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“I Harbor No Hate:”

A Study of Political Tolerance and Intolerance in Holocaust Survivors

By

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

2005

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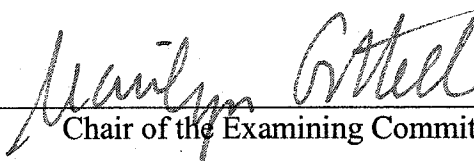
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## Approval Page

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

To Bracha, Joel, Rachel Meira,  
Chama, Michael, and Gavi

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

The attitudes of the victims towards their perpetrators have not been well documented.<sup>1</sup>

The Transcending Trauma Project, a study of three generations of Holocaust survivor families, looked at this issue. A startling pattern emerged from the Transcending Trauma interviews.<sup>2</sup> When asked the question does the Holocaust affect your political views, a surprising number of survivors clearly stated that they do not harbor any hatred towards the national groups that perpetrated crimes against them and their families. Regardless of the crimes perpetrated against them and perhaps irrespective of their experiences during the Holocaust, many survivors in the sample were able to separate out their emotional responses towards the perpetrators of the specific crimes against them from their views of all Germans or Poles or other groups that collaborated with the German Nazi government. An example of this response from a survivor follows:

I harbor no hate against anyone. I realize that people have behaved very cruelly towards the Jews, but I realize that it's not because each and every one of them is a cruel individual, it's because they were taught from childhood to hate Jews, and these are the effects from teaching hatred [...] This is a result, and that's why I try to always emphasize, when I talk to them, they have to stop, even in their own families. When they hear a derogatory joke made about, whether it's about Jews, or Blacks, or any other ethnic group, they should not just sit and laugh along and have fun, but it has to be stopped and explained that there is no such thing as I'm better than somebody else.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Shalom Robinson and Sara Metzger, "What Do Holocaust Survivors Feel Today Toward Their Perpetrators?" *Echoes of the Holocaust*, no. 6 (2000): 1; Shalom Robinson, Michal Rapaport-Bar Server, and Sara Metzger, *Echoes of the Holocaust*, no. 3 (1994): 19.

<sup>2</sup> In his latest research on South Africa (see bibliography for citations) James L Gibson concluded that intolerance is generated at very low levels of perceived threat and thus one would expect intolerance to be pervasive in a group of individuals who had suffered political persecution as it was with the individuals in this dissertation.

<sup>3</sup> Survivor JA [pseud.], interview by TTP team, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 17, 1994.

On the other hand, many survivors expressed hatred towards their perpetrators and the entire national group that participated in the destruction of their families and their lives. This is not an unexpected response even now, over fifty years after the Holocaust, given what the survivors experienced-. An example of a survivor with this viewpoint is:

I can never be a friend with a German person, never. I can never trust a German person. As far as Gentile people, even to this day there is a division. I cannot, I am friendly to them but I cannot really be a good friend to a Gentile person. I don't think I could. I could not. Because even the Gentile person stood by. Everyone stood by and let us be killed. And you know what I'll tell you, G-d forbid should anything happen to our Jewish people in the United States, let's see how many of your Gentile friends would stand up for you. Let's see how many. And I can guarantee you none of them would. None of them. I cannot forgive the people. I cannot forgive humanity that they stood by and let those six million Jews be destroyed, and burned, and gassed and shot. And nobody did anything about it. Nobody. How can people, how can nations stand by and not do anything? Where was the world? Where was consciousness? Where was everybody? What happened? The fires were just burning and nobody was there to do anything about it.<sup>4</sup>

These diametrically opposed quotes reflect totally different worldviews of humanity after extreme trauma. This dissertation will show that different experiences during the war are not the sole reason for these divergent attitudes. While the literature attributes political tolerance to age, education, religious affiliation among others, this study will show that these factors are not the critical predictors of tolerance. How then can we account for these differences?

This question is important because understanding which individuals acquire the attitudes of tolerance and intolerance similar to the two quotes above gives us greater knowledge

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<sup>4</sup> Survivor WC [pseud.], interview by TTP team, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, February 4, 1994.

about important political attitudes that contribute towards individual behaviors within the political life of the community, nation, or world. This question is also of great significance in today's world. The geopolitical conflicts around the world that have involved inter-ethnic brutality and political cruelty are numerous and span the globe. The attempts to rebuild these societies, after the hostilities have stopped, cannot succeed on the foundation of inter-ethnic or inter-group hatred. Rebuilding a society shattered by inter-group warfare depends on the victims' capacity to differentiate between the actual perpetrators and the perpetrators' national or ethnic groups. It also depends on the victims' capacity to view the world as a non-threatening place. In countries where inter-ethnic or inter-group hatreds were expressed in violent ways, victims need to come to the realization that the evils occurred under specific circumstances in the past and that tolerance for all members of society irrespective of ethnic or national group is essential. Tolerance facilitates cooperation in the rebuilding process. Intolerance leads to separation and avoidance and in the extreme, the long-term desire for revenge. Encouraging tolerance and understanding how tolerance is fostered is thus critical to ending inter-group conflicts.

What can we learn from the divergent attitudes expressed by Holocaust survivors who were victims of genocide? By analyzing the responses of the survivors to their victimization, we can learn what factors contributed to tolerance versus what factors contributed to intolerance in their lives after the war. Studying how these responses to victimization impact attitudes of tolerance and intolerance towards the groups who perpetrated the crimes may give us the tools to deal with intolerance in other conflicts.

Political intolerance is a “natural” response to one’s political enemies.<sup>5</sup> Thus, we expect that survivors will until their dying days hate the Germans and the Poles who destroyed their families, their livelihoods, their homes, their lives, and their communities. Yet, to a significant group of survivors interviewed for this project, this response is the complete opposite of what they believe and how they behave. We can understand the intolerant survivors, the “natural” response to what has happened to them, but have trouble accepting or understanding the response of the tolerant survivor. This study will explore the factors that predict tolerance in Holocaust survivors.

### **The Question**

Where does tolerance, which flies in the face of normal expectations, come from? Since victims of severe political trauma express such different attitudes not explained by the severity of the trauma experienced, what else could explain these differences?

To begin this inquiry, it would be important to know what the literature says about the responses of victim groups towards their victimizers and towards other groups after the victimization has ceased. But the literature on this topic is sparse. Only two studies explored the feelings of survivors towards their perpetrators, comparing the data in an earlier 1994 study to a more recent study. In the 2000 study, most of the interviewees expressed intense negative feelings towards the Germans and to a lesser degree towards

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<sup>5</sup> Raymond M. Duch and James L. Gibson, “‘Putting up with’ Fascists in Western Europe: A Comparative, Cross-Level Analysis of Political Tolerance,” *The Western Political Quarterly* 45 (1992): 239, quoting Fred H. Willhoite, Jr., “Evolution and Collective Intolerance,” *Journal of Politics* 39 (1977): 667-684.

the peoples among which they had lived during the war. More interviewees expressed positive feelings towards their neighbors in the earlier 1994 study than they did toward the Germans. In comparison to the earlier study, most of the survivors they interviewed in the 2000 study expressed strong negative feelings towards Germans. Some of them revealed fantasies of revenge, which were not expressed in the earlier study. The authors call for more study of victims' attitudes and feelings towards their persecutors.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, to date no research has looked at individual determinants of tolerance towards perpetrators and other members of their ethnic group in the context of the post war experience. Nor has anyone traced the extent of tolerance in survivors towards other minority and ethnic groups.

In the field of political science, political tolerance for many years was studied under normal political situations and posing theoretical questions in surveys to Americans and others. The questions explored revolved around what would you do if a communist, Ku Klux Klan person, gay person, etc., wanted to give a public speech, teach a class in your town, or engage in some other civic activity. Most of this earlier work on intolerance was quantitative and looked at group norms. Consequently, the need to go beyond the numbers into the underlying reasons for intolerant attitudes is critical.<sup>7</sup> The tolerance that the literature has studied is certainly important in order to understand the attitudes of citizens in a democratic society, but it is not quite the same problem as examining the

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<sup>6</sup> Robinson and Metzger, "What Do Holocaust Survivors Feel Today Toward Their Perpetrators?" 3.

<sup>7</sup> John L. Sullivan, James Piereson and George E. Marcus, *Political Tolerance and American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 251; Dan Caspi and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Toward an Empirical Theory of Tolerance: Radical Groups in Israel and Costa Rica," *Comparative Political Studies* 15, no. 4 (January, 1983): 400; John Mueller, "Trends in Political Tolerance," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 52 (Spring 1988): 3.

tolerance of victims of religio-ethnic crimes such as those experienced by Holocaust survivors. Nor is the study of groups the same as studying political tolerance in individuals. The study of individuals through qualitative methodology will help to discern trends regarding the underlying political and psychosocial factors in creating individual patterns of tolerance.

## **The Literature on the Political Determinants of Tolerance**

### **The Early Studies**

Past research on tolerance gives us a framework from which to begin to address the question of what are the determining factors towards creating tolerant political attitudes. The earliest literature looked at political tolerance as one-dimensional, rather than as a multidimensional syndrome of beliefs and values.<sup>8</sup> It defined political intolerance as the expressed desire to deny to certain groups basic civil rights like rights of speech and assembly.<sup>9</sup>

This early body of literature looked at political factors regarding intolerance and focused 1) on understanding tolerance in relation to particular political groups and 2) on understanding tolerance as accepting certain abstract norms of democratic procedure. In these studies, political tolerance, defined as a set of attitudes not actions, is the

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<sup>8</sup> James L. Gibson and Richard D. Bingham, "On the Conceptualization and Measurement of Tolerance," *The American Political Science Review* 76, no. 3 (September, 1982): 604.

<sup>9</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*, Science ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967); James L. Gibson, "Alternative Measures of Political Tolerance: Must Tolerance Be 'Least-Liked'?" *American Journal of Political Science* 36 (May 1992): 562.

willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interests that one opposes.<sup>10</sup> This definition thus implies that politically intolerant individuals are unwilling to permit others to express ideas that are contrary to theirs. Politically intolerant individuals do not recognize that other groups who have customs, values or interests that are antithetical to theirs have the right to the same civil liberties as they do. Politically intolerant individuals often believe, at least in theory, in denying these other groups their civil rights.

These earlier studies on intolerance focused on trying to determine the best way to quantify the measurement of intolerance. Sullivan and others postulated that allowing survey participants to choose their own least liked group generated a more accurate measurement of intolerance. Yet, others have criticized Sullivan's research. Gibson<sup>11</sup> wrote that based on his own research, this approach led to substantive and theoretical errors. Mueller then contradicted Gibson. Mueller<sup>12</sup> recalculated the Stouffer measure to partially simulate the Sullivan least liked group question and concluded that Stouffer's findings still hold. Hurwitz and Mondak<sup>13</sup> noted that many of the determinants of

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<sup>10</sup> John L. Sullivan et al., "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis," *The American Political Science Review* 75, no. 1 (March 1981): 93; James L. Gibson, "Alternative Measures of Political Tolerance; Must Tolerance be 'Least-Liked'?" 562; Thomas Wilson, "Trends in Towards Rightist and Leftist Groups 1976-1988: Effects of Attitude Change and Cohort Succession," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 553.

<sup>11</sup> James L. Gibson, "Pluralistic Intolerance in America: A Reconsideration," *American Politics Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (October 1986): 285.

<sup>12</sup> Mueller, "Trends in Political Tolerance," 2.

<sup>13</sup> Jon Hurwitz and Jeffrey J. Mondak, "Democratic Principles, Discrimination and Political Intolerance," *British Journal of Politics* 32 (2002): 113.

intolerance differed depending on whether respondents were asked about the expressive acts of people like themselves or of a least-liked group.

Thus, these researchers concluded that Sullivan's strategy of measurement while it responds to a clear flaw in earlier research might mask important characteristics of political tolerance by looking only at attitudes toward a least-liked group. Beatty and Oliver found that tolerance might not be as much of an issue or as group dependent as Sullivan, Piereson, and others suggested.<sup>14</sup> They postulated that religious theology, intolerant leadership cues, and a history of persecution for religious beliefs may interact to create distinctive denominational patterns of tolerance.<sup>15</sup> A history of persecution may encourage tolerance of other groups.<sup>16</sup> This suggestion of the impact of persecution of an individual's political attitudes warrants further investigation as a contributing factor to the expression of tolerance in Holocaust survivors.

