errors are approximately equal in importance.

Since this is an exploratory study designed to generate hypotheses for further testing rather than for making conclusive

statements to be generalized with confidence, a liberal criterion will be used in reporting the MANOVA results. Thus an overall F-test for equality of centroids will be considered significant whenever $p < .20$. F-tests for equality of means on individual variables will be reported where $p < .10$.

Table 4 summarizes the means and standard deviations for each group on each of the four personality measures. The MANOVA test for the null hypothesis (H_0) for each of the main effects and for the interaction effect is summarized in Table 5, with Wilks' Λ being used in the calculation of the F-test (Cooley and Lohnes, 1971). The null hypothesis for the effect of location was not rejected: Israelis and North Americans did not differ in overall personality functioning. As predicted, the null hypothesis for the effect of status was rejected: children of survivors differed from control subjects on the personality measures. The null hypothesis for the interaction between status and location was rejected. The finding of an interaction effect was in accordance with our prediction.

The rejection of the null hypothesis for status and for the interaction of status with location permits a next level of data analyses, independent analyses of variance (ANOVAS) for these effects for each personality factor: Individuation, Aggression, Alienation, and Fantasy. The results of these analyses are presented below by factor.

Individuation

Table 6 summarizes the means, standard deviations, and

TABLE 4
 MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR EACH
 GROUP ON THE PERSONALITY MEASURES

Dependent Measure	GROUP							
	North America				Israel			
	Children of Survivors n=16		Control n=16		Children of Survivors n=16 ¹		Control n=16	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Individuation	18.9	4.03	20.6	4.76	19.4	3.16	18.7	4.87
Aggression	8.1	2.57	11.3	2.67	9.8	3.57	10.2	3.85
Alienation	24.9	3.10	30.5	3.10	28.2	6.78	28.1	6.02
Fantasy	12.6	3.03	14.6	3.03	11.0	3.27	12.6	2.94

¹The tape recording of one of the IE subjects' response to the Fantasy task was lost, and this subject's scores were not included for the overall MANOVA or for the Fantasy ANOVA.

TABLE 5

MANOVA

Ho for Location	$\Lambda = .906$	$F(4,56) = 1.45$	$p > .20$
Ho for Status	$\Lambda = .846$	$F(4,56) = 2.55$	$p < .05$
Ho for Location X Status	$\Lambda = .900$	$F(4,56) = 1.56$	$p < .20$

TABLE 6

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUATION SCORES OBTAINED BY
 CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS AND CONTROL GROUP SUBJECTS
 IN ISRAEL AND NORTH AMERICA
 (N = 16 FOR EACH SUBGROUP; TOTAL N = 64)

<u>Status</u>	<u>Location</u>			
	<u>North America</u>		<u>Israel</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Children of Survivors	18.9	4.03	19.4	3.16
Control Group	20.6	4.76	18.7	4.87

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Location	8.27	1	8.27	0.46
Status	4.52	1	4.52	0.25
Location X Status	23.77	1	23.77	1.31
Error	1088.69	60	18.14	
Total	1125.23	63		

* $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$

ANOVA for the distribution of Individuation scale scores. Contrary to prediction, neither the status effect nor the interaction effect was found to be significant. Figure 1 does suggest a trend towards an interaction effect, with children of survivors scoring lower in North America than control group subjects. This relationship was reversed in Israel. However, this trend did not attain significance, and H_0 was not rejected.

Aggression

Table 7 summarizes the means, standard deviations, and ANOVA for the distribution of the Aggression scores among the four groups. As predicted, H_0 was rejected for the effect of status and for the effect of the interaction between status and location.

An analysis of variance for simple effects of status for each location was performed (Winer, 1962), and the results are summarized in Table 8. These results indicate that the difference between the NE and NC groups is significant, while the difference between the IE and IC groups is not. The relationship is represented in Figure 2, where it can be seen that the control group attained higher scores than the children of survivors in both locations, but the difference between the groups was considerably larger in North American than in Israel. These results are in accordance with our predictions.

Alienation

Table 9 summarizes the ANOVA results for the distribution of Alienation scores. As predicted, H_0 for status and for the

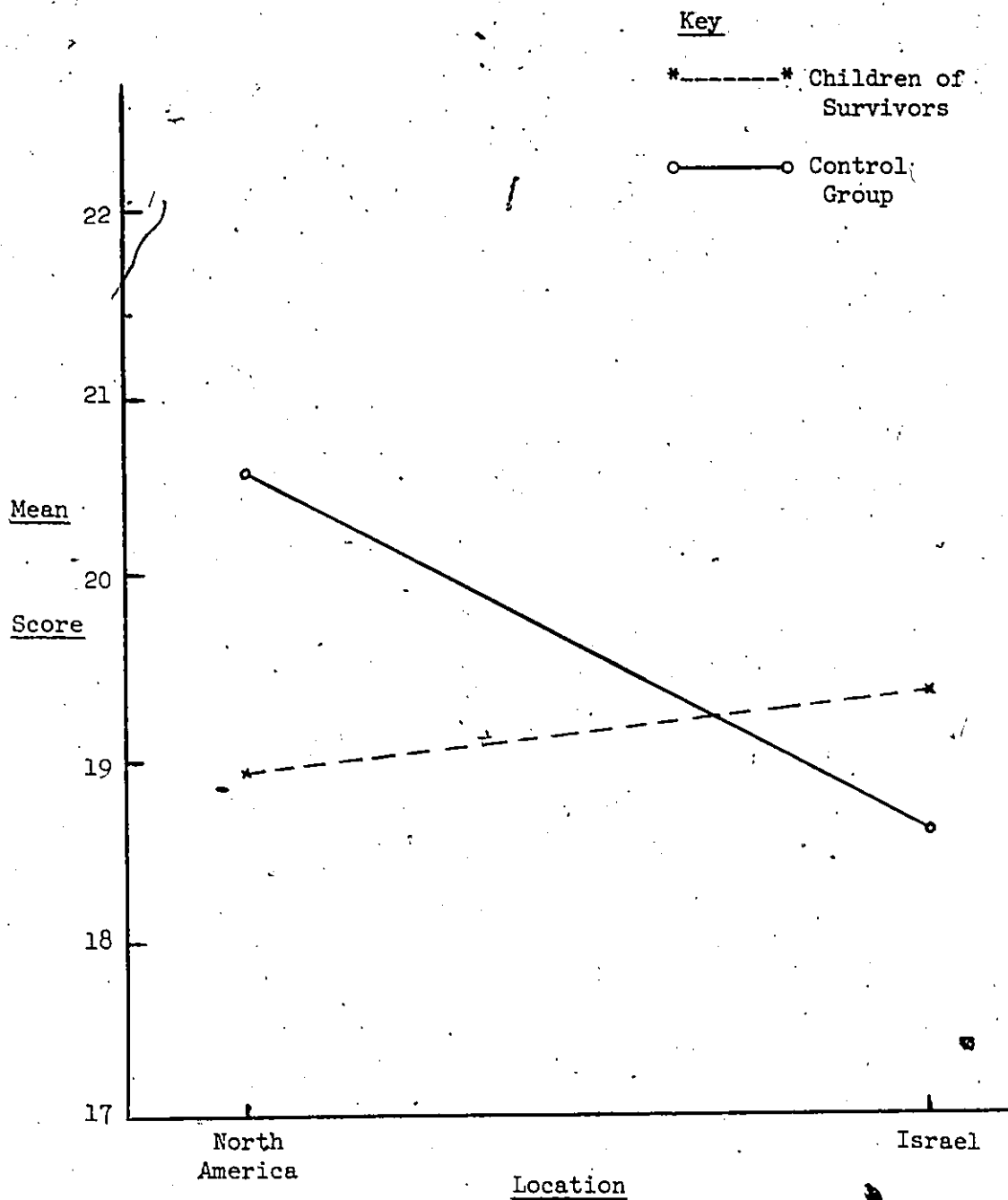


Figure 1. Individuation Scores as a Function of Location and Status

TABLE 7

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF AGGRESSION SCORES OBTAINED BY
 CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS AND CONTROL GROUP SUBJECTS
 IN ISRAEL AND NORTH AMERICA
 (N = 16 FOR EACH SUBGROUP; TOTAL N = 64)

<u>Status</u>	<u>Location</u>			
	<u>North America</u>		<u>Israel</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Children of Survivors	8.1	2.57	9.8	3.57
Control Group	11.3	2.67	10.2	3.85

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Location	1.56	1	1.56	0.15
Status	52.56	1	52.56	5.09**
Location X Status	30.25	1	30.25	2.93*
Error	619.37	60	10.32	
Total	703.75	63		

*p < .10
 **p < .05

TABLE 8
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE SIMPLE EFFECTS
ON THE AGGRESSION SCALE

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Status for Israel	1.53	1	1.53	0.15
Status for North America	81.28	1	81.28	7.88*
Within cell	619.38	60	10.32	

*p < .01

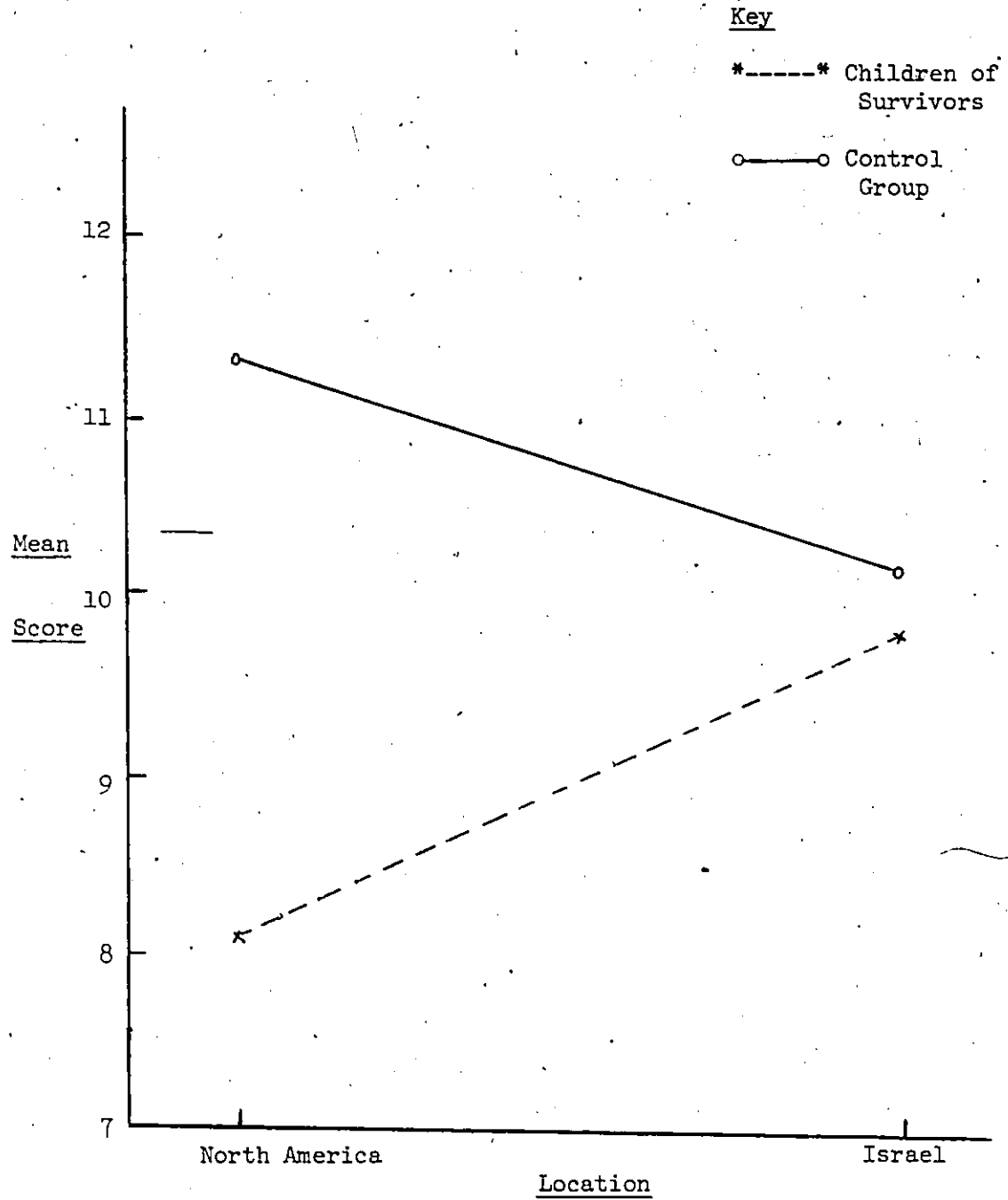


Figure 2. Aggression Scores as a Function of Location and Status

TABLE 9

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALIENATION SCORES OBTAINED BY
 CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS AND CONTROL GROUP SUBJECTS
 IN ISRAEL AND NORTH AMERICA
 (N = 16 FOR EACH SUBGROUP; TOTAL N = 64)