Nevertheless, the problem with many of these earlier studies on political tolerance is that they assumed that tolerance is a single, one-dimensional attitude. Operating within research designs focused on relatively abstract and context free questions did not

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<sup>14</sup> Kathleen Murphy Beatty and Oliver Walter, "Religious Preference and Practice: Reevaluating Their Impact on Political Tolerance," *Political Opinion Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 327.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 328; J.J. Sigal, and Morton Weinfeld, *Trauma and Rebirth* (New York: Prager, 1989), 137.

necessarily generate successful predictions on whether individuals in real life circumstances will tolerate a specific group acting within a specific context.<sup>17</sup>

### **Broadening the Scope of the Research**

As a result, some researchers have moved away from this earlier narrow exploration and definition of political tolerance. In doing so, their research has begun to look at tolerance in other ways that relate more to real political conditions, real political experiences, and how people actually behave in their lives. In one move away from the traditional definition, Davis<sup>18</sup> noted that black political intolerance is used as an emancipatory strategy to protect blacks from groups who directly threaten their physical and psychological security. It is a conscious and focused decision that allows blacks to distinguish between everyday racists and bigots and the anxiety and fear generated by the Klan. He concluded that in adopting a defensive posture, black intolerance might be used to assert the distinctiveness of the African-American experience and to exert greater control over the determination of acceptable values and norms established by the dominant culture. Thus, Davis took the concepts used to describe a more traditional definition of political tolerance and adapted them to a more relevant explanation of how political tolerance functions within the African-American community.

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<sup>17</sup> George E. Marcus et al., *With Malice Toward Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments*, Cambridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 9.

<sup>18</sup> Darren W. Davis, "Exploring Black Political Intolerance," *Political Behavior* 17, no. 1 (March 1995): 1.

### Reconciling the Different Definitions

Consequently, the narrow application of political tolerance in the earlier literature, as Davis shows, does not apply in all situations and with all groups. Moreover, in the literature, the distinctions between ethnic, religious and political tolerance are not so clear. Some scholars have defined tolerance as the capacity to endure, suffer, or put up with something that one disapproves of or dislikes. It is putting up with that which is objectionable.<sup>19</sup> Ethnic intolerance is the unwillingness to extend economic, political, and social rights to other ethnic groups.<sup>20</sup> Ethnic intolerance may be a function of war-related conflict among other factors. Some define intolerance as the outcome of recent and current social and political conflicts rather than a fundamental quality of Eastern European cultures.<sup>21</sup> In all these studies, intolerance is defined as an attitude and not linked with specific behaviors or actions.

Ethnic intolerance starts with the definition of prejudice. Gordon Allport, in his classic study, *The Nature of Prejudice*, defined prejudice as “An avertive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group.”<sup>22</sup> A more recent definition explained further that prejudice is “the holding of derogatory social

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<sup>19</sup> Dennis Chong, “Tolerance and Social Adjustment to New Norms and Practices,” *Political Behavior* 16, no. 1 (March 1994): 23.

<sup>20</sup> Robert M. Kunovich and Randy Hodson, “Conflict, Religious Identity, and Ethnic Intolerance in Croatia,” *Social Forces* 78, no. 2 (December 1999): 643.

<sup>21</sup> Vyacheslav Karpov, “Religiosity and Tolerance in the United States and Poland,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41, no. 2 (June 2002): 270.

<sup>22</sup> Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Anchor Books ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1958): 8.

attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behavior towards members of a group because of their membership in that group."<sup>23</sup> Prejudice may lead to discriminatory behavior towards members of a specific group such as denying them their civil rights.<sup>24</sup> In the literature, the determinants of prejudice such as age, authoritarianism, religiosity, early life experiences, overlap with the determinants of political tolerance. Both sets of literature discuss threat as a determining factor.<sup>25</sup>

Further tying these concepts together, Golebiowska drew a connection between the political tolerance literature and the stereotyping literature. While previous research focused on group-targeted intolerance, Golebiowska focused on individual-targeted tolerance, at specific members of a group. The extent to which individuals of negatively stereotyped political groups will be tolerated depends not only on their group membership but also on the extent to which they fit their group's stereotype. These factors vary as a function not only of the activity the tolerated individual is engaged in, but also of prior attitudes towards the group that individual belongs to. Thus, tolerance is dependent on stereotypes of individuals within a specific group and of the threat that the group represents.<sup>26</sup> While her study theorized that actions and attitudes of an individual

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<sup>23</sup>Rui J. P. Figueiredo, Jr. and Zachary Elkins, "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry into the Vices of In-Group Pride," *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 1 (January 2003): 172 quoting Rupert Brown, *Prejudice: Its Social Psychology* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995).

<sup>24</sup> Mary R. Jackman, "Prejudice, Tolerance, and Attitudes Toward Ethnic Groups," *Social Science Research*, 6 (1977): 166.

<sup>25</sup> James M. Olson and Mark P. Zanna, "Attitudes and Attitude Change," Lyman W. Porter and Mark R. Rosenzweig, eds., *Annual Review of Psychology* 44 (1993): 143.

might generate a reaction of intolerance in another individual, it did not explore the consequences of that intolerance in shaping behavior.

Her research demonstrated it is conceivable that people might like the group or not actively dislike it yet dislike individual group members. This dislike for individuals in the absence of dislike for the group as a whole might occur because the individual matches the perceiver's image of somebody else she or he dislikes.<sup>27</sup> This finding may partially explain the existence of survivors who confine their intolerance to specific groups or individuals within that group but who hold tolerant attitudes towards other groups. Others agreed that it is misleading to equate the person who has difficulty putting up with one particular group but is otherwise prepared to accept all the other groups, regardless of their political beliefs or actions, with the person who is unwilling to tolerate any group that is different, unfamiliar or potentially threatening.<sup>28</sup>

## **Research on Political Factors**

### **Perceived Threat**

Intolerance may be triggered by threats, real or perceived. In fact, many studies stated that one of the strongest predictors of political intolerance is the perception that one's political

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<sup>26</sup> Ewa A. Golebiowska, "The Pictures in Our Heads," *The Journal of Politics* 58, no. 4 (November 1996): 1011.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1025.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Sniderman et al., "Principled Tolerance and the American Mass Public," *British Journal of Political Science* (1989): 42.

opponent is threatening.<sup>29</sup> In perceiving an ethnic or political group as a threat, individuals will evaluate the political strength of and the danger posed by the dissident groups. Since such perceptions are subjective, they will be affected by psychological factors.<sup>30</sup>

The early research studies on this factor looked at symbolic threats, not real ones. Chanley's research tried to rectify this by looking at situations that affect a respondent's family or community. She found a difference between support for democratic rights in an abstract general situation and support for rights in a specific known context. She concluded that tolerance declines as the perception of threat increases in a given situation.<sup>31</sup> Giles and Hertz came to similar conclusions with regards to whites who feel threatened by blacks. They made a distinction between principled and situational tolerance.<sup>32</sup> They found that under particular circumstances, the commitment to tolerance is likely to become secondary to a respondent's values. Shamir and Sullivan also found that in the absence of a strong threat, belief in abstract norms would act as a constraint in

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<sup>29</sup> Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi and Michael Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour, Belief and Experience* (London: Routledge (1997): 220; James L. Gibson, "A Sober Second Thought: An Experiment in Persuading Russians to Tolerate," *American Journal of Political Science* 42, no. 3 (July 1998): 833; Gibson, "Alternative Measures of Political Tolerance; Must Tolerance be 'Least-Liked?'," 570; John L. Sullivan et al., "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis," 99.

<sup>30</sup> John L. Sullivan et al., "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis," 99; Lincoln Quillian, "Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe," *American Sociological Review* 60 (August, 1995): 591.

<sup>31</sup> Virginia Chanley, "Commitment to Political Tolerance: Situational and Activity-Based Differences," *Political Behavior* 16, no. 3 (September 1994): 344.

<sup>32</sup> Michael W. Giles and Kaenan Hertz, "Racial Threat and Partisan Identification," *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 2 (June 1994): 317.

specific instances in which an individual's tolerance is tested. If the threat is strong enough, it will override these abstract beliefs.<sup>33</sup>

Combining the earlier literature with the more contextual research, Stephan and Ybarra called for an integrated threat theory, which is a combination of symbolic threats based on value differences between groups, realistic threats to the power, resources, and well being of the in-group, anxiety concerning social interaction with out-group members, and feelings of threat arising from negative stereotypes of the out-group. Realistic threats arise because of competition for scarce resources or threats to the welfare of the group. Symbolic threats arise when the out-group is undermining an individual's system of values. They found all four to be significant predictors of attitudes with anxiety. They found negative stereotypes more powerful and consistent predictors of prejudicial attitudes than realistic or symbolic threats.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, political tolerance depends on the ability of people to assuage their fears and anxieties and to become reconciled to social change.<sup>35</sup> Christian Bay, in *Strategies of Political Emancipation* as quoted in Davis, argued that the commitment to civil liberties is secondary to security and survival needs. "The right to stay alive and healthy or the right of everyone to protection against avoidable dangers to life and limb is the most

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<sup>33</sup> Michal Shamir and John L. Sullivan, "The Political Context of Tolerance: The United States and Israel," *The American Political Science Review* 77, no. 4 (December 1983): 916.

<sup>34</sup> Walter G. Stephan et al, "Prejudice Toward Immigrants to Spain and Israel: An Integrated Threat Theory Analysis," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 29, no. 4 (July 1998): 559.

<sup>35</sup> Chong, "Tolerance and Social Adjustment to New Norms and Practices" 21.

basic of all human rights.”<sup>36</sup> The primary characteristic in racial perceptions of threat is the internalized anxiety and fear felt by minorities, which comes from different groups in American society.<sup>37</sup> Black perceptions of danger and insecurity stem from and are directed toward groups that seek to harm them directly. They are tied to personal survival and as a community. How does their perception of threat relate to intolerance?

Threat has been defined as a multidimensional factor consisting of sociotropic threat and egocentric threat<sup>38</sup>. Sociotropic threat is defined as “a generalized anxiety and sense of threat to society, the country as a whole or the regions where one lives”<sup>39</sup> and I would argue as a threat to one’s community, group, or way of life. Egocentric threat is a “threat to oneself or one’s family. American Jews, similar to Davis’ research on Blacks discussed previously, view threat as sociotropic, as a danger to their community and way of life. As a community, they look at the world in glasses influenced by a historical memory of centuries of persecution and pogroms. They are vigilant about anti-Semitism. Added to this perspective is the survivor’s post-Holocaust view of the world. Holocaust survivors’ perceptions of danger and insecurity not only come from a historical memory of persecution, but from their actual experiences in World War II. Their perceptions of threat are based on a past that contained sociotropic and egocentric threats, one that not

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<sup>36</sup> Davis, “Exploring Black Political Intolerance,” 5.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>38</sup> James L. Gibson, “Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years After Stouffer’s Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties,” Unpublished paper, version 1.6 (February 26, 2004): 2.

<sup>39</sup> Darren W. Davis and Brian D. Silver, “Civil Liberties vs. Security: Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on America,” *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 1 (January 2004): 34.

only threatened but actually destroyed their communities and way of life in addition to their families and the lives of people who were important to them. The perception of threat that informs their political attitude is one based on sociotropic threats, a generalized feeling of anxiety that their community, group, or way of life is still threatened by the same forces that attacked them in World War II. Given this framework, what are the reasons for the fact that a significant number of survivors do not frame their views towards other ethnic groups in terms of perceived threats and fears of survival?

### **Research within Real Life Contexts**

As early as 1976 in a research paper, Harry Crockett declared that the nature of the political climate must be considered in assessing levels of political tolerance at different points in time or between one society and another.<sup>40</sup> Intolerance may be conditioned not only by a set of ideas, but also by the context in which the ideas are expressed or on beliefs about the characteristics of the other groups.<sup>41</sup> Exogenous factors can also change people's attitudes toward controversial activities, groups, and ideas.<sup>42</sup>

### **Group Identity as a Factor**

Gibson and Gouws have recently begun to look more carefully at the question of political tolerance within real situations. In research on South African political attitudes, they first

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<sup>40</sup> Harry J. Crockett, "On Political Tolerance: Comments on 'Origins of Tolerance,'" *Social Forces* 55, no. 2 (December 1976): 410.

<sup>41</sup> Ted Jelen and Clyde Wilcox, "Denominational Preference and the Dimensions of Political Tolerance," *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 1 (1990): 71; Cristina Jayme Montiel, "Political Trauma and Recovery in a Protracted Conflict: Understanding Contextual Effects," *Peace and Conflict* 6, no. 2 (2000): 93.

<sup>42</sup> Chong, "Tolerance and Social Adjustment to New Norms and Practices" 32.

hypothesized that those with stronger group identities are more likely to hold antipathy toward other groups, are more likely to be threatened by their political enemies, and are more likely to be intolerant of those enemies. Their early findings found that those who more strongly believe in the need for and value group solidarity and who receive psychic benefits from membership in the group are more likely to hate a wider variety of political groups.<sup>43</sup> In a later article based on subsequent research, Gibson found that strong group identity is not related to intolerance.<sup>44</sup> Gibson and Gouws define strong group identity as pride in belonging to a specific racial group; solidarity with that group on important political issues; and receiving psychic benefits from the group membership. The issue of strong group identity, using the Gibson Gouws definition, will be one factor to explore with survivors. Does strong group identity help explain intolerance in Holocaust survivors?

Gibson and Gouws' research in 2000 showed some correlation between group antipathy and the degree of psychic benefits derived from group attachments, with those receiving more benefits more likely to hate more groups. In that study, deriving great psychic benefits is associated with a greater perceived threat from one's most hated political enemies. Thus, generally speaking, and across all South Africans, they initially found

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<sup>43</sup> James L. Gibson and Amanda Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance: Linkages within the South African Mass Public", *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 2 (April 2000): 287.

<sup>44</sup> James L. Gibson, "Do Strong Group Identities Fuel Intolerance? Evidence From the South African Case," unpublished paper (December 2004): 27.

beliefs about the importance of group solidarity are the strongest predictors of anti-democratic attitudes, followed by the psychic benefits derived from group membership.<sup>45</sup>

Gibson and Gouws concluded in this earlier research that attitudes toward group solidarity (which in all instances flow directly from the psychic benefits of identity) play a substantial role in contributing to political intolerance. Those who derive psychic benefits from their social identities are more likely to assert the need for group solidarity. These two attributes of identities, psychic benefits and solidarity, shape antipathy towards groups in general and perceptions of threat from political enemies in specific. Antipathy and threat lead to political intolerance. In the earlier research, people who identify with a group have a tendency to develop attitudes about the nature of individual allegiance to and solidarity with the group, and these attitudes often give rise to a form of xenophobia, political intolerance. Gibson and Gouws admitted that given their limited analysis of the data, they couldn't be certain whether group identities are a cause or an effect of xenophobia. They called for more research on the dimensionality of identities; attitudes towards group solidarity and the perceived psychic benefits of groups' membership as crucial aspects of social identity that contribute towards political intolerance.<sup>46</sup> In Gibson's latest research on South Africa, he found that strong in-group identity had no relationship to intolerance and did not produce strong negative reactions to other groups in that society. He concluded that the lack of connection between strong in-group

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<sup>45</sup> James L. Gibson and Amanda Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance: Linkages Within the South African Mass Public," 289.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

identity and intolerance poses a major challenge for Social Identity Theory and requires an extensive reworking of the major processes that comprise the theory.<sup>47</sup>

Gibson and Gouws also said that preexisting threat perceptions strongly dominate perceptions of the context, rendering impotent the “facts” of the dispute itself. In South Africa, where inter-group animosities are so strong, the actual situations and experiences matter little in deciding whether or not to tolerate a hated political enemy.<sup>48</sup> Hurwitz and Mondak called this discriminatory intolerance, directed at a specific actor. They noted that the antecedents of discriminatory intolerance are different from that of generic intolerance that is it is dependent on a reaction to a specific group not a blanket objection to a particular act regardless of who commits the act.<sup>49</sup> It is clear that most Holocaust survivors fall into the category of discriminatory intolerance.

Where the threat posed by a particular group is strong fixed in peoples’ minds, the willingness to permit political expression by other politically unrelated groups may suffer, i.e. context matters.<sup>50</sup> The better educated are less susceptible to this context

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<sup>47</sup> James L. Gibson, *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile A Divided Nation?* (Cape Town: Russell Sage Foundation, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004): 297.

<sup>48</sup> James L. Gibson and Amanda Gouws, “Making Tolerance Judgments: The Effects of Context, Local and National,” *Journal of Politics* 63, no. 4 (November 2001): 1067.

<sup>49</sup> Jeffrey J. Mondak and Jon Hurwitz, “Values, Acts and Actors: Distinguishing Generic and Discriminatory Intolerance,” *Political Behavior*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (December 1998), 315.

<sup>50</sup> Donald Philip Green and Lisa Michele Waxman, “Direct Threat and Political Tolerance: An Experimental Analysis of the Tolerance of Blacks Towards Racists,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 162; James H. Kuklinski, Ellen Riggle, and Victor Ottati, “The Cognitive and Affective Bases of Political Tolerance Judgments,” *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (February 1991): 17.

effect because they are better able to differentiate between groups.<sup>51</sup> As recently as the year 2000, Gibson and Gouws noted that they do not have effective models of why some will feel threatened and why others in similar circumstances do not.<sup>52</sup>

### **Worldview as a Factor**

One aspect of worldview is trust. Lifton observed a process of reformulation of worldview among victims and survivors of the atomic bomb in Japan. This reformulative process is an effort to build a bridge between oneself and the world, reestablishing three essential elements of psychic functioning: a sense of belonging, a sense of meaning and an orientation toward the future.<sup>53</sup> Janoff-Bulman proposed that during a trauma, the worldview of individuals could be shattered. She wrote that in the aftermath of traumatic events, victims experience their own vulnerability. Trust in others is disturbed. She saw this as manifesting itself in political attitudes as a deep, almost paranoid distrust of government and authority and as an absence of trust in and tolerance toward others.<sup>54</sup>

Researchers have assumed that political attitudes reflecting trust or mistrust and future orientation are part of the reformulative belief structure of Holocaust survivors.<sup>55</sup> This

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<sup>51</sup> Donald Philip Green and Lisa Michele Waxman, "Direct Threat and Political Tolerance: An Experimental Analysis of the Tolerance of Blacks Towards Racists," 162.

<sup>52</sup> Gibson and Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance," 291.

<sup>53</sup> Robert Lifton, *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (San Francisco: Random House, 1967) 576.

<sup>54</sup> Ronnie Janoff-Bulman, "A Theoretical Perspective for Understanding Reactions to Victimization," *Journal of Social Issues* 39, no. 2 (1983): 1.

belief structure of survivors defined, as their worldview is comprised of the values of trust/mistrust, optimism/pessimism, and altruism/self-centeredness. The particular worldview that a Holocaust survivor holds will be explored to see how it is a contributing factor to shaping that individual's political attitudes.

A few studies on Holocaust survivors and political attitudes exist. Specifically, they looked at the worldview of survivors to see if worldview contributes to tolerance. They included in the composition of worldview attitudes towards the future expressed as optimism or pessimism, trust or mistrust towards others, and compassion towards others.

One study, which looked at political attitudes, religious identity, and future orientation in Israeli survivors, may shed some light on what to expect from a traumatized population. Carmil and Breznitz hypothesized one of two possible scenarios. Victims might have more compassion for other victims and try to prevent repetition of such episodes of victimizations, or, conversely, those affected by the Holocaust and the isolation of the Jews in the face of the impending disaster might turn inward and become less concerned for the civil liberties of others. This is one of the few studies to look at how Holocaust survivors and their descendents see the future.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Carmil, Devora, and Shlomo Breznitz, "Personal Trauma and World View—Are Extremely Stressful Experiences Related to Political Attitudes, Religious Beliefs, and Future Orientation?" *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 4, no. 3 (1991): 394.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

The Carmil and Breznitz study interviewed Holocaust survivors and their offspring; and non-Holocaust controls and their offspring. All the study participants were Israelis of European descent. Their study found that differences in belief in a better future were found to be significant. Belief was expressed as an optimistic view of the world or a pessimistic view. Forty-two percent of the survivors believed in a better future compared to twenty-eight percent of the controls. Thus, Carmil and Breznitz concluded that the Holocaust had a major effect on political attitudes and future orientation.<sup>57</sup> This study analyzed survivors in a different political culture, Israel. But looking within the American culture, the question about the role of optimism in creating tolerant political attitudes will be examined to see if Holocaust survivors are optimistic about the future.

Peter Suedfeld, in a recent study of Erikson's 'components of a healthy personality', found that while survivors exhibited favorable resolutions for most Eriksonian crises, on the mistrust versus trust scale, mistrust predominated among survivors.<sup>58</sup>

Sigal and Weinfeld looked at tolerance in Holocaust survivors, asking the question what is the impact of the Holocaust on survivors' political beliefs. They hypothesized that those affected by the Holocaust would be more opposed to the basic principles of Nazism and thus more committed to democratic beliefs and civil liberties, and more tolerant of minorities. Survivors, they speculated, would as former victims have more compassion

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 403.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Suedfeld, Erin Soriano, Donna Louis McMurtry, Helen Paterson, Tara L. Weiszbeck, and Robert Krell, 'Erikson's "Components of a Healthy Personality" Among Holocaust Survivors Immediately and Forty Years After the War', Unpublished manuscript, 11.

for other victims, and they and their descendents might undertake actions that would prevent a repetition of the victimization they suffered.<sup>59</sup> Monroe's theories (1996) espoused in *The Heart of Altruism*, as they did for altruism, help contribute to an understanding that there are politically tolerant individuals who hold a universalistic worldview.<sup>60</sup> She wrote that ethical political behavior emanates not from socio economic class, an analysis of the costs and benefits of particular actions, or a conscious adoption of and adherence to specific moral values, but rather from a basic perception of oneself in relation to others. Her work complemented the work of Sigal and Weinfeld.

### **Demographic Factors in Tolerance**

A strong body of literature exists that looks for demographic causes of why some feel threatened and express political intolerance and some do not. The demographic factors deemed important in shaping tolerance include education, an urban location, region of the country, age, religious belief and practice, ethnic origin and gender. Political intolerance is associated with low education, age, rural residence and background, fundamentalist religious affiliation, and residence in a specific region, the South.<sup>61</sup> Stouffer (1995) conducted the primary study on which much of this research has been based. He found

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<sup>59</sup> Sigal and Weinfeld, *Trauma and Rebirth*, 137.

<sup>60</sup> Kristen Monroe, *The Heart of Altruism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 200.

<sup>61</sup> Claude Wilcox and Ted Jelen, "Evangelicals and Political Tolerance," *American Politics Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (January 1990): 42; Minako K. Maykovich, "Correlates of Racial Prejudice," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 32, no. 6 (1975), 1019; Nicholas O. Alozie, "Political Tolerance Hypotheses and White Opposition to a Martin Luther King Holiday in Arizona," *The Social Science Journal* 32, no. 1 (1995): 1; Christopher G. Ellison, Marc A. Musick, "Southern Intolerance: A Fundamentalist Effect?" *Social Forces* 72, no. 2 (December 1993): 393; Steven A. Tuch, "Urbanism, Region, and Tolerance Revisited: The Case of Racial Prejudice," *American Sociological Review* 52 (August 1987): 509.

that rank and file citizens are less tolerant of socialist, atheists, and communists than civic leaders; that the young and well educated are more tolerant; and that levels of tolerance should increase with increased education. Thus, in his study and in others, age and education were key factors.<sup>62</sup>

Other studies have disagreed on the importance of age and education.<sup>63</sup> Some researchers found increasing education was associated with decreasing tolerance of the political right groups and had no systematic effect on the tolerance of political left wing groups.<sup>64</sup>

Sullivan et al. also found that the linkage between tolerance and education was illusory.<sup>65</sup>

Further complicating the question of the importance of education, Bobo found that the effects of education occurred regardless of political ideology, trust of people, and feelings of disapproval of target groups, and without regard to the left or right wing positions of groups. He conducted a secondary analysis of the 1984 General Society Survey data. Bobo stated that education "is strongly related to tolerance, even for a wide array of groups and even among those respondents explicitly opposed to the target group."<sup>66</sup> He

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<sup>62</sup> Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*, 105; Vyacheslav Karpov, "Political Tolerance in Poland and the United States," *Social Forces* 77, no. 4 (June 1999): 1525; Alozie, "Political Tolerance Hypotheses and White Opposition," 1.