<u>Status</u>	<u>Location</u>			
	<u>North America</u>		<u>Israel</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Children of Survivors	24.9	3.10	28.2	28.1
Control Group	30.5	3.10	6.78	6.02

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Location	3.52	1	3.52	0.12
Status	123.77	1	123.77	4.24**
Location X Status	129.39	1	129.39	4.44**
Error	1749.94	60	29.17	
Total	2006.61	63		

*p < .10
 **p < .05

interaction effect was rejected. The analysis of variance for simple effects (Table 10) shows the source of this interaction to be the different effects of status for each location. That is, in North America there is a significant difference between children of survivors and control subjects. This difference was not found in Israel. Figure 3 demonstrates the direction of the relationship. The NC group was superior to the NE group, while the IE and IC group mean scores were virtually identical. These results conformed to our predictions.

Fantasy

The means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance for the distribution of Fantasy scores is summarized in Table 11. As predicted, a significant status effect was found. A significant location effect was obtained as well. Contrary to prediction, the test for an interaction effect did not lead to rejection of the null hypothesis. As can be seen in Figure 4, North Americans were superior to Israelis on this task, and control groups subjects were superior to children of survivors. No trend towards an interaction effect occurred, as the difference between survivor and control groups was almost identical for the two locations.

In summary, the MANOVA confirmed that the children of survivors group differed from controls on the four personality measures used in this study. In addition, an interaction effect was demonstrated: these two groups were differentially affected by location (country). When independent analyses were performed for each of the personality

TABLE 10
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SIMPLE EFFECTS
ON THE ALIENATION SCALE

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Status for Israel	.03	1	.03	.001
Status for North America	253.12	1	253.12	8.67*
Within cell	1749.94	60	29.17	

*p < .01

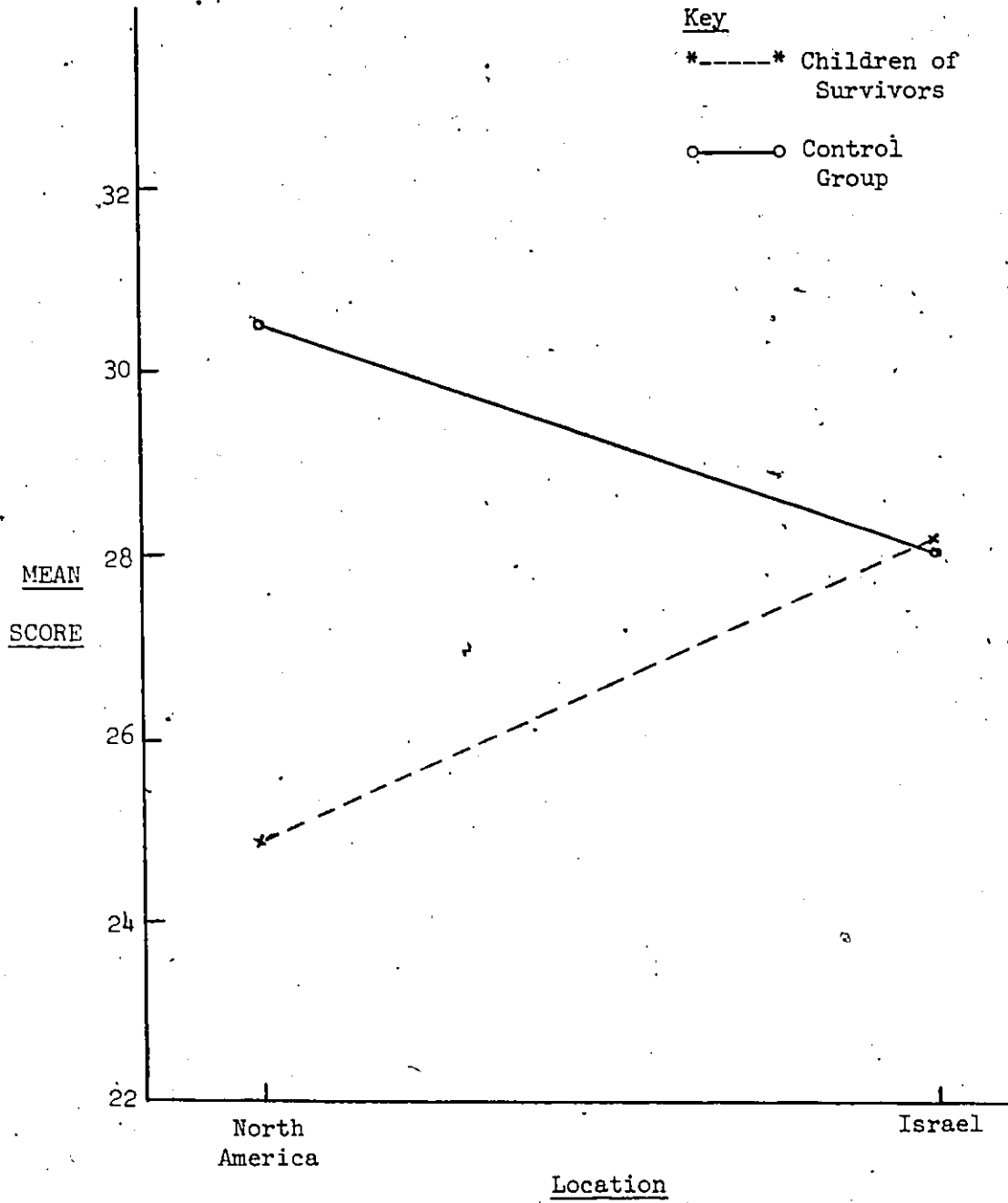


Figure 3. Alienation Scores as a Function of Location and Status

TABLE 11

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF FANTASY SCORES OBTAINED BY
 CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS AND CONTROL GROUP SUBJECTS
 IN ISRAEL AND NORTH AMERICA
 (N = 16 FOR EACH SUBGROUP; TOTAL N = 63)

<u>Status</u>	<u>Location</u>			
	<u>North America</u>		<u>Israel</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Children of Survivors	12.6	3.03	11.0	3.27
Control Group	14.6	3.03	12.6	2.94

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Location	48.50	1	48.50	4.90**
Status	50.09	1	50.09	5.07**
Location X Status	0.38	1	0.38	0.04
Error	583.44	59	9.89	
Total	682.41	62		

*p < .10

**p < .05

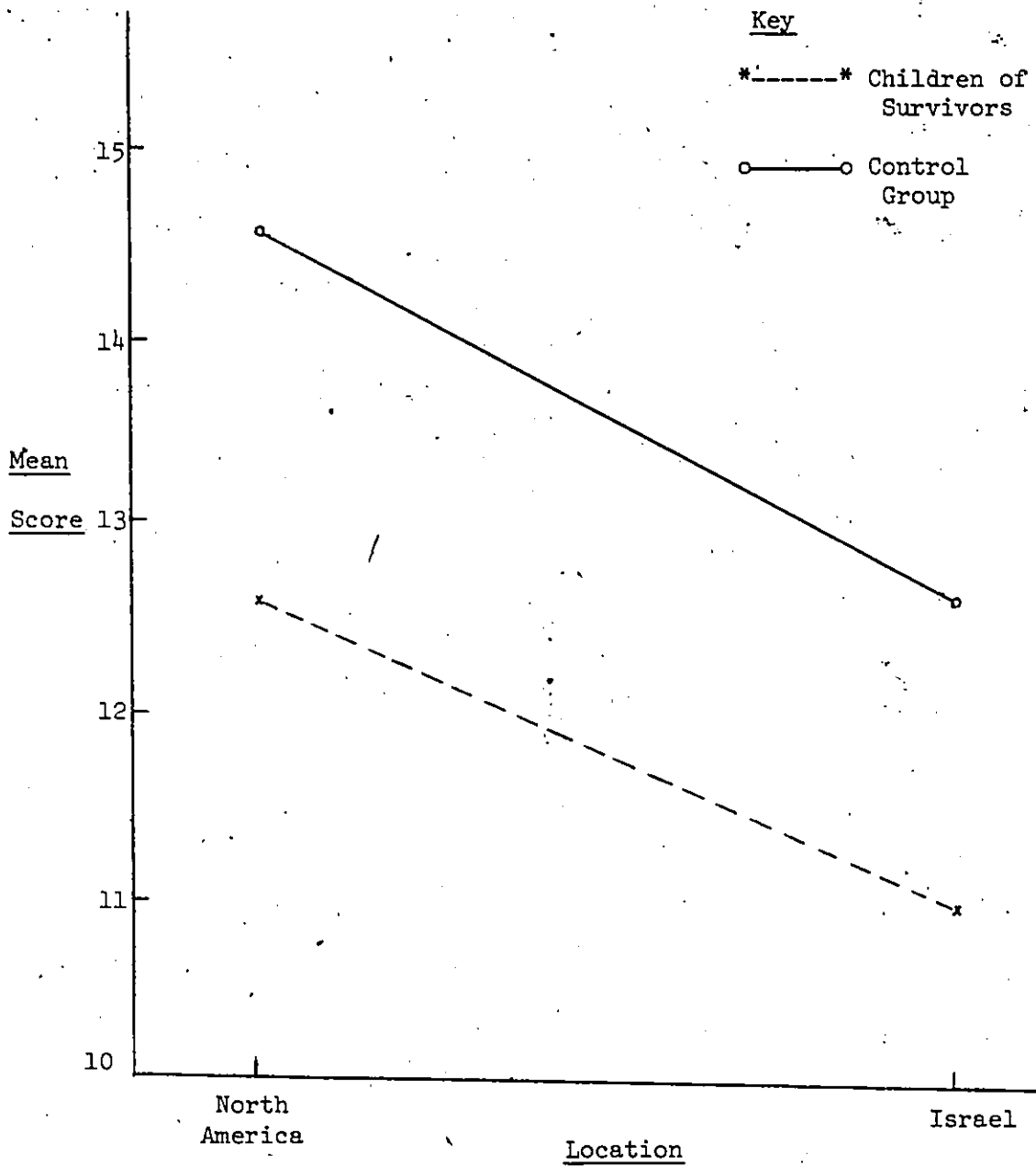


Figure 4. Fantasy Scores as a Function of Location and Status

measures this interaction effect was obtained for the Aggression and Alienation measures; that is, among North American subjects, the controls showed superior functioning while among Israeli subjects there were no differences. This interaction effect was not obtained on the Fantasy scale, although there was a status effect, survivor children doing better in each country. With respect to the Individuation measure, neither effect was noted at a significant level although there was a trend toward an interaction effect in the predicted direction.