<sup>63</sup> Mary R. Jackman and Michael J. Mohan, "Education and Intergroup Attitudes: Moral Enlightenment, Superficial Democratic Commitment, or Ideological Refinement?" *American Sociological Review* 49, no. 6 (December 1984): 754.

<sup>64</sup> Allan L. McCutcheon, "A Latent Class Analysis of Tolerance for Nonconformity in the American Public," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 49, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 485.

<sup>65</sup> Sullivan et al., "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis," 103.

concluded that education is important for tolerance of the “merely disliked” groups, but unimportant for the tolerance of “extraordinarily disliked” groups.<sup>67</sup> This meshes with Shamir, who found that those with higher education are not always more tolerant.<sup>68</sup> How can these discrepancies be explained? Moreover, many of the survivors, due to the very nature of their war experiences, were not allowed to finish their education. Less than half of the survivors have post-secondary school educations and yet many are tolerant.

Subsequent research has concluded that a large portion of the salutary effect of education on tolerance is due to its influence on the shaping of individual value systems. People who are prone to accept deviations from traditional patterns in a variety of domains are significantly more likely than more traditional people to tolerate unconventional groups and ideas. While education may play a direct role in tolerance, more importantly, researchers speculate that it molds political attitudes, indirectly as well as through its influence on individual value systems.<sup>69</sup> When researchers point to the better educated as more politically tolerant, they may, in fact, be measuring belief in a certain set of values, especially regarding such social issues as abortion, gender roles or nontraditional

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<sup>66</sup> Lawrence Bobo and Frederick C. Licari, “Education and Political Tolerance: Testing the Effects of Cognitive Sophistication and Target Group Effect,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (Autumn 1989): 303.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

<sup>68</sup> Michal Shamir, “Political Intolerance Among Masses and Elites in Israel: A Reevaluation of the Elitist Theory of Democracy,” *The Journal of Politics* 53 (November 1991): 1021.

<sup>69</sup> Ewa A. Golebiowska, “Individual Value Priorities Education and Political Tolerance,” *Political Behavior* 17, no. 1 (March 1995): 25.

religious beliefs. Some researchers are quite clear that when educated people express greater tolerance, it is not because they are “better citizens, but because they generally are in a position to hold magnanimous social attitudes with minimal risk of having to pay the attendant personal costs.”<sup>70</sup> Thus, it is useful to look at the values held by the survivors to see if they play a role in contributing to tolerance.

Just as studies on the role of education are conflicting, so too are studies on the role of religiosity and tolerance. In some research, religiosity relates negatively to tolerance.<sup>71</sup> Specifically, Moore found that intolerance towards out-groups is influenced by religiosity, identity, and political ideology. She concluded that religiosity influences the salience of national and civic identities. These group identities reinforce specific values and beliefs and thus shape political attitudes like intolerance.<sup>72</sup>

Corbett and Corbett examined relationships between a series of political variables and three religious variables: religious identifications, biblical literalism, and religious commitment. All were found to be important predictors of political identification and attitudes.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Oystein Gaasholt and Lise Togeby, “Interethnic Tolerance, Education and Political Orientation: Evidence from Denmark,” *Political Behavior* 17, no. 3 (September 1995): 268.

<sup>71</sup> Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, 155; Dahlia Moore, “Intolerance of ‘Others’ Among Palestinian and Jewish Students in Israel,” *Sociological Inquiry* 70, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 304.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Michael Corbett and Julia Mitchell Corbett, *Politics and Religion in the United States*, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1999): 290.

Most of the studies on religiosity examined it within the context of Christianity.

McFarland found fundamentalism positively correlates with discrimination against specific groups and with a tendency to discriminate against all other groups.<sup>74</sup> Eisinga found that the link between church membership and prejudice could be explained in part by authoritarianism.<sup>75</sup>

According to the “resurgence hypothesis,” religious revivals associated with frequent church attendance and intense religious beliefs are partly responsible for intolerant attitudes toward minorities. The “salience hypothesis,” on the other hand, suggests that ethnic intolerance and religiosity are jointly determined by in-group/out-group polarization resulting from competition and conflict for scarce resources. Under the salience hypothesis, religiosity is hypothesized to be merely a carrier of group identity and is not expected to affect intolerance.

Grandin and Brinkerhoff among others found fundamentalism was not significantly related to racial and ethnic intolerance and that those whose religious beliefs were strongest were more tolerant of racial and ethnic minorities.<sup>76</sup> Karpov also found that religious commitment and religious participation do not influence political tolerance

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<sup>74</sup> Sam G. McFarland, “Religious Orientations and the Targets of Discrimination,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28, no. 3 (1989): 333.

<sup>75</sup> Rob Eisinga and Albert Felling, “Religious Belief, Church Involvement, and Ethnocentrism in the Netherlands,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29, no. 1 (March 1990): 58.

<sup>76</sup> Elaine Grandin and Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, “Does Religiosity Encourage Racial and Ethnic Intolerance,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 23, no. 3 (1991): 32; Eisinga and Felling, “Religious, Belief, Church Involvement and Ethnocentrism,” 58.

directly.<sup>77</sup> Allport made a distinction between the apparently strong positive relationship between religion and prejudice and a more refined analysis in which a small core of honestly devout persons were found to be truly unprejudiced because they had intrinsic orientation, “the intrinsically motivated lives his [or her] religion.”<sup>78</sup> Religious salience, although related to ethnic tolerance, is not as important as intrinsic religiosity, i.e., those who are devout in their religious beliefs are more likely to show tolerance and acceptance for others, including minority ethnic groups.<sup>79</sup>

Research in Croatia in 1996 by Kunovich and Hodson also supported the salience hypothesis. They found the effect of religiosity on ethnic intolerance is largely spurious, that conflict and competition affect in-group/out-group polarization, which leads to a merging of religiosity and ethnic intolerance.<sup>80</sup> While faith is not necessarily likely to lead to intolerance, unquestioned religious faith and fundamentalism have been associated with authoritarianism<sup>81</sup> and discriminatory attitudes.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Vyacheslav Karpov, “Religiosity and Political Tolerance in Poland,” *Sociology of Religion* 60, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 396; Karpov, “Religiosity and Tolerance in the United States and Poland,” 277.

<sup>78</sup> Ronald J. Morris, Ralph W. Hood, Jr., and P.J. Watson, “A Second Look at Religious Orientation, Social Desirability and Prejudice,” *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society* 27, no. 1 (1989): 81 quoting G.W. Allport and J.M. Ross, “Personal Religious Orientation and Prejudice,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 5, (1967): 434.

<sup>79</sup> Grandin, “Does Religiosity Encourage Racial and Ethnic Intolerance,” 34.

<sup>80</sup> Kunovich, “Conflict, Religious Identity, and Ethnic Intolerance in Croatia,” 643.

<sup>81</sup> Gary K. Leak, “Clarification of the Link Between Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Religiousness: The Role of Religious Maturity,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34, no. 2 (June 1995): 245.

<sup>82</sup> Lee A. Kirkpatrick, “Fundamentalism, Christian Orthodoxy, and Intrinsic Religious Orientation as Predictors of Discriminatory Attitudes,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 32, no. 3 (September 1993): 256.

Why are there seemingly contradictory studies of the relationship between religiosity and tolerance? The problem with many of the studies is that they often use a single measure to determine an individual's religiosity, and it may be very misleading to compare across the denominations or to compare Christians and Jews.<sup>83</sup> Just as the conflicting studies on the importance of education to tolerance may possibly be explained through looking at the underlying belief structures, so too the conflicting studies on religiosity and tolerance may possibly be explained by examining the underlying value structures.

Another demographic variable examined in relationship to tolerance is gender. One research study found that gender differences are not very significant.<sup>84</sup> But another study thought that as a background factor gender might have an impact on ethnic or racial tolerance.<sup>85</sup>

## **Psychosocial Factors in Tolerance**

### **The Importance of the Family of Origin Socialization**

The literature discussed personality traits, psychological security issues, and impact of the family as important psychosocial variables predicting tolerance. This study will explore the importance of the family of origin as a contributor to tolerance. One aspect

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<sup>83</sup> Gary K. Leak and Brandy A. Randall, "Clarification of the Link Between Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Religiousness: The Role of Religious Maturity," 250; Beatty, "Religious Preference and Practice," 319; Christopher G. Ellison, Marc A. Musick, "Southern Intolerance: A Fundamentalist Effect?" 389.

<sup>84</sup> Maria Jose Sotelo, "Gender Differences in Political Tolerance Among Adolescents," *Journal of Gender Studies* 8, no. 2 (1997): 217.

<sup>85</sup> Grandin, "Does Religiosity Encourage Racial and Ethnic Intolerance?" 39.

of the importance of family is reflected in the literature on the influence of the pre-adult life. According to this research, both pre-adult and early adult attitudinal environments influence adult levels of social tolerance. Two interpretations exist of the persistence hypothesis. One is that pre-adult political socialization leaves attitudinal residues, which persist through adulthood. The second, a “revisionist” view is that pre-adult learning is supplemented by a socialization that continues into early adulthood.<sup>86</sup> Most people’s adulthood social environments tend to reflect the same norms that were present in their pre-adult environments.<sup>87</sup> Consequently, socio-cultural learning acts as a means to acquire prejudice along with other values and attitudes learned in childhood and adolescence. Conformity pressures, as well as these powerful attitudes learned early in life, promote the persistence of prejudice through later life.<sup>88</sup> Sears and others placed these theories into what he called “a sociopsychological model” in which “an individual’s psychological predispositions influence their responses to political events as adults.”<sup>89</sup> For example, a person who is autocratic in his or her family is likely to be autocratic in relationships with others and in politics.<sup>90</sup> The organizing structure is the family

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<sup>86</sup> Steven D. Miller and David O. Sears, “Stability and Change in Social Tolerance: A Test of the Persistence Hypothesis,” *American Journal of Political Science* 30 (February 1986): 214.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, 232.

<sup>88</sup> Donald K. Kinder and David O. Sears, “Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism Versus Racial Threats to the Good Life,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 80, no. 3 (1981): 416.

<sup>89</sup> David O. Sears, “Long-Term Psychological Consequences of Political Events,” in Kristen Monroe, ed., *Political Psychology* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002): 252.

<sup>90</sup> Glen H. Elder, Jr., “Role Relations, Sociocultural Environments, and Autocratic Family Ideology 28, no. 2 (June 1965): 174.

ideology, the rationale for justifying, interpreting, and integrating norms, social patterns, and processes in the family.<sup>91</sup>

Other scholars, called value shift theorists, supported the importance of early family life by arguing that individual value priorities are shaped by early life experiences and once formed are highly resistant to change during adulthood. Consequently, they proposed, people brought up under different economic conditions are likely to espouse different value priorities. Economic prosperity may create a sense of personal security where one feels less vulnerable to the external environment. A growing sense of security spills over into other areas including greater tolerance for diversity.<sup>92</sup> However, additional aspects of the impact of the family of origin need to be considered when analyzing Holocaust survivors, many of whom experienced profound breaks between their pre-adult, pre-war lives and their post-war adult lives. Personality traits and family of origin relationships are two important areas to examine.

### **Personality Traits as a Factor**

#### **The Authoritarian Personality**

Several studies have examined personality traits to determine their impact on creating tolerance. One such personality trait is the authoritarian personality. Authoritarianism has been linked to prejudice towards out-groups.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Golebiowska, "Individual Value Priorities Education and Political Tolerance," 28.

Although conducted under normal political conditions, Adorno's seminal study on the authoritarian personality is a crucial contributor to the discussion of elements that interact with tolerance. Sabini elaborated on this theory, noting that in Adorno's research, a person's personality caused him to be prejudiced.<sup>94</sup> Adorno and colleagues constructed a theory of the antidemocratic or pre-fascist personality, a personality attracted to prejudice. Their research identified clusters of personality traits that comprise the authoritarian personality such as conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, stereotyping, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity, and sexual repression. Adorno's group defined the authoritarian personality as a syndrome of conservative attitudes, religious, national or attitudinal intolerance, inflexibility at the cognitive and emotional levels, and personality traits that stem from deep personal conflicts and are reflected in compulsiveness, inordinate recourse to defense mechanisms and distorted satisfaction of repressed drives.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, in *The Authoritarian Personality* studies, the interrelationship of the subjects with their parents and siblings were of paramount importance in determining their future political activities.<sup>96</sup> According to Adorno, tolerant individuals demonstrated good psychological

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<sup>93</sup> Alan H. Roberts and Milton Rokeach, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication," *American Journal of Sociology* 61, no. 4 (January 1956): 355; Howard Schuman, Lawrence Bob, Maria Krysan, "Authoritarianism in the General Population: The Education Interaction Hypothesis," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (December 1991): 385.

<sup>94</sup> John Sabini, "Prejudice and Intergroup Conflict," *Social Psychology*, (New York: WW Norton and Co. 1995): 115.

<sup>95</sup>; Gidi Rubenstein, "Authoritarianism in Israeli Society," *Journal of Social Psychology* 135, no. 2 (April 1995): 237; quoting Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: WW Norton and Co. 1950)

<sup>96</sup> Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: WW Norton and Co. 1950): 256.

health and intolerant individuals exhibited poor psychological functioning. Others have also found maladaptive patterns of relationships for intolerant individuals in childhood.<sup>97</sup> Though Adorno's methodology has been criticized by later studies, acceptance of the link between authoritarian personalities and tolerance remains.<sup>98</sup> Recent studies by Feldman and Stenner suggested that the authoritarian personality is linked to intolerance through perceived threat.<sup>99</sup> Fifty years later, the connection between the family of origin relationships and the personality syndrome of authoritarianism has yet to be explored in depth in its relationship to tolerance. This study of Holocaust survivors has identified the family of origin relationships as one critical factor to explore in determining the intolerant survivor.

### **Other Personality Traits as Factors**

Psychological studies show that personality plays a major role in determining who is tolerant. Knutson relied on a conceptualization of the personality developed by Maslow, the hierarchy of needs. Human personality is dependent on the satisfaction of various needs, along a continuum with "concern for self" at one end and "concern with self in relation to one's environment" at the other end. She speculated that abstract ideas such as

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<sup>97</sup> Eugene Hightower, "Psychosocial Characteristics of Subtle and Blatant Racists as Compared to Tolerant Individuals," *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 53 (June 1997): 373.

<sup>98</sup> John L. Sullivan, James E. Pierson, and George E. Marcus, *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*, 152.

<sup>99</sup> Stanley Feldman and Karen Stenner, "Perceived Threat and Authoritarianism," *Political Psychology*, 18, no. 4, 1997: 748.

tolerance are unlikely to receive much attention from self-centered persons.<sup>100</sup> Thus, relying on Knutson, survivors who are other-directed people will be found to be tolerant. Stouffer found that those who believed in stern child rearing techniques and those who tended to be pessimistic were less tolerant of ideological nonconformists.<sup>101</sup> McClosky and Brill identified personality characteristics that predicted high intolerance scores including misanthropy, anomie, low self-esteem, and inflexibility.<sup>102</sup> Low self-esteem may increase one's tendency to project one's shortcomings onto hated scapegoats.<sup>103</sup>

Others report that the best predictor of intolerance is dogmatism, i.e., the more close-minded persons are, the more intolerant they are.<sup>104</sup> Rokeach formulated the dogmatism scale and found high correlations between the dogmatism scale and that of Adorno's scale measuring anti-Semitism.<sup>105</sup> The most relevant attribute of dogmatism is the tendency to dichotomize beliefs into "strict categories of acceptance and rejection."<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Jeanne N. Knutson, "Personality in the Study of Politics," in *Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. Jeanne N. Knutson (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers 1973): 50.

<sup>101</sup> John L. Sullivan and J.E. Transue, "The Psychological Underpinnings of Democracy: A Selective Review of Research on Political Tolerance, Interpersonal Trust, and Social Capital," *Annual Review of Psychology* (1999): 634.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.; H. McClosky and A. Brill, *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983): 416.

<sup>103</sup> Sullivan, "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis," 100.

<sup>104</sup> Gibson, "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom," *The American Political Science Review* 86 (June 1992): 353.

<sup>105</sup> Rubenstein, "Authoritarianism in Israeli Society," 237.

<sup>106</sup> James L. Gibson and Raymond M. Duch, "Anti-Semitic Attitude of the Mass Public: Estimates and Explanations Based on a Survey of the Moscow Oblast," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 21.

People who are more dogmatic are quite hostile to beliefs that differ from their own in part, because these beliefs are seen as threatening.

These traits of dogmatism and low self-esteem are linked to tolerance through the concept of psychological security. Psychological security consists of the traits of dogmatism or closed-mindedness, self-esteem and personal trust. An individual who exhibits psychological insecurity focuses on the anger from perceiving threats from out-groups while reinforcing a tendency to stereotype.<sup>107</sup> People whose physiological and psychological security needs have not been met tend to exhibit significantly less tolerance than those whose needs have been met.<sup>108</sup>

### **Family of Origin Relationships as a Factor**

Adorno and others<sup>109</sup> briefly addressed the issue of family relationships as a factor in tolerance. As stated above, they predicted that poor psychological functioning is related to intolerance. They mentioned that individuals with authoritarian personalities often came from dysfunctional families where they had conflicted relationships with their fathers. These studies observed this connection but did not pursue in depth the relationships between this family pattern and intolerant attitudes. In fact, little work has been done in the area of understanding how family of origin relational dynamics

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>108</sup> Golebiowska, "Individual Value Priorities Education and Political Tolerance," 26.

<sup>109</sup> Adorno, 259; Stouffer, 153, Nevitt Stanford, "Authoritarian Personality in Contemporary Perspective," in *Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. Jeanne N. Knutson (San Francisco; Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973), 146.

contribute to tolerance or other attitudes or belief systems. As mentioned above sociology, social, and political psychology credit the family of origin with the predominant role in the socialization of children. Socialization, while dependent on the emotional connection of family life, is focused primarily on beliefs and behavior, which reflect growth in the areas of cognitive belief systems and role behavior. Understanding the emotional and relational foundation of cognitive beliefs provides an approach to the study of political attitudes on the individual level. While varying social forces contribute to specific tolerant and intolerant attitudes, the qualitative experiences of a child's development within the family of origin seem to provide the foundation upon which develop the cognitive belief systems and attitudes towards others. D. J. Siegel elaborated upon this relationship. Siegel hypothesized that repeated patterns of interactions between children and their parents form impressions in the memory shaping behavior, emotions, and perceptions.<sup>110</sup> These patterns form the communication between the parent and the child. Attachment is based on collaborative communication. During early development, a parent and child relate to each other's feelings and intentions in ways that establish these patterns of communication. Siegel concluded, "Mary Ainsworth's early studies suggest that healthy, secure attachment requires that the caregiver have the capacity to perceive and respond to the child's mental state."<sup>111</sup>

The question arises of how to analyze these patterns of relationships. Through the interviews from the original study, the TTP found that attachment theory offers the best

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<sup>110</sup> D.J. Siegel, *The Developing Mind*, New York: Guilford, 1999, 5.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

model for the study of the quality of relationships between the parent and the child.<sup>112</sup>

The TTP found that the qualitative relational dynamics of the family of origin impacted belief structures and thus attitudes in the survivors. The TTP broke down the phenomenon of attachment into the components of the parent-child dynamics. The four parent-child dynamics that describe aspects of attachment are:

**Closeness ← → Distance**

**Empathy ← → Self centeredness**

**Validation ← → Criticism**

**Expressions of positive emotions ← → Expressions of negative emotions**

These four parent-child dynamics were derived from clinical practice and theories of family development.<sup>113</sup> Since family dynamics are never completely positive or negative, the arrows indicate that these four dynamics exist on a continuum. Rating these dynamics involves assessing whether or not a particular dynamic describes the relationship detailed in the narratives of the interview. A particular relationship vignette may be rated as indicative of a "close" relationship while another vignette may be rated as "distant". Thus, the overall parent-child relationship may be rated as "close" even though there are elements of distance revealed in the interview. When positive parent-child dynamics exist, they describe secure attachment and healthy relationships. When negative parent-child dynamics exist, they describe insecure attachment and poor functioning relationships. This study proposes that Holocaust survivors who grew up in

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<sup>112</sup> Bea Hollander Goldfein, "Key psychological dimensions of coping with extreme trauma: Towards building an integrated model", in P. David and J. Goldhar, (eds.), *Selected Papers from a Time to Heal: Caring for the Aging Holocaust Survivor*, Toronto: Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care, 1999, page.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, page.

families with positive dynamics will support Adorno's theory that tolerant individuals exhibit good psychological functioning. Conversely, survivors who grew up in families with negative dynamics will be found to exhibit poor psychological functioning and tend towards intolerance.

In conclusion, a review of the literature on the determinants of political intolerance identifies areas for investigation. Several fields of investigation in political science, sociology, and psychology contribute to identifying the determinants of political tolerance in Holocaust survivors. Moreover, since these fields have expanded the definition of tolerance, this study adapts a more recent definition to the examination of Holocaust survivors. Tolerance in Holocaust survivors is the capacity to put up with and endure associations with individuals or groups, specifically the perpetrators and the ethnic group that they belong to. Given the war experiences suffered by the survivors at the hands of these perpetrators, it would not be surprising for survivors to normally dislike or hate members of the perpetrators' ethnic groups. Tolerant survivors do not hold hostile attitudes towards persons on the basis of their ethnic, religious, or political group affiliation. Limited-intolerant<sup>114</sup> survivors confine their intolerance to the perpetrators or the specific groups representing the perpetrators who persecuted them. They otherwise hold tolerant attitudes towards all other groups. Intolerant survivors express a more generalized hatred: first, towards the perpetrators and the groups representing the perpetrators who destroyed their families, livelihoods, and homes; during

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<sup>114</sup> This category of limited-intolerant speaks to the question posed in the field about intolerance, whether it is broadly or narrowly based in scope as discussed in Jeffrey J. Mondak and Mitchell S. Sanders, "Tolerance and Intolerance", 1976-1998, *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 3 (July 2003): 497.

and right after World War II continuing to the present time and second, towards ethnic, racial, and religious groups outside of their own group.

In determining the factors contributing to tolerance in survivors, this study addresses political, demographic, and psychosocial factors. The demographic factors this study will explore are: age, educational level, socioeconomic status, gender, religious affiliation, country of origin, and nature of war experiences. The political factors this study will explore are: perceived threat, worldview, strength of group ethnic and political identity and political ideology. Finally, this study will examine psychosocial factors that include: family of origin socialization values such as religiosity, educational values, and general beliefs, and psychological factors such as personality traits, and family of origin qualitative relationship dynamics. In addition, in the course of the analysis two new factors arose and will be discussed, that of statements of survivor guilt and family of origin messages of tolerance.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE METHODOLOGY

The data for my dissertation, *"I Harbor No Hate": A Study of Tolerance and Intolerance in Holocaust Survivors*, comes from the Transcending Trauma Project, conducted under the auspices of Council for Relationships in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Coping and adaptation after extreme trauma was the focus of the original study. As is the case with semi-structured interviews, the survivors discussed many different topics including their attitudes towards their perpetrators. After the devastating experience of the Holocaust, it was inevitable that the survivors would have strong feelings towards their perpetrators. Their reactions were discussed in the course of interviews that explored how the survivors coped with the aftermath of the Holocaust and adapted to life in a new country. Attitudes of tolerance and intolerance were revealed in the course of discussing post war adaptation. This is not an unusual occurrence in secondary qualitative research.<sup>115</sup> In fact, it is in the nature of grounded research that the interrelationships of significant issues are revealed and that new questions arise from the data. These observations spur additional areas of investigation. The life histories that comprise the data of the Transcending Trauma Project are rich, detailed guided conversations that yielded complex areas of inquiry through the analysis process.