Results of Correlations and Multiple Linear Regressions

Tables 12, 13, and 14 summarize the correlations between personality scores and support scores for the NE group, the IE group, and combined children of survivor group respectively. A .05 level of significance has been chosen in reporting these correlations.

With one exception (Relatives' support X Individuation for the NE group), none of the support measures was significantly correlated with either Individuation or Aggression. Alienation was significantly correlated with Pursued support and Total support in all three groups. In addition, Alienation was significantly correlated with Relatives' support and Overall support in the IE and combined groups. No significant correlations were obtained between Fantasy and any of the support measures in the NE group. Total support was significantly correlated with Fantasy in the

TABLE 12
 INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERSONALITY SCORES AND SUPPORT SCORES
 FOR NORTH AMERICAN CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS (n = 16)

	Individuation	Aggression	Alienation	Fantasy
Parents' Support	.31	.26	.03	-.01
Relatives' Support	.54*	.19	.34	-.13
Community Support	.04	-.10	.33	-.09
Pursued Support	.15	-.04	.53*	.13
Total Support	.41	.07	.51*	-.01
Overall Support	-.37	.03	-.12	-.19

* p < .05

** p < .01

TABLE 13
 INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERSONALITY SCORES AND SUPPORT
 SCORES FOR ISRAELI CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS (n = 16)

	Individuation	Aggression	Alienation	Fantasy
Parents' Support	.05	.12	.35	.34
Relatives' Support	-.21	.13	.57*	.62**
Community Support	-.27	.11	.03	.36
Pursued Support	-.03	.41	.45*	.33
Total Support	-.15	.33	.54*	.61**
Overall Support	.10	.25	.66**	.52*

* p < .05
 ** p < .01

TABLE 14
 INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERSONALITY SCORES AND SUPPORT
 SCORES FOR CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS (n = 32)

	Individuation	Aggression	Alienation	Fantasy
Parents' Support	.20	.17	.20	.15
Relatives' Support	.24	.01	.36*	.11
Community Support	-.11	.03	.14	.16
Pursued Support	.07	.15	.41**	.25
Total Support	.16	.16	.46**	.32*
Overall Support	-.13	.21	.38*	.13

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

IE and combined groups. In addition, Fantasy correlated significantly with Relatives' support and Overall support in the IE group.

Despite the lack of significant correlations between support measures and Individuation and Aggression, multiple linear regressions were calculated for these personality factors as well as for Alienation and Fantasy, since it was conceivable that a combination of the support measures might be significantly correlated with either or both of these factors. As with the ANOVA results, a liberal criterion for significance ($p < .10$) will be used in reporting the results of the regression analysis.

Table 15 summarizes the results of the tests for significance of the multiple regression equations generated for each personality factor for each group. Two of the 12 linear regressions describe a relationship significant beyond the .10 level: Alienation for the IE group, and Alienation for the combined group; the null hypothesis was rejected for these two equations.

Cohen and Cohen (1975) have cautioned against accepting the contribution of an individual independent variable as significant when the overall F is not significant. Accordingly, only the two regressions achieving overall significance were further analyzed. Tables 16 and 17 summarize the results of these analyses. The F values for the individual supports were calculated using a Type IV sum of squares (Barr et. al., 1976), so that the correlations among support scores were partialled out in the calculation of the significance of the contribution of a

TABLE 15

RESULTS OF TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSIONS OF PERSONALITY SCORES ONTO SUPPORT SCORES FOR NORTH AMERICAN CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS, ISRAELI CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS AND TOTAL SURVIVOR GROUP

<u>Group</u>	<u>Dependent Variable</u>	<u>R²</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
North American children of survivors (NE) (n = 16)	Individuation	.507	2.05	.156
	Aggression	.086	.19	.961
	Alienation	.362	1.14	.402
	Fantasy	.258	.69	.640
Israeli child- ren of sur- vivors (IE) (n = 16)	Individuation	.293	.53	.556
	Aggression	.172	.41	.828
	Alienation	.563	2.57	.095
	Fantasy	.550	2.20	.144
Total child- ren of sur- vivors group (n = 32)	Individuation	.130	.78	.574
	Aggression	.091	.52	.760
	Alienation	.320	2.45	.060
	Fantasy	.109	.61	.694

TABLE 16

SIGNIFICANCE TESTS OF PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS IN THE MULTIPLE LINEAR
REGRESSION OF ALIENATION ONTO SUPPORT SCORES FOR
ISRAELI CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS (n = 16)

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>R²</u>
Model	388.58	5	77.72	2.57	.095	.563
Parents' support	5.57*	1	5.57	0.18	.676	
Relatives' support	21.64*	1	21.64	0.72	.416	
Community support	20.27*	1	20.27	0.67	.431	
Pursued support	14.48*	1	14.48	0.48	.504	
Overall support	85.53*	1	85.53	2.83	.123	
Error	301.86	10	30.19			
Corrected total	690.44					

*Type IV SS

TABLE 17

SIGNIFICANCE TESTS OF PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS IN THE MULTIPLE LINEAR
REGRESSION OF ALIENATION ONTO SUPPORT SCORES FOR
THE COMBINED CHILDREN OF SURVIVOR GROUPS (n = 32)

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>R²</u>
Model	.368.43	5	73.69	2.45	.060	.320
Parents' support	6.93*	1	6.93	0.23	.635	
Relatives' support	30.35*	1	30.35	1.01	.324	
Community support	7.15*	1	7.15	0.24	.629	
Pursued support	91.71*	1	91.71	3.05	.092	
Overall support	82.65*	1	82.65	2.75	.109	
Error	781.54	26	30.06			
Corrected Total	1149.97	31				

*Type IV SS

particular support score to the multiple correlation.

None of the support measures in Table 16 attains significance beyond the .10 level. This indicates that a large proportion of each correlation between an individual support measure and Alienation in Table 13 (Israeli children of survivors) is accounted for by the correlation of that support measure with one or more of the others. Only Pursued support contributed significantly to the correlation between support and Alienation in the combined children of survivors group (Table 17). Again, this indicates that the correlations of Relatives' support and Overall support with Alienation (Table 14) are spurious.

In summary, the most consistent evidence for a relationship between support and personality variables was found in relation to Alienation. This variable was found to correlate significantly with Total support and with at least one of the specific supports in each group. Regression analysis demonstrated a significant correlation between support and Alienation for the IE and combined groups. However, analysis of the contribution of individual supports to the regression equation suggested that most of the correlations described earlier were elevated by the inter-correlations of support scores themselves. Pursued support was found to contribute significantly to the relationship between support and Alienation in the combined group.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The recent literature on children of holocaust survivors has focused increasingly on the "normal", well-functioning members of that population (e.g., Fogelman & Savran, 1979). The realization that serious pathology is not an inescapable consequence of growing up in a survivor family has resulted in an interest in determining the circumstances which contribute to a healthy adaptation on the part of the offspring of survivor families (e.g., Greenblatt, 1978).

The present study was designed to explore this issue from two points of view: 1) the influence of cultural supports which contribute to healthy functioning; and 2) the influence of individualized supports which facilitate healthy adaptation. A group of well-functioning children of survivors and a control group of Jewish subjects whose parents had not been in the concentration camps were interviewed in Israel. Two parallel groups were interviewed in North America. Four derived personality measures and five measures of supports received in dealing with feelings about the holocaust were obtained for each subject. A 2 X 2 multivariate analysis of variance was used to determine whether North American children of survivors differed from their Israeli counterparts on the personality measures. Multiple linear regression analyses were used to assess the degree of contribution of the various support measures to healthy functioning on the personality dimensions.

The following discussion will address the meaning of the results as they were described in the previous chapter. The findings will also be considered in terms of the existing literature, and the limitations of the current study will be addressed. Suggestions will be made as to possible directions for future research.

Institutionalized Supports

The MANOVA finding that children of survivors scored lower than control subjects on the personality measures was not surprising, since three of the four dependent variables (Fantasy being the exception) have been repeatedly described in previous reports as areas of difficulty for children of survivors. Of greater immediate interest is the finding of an interaction effect between location and status. This finding was in accordance with one of our hypotheses: that children of survivors in Israel function better than children of survivors in North America on these factors. The implication is that cultural supports as they exist in Israel are indeed effective in ameliorating the postulated adverse effects of parenting by survivors. Each of these factors will be considered separately below.

Individuation. The failure to obtain an interaction effect for Individuation contradicted the predicted result (despite a trend in the predicted direction). The obvious interpretation of this failure is that children of survivors in Israel and North America have an equal amount of difficulty in individuating from their families of origin. However, the failure to find a

difference between children of survivors and control subjects suggests an alternative possibility. This finding is somewhat surprising, since difficulties related to individuation have been well documented in both Israel (Klein, 1971) and North America (e.g., Danieli, 1979). Moreover, clear differences between the experimental and control groups were seen on the other three measures.

A possible alternative explanation for these observations is that the Individuation scale used in this study did not accurately reflect what it was intended to measure. Although the five questions on the scale were considered as bearing a logical relationship to the factor being studied, no validation against objective criteria or established measures was obtained. Moreover, the inter-rater reliability of the scale was lower than that for any of the others, and one rater was chosen to score all the responses on this scale, since the other rater's scores correlated poorly with those of the E on the eight protocols used to assess reliability (see Chapter II). For these reasons it is unclear whether the negative results reflect a true lack of difference between groups, or whether the test lacked power in detecting this difference.

Aggression. The finding that children of survivors in Israel performed like the control group, while children of survivors in North America scored significantly lower than the control group, was in accordance with our predictions. This finding is consistent with other reports that Israeli children of survivors have less difficulty in coping with their feelings of anger and aggressiveness than do their North American counterparts.

Also, as would be expected from the literature, the combined experimental groups had more difficulty with aggression than did the combined control groups.

An interesting aspect of this finding is the content of the responses of low scoring subjects. Almost all of these Ss scored low through inhibition of their aggressivity rather than through inappropriate acting out of their feelings. This would appear to contradict the earlier finding that many young children of survivors displayed behavior problems (Sigal, 1971; Sigal & Rakoff, 1971; Sigal et. al., 1973). This observation also fails to support Danieli's division of children of survivors into "victims" and "fighters", (Danieli, 1979) since almost all of the low scoring subjects could be categorized in the former group. However, the sample in the current study consisted almost entirely of well-educated, middle class subjects from a non-clinical population, while the subjects in the Sigal and Danieli studies were enlisted through the clinics where the authors practiced. The possibility remains that other groups of children of survivors would express their aggressive feelings in ways more compatible with the findings of Sigal and Danieli.

Alienation. The finding that children of survivors feel more alienated than do control subjects also confirmed the results of previous research. The finding of an interaction effect was consistent with our predictions, and supports the hypothesis that children of survivors in Israel feel more connected with family, friends, and community than do children of survivors in North America.

It should be noted that the difference between the North American experimental and control groups was more pronounced on this factor than on any other. This observation is consistent with Prince's report that depression was the most prevalent symptom among North American children of survivors whom he interviewed (Prince, 1975).

The lack of a difference between the IE and IC groups conforms with previous descriptions of the capacity for interpersonal relatedness among Israeli children of survivors (Klein, 1972; Aleksandrowicz, 1973; Kuperstein, 1979; Newman, 1979).

Fantasy. All three findings in relation to the Fantasy scale are of considerable interest. That is, Israelis as a group were inferior to North Americans on this task; children of survivors were inferior to control subjects in both cultures; and the difference between the IE and IC groups was virtually identical to the difference between the NE and NC groups.

The overall difference between North Americans and Israelis was almost certainly due to differences in facility with the English language, since the Fantasy task was highly loaded on verbal skill and dexterity. Although it is conceivable that a real difference exists independent of the difference in use of the language, (for example, Israelis might be a more pragmatic people), there is no way of ascertaining that from the present study.

The finding that children of survivors in both cultures were inferior to control subjects on this task conformed with our predictions, and indicates that the ability to utilize fantasy

in a flexible, relaxed, and creative manner is impaired among these subjects.

Since the previous literature has not addressed this question directly, it is interesting to speculate as to the basis for this finding. One possibility is that anxiety over the parents' experiences leads to repression and denial, and that such defenses function at the expense of other ego functions, particularly those which require creative self-expression. Klein (1971) has described such denial among children of survivors, especially in relation to the painful aspects of the parents' concentration camp experiences. Klein also found that this denial extended to more general perceptions and situations involving themes of aggression, separation, and death.

A second explanation would involve the parents' attitude towards fantasy, imagination, and creativity during the early years of the child's development. It is likely that the parents' concentration camp existence demanded constant vigilance, since even a minor lapse in attention to the grim reality could easily have led to drastic consequences, such as severe injury or death, to the self or to others. The constriction of self-expression that resulted may have affected these parents long after their liberation from the concentration camps. Subsequent anxiety related to their past experiences might well have compounded their difficulty in this area. Such anxiety has been well documented in the survivor literature (e.g., Chodoff, 1963). It is quite conceivable that the parents - given such constriction - would find the natural curiosity, play, and

imagination of the child to be highly threatening. The child might then pick up verbal or non-verbal cues signalling their parents' disapproval of such activity, and thus the anxiety would be transmitted to the second generation.

The failure to find an interaction effect on the Fantasy scale is intriguing in view of the fact that such an effect was found on the Aggression and Alienation scales. One interpretation of this is that while cultural supports mitigate other difficulties faced by children of holocaust survivors in Israel, these supports are not effective with regard to fantasy functioning.

Two possible explanations are suggested for the differential effectiveness of such cultural supports. The first possibility is that these supports operate relatively well in the realm of interpersonal functioning. Thus creative aggressivity in response to interpersonal conflict (Aggression) and relatedness to friends, family and community (Alienation) are functions which are facilitated by the cultural support systems available in Israel. Fantasy - a skill which develops primarily on the intrapersonal level - would not be as likely to benefit from such supports.

The second and related possibility is based on the conceptualization of fantasy offered earlier in this paper (see Chapter 1). That is, viewing fantasy as a "meta-function", it is possible that Israeli support systems do not overcome difficulties at this higher level.

It should be stressed that the above explanations, while interesting and relevant to the issues being considered, go well beyond the evidence provided by the data in this study,

and further research is required to verify or disconfirm these speculations.

Limitations of the study. A number of limitations of this part of the study limit the confidence with which we may generalize the results to the general population of children of survivors. First there are issues with respect to population selection. These children of survivor groups by no means represent a random sample. As mentioned earlier (see Chapter II) the subjects in this study are heavily representative of the well-educated, middle class, non-clinical segment of the overall population of children of survivors. Whether or not the observed effects apply to other segments of this population is a question for further study. In addition, the method of recruiting subjects resulted in a subject pool consisting of a number of friends, relatives, and acquaintances both within and across subgroups. This probably resulted in a further homogenizing effect.

A further issue related to population selection is the imbalance between the control groups with respect to parents' loss of family. That is, considerably more of the parents of the IC group subjects had lost immediate family than did the parents of NC group subjects. Sigal and Rakoff (1971) found that control group subjects had significantly fewer problems than did subjects whose parents had lost family. (This difference was found in relation to aggression, but not in relation to dysphoria). Therefore it is possible that the differences found in North America between the NE and NC groups was partly or largely due to the fact that many of the subjects in the former

group had parents who had lost family, while most of those in the latter group came from intact families. Moreover, the similarity in functioning between the IE and IC groups may have stemmed from the fact that the majority of subjects in both of these groups were children of parents who had lost family. This possibility casts doubt on the meaning of the interaction effect.

Although there is no way of ruling out the possibility that parents' loss of family, rather than cultural support, was a determining or contributing factor in the attainment of an interaction effect, the current finding of a significant difference between the IE group and the IC group with respect to the Fantasy factor suggests that these were indeed distinct groups.

Finally, the use of a liberal criterion for tests of significance increases the probability that a Type I error occurred, and that the significant results obtained were due to chance.

Individualized Supports

The failure to generate clearly significant predictors in the regression of personality factors onto support measures was a disappointing aspect of this study. While two equations were found to be significant, the use of a liberal criterion, in conjunction with the fact that 10 other equations failed to attain significance, increases the likelihood that these two results were obtained by chance. Furthermore, both of the significant relationships involved Alienation, and it is quite conceivable that the direction of the relationship between support and alienation is the reverse of that hypothesized. That is, rather than supports contributing to low alienation, it may be that persons who are "less" alienated will seek out supports

more frequently than those "more" alienated. In view of these reservations, it would seem best to assume that this study has failed to find specific supports which are predictive of superior adjustments on the four personality dimensions.

It may well be that individualized support systems do not, in fact, contribute to adjustment in these areas among children of survivors. However, it is the opinion of this author that the primary basis for this failure stems from the inadequate power of the support measures used in this study. More specifically, it is felt that the general nature of the questions ("To what degree do you feel that each of the following was a source of help to you in dealing with your feelings about the holocaust?") resulted in ratings based on extremely subjective criteria which were highly variable from one subject to the next. It was possible for two subjects to both rate a source of support as having been "a great deal of help", while an objective observer would have rated them quite differently. The author attempted to minimize this subjectivity by providing subjects with elaborate qualifications of the basic instructions, and by having them explain the basis for their ratings. However, it is felt that this procedure was only partly effective in increasing the validity of the responses.

Some non-statistical impressions. Despite the failure to define individualized support systems which can be related to improved functioning, the content of subjects' responses to the support measures did suggest certain possibilities which have relevance to the current study. These are presented here as

providing potential for further inquiry.

The comments offered by the Ss suggest that whether the holocaust was a frequent topic of conversation in the home seemed less important than the manner in which the topic was dealt with. Parents who spoke about the holocaust frequently but in a calm, frank, and informative manner were perceived as supportive, while parents who ruminated anxiously and dwelled obsessively on the horror of their experiences were perceived as unsupportive. Parents who seldom discussed the holocaust but were willing to answer their children's questions in a matter-of-fact way were perceived as supportive, while parents who seemed anxious and secretive were perceived as unsupportive.

Children of survivors felt a strong need to make sense of the holocaust experience and information of any sort was valued. Books were often regarded as very helpful for this reason, and other people who had undergone similar experiences (both survivors and children of survivors) were especially valued as potential sources of information, consensual validation, and clarification of "what actually happened". It seemed to the writer as though many of the subjects intuitively understood the limitations in objectivity of their parents' information, and that they therefore searched for alternative means of defining for themselves the meaning of this highly salient aspect of their family's history.

Subjects often expressed a mixture of resentment for certain aspects of their parents' behavior and empathy with their parents' suffering as well as a desire to forgive their shortcomings. While this seemed to represent a conflict for them, many of these subjects

seemed to find relief through conversations with other family members who helped to clarify the relationship between the parents' past experiences and their behavior towards the children.

Israelis were more likely than North Americans to mention teachers as sources of support. Often this was in the context of classroom discussions on Yom Ha'Shoah - the Day of the Holocaust. Several subjects felt that they had been helped by these discussions as well as by guest speakers who had themselves been survivors. This information is related to the findings of others regarding institutionalized support systems, since North American Jews are much less likely to be exposed to such discussions and speakers, especially when a non-denominational school (or a school of another denomination) is attended.

Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of the current study are of considerable interest, but their applicability is severely limited by methodological shortcomings. Replication with modifications to overcome the limitations of the current study is desirable. A replication study should correct the major difficulty with the current project, the sample bias. Constraints related to time and finances made it impossible for this author to obtain either a random sample or an appropriately matched sample.

A second area requiring improvement is that of the research instruments. It is felt that the structured interview method was useful and productive in examining the personality variables. However, the interview itself was constructed on the basis of face validity, and further research should utilize a pilot study to

generate a test with demonstrated predictive and construct validity. The use of a much larger item pool in the pilot phase would allow the researcher to eventually choose those items which contributed to achieving such validity, as well as to the internal consistency of the scales.

Although the data with respect to support sources proved to be non-productive, the study of the types of individual experiences which can be related to successful functioning by children of survivors is considered a most important area for continued research, since positive findings would have implications with respect to clinical and educational issues in relation to survivors' families and those of other traumatized groups. One way to overcome the limitations of the current instrument would be to operationalize the support measures, so that the subject is asked about specific experiences. The presence or absence of these experiences in the subject's background could then be related to his level of current functioning. For example, the question, "Did you ever study the holocaust at school?" is less likely to result in a highly misleading, idiosyncratic response than is the comparable question in the current study: "To what degree do you feel that teachers have been helpful to you in dealing with your feelings about the holocaust?" A total score for "Educational support" might be obtained by totalling the responses which are keyed as supportive for education. The multiple regression design used in the current study could then be employed.

The liberties associated with an exploratory study represent both a luxury and a pitfall. On the one hand, the researcher can

cover a rather broad area without the rigorous discipline that would be required in a study designed to yield definitive answers. On the other hand, he is left with partial or suggestive information. It is recommended that further research in this area focus on one aspect of the current study in greater depth with the aim of achieving more definitive results. The findings related to fantasy might represent one such possible focus.

It should be noted that despite the author's initial apprehension regarding the willingness of children of survivors to discuss such a painful part of their history, the actual response was surprising and heartening in many ways. With few exceptions, almost all of the subjects who were contacted on an individual basis regarding the study were willing to participate, and often quite excited by the prospect. Many of these subjects later went to a great deal of trouble to recruit additional subjects from among friends or relatives. This experience should be encouraging to researchers who hesitate to study children of survivors for fear of lack of subjects or of uncooperative subjects. The researcher should appreciate that such cooperation is greatly facilitated by the experimenter's willingness to share his own vulnerability when asking for such a commitment from his subject.

Conclusions

The results of this study have implications for the families of holocaust survivors, as well as for other groups who have suffered a massive traumatic experience. It would seem that the

cultural environment in which these families are located can influence the process of coping with the negative effects of the experience. The present findings indicate that the Israeli and North American cultures have differential effects on this process.

Some aspects of the Israeli culture which may help to counteract the effects of the trauma are unique to Israel and could not be transposed to another culture. However, other supportive characteristics of the Israeli experience have counterparts in North America which are not being optimally utilized.