The original project focused primarily on collecting qualitative interview data. The dissertation data is a sub sample of the overall project data set. The utilization of qualitative research is appropriate for exploring topics about which little is known or

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<sup>116</sup> Elizabeth Lindsey, "The Impact of Homelessness and Shelter Life on Family Relationships, *Family Relations* 47, no. 3 (July 1998): 245.

where the prevailing theories appear inadequate or incomplete. This kind of research is validated by the richness and depth of data that only comes from the perspectives of those who have lived through the experience and given it meaning.<sup>116</sup>

Until the early 1990's, the literature on Holocaust survivors and how they adapted and rebuilt their lives appeared one sided and incomplete. The earliest psychological studies focused on the negative consequences of surviving the Holocaust that reflected the predominant psychoanalytic viewpoint of the treating psychiatrists or the emphasis on long-term disability required by reparation claims.<sup>117</sup> The majority of these research studies based their findings on either German reparation interviews or clinical involvement with survivors who were in therapy precisely because of their difficulties. Moreover, these studies did not examine such significant factors as life before the war, specific war experiences, family relationships, personality factors, or post war experiences. In addition, very few research studies focused on intergenerational transmission of the impact of the Holocaust from the generation of survivors to the second and third generations.<sup>118</sup> And none focused on the survivors within the context of

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<sup>116</sup> Deborah K. Padgett, *Qualitative Methods in Social Work Research: Challenges and Rewards* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998): 7,8.

<sup>117</sup> The seminal works on this viewpoint are Chodoff, P., "Late Effects of the Concentration Camp Syndrome", *Archives of General Psychiatry* 8 (1963): 323-333; Eitinger, L., "Pathology of the Concentration Camp Syndrome", *Archives of General Psychiatry* 5 (1961): 371-380; and H. Krystal, ed. *Massive Psychic Trauma*, (New York: International Universities Press, 1968). In fact until very recently studies on resilience, coping or adaptation after any trauma such as war, rape, natural disasters, did not exist.

<sup>118</sup> One of the few exceptions to this omission is the work of Yael Danieli who developed a typology of family behavior based on interviews she did on the impact of the Holocaust on family dynamics in Danieli, Yael, "The Treatment and Prevention of Longterm Effects and Intergenerational Transmission of Victimization: A Lesson from Holocaust Survivors and Their Children", in C.R. Figley, ed., *Trauma and*

their multigenerational families. Studying intergenerational family units uncovers more information about each generation by gathering the points of view of all generations about themselves and each other. As a result of all these methodological limitations, many important issues were not addressed by the existing literature. The TTP interviews centered on the very issues that the previous literature lacked. The qualitative nature of the data allowed for the exploration of the gaps in the literature.

Qualitative methodology fosters insights into a survivor's thoughts and memories, cultivating a high degree of introspection and contextualization. "To ignore such criteria is to risk trivializing the survivor's experiences as well as to present only a superficial picture."<sup>119</sup> Within the field of qualitative methodology, both my dissertation and the original Transcending Trauma Project relied on grounded theory as the method of inquiry. Thus, patterns were observed, themes identified, and conclusions drawn from the richness of the data and then tested in subsequent analyses of the data with additional respondents.

The original Transcending Trauma Project relied on the structure of grounded theory to collect and analyze its data. Grounded theory research is small scaled and focused, emphasizing the continuous interplay between analysis and data collection until a theory

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*Its Wake, Vol. I: The Study and Treatment of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1985) 295-313.

<sup>119</sup> Peter Suedfeld, "Thematic Content Analyses: Nomothetic Methods for Using Holocaust Survivor Narratives in Psychological Research", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 10 (1996) 169, quoted in Peter Suedfeld and Erin Soriano, "Separating the Qualitative to Quantitative Dimension from the Data Versus Analyses Distinction: Another Way to Study Holocaust Survivors", in R. Hauptman and S.H. Motin, eds., *The Holocaust: Memories, Research, Reference*, (Binghamton, NY: Haworth, 1998) 118.

fitting the data is created.<sup>120</sup> In this fashion as the project analyzed the data it constantly reevaluated the research questions and theories it investigated, seeking confirmation in subsequent interviews.

### **The Genesis of the Transcending Trauma Project**

To understand the methodology of my dissertation it is necessary to first examine the methodology of the Transcending Trauma Project (TTP). TTP grew out of a conference organized by the Marriage Council of Philadelphia (now Council for Relationships) in September 1986. "Shattered Promises and Broken Dreams" was a ground breaking conference, the first conference on Holocaust survivors sponsored by a mental health institute rather than a Jewish or Holocaust organization. The conference spurred the creation of a study group mainly comprised of mental health practitioners, some of whom were children of survivors. The study group's work led to the development in 1990, of a pilot project that conducted interviews with several survivors and their children. The underlying motive of the pilot project reflected the beliefs of the study group members discussed earlier that the literature had heretofore focused almost exclusively on the negative consequences of the Holocaust on survivors, without studying the processes of coping and adaptation after extreme trauma. The study group formed the nucleus of the research team that is comprised of mental health practitioners along with researchers from other social science disciplines such as anthropology, communication, and political science. They observed that the literature they had reviewed did not reflect the experiences of the survivors and survivor families that they had encountered. They

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<sup>120</sup> Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998) 12.

developed the Transcending Trauma Project to explore the gaps that they found between how the survivors were discussed in the trauma and Holocaust studies literatures and how they appeared in real life. TTP sought to provide a more complete and balanced in-depth understanding of survivors and their families, how they coped and adapted after liberation, and how they rebuilt their lives and families in a new environment.

### **Definition of a Survivor**

The TTP study and my dissertation define "Holocaust survivors" as Jewish individuals who lived in Europe and were in danger after 1933 and during World War II because they resided in countries controlled by Nazi Germany. Even those individuals who emigrated from Europe prior to the start of the war were considered survivors by this definition. TTP interviewed survivors and their families who were representative of a cross-section of countries of origin, religious beliefs, political affiliation, and socio-economic backgrounds. Lists of survivors from membership organizations were avoided in order to eliminate the bias of self-selection; instead, the project actively sought to include interviews with individuals who were unaffiliated with survivor organizations as well as those who identified with the survivor community. The empirical representativeness of the sample is neither important nor a goal of qualitative research. Sampling relied on a combination of strategies: snowballing, convenience, and opportunism. Respondents were identified through networking by asking for referrals after interviewing each survivor. For example, one interviewer was aware that a neighbor whom she saw occasionally on a social basis was a child of survivors and asked him if he would be interviewed. This contact opened the door to his wife, his brothers and their wives, and

other family members. Ultimately using snowball sampling, 19 members of the extended family were interviewed; none of them had ever told their stories to an interviewer before. Convenience sampling characterizes another aspect of the data. Interviewees all maintained some connection to the greater Delaware Valley region. Either they lived in and around Philadelphia or had relatives who they visited in the Philadelphia area. A few lived near by in Delaware or New Jersey. In only a few instances, interviewers traveled to other parts of the country or Israel and interviewed survivors. And finally, opportunistic sampling led researchers to follow leads in tracking down interviewees who could offer a particular perspective or experience. One survivor who spent the war in Siberia with her family told the interviewer that her good friend, who spent the war in Siberia with her, lived only a few blocks away. The interviewer contacted this friend who gave her a different perspective on the same events in Siberia. Coupled with the particular sampling processes, TTP conducted the interviews in the survivors' homes to foster a willingness on the part of the interviewees to share their life stories in an atmosphere of trust. This is particularly important with survivors of the Holocaust who have been shown in the past to be suspicious of social science researchers because of negative experiences and/or the tendency to pathologize survivors.

The interviewers used a semi-structured interview format accompanied by quantitative instruments designed to evaluate coping strategies and intergenerational religious identification. The semi structured interview guide, in essence a guided conversation, elicited information based on the behaviors, thoughts, and feelings, of the respondents. The semi-structured interview questions were based on a series of content areas such as

family of origin, war experiences, liberation, and immigration. The flexibility of the semi-structured interview format permitted the interviewers to explore basic information spontaneously and honestly with the interviewees at a level not possible in a purely structured situation. Interviewees were encouraged to describe the context of their personal experiences and their interrelationships with others rather than just report historical information. Thoughts, feelings, and behaviors were elicited through circular questioning that probed for depth and richness in the answers given by the survivors. The interviews included the war years but emphasized pre-war and post-war experiences in an effort to gather broader information about the factors influencing the person's life. The data revealed the interrelationship of family dynamics, coping and adaptation. Pre-war information included such topics as family of origin demographics, description of relationships, religious identity, family values, and any significant life experiences before the war. Post-war information included such topics as mourning the losses, finding other survivors, emigration to the United States, marriage, children, religious identity, faith, memories, strategies for coping and adapting, and political attitudes.

A separate semi-structured interview format was developed for each category of person interviewed: survivors, nonsurvivor spouses, children of survivors (COS), nonCOS spouses, and grandchildren of survivors. Each of these formats focused on a slightly different set of questions to provide the analysts with multiple perspectives.

Each respondent was also asked to complete the Transmission of Jewish Identity Survey, which covered basic background information related to the subject's Jewish identity and

the transmission of identity to the next generation. Approximately 50% of the respondents filled out the survey.<sup>121</sup> This included messages about Jewish identity transmitted from parents and the messages received by the children. The survey also asked about the respondent's religious attitudes, practices, and beliefs. This survey was specifically developed for TTP in order to track the impact of the Holocaust on the Jewish identity of survivors and to track the process of transmission across generations. Items for this survey were derived from the Jewish Population Study conducted in 1990 by the Council of Jewish Federation<sup>122</sup>, from the work of Cohen<sup>123</sup> who assesses trends in the American Jewish community, and from the researchers' conceptualization of the transmission process. Pilot investigations with diverse groups supported the use of the instrument and provided content validity for the assessment of transmitting Jewish identity.

The survey also asked about the interviewees' political attitudes and behavior. The information about political attitudes and behavior consisted of questions about presidential voting patterns, party affiliation, policy positions regarding social welfare questions and attitudes towards ethnic, religious, and political groups in American culture. The surveys from the interviews selected for this study on tolerance will be

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<sup>121</sup> Difficulties arose when respondents were asked to complete the COPE scale and the Transmission of Jewish Identity Survey. For survivors the length of both questionnaires and the fact that they were in English, not the native language of the survivors, proved to be difficult hurdles to overcome.

<sup>122</sup> *CJF 1990 Jewish Population Study* (New York: Council of Jewish Federations, 1990).

<sup>123</sup> Steven Cohen, *The Dimensions of American Jewish Liberalism* (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1989).

analyzed and compared to the qualitative findings, both on an individual level and on an aggregate level. This quantitative survey data will provide a comparison for the qualitative data of the dissertation, a triangulated data source, to confirm and support the political attitudes on tolerance towards ethnic, racial and political groups expressed by the survivor in the original interview narrative.<sup>124</sup> The surveys will thus serve as a second source of data yielding information on the tolerance and intolerance of the survivors in the sample.

### **Data Collection Phase of TTP**

During the data collection phase of the project, the interviewers and researchers met often. Project meetings served a three fold purpose: to acquaint the staff with the literature in the field and how the project data related to this literature; to train the interview staff to elicit the sought for data, to inform the staff of the findings in process, to adjust the interview process to reflect the findings arising from the analysis process, and to act as a means to examine the reflexivity of the researchers. The meetings and later on, the analysis process specially developed for TTP served as ongoing mechanisms to examine researcher biases. Each phase of the analysis process contained built in bias checks as detailed in the description of the analysis phase below. In qualitative research, the goal is not to eliminate researcher biases but to identify them so that they do not confound the findings.

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<sup>124</sup> Triangulation is defined as collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods and used to enhance the reliability of the study.

### **The Analysis Phase of TTP**

Grant McCracken in *The Long Interview*<sup>125</sup> identified five stages of analysis for qualitative research, each representing a higher level of generality. The first stage examines the words of the interviewees on their own terms, with each useful statement creating an observation. The second stage "takes these observations and develops them, first, by themselves, second, according to the evidence in the transcript, and, third according to the previous literature and cultural review."<sup>126</sup> In other words, the observations are augmented according to the information in the interview and in the literature. The third stage examines the interconnection of the second-level observations with the focus away from the transcript toward the observations themselves. Thus in the third stage themes and connections among the observations are identified. The fourth stage takes the observations generated at previous levels and subjects them to collective scrutiny with the goal of determining patterns of inter-theme consistency or contradiction. The fifth stage takes these patterns and themes and subjects them to a final process of analysis, moving from the particular to the general level of analysis.