The educational system is one example of an under-utilized resource. In Israel there is universal awareness of the holocaust, and this awareness is generated in part through the school system, where all students are exposed to this aspect of their history.

North American school children - whether Jewish or Gentile - have seldom had more than cursory exposure to holocaust-related history or literature. Many children of survivors have experienced the sense of loneliness and apartness which Helen Epstein described in discussing her own experiences and those of the people she interviewed (Epstein, 1979). Several North American subjects in the present study commented that they felt thankful for the showing of "Holocaust" because of the awareness this generated among others. The inclusion of holocaust course material in the schools would be helpful in lessening the experience of isolation so common to survivors and their families.

The recent growth of children of survivors' organizations and mutual support groups has represented one way in which North

American members of this population have developed support systems parallel to those more routinely available in Israel. The continued development of such groups would serve to promote individual and collective growth. For example, such groups can function to educate members as well as the larger community with regard to the holocaust. Such organizations can also provide its members with an opportunity to use their awareness of past injustices as a means of mobilizing against present ones. Such activities might also function as healthy outlets for aggression parallel to those described for Israelis by Klein (1973).

The ritual mourning provided by the annual Day of the Holocaust commemoration in Israel provides survivors and their families with an opportunity to share their feelings with each other and with the larger community. A greater emphasis on this and related rituals might prove helpful in North America. One way to involve the larger culture would be to share the mourning of our losses with other families and communities who have suffered similar tragedies, either during World War II or at some other time.

The findings related to fantasy suggest an area which warrants attention from clinicians, counsellors, and educators working with children of survivors, both in North America and Israel. The difficulties encountered in this area may be less visible, since they are not as immediately related to social functioning as are aggression and alienation. Corrective family intervention and/or educational experiences might prove helpful in minimizing problems in this area.

While the current findings are based on observations of

second generation holocaust survivors, the suggestions outlined above may now be more immediately beneficial to the third generation, since most children of survivors of the holocaust are well into adulthood, and may be raising children of their own. They, like their parents before them, must decide how to share this aspect of their history with their children.

The results of this study may also be relevant to other traumatized and displaced groups; the Vietnamese refugees are a current example. Such groups might be spared some of the long-term negative effects of their experiences if appropriate support systems are developed within their communities and within the broader culture.

Summary

This study was developed in response to a growing interest in normal, well-functioning children of holocaust survivors. The study addressed itself to the nature of the support systems which help members of this group to overcome difficulties related to their parents' experiences. Two types of support systems, cultural and individual, were studied.

A structured interview was used to assess the functioning of 16 children of survivors in North America and 16 others in Israel. Control groups of 16 Jewish adults were interviewed in each location as well. Four areas of personality functioning were assessed: Individuation, Aggression, Alienation, and Fantasy. In addition, five measures of support were obtained for each subject. These included: Parents' support, Relatives' support,

Community support, Pursued support, and Overall support.

A 2 X 2 multivariate analysis of variance was used to analyze the results of the personality assessment. No differences among groups was found on the Individuation scale. Control group subjects were superior to children of survivors on the remaining personality measures. An interaction effect was found for the Aggression and Alienation scales, as children of survivors in North America had more difficulty in these areas relative to the North American control group than did Israeli children of survivors relative to the Israeli control subjects.

A multiple linear regression analysis was used to assess the relationship between support measures and personality functioning for children of survivors groups. Alienation was found to be significantly related to the least squares solution of the five support systems for the Israeli group and for the combined group of 32 children of survivors. None of the other regression equations attained significance.

The results suggested that the Israeli and North American cultures differ in the degree to which they facilitate coping among children of survivors in the areas of aggression and feelings of relatedness to family, friends, and community. The Israeli culture would seem to offer greater support for healthy adaptation in these areas of functioning.

The differences between children of survivors and control subjects in both cultures on the Fantasy task indicate that the relaxed, flexible, and creative use of imagination is adversely affected in this population. Fantasy would seem to differ from

the other functions in that the cultural supports available in Israel do not appear to have the same positive effect on this ability as they do on the ability to use aggression constructively or on the ability to overcome feelings of alienation.

These findings have implications for children of survivors, for the third generation, and for other traumatized groups. Further research is needed to further define the nature of the support systems which would be helpful to these groups. Replication studies would be especially helpful, since sample biases in the present study limit the generalizability of the findings.

APPENDIX A

PERSONAL DATA

No. _____

Date: _____

Self

Age: _____

D.O.B. _____

Place of Birth _____

Marital Status _____

Children _____

Education _____

Occupation _____

Army Experience _____

Age of Immigration (if applicable) _____

Siblings _____

Father

Age: _____

Occupation _____

Country of residence prior to war _____

Location during war

a) Concentration camps _____

b) Ghettos _____

c) Escaped - immigrant _____

d) Native North American or Israeli _____

e) Other _____

Immediate family lost _____

Survivors in immediate family _____

Mother

Age: _____

Occupation _____

Country of residence prior to war _____

Location during war

a) Concentration camps _____

b) Ghettos _____

c) Escaped - immigrant _____

d) Native North American or Israeli _____

e) Other _____

Immediate family lost _____

Survivors in immediate family _____

APPENDIX B

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

I-1 You have a chance to be promoted to a new position, with a small increase in salary. It would be necessary for you to learn some new skills. How do you feel about this?

I-2 You have an opportunity to get the kind of job you have been looking for, but it requires you to move quite far away from your parents' home. How will you deal with this situation?

I-3 You are about to make an important decision about your future. You know that your parents disagree strongly with the choice you are thinking of making. What will happen?

I-4 Tell me something you feel is personally important to you. How do your parents feel about this same thing?

I-5 In what ways would you say you are similar to your parents? In what ways would you say you are different from them?

A-1 You have just bought an expensive jacket. When you get home you notice that there is a defect. You bring it back to the store where you bought it, but the salesman says that there is no way he can take back the jacket. What do you do?

A-2 You have had an argument with a person you work with, and feel insulted by something he said. You are lying in bed thinking about the argument. What goes through your mind?

A-3 A person you know well has lied to you about something important. What do you do?

D-1 You are troubled by something that has concerned you for a long time. What do you do?

D-2 Imagine that you overhear two people who know you well talking about you. What do you think they would say?

D-3 A relative of your parents whom you have never met before is coming to visit. What do you feel as you think about meeting this person?

D-4 A member of your family tells you that there is a surprise party being planned for your parents. How do you feel about attending it?

D-5 You have just been invited to join a social club that meets in your community. You know some of the people in the club, but are not close friends with any of them. What are your thoughts as you decide whether or not to join?

D-6 A person close to you reminds you of a promise which you had made and forgotten to keep. The person is upset with you. What is your reaction?

D-7 In general, how would you say you have been feeling?

APPENDIX C

THE INTRODUCTORY FANTASY

Imagine that you are in situation that is familiar and non-threatening to you...comfortable. Picture yourself as clearly as you can in that situation, and notice what you become aware of. What do you see?...What do you hear?...What might your other senses pick-up: smell, taste, touch?...And notice also what thoughts and feelings you become aware of in this situation...And when you have this picture clearly in your mind, I'd like you to describe it to me.

APPENDIX D

THE ROSEBUSH FANTASY

I want you to imagine that you are a rosebush...Picture in your mind as vividly as you can what you are like as this rosebush. What are your characteristics? Where are you located? What is your color? And so on...And notice also what thoughts and feelings you become aware of as this rosebush...

And when you have a clear picture of yourself as this rosebush, imagine that you are feeling thirsty, and that someone comes along and waters you. What is this like for you? What thoughts and feelings do you become aware of as this person waters you?

And now, imagine that someone else comes along and picks one of your flowers. How is this for you? What do you think about - how do you feel - as this person picks one of your flowers?

And now, imagine that it is springtime, and that you are beginning to blossom. What thoughts and feelings come to you in the springtime?

And now spring passes and turns to summer. And in the summer you are in the fullness of your life. And what is this like for you? What thoughts - what feelings - are you aware of in the summertime?

And the summer turns to autumn. And one by one your flowers are falling as you prepare for the winter. And what is this like for you? What thoughts are you aware of - how do you feel - in the autumn?

And the autumn turns to winter. And in the winter you are bare; all your flowers have fallen. And again, what is this like for you? What thoughts and feelings are you aware of in the winter?

And finally, the winter passes and the spring returns. You feel the sun shining on you and drawing you back to life. And what is this like for you? What do you think about - how do you feel - as you return to life in the spring?

And that's the end of the fantasy. Take as much time as you like to complete it for yourself. And when you are ready, I want you to describe it for me; and to describe it in the first person, and in the present. For example: "I am a rosebush. I feel...", and so on.

APPENDIX E

HOLOCAUST RELATED SUPPORT SYSTEMS

No. _____

Date: _____

Over the years, to what extent has each of the following been a source of help to you in dealing with your feelings about the holocaust?

Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all
Siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all
Other Relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all
Other Children of Survivors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all
Friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all
Teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all

Religious leaders

A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all

Discussion groups

A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all

Books, films, theatre, etc.

A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all

Religious activities

A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all

Political activities

A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all

Psychotherapy

A great deal of help	Quite a bit of help	Some help	A little bit of help	No help at all

List any other sources of help to you in dealing with your feelings about the holocaust. To what extent has each of these sources been helpful?

Overall, to what extent do you feel that you have been helped in dealing with your feelings about the holocaust?

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APPENDIX F
INDIVIDUAL ITEM SCORING CRITERIA

Well integrated responsePoorly integrated responseIndividuation

I-1 Independent: Eager to extend self, meet new challenges, and find opportunities for ego mastery of new skills.

Overly dependent or counter-dependent: Anxious over new challenges. Prefers safety of the well-known. Uses small salary increase as excuse to avoid new learning.

or

Dwells on willingness to accept new challenges in a compulsive, defensive manner betraying underlying anxiety.

I-2 Comfortable in separation: May express sadness for self and parents, but essentially excited and happy to get the kind of work that has been looking for. Aware of and sensitive to parental resistance to such a move, and may look for resolution, but does not dwell on this in an anxious way.

Anxious over separation: Afraid to move from the support provided by parents. Own anxiety may be projected onto parents - reflected in lengthy concern over parents' unhappiness. Rejection of job, and rationalized in terms of parents' needs.

I-3 Responsive to parents' needs and to own: Recognizes the conflict involved. Tries to resolve conflict in positive, constructive way. Sensitive to parents' feelings, but willing to assert own priorities in the end if necessary.

Responsible for parents' happiness of completely insensitive to parents' needs: Denies conflict involved. Either completely willing to submit to parents' wishes, minimizing own needs;

or

defensively asserts own needs with little acknowledgement of the issue involved: "What's the problem?"

I-4 Healthy identification with parents: Able to identify with parents in terms of a central value, but is aware of differences in terms of the details of the value system.

Overidentification or rebellion: Identifies completely, with little differentiation in terms of this value;

or

polarizes on central value, with little awareness of overlap. Denies any identification.

Well integrated responseI-5 Clear ego boundaries:

Strikes balance between identifying with parents and differentiating. Able to be somewhat specific in terms of border characteristics. Struggles with and explores issue, and checks out premises.

Poorly integrated responseBlurred or rigid ego boundaries:

Unaware of differences, or differences are vague and undefined. Border characteristics are blurred.

or

Totally denies similarities to parents. Glib or defensive rejection of any sort of identification.