The first phase of the project analysis paralleled McCracken's first two stages. For this phase, we created an instrument called the Protocol of Analysis For In Depth Interviews that permitted us to track ideas in the transcripts by highlighting important or descriptive

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<sup>125</sup> Grant McCracken, *The Long Interview* in Qualitative Research Methods Series 13 (Newbury Park: Sage, 1988).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* 42.

comments, comparing comments within the transcript itself, and comparing them to the literature. The instrument also fostered the identification of exact quotes in each of its categories while providing a comprehensive psychosocial profile.

The Protocol of Analysis necessitated the creation of an innovative team process we called the Triad. A Triad consisted of a facilitator, the original interviewer, and a second reader of the transcript material. By including the original interviewer, observations of the respondent were integrated into the analysis. The survivor's tone of voice, affect, body language and even the ambience of the setting that was often the survivor's home contributed to the analysis picture. A Triad was assigned to each family interviewed. Great effort was taken to have each Triad include a child of survivors and a mental health professional, who may or may not have been a child of survivors as well, thus providing different perspectives to the analysis.

Prior to a Triad meeting, the facilitator listened to the original tapes, allowing voice intonations and silences to be heard, keeping the Protocol of Analysis in mind and noting key themes to be discussed at meetings. The interviewer and the second reader completed the Protocol of Analysis by reading the transcript and citing quotes relevant to protocol categories, thus corresponding to McCracken's first stage of utterances creating observations. While the facilitator heard the interviewee's voice just prior to the analysis and the interviewer heard the voice and observed the non-verbal language during the original interview, the second reader lacked either of these experiences. This resulted in

each member of the Triad coming to the meeting with a slightly different orientation to the same material. The multiple perspectives enhanced the understanding and dynamics of the transcript material and mitigated against inherent personal bias. This process allowed the Triad members to work towards consensus from their multiple perspectives thus enhancing the validity of the analyses and findings of TTP.

All Triad meetings were audio taped and later transcribed which created a permanent record of the discussions. These transcripts serve a two-fold purpose: to document the analysis process serving as a foundation for the next stage of analysis and to reveal the transparency of the analysis process thus supporting the reliability of the findings. The triad was our answer to the trustworthiness issue of researcher bias. It incorporated peer support groups to analyze the data in such a way that any biases in one analyst could have been countered or questioned by either of the other two analysts. In addition, the triad process left an audit trail of the analysis that is useful for verification of the process and findings by others. The audit trail came first from transposing the data to the Protocol of Analysis, second, from transcribing the analysis meetings, and third from highlighting the significant passages in each transcript. The highlighted passages from the transcript of the triad discussion were then analyzed a second time by a team of two who created Synopses based on the consensus ideas expressed in the analysis transcripts, reducing the 60-100 page transcripts to manageable 10-15 page summary documents.

The Synopsis acted in an innovative manner to distill the analysis meeting. It became the summary record of consensus or disagreement of the work of each Triad. From the Triad, highlights that corresponded to the Protocol of Analysis were realigned into a smaller document, collapsing over 45 categories into a maximum of 15. In addition, the Synopsis contained relevant demographic and narrative material and included important quotes from the text in order to remain true to the respondent's own words. The Synopsis, a condensed summary, provided an understanding of the major themes and factors influencing the respondent's life.

At the conclusion of the Triad process, the team completed the Themes Checklist. The Themes Checklist is the record of the themes in the data relevant to that particular survivor and family. This document formed the basis for identifying relevant themes, elucidating the data findings. It fulfilled the objectives of McCracken's last three stages of analysis: discerning observations derived from the transcripts, determining patterns and themes, and developing final analyses. It included such topics as severity of war experiences, losses, gender, dreams, developmental stage during war, socio-economic status, emotional environment in the nuclear family, adaptive strategies, and communication. The Themes Checklist yielded a profile of key issues that helped researchers organize the massive amounts of material into categories and concepts that were present for a given interviewee and/or family.

### **The Dissertation Methodology: Defining the Survivor Categories**

My dissertation research is a secondary analysis of the data from the Transcending Trauma Project. It relies on several instruments utilizing different methodologies to explore political attitudes in survivors. My primary source of information for the political factors comes from the TTP qualitative interviews. As narrative stories of the survivors' lives, they contain the words the survivors use to describe their attitudes. To capture these words and the political factors contributing to tolerance revealed in the interviews, this study relies on coding through a qualitative computer-coding program called NUD.IST. Additional information on the political attitudes and religious beliefs and identity is obtained from the Transmission of Jewish Identity Survey, hereafter called the JIS. Information on the demographic factors is obtained from a quantitative instrument, the TTP Demographic Coding Form that contains socio/demographic information about the survivors. The TTP Demographic Coding Form is the repository of information culled from the Triad analyses and the synopses.

Due to the availability of a large dataset and the ability to take the data from several instruments to explore multiple factors, the dissertation utilizes a comparative design. The comparative design analyzes political, demographic, and psychosocial factors to see how they relate to three groups of survivors holding different types of attitudes of tolerance. Eighteen cases out of ninety-five were selected to be in the sub sample of this study. The eighteen were chosen based on the following criteria: their views on tolerance were clearly stated in the interview; their interviews were complete documents

discussing pre, during and post war years according to the semi structured interview guide; and they had completed the Jewish Identity Survey (JIS).

The definitions on tolerance resulted from the first coding of the survivor interviews through the NUD.IST program. The NUD.IST program was designed specifically for qualitative research on narrative documents. Initially any statement about tolerance or intolerance in the interviews was highlighted and coded through the program into two overlapping categories called "people, groups" and "tolerance." All the statements on tolerance in each interview were compiled into one document. As mentioned above, interviews lacking any statements on tolerance or where the statements were so vague that a position on tolerance could not be clearly discerned were eliminated from the sub-sample.

The NUD.IST program then combined all statements in these categories from all the interviews of the TTP into one document. This document was examined for the concepts and phrases that each survivor used to express their ideas on tolerance. Each interview was reviewed for the content and consistency of their statements on tolerance. After this analysis, three distinct groups emerged; tolerant, intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors. Tolerant survivors do not hold hostile attitudes towards persons on the basis of their ethnic, religious, or political group affiliation. Limited-intolerant survivors confine their intolerance to the perpetrators or the specific groups representing the perpetrators who persecuted them. They otherwise hold tolerant attitudes towards all other groups.

Intolerant survivors express a more generalized hatred: first, towards the perpetrators and the groups representing the perpetrators who destroyed their families, livelihoods, and homes; during and right after World War II continuing to the present time and second, towards ethnic, racial, and religious groups outside of their own group. In addition, survivors who were consistent in their attitudes were placed in either the tolerant or intolerant groups. Survivors who were inconsistent and expressed conflicting ideas were placed in the limited-intolerant group.

Interviews placed in the tolerant category contained language such as "color blind," "harboring no hate towards other groups," "respect and love for everyone," "tolerance" or "lack of prejudice." The interviews in the limited-intolerant category contained phrases that targeted one group for hatred but not others, expressed contradicting views of tolerance and prejudice, or talked about respect and love for all people but declared an aversion to buying German products. Those in the intolerant group expressed a range of negative attitudes. They ranged from ideas of superiority, that Jews are better than other groups, to feelings or actions of revenge. Intolerant survivors' hatred towards their perpetrators often manifested itself as not tolerating being in a room with people of the same ethnic group as their perpetrators or working with them or hearing their language. Finally, intolerant survivors often labeled all members of the perpetrator group then and now as antisemitic.

### **The Coding**

Each interview was coded through NUD.IST for several factors. NUDIST was programmed to code for thirty-four codes. Codes came from several sources: the literature on tolerance; themes that arose from findings from the TTP analysis of the entire project sample of survivors; and through the grounded theory process that facilitates the identification of new factors as the analysis of the data unfolds.

### **Tracking the Demographic Factors**

The study examined demographic factors through the Demographic Coding Form as recorded on SPSS. The following factors were tracked on the Demographic Coding Form: age, gender, education, occupation, marital status, SES of the family of origin and the nuclear family, country of origin, losses before the war, age in 1939, age when the war impacted the survivor, religious affiliation, nature of the war experience, losses during the war, and communication patterns. The first demographic comparison was made between the National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) and the entire sample of Transcending Trauma project survivors. This comparison showed how representative the TTP sample was compared to national data on survivors. Using the SPSS project data, the two samples were compared in the following categories: age, gender, education, occupation, marital status, financial situation, and country of origin. These were the categories of data available for the NJPS.

Next, the 18 cases selected for the dissertation were compared to the entire TTP survivor sample since the sub sample was not chosen on the basis of representativeness. The sample and the sub sample were compared in the following categories: gender, country of origin, age, educational levels, income levels, occupations, religious affiliation of the family of origin, and current religious affiliation.

Finally, the eighteen cases were divided into three groups, tolerant, limited-intolerant, and intolerant. These three groups were compared in the following categories: gender, country of origin, parents' occupation, family problems pre-war, nature of war experience, education, SES, religious affiliation, witnessing of death during the war, and losses of family during the war.

While the literature predicts that all these factors are important in determining attitudes of tolerance, based on impressions from my work with the TTP, I initially hypothesized that they would not be. However, as will be seen in chapter 3 some distinctive trends arose among the three groups.

### **Tracking the Political Factors**

Based on the literature the study tracked key political factors in the statements of the survivors that could possibly have an impact on tolerance. Each interview was read and appropriate segments coded for the following political factors identified as determining tolerance in the literature: 1. The presence of symbolic or real threats and 2. Worldview

comprised of four aspects. They are mistrust/trust, pessimism/optimism, self-directed/other directed, and altruism. In addition, acts of revenge were coded separately, as were acts of kindness by non-Jews either during or after the war.

### **Perceived Threat**

To determine the presence of symbolic or real threats in an interview, NUD.IST coded any phrases discussing threats into one category called threats. Interviewees who saw the world as a threatening place attributed to others such phrases as "we'll do better than Hitler (re killing you)." They described others as antisemitic, noting a rise in antisemitism or that the world was full of antisemitism. Often in these interviews, members of other ethnic groups were described in negative stereotypic terms. In addition, some survivors described conditions as "just right for a reoccurrence" of the Holocaust. These survivors, who stated their belief and concern that the Holocaust could reoccur, who defined other groups by using stereotypes or who viewed the world as full of antisemitism were coded as perceiving the world to be a threatening place.

### **Worldview**

As noted in the literature, three aspects were explored in defining the worldview of survivors. They are: optimism/pessimism; trust/mistrust; and compassion towards others. Compassion towards others was revealed through tracking of the trait of being self-centered or other directed and through tracking two new categories; altruistic behavior and through acts of revenge. In grounded research, the data itself often yields new

categories of analysis. In this study, altruistic behavior and acts of revenge further clarified the self-centered/other-directed component of worldview. Data on optimism/pessimism and trust/mistrust was collected through the interview using NUD.IST to code phrases. The survivors were asked to characterize their personalities as pessimistic or optimistic, trusting or not. Data on if survivors evidenced a self centered or other directed attitude was taken from the Demographic Coding Form. Survivors were coded as other directed individuals if they engaged in volunteer philanthropic activities in the community or focused on attending to the physical and psychological needs of their families and friends. Finally, altruistic behavior and acts of revenge were coded through NUD.IST through the survivor stories on the part of the survivor especially during the Holocaust. Initially the experiences of antisemitism pre war and the experiences of being the recipient of kind acts by non Jews during the war were tracked because I theorized that these experiences could have an impact on the survivors' worldview. However, when I found that almost all of the interviewees had experienced antisemitism prior to the war and all were recipients of acts of kindness by non-Jews during the war I eliminated these factors from the study. These experiences were documented through the stories in the interviews and coded through NUD.IST.

### **Strength of In-group Identity**

Additional political factors arose out of the literature and the analysis of TTP. Several studies initially suggested that strong in-group identity might be a predictor of political intolerance. They relied on the tenets of Social Identity Theory to examine ethnic groups

in South Africa and other places to determine the strength of in-group identity. To determine the strength of the in-group identity of Holocaust survivors, relevant items on the Jewish Identity Survey (JIS) were tracked. Statements from the JIS were selected that matched in intent the statements in the research of others who looked at this factor. Nine statements were chosen from the JIS. These statements ranged from expressing pride as a Jew and the importance of being Jewish, to statements supporting solidarity with the group. In addition, the current religious affiliation of the survivor and the amount of close Jewish friends the survivor had were also compared. Religious affiliation was added because social scientists often equate level of observance with strength of in-group identity. Thus, the measure of the strength of in-group identity would be whether a Jew is Orthodox or some other Jewish movement affiliation. But in fact, determining the strength of in-group identity among Jews is more complex than just comparing one variable, movement affiliation. This study shows, that religious affiliation is just one aspect of in-group identity strength and ultimately, not the deciding factor.