Aggression

A-1 Assertive: Stands up for self. Challenges unreasonable-ness of salesclerk's response. Looks for alternative appeals if necessary. Deals with feelings, even if the desired result is not obtained.

Belligerent or passive? Dwells on anger in belligerent way, without seeking a resolution; or, denies own needs and gives up. Neither gets compensated, nor deals with own feelings in satisfying way.

A-2 Healthy aggressive fantasy: Uses fantasy and regression in service of ego as a creative problem-solving device. Able to use fantasy to vent some feelings and to consider possible resolutions to conflict with other.

Repressed or obsessed: Denies conflict with others. Avoids fantasy, and sees regression as dangerous. Does not attempt to resolve feelings or situations.

or

Dwells on anger in obsessive manner. Unable to move towards resolution in fantasy.

A-3 Appropriate confrontation of other and expression of feelings: Able to confront person involved and to seek a resolution to this situation. Willing to express own feelings to other in appropriate fashion.

Anger denied, displaced, acted-out, expressed passive aggressively, or redirected at self: Avoids confrontation. Denies feelings or discharges in manner which does not facilitate problem-solving.

Depression

D-1 Relatedness to others: Considers others in environment as potential sources of support.

Alienated: Does not use other people for support.

D-2 Feelings of self worth:

Largely positive picture of self. Imagines others speaking well of him/her. May mention negative characteristics, but does not dwell on them.

D-3 Relates positively to

family of origin: Able to anticipate relating positively to member of family. View this as opportunity to extend awareness of family of origin and place of self within it.

D-4 Ability to share positively

with family of origin: Enjoys family function both for pleasure it brings parents and for opportunity to be involved in a celebration.

D-5 Involvement and activity:

Looks forward to opportunity for making new contacts and friendships, and to being involved in a community function. May qualify answer, but qualifications are appropriate and not defensive in nature. For example, "I would go if the function of the club was one that interested me."

D-6 Realistic sense of responsibility: Takes responsibility for actions, and tries to compensate for mistakes.

Feelings of worthlessness:

Anxious over question. Nitpicks over who might be talking about him/her. Dwells on negative characteristics. May blame this on others, projecting own self-criticism: "People always like to put you down." Little positive.

Alienation from family of origin:

Avoids contact with relatives. Sees this as imposition to be tolerated rather than as a possibility for new awareness.

Inability to empathize positively

with members of family of origin: Dislikes family functions and views them as unlikely to provide pleasure or joy. May project alienation onto parents: for example, "I don't think they would appreciate something like that, so I don't look forward to going."

Apathy and withdrawal:

Anxious and/or apathetic in relation to potential for new contacts and friendships. Community involvement does not hold appeal. Defensive qualifications: for example, "Most clubs are for snobs, so I probably wouldn't go."

Avoids responsibility or expresses excessive guilt: Denies responsibility for own actions;

or

feels excessively guilty for mistakes. Unable to accept fallibility and be satisfied with doing best to make up for error.

D-7 Positive affective tone: Basically feels good. May mention one or two problems, but does not dwell on these.

Negative affective tone: Basically unhappy. Emphasizes feeling bad, or dwells inordinately long time on negative aspects of current existence.

Fantasy

F-1 Relaxed: "Goes with" fantasy. Seems to enjoy, or at least not resist, letting imagination go. Not threatened.

Anxious: Has difficulty "going with it". Sees fantasy as silly, unrealistic, or pointless. Example: "I'm not a rose, so I can't really say how a rose would feel."

F-2 Flexible: Creates freely flowing fantasy. Feels at liberty to adapt sequence to own purposes.

Rigid: Overly concerned with duplicating exact sequence, at expense of flow of fantasy.

F-3 Creative: Imaginative, well-elaborated fantasy. Rich in sensory detail and in expression of ideas and feelings. Original embellishments not immediately related to the stimulus.

Stereotyped: Unimaginative fantasy with few elaborations. Few sensory details and a minimum of thoughts and feelings described. Lack of originality; images and feelings are those readily suggested by the stimulus.

APPENDIX G
OVERALL SCORING CRITERIA

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
<u>Individuation</u>	
1	<p>Subject is rigidly "stuck" at either of two extremes:</p> <p>a) He feels totally unable to differentiate himself from his parents. Very frightened of separation. Swallows parents' beliefs, ideas, and values wholesale. Denies any negative feelings towards, or conflict with, parents.</p> <p>b) Subject is totally rejecting of parents. Unable to identify at all with any of parents' beliefs, ideas, and values. Highly critical and intolerant of parents. Denies any positive feelings towards them. Totally avoids contact with parents.</p>
2	<p>Subject largely stuck at one of two extremes described above, but:</p> <p>If, type a) manifests some degree of differentiation by indicating the beginnings of an awareness of some differences, or a need for separation, or some areas of conflict.</p> <p>If type b), manifests the beginning of a willingness to accept some of parents' qualities in self; or may express some desire to emotionally contact the parents; or grudgingly acknowledge some agreement with, and positive feelings towards, parents.</p>
3	<p>Still somewhat stuck, but beginning to wrestle with the issue, and conveys some desire to move towards an integrated sense of self in relation to parents.</p>
4	<p>Has achieved considerable movement towards an integrated balance between identifying in a healthy way with the valued, positive aspects of parents, while differentiating in areas which have been established as unique and separate from the parents. Still shows evidence of conflict, however, and may occasionally express unrealistic overidentification and/or fear of separation; or occasionally overly rejecting of parents' ideas or beliefs.</p>

ScoreDescription

- 6 Very well integrated sense of self in relationship to family. Little or no evidence of sorts of conflict described above.

Aggression

- 1 a) Unassertive. Fearful of own impulses. Totally denies any feelings of anger or aggression, even in fantasy. Avoids or denies conflict or confrontation at any cost.

or

b) Bizarrely inappropriate in expression of aggression. Chronically hostile. Projects aggression as way of justifying own behavior.

- 2 a) As above, but not totally so. Expresses occasional awareness of aggressive feelings or anger, but quite frightened of acting on these feelings.

b) Mostly as above, but shows some awareness of the inappropriateness of this sort of behavior, and expresses some desire to change.

- 3 a) Somewhat fearful of own feelings of aggression, but well aware of this, and working on conflict in this area. Is able to be confrontative occasionally, but anxious or somewhat inappropriate. Needs "polish".

b) Still somewhat inappropriate, but aware of this, and struggling to come to terms with and "own" feelings. Exploring ways of expressing anger more appropriately and productively.

- 4 Has begun to strike a healthy balance between overly inhibiting feelings of aggressiveness and expressing them in inappropriate circumstances or in counterproductive fashion. Still occasionally unnecessarily repressed and unrealistically fearful; or, occasionally acts out in a manner betraying poor judgment.

ScoreDescription

5 In good contact with own aggressive feelings and has learned to use these in a creative, problem-solving sort of way. Assertive and confrontative when necessary. Generally unafraid of conflict with others. Has tools to resolve such conflict, but minor evidence of rare lapses in judgement or of unrealistic fear of conflict.

6 Very well integrated in relation to aggressivity. Able to deal with confrontation and conflict realistically, appropriately, and creatively. Consistently moves toward resolution.

Alienation

1 Extremely poor emotional tone. Highly critical of self. Feels alienated, alone, lonely, and helpless to change the situation. Feels cut off from family, friends, and community.

2 Poor emotional tone. Much self-criticism. Largely alienated and alone. Feels cut off from family, friends, and community, but some evidence that does not feel hopeless about changing this. Tentative exploration of possible ways of improving the situation.

3 Generally poor emotional tone, but not exclusively so. Expresses many feelings of alienation, but also some hope that this is changing, and some sense of optimism regarding the future.

4 More positive than negative in emotional tone, but a sense of some sadness, and a wish for better contact with others.

5 Largely positive, optimistic, and satisfied with self. Enjoys good relationships with family, friends, and community, but suggestion of minor barriers in one or more of these relationships.

ScoreDescription

- 6 Happy, content, and fulfilled. Feels richly related to family, friends, and community. If sadness is expressed, it is in relation to a specific event, and there is little or no sense that this sadness goes beyond the specific circumstance; rather, it is an appropriate and "healthy" response to the situation.

Fantasy

- 1 Rejects Rosebush Fantasy.
- 2 Does Rosebush Fantasy, but in a highly anxious way. Stresses inability to imagine being a rose. Produces extremely poor, unelaborated fantasy that goes little beyond what the examiner has already described.
- 3 Fairly anxious, but is able to overcome this to a degree. Produces a fantasy that goes somewhat beyond the outline given by the experimenter. Shows a potential for creativity, but this potential is evident sporadically.
- 4 Fairly relaxed. Seems to enjoy the task for the most part. Some creativity and originality, with elaborations which provide sensory descriptions and allow for the expression of feelings. However, there is some constriction and rigidity which detract from the overall flow and richness of the fantasy.
- 5 Quite relaxed. "Goes with" the fantasy in a creative manner, and produces an original, elaborate fantasy which is at the same time coherent and appropriately related to the stimulus. Minor digressions or omissions may detract slightly from the overall quality.
- 6 Very relaxed. Seems delighted with an opportunity to explore the self through fantasy. Produces a rich, detailed fantasy, abundant in sensory imagery and the exploration of a wide range of emotions. The parts of the fantasy "hold together" in a coherent way.

APPENDIX H

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPT OF AN ISRAELI INTERVIEW

I-1 You have a chance to be promoted to a new position, with a small increase in salary. It would be necessary for you to learn some new skills. How do you feel about this?

(S) Well, I don't - I cannot answer you about this question because I... Say me again, what is "skills"? Because I understand the whole sentence, but "skills" I don't understand.

(E) Yes. "Skills" would mean that you have to learn some things - some abilities - some knowledge. In order to take the new position you're going to have to learn some new...

(S) Well, O.K. If I have to learn something new to get a bigger salary or something like that, I'll make it.

I-2 You have an opportunity to get the kind of job you have been looking for, but it requires you to move quite far away from your parents' home. How will you deal with this situation?

(S) Well...the first...the first time it will be nice if it's a job - if it's a good job and I can...it's interesting, and I can get a high salary. But after some days or some months I'll think about my parents, you know. Because of the way to going back to home, you know. But in the first time I'll take it. Maybe I'll go home and talk to my parents. You know, have permission to get the right salary and better job. For example, in the northern side of our country. And that's it; and then I'll get their advice, yeah? But I think that I'll take it.

I-3 You are about to make an important decision about your future. You know that your parents disagree strongly with the choice you are thinking of making. What will happen?

(S) Well, I think that first time I'll do what I think that is better for me. And that's it. Maybe I'll think, you know, what is the opportunities of my parents; but I'll do what is best for me.

I-4 Tell me something you feel is personally important to you.

(S) For example, what?

(E) Anything that you feel is personally important to you.

(S) Well, habits of life, for example. How people are acting, you know? If they are yelling in the streets - they are throwing things, you know, on the road - it makes me very angry. Because I like very much our country. I like to travel a lot. And I don't like this habits, you know, Galut. You know what is Galut? Of people who come, for example, from Russia or from Poland or from Morroco, you know?

(E) Yeah.

(S) And they brought from there some very bad habits, you know, of living and acting with people in the society, and I don't like it, you know? And I don't like people who are, you know, very afraid from other people. Because when I see people - a person - who can make of himself nothing because if he sees his boss or someone else, you know? - it's makes me very angry and, you know, very...I feel pity on him, you know? Because I don't like it. I think if it was...if I would stay in the same situation, I would probably insist on my rights or something like this, you know? And not be some shiny or something (makes begging gesture) this, you know? I don't like it.

(E) The second part of that question is, "How do your parents feel about the same sort of thing?"

(S) Well, I think - I'll tell you the truth, my parents are the same people who came from Poland or Russia, you know? They have the same habits. And I don't like it, you know, very much. I try to change them, but they are old, so it's not diff- so it's a little bit difficult for me to change. But I try.

(E) So they don't have the same opinion about these things as you do.

(S) Yeah. Because, well...I'll tell you the truth. My mother, in the war - in the second world war - was very heroic, you know. She was just - she was a hero, I think that. But now she become a little bit, you know... And my father, he's something like that now.

I-5 In what ways would you say you are similar to your parents?

(S) To my parents I'm similar...well, I'll tell you...maybe with feelings. I'll give you for example. You know, I think that I'm acting of some places as my parents do - as my father is. Well, I'm very sensitive, like my father and my mother. That's it, I'm sensitive. It is - that's the similar.

(E) That's the main similarity.

(S) Yeah.

(E) Are there others also, or is that the...

(S) Well, I think that's it... Maybe I'm honest. I try to be honest, yeah, like my parents - like my father. He is very honest man, and I try to be like him. That's it.

(E) In what ways would you say that you are different from them?

(S) Well, in a lot of ways. Because I grew up in Israel, and they grew up in Litta, Poland. So I don't know what is the meaning of the Gola. I don't know the meaning of anti-Semitism (sic). I don't know the meaning of some Poland who is crying or yelling to you, "You bloody Jew", or something like that, you know? Because I am living in my own country, and I served the army, you know? And it's very different. It makes a lot of difference. Because if one person would shout at me, "You bloody Jew", I would kick him in the face, you know? Because it's my country.

And my parents, they are living here, but they have a lot of memories from the past which I don't have. My brother, for example, have it, because he came to Israel, he was seven years old, and he passed a little in Poland, you know, and he heard about it. But I didn't heard about it. Only from stories, from newspapers.

(E) At the beginning you said that your parents came from Poland and that you don't know the Gola. I don't know what this means, "Gola". Could you tell me?

(S) Yeah. "Gola" is, for example, is something not in Israel, you know? Like Poland or Russia or Germany. It's another country, which you are not them. Which you are not the same citizen, the same, you know, as here. You are the second class, you know?

(E) Second class citizen. Ah-ha.

(S) So it makes a lot of difference, you know.

A-1 You have just bought an expensive jacket. When you get home you notice that there is a defect. You bring it back to the store where you bought it, but the salesman says that there is no way he can take back the jacket. What do you do?

(S) What do I do? I would probably the first try to convinced him that...jacket...I bought there the jacket. And maybe after 10 or 20 minutes, or an hour, I would probably go back home and write to the newspaper, you know, something like this. And maybe for myself, I would not take - I would lose the jacket, yeah? But for other people, they would know that this store, or this gentleman, is criminal. He is not working...(unintelligible phrase). That's it.

A-2 You have had an argument with a person you work with, and feel insulted by something he said. You are lying in bed thinking about the argument. What goes through your mind?

(S) Well, at the first I would probably think, "Is he smart or stupid?" For example, if he's stupid one, I would say, "Ah, it's nothing; it's doesn't bother me". But if he's smart, I would probably think if it's something wrong with me that he said it. He didn't said it because he want to say. He said it because I didn't act right, or something like this. I would probably think, "What is the matter with me?" You know. I would try to be better the second time of meeting, you know.

And if I would think that he is a bad guy, or something like that, I'd say, "O.K., I won't meet him the second time". That's it.

A-3 A person you know well has lied to you about something important. What do you do?

(S) Well, if it's not bothers me I would not do nothing. But if it's very important to me, I would say it. That's it.

D-1 You are troubled by something that has concerned you for a long time. What do you do?

(S) Can you give me a for example, like what?

(E) I leave that to the person who I'm asking the question to. Something that has bothered you for a long time.

(S) I don't know. Well, I think that I will try to solve this problem. That's it. I will not let it pass by, you know? I am not this kind of a person. I will try to fix it or something. (undecipherable phrase)...and not leaving it passing by.

(E) If you have a difficult time doing it, what do you imagine you would do?

(S) Well I'd - look, for example, I'm not afraid of difficulties, because I've had a lot of difficulties in my life. So I have another difficulty; never mind.

D-2 Imagine that you hear two people who know you well talking about you. What do you think they would say?

(S) Well, the first thing is to talk about my habits: good, bad - good, bad manners. And maybe if I'm an interesting person, and that's it.

(E) That you - they would say you are an interesting person.

(S) (Undecipherable phrase) (laughs) I try to be.

D-3 A relative of your parents whom you have never met before is coming to visit. What do you feel as you think about meeting this person?

(S) Well, I be very excited. For example, my father have a brother in Russia, and I would like to see him, you know. I have never met him. I be very excited to see him.

D-4 A member of your family tells you that there is a surprise party being planned for your parents. How do you feel about attending it?

(S) Well, I think it is very nice, you know. I would try to be in it - to take a part of it, you know. To make my parents happy, it's very nice, you know.

D-5 You have just been invited to join a social club that meets in your community. You know some of the people in the club, but are not close friends with any of them. What are your thoughts as you decide whether or not to join?

(S) Well, I would try to be - to see those people in person. And if they are nice people I will say to myself, "O.K.". If they are interesting, I will try to be more polite to them, or something like that. And if they are not interesting - not smart - (undecipherable phrase)...I will go out.

D-6 A person close to you reminds you of a promise which you had made and forgotten to keep. The person is upset with you. What is your reaction?

(S) Well, I would feel very embarrassed, you know? And I would try to explain. And that's it. I would feel embarrassed.

D-7 In general, how would you say you have been feeling?

(S) O.K. I feel O.K.

Rosebush

(E) I want you to imagine that you are a rosebush...Picture in your mind as vividly as you can what you are like as this rosebush. What are your characteristics? Where are you located? What is your color? And so on...And notice also what thoughts and feelings you become aware of as this rosebush...

And when you have a clear picture of yourself as this rosebush, imagine that you are feeling thirsty, and that someone comes along and waters you. What is this like for you? What thoughts - what feelings do you become aware of as this person waters you?

And now, imagine that someone else comes along and picks one of your flowers. How is this for you? What do you think about - how do you feel - as this person picks one of your flowers.

And now, imagine that it is springtime, and that you are beginning to blossom. What thoughts and feelings come to you in the springtime?

And now, the spring passes and turns to summer. And in the summer you are in the fullness of your life. And what is this like for you? What thoughts - what feelings - are you aware of in the summer-time?

And the summer turns to autumn. And one by one your flowers are falling as you prepare for the winter. And what is this like for you? What thoughts are you aware of - how do you feel - in the autumn?

And the autumn turns to winter. And in the winter you are bare; all your flowers have fallen. And, again what is this like for you? What thoughts and feelings are you aware of in the winter?

And finally, the winter passes and the spring returns. You feel the sun shining on you and drawing you back to life. And what is this like for you? What do you think about - how do you feel - as you return to life in the spring.

And that's the end of the fantasy. Take as much time as you like to complete it for yourself. And when you are ready, I want you to describe it to me; and to describe it in the first person, and in the present. For example: "I am a rosebush. I feel...", and so on.

(S) I remember all your questions, from the beginning; that's O.K. Well, at the first time, when the person is giving me water, I would like to thank him - to say to him thank you. And the only way is to, you know, to be more colorful for one second. To show him that I'm saying to him thank you.

And to the second person, who is picking up one of my flowers, I would probably, you know, be very weak. Because, you know, it's one of my - something of my body.

And after it, when we are going to the seasons. So in the spring I would probably be very happy, you know. I would probably...I would like that a lot of persons will see me in my color - in my beautiful color. But only to see, and not to touch, you know. "Cause I'm part of the nature, which you can only see it and not to touch it.

And in the summer I will probably feel very hot, you know. And very thirsty. I will probably like that a lot of good persons would give me water.

And, at the autumn, I would feel very lonely. You know, because it's very cold.

And in the winter I would feel very weak - very weakness, you know. Some kind of illness, because of those kind of reason. But the other thing, I would feel good because it gives me a lot of water and a lot of power to the other seasons. That's it.

APPENDIX I

EDITED TRANSCRIPT OF AN ISRAELI INTERVIEW

I-1 You have a chance to be promoted to a new position, with a small increase in salary. It would be necessary for you to learn some new skills. How do you feel about this?

(S) Well, I don't - I cannot answer this question because I... Tell me again, what is "skills"? Because I understand the whole sentence, but "skills" I don't understand.

(E) Yes. "Skills" would mean that you have to learn some things - some abilities - some knowledge. In order to take the new position, you're going to have to learn some new...

(S) Well, O.K. If I have to learn something new to get a bigger salary or something like that, I'll do it.

I-2 You have an opportunity to get the kind of job you have been looking for, but it requires you to move quite far away from your parents' home. How will you deal with this situation?

(S) Well...at first...at first it would be nice if it's a job - if it's a good job and I can...it's interesting, and I can get a high salary. But after a few days or a few months I'll think about my parents, you know. Because of the distance from home, you know. But in the beginning I would take it. Maybe I'd go home and talk to my parents. You know, Have permission to get the right salary and a better job. For example, in the northern part of the country. And that's it; and then I'll get their advice, yeah? But I think that I'll take it.

I-3 You are about to make an important decision about your future. You know that your parents disagree strongly with the choice you are thinking of making. What will happen?

(S) Well, I think that first of all I'll do what I think is better for me. And that's it. Maybe I'll think, you know, about what my parents' opinions are; but I'll do what is best for me.

I-4 Tell me something you feel is personally important to you.

(S) For example, what?

(E) Anything that you feel is personally important to you.

(S) Well, habits of life, for example. How people are acting, you know? If they are yelling in the streets - they are throwing things, you know, on the road - it makes me very angry. Because I like our country very much. I like to travel a lot. And I don't like the habits, you know, of the Galut. You know what the Galut is? Of people who come, for example, from Russia or from Poland or from Morocco, you know?

(E) Yeah.

(S) And they brought from there some very bad habits, you know, of living and behaving with people in society, and I don't like it, you know? And I don't like people who are, you know, very afraid of other people. Because when I see people - a person - who can make a nothing of himself cause he sees his boss or someone else, you know - it makes me very angry and, you know, very...I feel sorry for him, you know? Because I don't like it. I think if it was...if I were in the same situation, I would probably insist on my rights or something like that, you know? And not be humiliated or behave like this...(makes begging gesture)...you know? I don't like it.

(E) The second part of the question is, "How do your parents feel about the same sort of thing?"

(S) Well, I think - I'll tell you the truth, my parents are the same people who came from Poland or Russia, you know? They have the same habits. And I don't like it, you know, very much. I try to change them, but they are old, so it's not so diff- so it's a little bit difficult for me to change. But I try.

(E) So they don't have the same opinion about these things as you do?

(S) Yeah. Because, well...I'll tell you the truth. My mother, in the war - in the second world war - was very heroic, you know. She was just - she was a hero, I think. But now she's become a little bit, you know...And my father, he's something like that now.

I-5 In what ways would you say you are similar to your parents?

(S) To my parents I'm similar...well, I'll tell you...maybe with feelings. I'll give you an example. You know, I think that I sometimes act like my parents do - like my father does. Well, I'm very sensitive, like my father and my mother. That's it, I'm sensitive. It is - that's the similarity.

(E) That's the main similarity.

(S) Yeah.

(E) Are there others also, or is that the...

(S) Well, I think that it's...Maybe I'm honest. I try to be honest, year, like my parents - like my father. He is a very honest man, and I try to be like him. That's it.

(E) In what ways would you say that you are different from them?

(S) Well, in a lot of ways. Because I grew up in Israel, and they grew up in Litta, Poland. So I don't know what is the meaning of the Gola. I don't know the meaning of anti-Semitism. I don't know the meaning of some Pole crying or yelling at you, "You bloody Jew", or something like that, you know? Because I am living in my own country, and I served in the army, you know? And it's very different. It makes a lot of difference. Because if one person would shout at me, "You bloody Jew", I would kick him in the face, you know? Because it's my country.

And my parents, they are living here, but they have a lot of memories from the past which I don't have. My brother, for example, has them, because when he came to Israel he was seven years old, and he had lived in Poland for a while, and he heard about it. But I didn't hear about it. Only from stories, from newspapers.

(E) At the beginning you said that your parents came from Poland and that you don't know the Gola. I don't know what this means, "Gola". Could you tell me? -

(S) Yeah. "Gola" is, for example, is something not in Israel, you know? Like Poland or Russia or Germany. It's another country, in which you are not them. In which you are not a citizen in the same way, you know, as here. You are second class, you know?

(E) Second class citizen. Ah-ha.

(S) So it makes a lot of difference, you know.

A-1 You have just bought an expensive jacket. When you get home you notice that there is a defect. You bring it back to the store where you bought it, but the salesman says that there is no way he can take back the jacket. What do you do?

(S) What do I do? At first I would probably try to convince him that...jacket...I bought there the jacket. And maybe after 10 or 20 minutes, or an hour, I would probably go back home and write to the newspaper, you know, or something like that. And maybe for myself, I would not take - I would lose the jacket, yeah? But for other people, they would know that this store, or this gentleman, is criminal. He is not working...(unintelligible phrase). That's it.

A-2 You have had an argument with a person you work with, and feel insulted by something he said. You are lying in bed thinking about the argument. What goes through your mind?

(S) Well, at first I would probably think, "Is he smart or stupid?" For example, if he's stupid, I would say, "Ah, it's nothing; it doesn't bother me." But if he's smart, I would probably think whether there was something wrong with me that he said it. He didn't just say it because he wanted to say it. He said it because I didn't act right, or something like that. I would probably think, "What is the matter with me?" You know. I would try to be better the next time we met, you know.

And if I thought that he is a bad guy, or something like that, I'd say, "O.K., I won't meet with him again". That's it.

A-3 A person you know well has lied to you about something important. What do you do?

(S) Well, if it doesn't bother me I wouldn't do anything. But if it's very important to me, I would say it. That's it.

D-1 You are troubled by something that has concerned you for a long time. What do you do?

(S) Can you give me a for example, like what?

(E) I leave that to the person who I'm asking the question to. Something that has bothered you for a long time.

(S) I don't know. Well, I think that I will try to solve this problem. That's it. I will not let it pass by, you know? I am not this kind of a person. I will try to fix it or something...(undecipherable phrase)...and not leave it passing by.

(E) If you have a difficult time doing it, what do you imagine you would do?

(S) Well I'd - look, for example, I'm not afraid of difficulties, because I've had a lot of difficulties in my life. So I have another difficulty; never mind.

D-2 Imagine that you overhear two people who know you well talking about you. What do you think they would say?

(S) Well, first of all they'd talk about my habits: good, bad - good, bad manners. And maybe whether I'm an interesting person; and that's it.

(E) That you - they would say you are an interesting person.

(S) (Undecipherable phrase)...(laughs)...I try to be.

D-3 A relative of your parents whom you have never met before is coming to visit. What do you feel as you think about meeting this person?

(S) Well, I'd be very excited. For example, my father has a brother in Russia, and I would like to see him, you know. I have never met him. I'd be very excited to see him.

D-4 A member of your family tells you that there is a surprise party being planned for your parents. How do you feel about attending it?

(S) Well, I think it is very nice, you know. I would try to be in it - to take part in it, you know. To make my parents happy, it's very nice, you know.

D-5 You have just been invited to join a social club that meets in your community. You know some of the people in the club, but are not close friends with any of them. What are your thoughts as you decide whether or not to join?

(S) Well, I would try to be - to see those people in person, and if they are nice people I will say to myself, "O.K.". If they are interesting, I will try to be more polite towards them, or something like that. And if they are not interesting - not smart - (undecipherable phrase)...I will quit.

D-6 A person close to you reminds you of a promise which you had made and forgotten to keep. The person is upset with you. What is your reaction?

(S) Well, I would feel very embarrassed, you know? And I would try to explain. And that's it. I would feel embarrassed.

D-7 In general, how would you say you have been feeling?

(S) O.K. I feel O.K.

Rosebush (See verbatim transcript for E's description)

(S) I remember all your questions, from the beginning; that's O.K. Well, at first, when the person is giving me water, I would like to thank him - to say to him thank you. And the only way is to, you know, to be more colorful for one second. To show him that I'm saying to him thank you.

And to the second person, who is picking one of my flowers, I would probably, you know, be very weak. Because, you know, it's one of my - part of my body.

And after it, when we are going to the seasons. So in the spring I would probably be very happy, you know. I would probably like for a lot of people to see me in my color - in my beautiful color. But only to see, and not to touch, you know. 'Cause I'm part of nature, which you can only look at and not touch.

And in the summer I will probably feel very hot, you know. And very thirsty. I would probably like for a lot of good people to give me water.

And, in the autumn, I would feel very lonely. You know, because it's very cold.

And in the winter I would feel very weak - a lot of weakness, you know. Perhaps because of some kind of illness. But on the other hand, I would feel good because it gives me a lot of strength for the other seasons. That's it.

APPENDIX J
RATERS' SCORE SHEET

Item	Subject #	Subject #	Subject #	Subject #	Subject #
I-1					
I-2					
I-3					
I-4					
I-5					
Total I					
A-1					
A-2					
A-3					
Total A					
D-1					
D-2					
D-3					
D-4					
D-5					
D-6					
D-7					
Total D					
F-1					
F-2					
F-3					
Total F					

CriteriaKey

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Very poorly integrated response | I - Individuation |
| 2. Quite poorly integrated response | A - Aggression |
| 3. Somewhat poorly integrated response | D - Alienation |
| 4. Somewhat well-integrated response | F - Fantasy |
| 5. Quite well-integrated response | |
| 6. Very well-integrated response | |

APPENDIX K

RAW DATA

NORTH AMERICAN CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS

S	I	A	D	F	PS	RS	CS	PuS	TS	O
1	20	9	31	15	6	3	8	14	31	2
2	22	6	23	18	3	3	4	7	17	3
3	17	9	20	16	4	4	6	10	24	2
4	21	4	16	10	6	7	5	8	26	3
5	14	5	23	10	3	3	9	16	31	3
6	20	11	28	14	8	5	4	7	24	2
7	16	7	24	13	10	2	6	9	27	3
8	20	8	26	16	7	5	6	14	32	5
9	27	7	28	15	5	7	7	16	35	2
10	16	7	34	13	2	7	7	13	29	3
11	20	5	23	13	2	2	8	11	23	2
12	18	8	24	12	3	2	4	9	18	1
13	16	14	25	12	5	3	7	12	27	3
14	23	9	19	7	7	5	6	8	26	3
15	22	11	33	9	6	8	7	13	34	3
16	10	9	21	9	2	2	4	7	15	5

Key

S = Subject

I = Individuation

A = Aggression

D = Alienation

F = Fantasy

PS = Parents' Support

RS = Relatives' Support

CS = Community Support

PuS = Pursued Support

TS = Total Support

O = Overall Support

RAW DATA
ISRAELI CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS

S	I	A	D	F	PS	RS	CS	PuS	TS	O
17	16	6	16	9	6	2	4	5	17	1
18	18	6	21	10	4	2	8	7	21	2
19	22	15	34	11	6	3	4	8	21	2
20	25	7	15	9	4	3	7	7	21	3
21	24	15	30	10	2	4	4	9	19	4
22	17	14	38	15	10	7	7	14	38	5
23	23	5	27	3	6	2	4	12	24	3
24	21	13	26	14	6	2	6	15	29	3
25	15	4	33	12	4	6	4	9	23	3
26	18	12	29		6	4	9	10	29	3
27	18	12	29	12	4	3	10	14	31	4
28	16	10	22	12	2	4	6	11	23	3
29	17	9	34	11	3	2	8	9	22	5
30	18	8	34	15	5	5	8	11	29	4
31	23	9	35	15	8	5	5	10	28	5
32	19	11	28	7	3	2	5	10	20	2

Key

S = Subject
I = Individuation
A = Aggression
D = Alienation
F = Fantasy

PS = Parents' Support
RS = Relatives' Support
CS = Community Support
PuS = Pursued Support
TS = Total Support
O = Overall Support

RAW DATA
NORTH AMERICAN CONTROL GROUP

S	I	A	D	F	PS	RS	CS	PuS	TS	O
33	21	11	33	17	3	4	8	10	25	3
34	22	11	25	17	2	3	6	9	20	1
35	11	5	32	12	2	2	4	5	13	1
36	28	11	32	15	3	2	6	5	16	1
37	23	13	29	17	2	2	6	9	19	4
38	20	12	26	15	5	3	11	13	32	3
39	24	10	36	17	4	2	6	8	20	2
40	25	14	36	18	2	2	8	10	22	4
41	16	13	29	16	7	6	8	11	32	3
42	21	13	28	11	9	4	6	9	28	4
43	22	7	28	13	2	2	4	9	17	5
44	19	13	31	17	2	3	6	16	27	4
45	14	11	32	10	6	2	7	8	23	3
46	24	15	31	17	6	6	12	9	33	4
47	26	13	29	15	8	2	16	12	38	4
48	14	8	31	6	2	2	5	8	17	1

Key

S = Subject
I = Individuation
A = Aggression
D = Alienation
F = Fantasy

PS = Parents' Support
RS = Relatives' Support
CS = Community Support
PuS = Pursued Support
TS = Total Support
O = Overall Support

RAW DATA
ISRAELI CONTROL GROUP

S	I	A	D	F	PS	RS	CS	PuS	TS	O
49	15	9	25	8	5	2	8	12	27	1
50	16	11	20	10	6	2	8	10	26	4
51	11	3	29	16	10	7	9	17	43	3
52	20	9	32	15	2	2	4	6	14	1
53	16	15	34	15	4	2	7	8	21	2
54	24	14	27	12	5	9	7	14	35	3
55	14	8	37	15	2	2	4	5	13	1
56	25	9	31	15	3	2	10	13	28	3
57	15	8	27	11	5	2	6	9	22	5
58	27	15	27	16	9	4	8	8	29	4
59	22	17	27	7	6	6	4	12	28	3
60	12	9	25	10	6	5	7	10	28	4
61	21	4	15	16	4	2	8	6	20	3
62	24	9	31	13	6	8	4	9	27	4
63	17	13	39	12	2	2	5	8	17	3
64	20	10	24	11	2	2	4	8	16	1

Key

S = Subject
I = Individuation
A = Aggression
D = Alienation
F = Fantasy

PS = Parents' Support
RS = Relatives' Support
CS = Community Support
PuS = Pursued Support
TS = Total Support
O = Overall Support

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