Finally, to further clarify the strength of in-group identity statements about Israel were coded. Support for Israel, visits to Israel and thoughts about living in Israel are all tracked. Phrases describing support for Israel were coded in the interviews through NUD.IST. Visits to Israel, emotional attachment to Israel, and the desire to live there were tracked through the JIS.

## **Political Ideology**

The literature also suggests that people who are more conservative are more intolerant. Political beliefs were determined through two methods. One, statements in the interview on political beliefs, party affiliations, positions on public policy issues were identified and coded through NUD.IST. Two, the JIS noted a survivor's attitudes on some key social policy issues; abortion, welfare, and affirmative action. Information on these two instruments were compared to determine whether a survivor held conservative or liberal views on politics and public policies and whether there was a relationship between these views and their attitudes on tolerance. An additional comparison was made between the statements on tolerance coded in the qualitative interviews and the quantitative information in the JIS on the survivors' attitudes towards different ethnic, religious, racial, and political groups in American society. On the JIS the question was framed what proportion of each of the following groups in the U.S. is antisemitic? The answers could range from most to few.

## **Psychosocial Factors**

### **Family of Origin Socialization**

The literature discussed the impact of the family of origin as an important psychosocial variable predicting tolerance. Several studies as discussed in Chapter One concluded that the pre adult environment influences the adult attitude on tolerance. To track the impact of the family of origin on the values and beliefs of the adult survivor, the interviews were coded through NUD.IST for family religious and general values pre-war. In addition, as

a comparison to the family of origin influences on the survivor's values and attitudes; the survivor's current general belief systems such as what values in life are important; goals/dreams; and philosophy of life were tracked through NUD.IST. Religious beliefs from the family of origin and in the post war survivor's life were also tracked through the interviews and coded through NUD.IST.

In particular, the following pieces of information were collected: the existence of a belief in God pre-war and/or post-war; the nature of ritual practice pre-war and post-war; and finally, whether belief in God, ritual practice or Jewish identity changed due to war experiences. By using the information from the interviews, the description of the survivor's belief system and the influences on it from the family of origin were revealed.

### **Personality Traits**

The literature pointed to the relationship between personality traits and intolerance. The traits of dogmatism/closemindedness, low self-esteem, and self-centeredness are often characteristic of intolerant individuals. Adorno defined these traits and the others discussed in chapter one as characteristic of intolerant individuals. As discussed in chapter four self-centeredness was tracked as part of worldview. Two items on the demographic coding form "found meaning in helping others" and "found meaning from being part of something beyond oneself," were used to determine if the individual was self-centered. Those whose forms did not contain checks for either item were clearly self-centered. Those whose forms contained checks for both categories were clearly

other-directed. A few whose forms only contained checks for one category were labeled leaning towards other-directed. The interviews did not yield clear information on dogmatism and low self-esteem. Consequently, this study does not track these two traits as they potentially relate to tolerance in Holocaust survivors except through inference.

### **Family of Origin Relationships**

Adorno and others mentioned that individuals with authoritarian personalities often came from dysfunctional families where they had conflicted relationships with their fathers. These studies, Adorno's, Stouffer's and others, observed this connection but did not pursue in depth the relationships between this family pattern and intolerant attitudes. In fact, very little work has been done in the area of understanding how family of origin relationship dynamics contribute to tolerance or other attitudes or belief systems. As discussed in chapter one the TTP found that attachment theory offers the best model for the study of the quality of relationships between the parent and the child. The TTP found that the qualitative relationship dynamics of the family of origin impacted belief structures and thus attitudes in the survivors. The TTP broke down the phenomenon of attachment into the components of the parent-child dynamics. The four parent-child dynamics that describe aspects of attachment are:

**Closeness ↔ Distance**

**Empathy ↔ Self-Centeredness**

**Validation ↔ Criticism**

**Expressions of positive emotions ↔ Expressions of negative emotions**

The positive relationship dynamics and their definitions are:

- **Closeness:** close, frequent and positive contacts and ties with family members; warm feelings among family members; family members are helpful to each other;
- **Empathy:** the child experiences the parent as a caring and understanding adult, the child feels understood and important to the parent, the parent is giving and pays attention to the child's needs and feelings even though the parent may not understand the rationale for the child's actions; the parent may make sacrifices on behalf of the child and in the child's interest;
- **Validation:** the parent supports the child's feelings, thoughts, needs and behaviors, the parent is encouraging, positive and complimentary, parent may express pride in the child
- **Expressions of positive emotions:** positive emotions, love and affection, are expressed verbally and/or physically between parent and child, the child feels loved even if this is not expressed in words, positive feelings are expressed within the family such as happiness, satisfaction, and fun.

The negative qualitative relationship dynamics are:

- **Distant:** cold, infrequent, and negative contacts between family members, relationships are not close, little involvement in family members' lives.
- **Self-Centeredness:** the parent is focused on their own needs and desires to the partial or complete exclusion of the needs and desires of the child, the parent is

experienced as self absorbed, neutral or inattentive to the child, parent may be selfish or even damaging to the child's well being.

- **Critical:** the parent's interactions with the child are negative, dismissive, and unsupportive of the child's feelings, thoughts, needs and behaviors, parent may express disappointment in the child.
- **Expressions of negative emotions:** predominantly negative emotions are expressed within the family relationships, including anger, resentment, criticism, disappointment, rage, and dissatisfaction. The child may feel unloved, "bad," unwanted, guilty or unworthy.

All the qualitative interviews were recoded in NUD.IST for the above traits operating within the family dynamics. Specifically recoded were the descriptions of the individual family of origin members and the description of the survivors' relationships with their parents and other family members as well as the description of the family of origin dynamics.

### **New Factors Uncovered**

As mentioned earlier the process of grounded research often leads to new areas of inquiry. The early analysis of the first of the tolerant survivors' interviews led to the identification of new factors of importance. Messages against hatred and intolerance from the parents or grandparents played a role in creating tolerance in survivors so subsequent interviews were examined for the presence and the content of these messages. In addition, statements of survivor guilt appeared to be related to intolerance in survivors.

In qualitative research triangulation supports the reliability of the findings. Triangulation is the use of different kinds of instruments to gather data on a particular question. This dissertation used triangulation by using different kinds of instruments to uncover the data. The instruments used were the qualitative interviews of the survivors coded through NUD.IST; quantitative data from the JIS that included attitudes towards ethnic, religious, racial and political groups and information about the survivor's social and religious identities; and quantitative demographic information recorded from the Demographic Coding Form through SPSS. The use of these varied instruments contributed to the reliability of the findings.

## CHAPTER THREE

### DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The eighteen survivors analyzed for this dissertation are part of a larger study, the Transcending Trauma project that interviewed 95 survivors. How representative is the Transcending Trauma sample when compared to other studies of survivors?

Does it compare to the data collected during the 2000-2001 National Jewish Population Survey? The National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01 (NJPS) is "a nationally representative survey of the Jewish population living in the U.S."<sup>127</sup> While the methodology of the survey has been criticized, it is the only survey of its kind on Holocaust survivors in the United States. Consequently, it is a reasonable basis of comparison to the TTP data. The survey was administered to a random sample of 5100 people by telephone in 2000 and 2001. Approximately 80% of the surveyed population received a questionnaire that asked additional questions among them questions for Holocaust survivors. For their survey of Nazi victims, the NJPS interviewed 146 individuals and compared them to the rest of the Jewish population over 55 years of age. The NJPS sample is divided into two groups, those who immigrated to this country prior to 1965, and those who came after 1965 who are mostly from the former Soviet Union. The TTP sample was compared to the NJPS pre 1965 group since the TTP sample is composed of only those survivors who came prior to 1965.

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<sup>127</sup> Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz, Lorraine Blass, and Danyelle Neuman, *Nazi Victims Residing in the United States, United Jewish Communities Report Series on the National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01*, report 2, April 2004.

**Age**

While there are some differences between the two studies, the TTP data overall is similar to the data of the NJPS. In the NJPS, the median age for pre 1965 survivors was 75. For TTP it was 70 years. Since the TTP started interviewing survivors a full ten years before the NJPS, it is understandable that the TTP sample is a slightly younger one. More specifically, in the NJPS data looking at the breakdown of the survivors by age 41% were the young elderly (65-74) and 48% the old elderly (75 and up). Supporting the fact that the TTP is a younger sample, almost 72% of the sample was under the age of 74 at the time of the interview. The majority of the interviews were completed in the mid 1990s.

**Gender**

The TTP male/female percentages are similar to the NJPS study. In the TTP study, 64% of the survivors were females. In the NJPS study, it was 62%. This ratio of two females to one could be a reflection of the fact that females have longer life spans, which would show up, in a survey of older people.

**Education**

The educational patterns of the survivors in the TTP and the NJPS are comparable. In the TTP sample 62% of the sample only achieved a high school diploma or less. This is similar to the NJPS where 60% of the sample report that their highest level of education was a high school diploma or less. In the TTP sample, 21.3% received a college degree

or more versus 22% in the NJPS. In the NJPS, the breakdown of post high school educational levels obtained was 2% with an associate degree, 22% with a bachelor's degree, and 17% with a graduate degree. In the TTP sample, the comparable figures were 9.4% received some college education, 7.4% earned a BA, and 21% did postgraduate work. The TTP sample was a slightly less educated group of survivors.

### **Occupation**

Occupational status is similar in the two studies. In the NJPS 70% of the sample were employed in the three highest job classes that they designated management/executive, business and finance, and professional/technical. In the TTP sample if we exclude the categories of skilled trades, unskilled trades, unemployed, and housewife, 61% fall into the top categories. The slight discrepancy between the two samples could be due to the fact that each study used a slightly different means of categorizing jobs within the different job classes.

### **Marital Status**

In the NJPS 75% of the survivors were married. In the TTP study approximately the same, 75.7% were married or remarried. All the survivors in the TTP study had been married at one time even if at the time of the interview they were divorced or widowed.

### **Financial Evaluations**

NJPS respondents were asked to evaluate their household's financial situation according to the following choices, can't make ends meet, just managing, comfortable, very comfortable and wealthy. A majority of the survivors, 52%, said they are comfortable and only 27% reported that they are just managing. Fifteen percent said they were very comfortable. In the TTP study, the majority of the survivors placed themselves in the middle-income range, 69%. And 22.3% were categorized as upper middle income. Compared to the NJPS study only 4.3% placed themselves in the low income or poverty level. Similar to the NJPS 2% categorized themselves as wealthy. Thirty nine percent of the NJPS study did not answer this question but only one TTP survivor did not disclosed this information in the course of the interview.

Thus, the TTP sample is a wealthier group of individuals than the NJPS group. This could be due to several reasons. For the most part the interviews took place in the 1990s a prosperous time for the nation when the economy was strong. The TTP interviews were with a younger group of survivors many of whom were still working and in relatively good health. In addition, the categories were subjective, the interviewee self labeled his or her income category.

### **Country of Origin**

If TTP data is compared to figures given for other studies, it is roughly comparable. Here the TTP sample was compared to two surveys on survivors. Comparing TTP data to

these two studies shows that for the Groth<sup>128</sup> and TTP samples, Poland is the country of origin for the largest number of survivors. The second largest country differs in each survey from the Hungary to Poland to Germany in our study. The top six populous countries for Jewish population pre World War II based on figures from the *Encyclopedia Judaica*<sup>129</sup> were Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, France, and Germany. The top six countries of origin for survivors in the TTP study are: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, France, and Austria. TTP interviewed more people from Austria even though its population was smaller. The top five countries in the NJPS 2000 study were also Germany, Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic, and Hungary.

Thus, the TTP data are comparable to the NJPS data. Gender, education, marital status, and occupation percentages are similar in all the studies. The slight discrepancies that do show up can be accounted for by either methodology or by the time when the data were collected.

### **The Demographics of the Dissertation Data**

How do the eighteen cases of the dissertation compare to the entire TTP data? This sub sample was not chosen on the basis of its representativeness to the larger TTP sample. Nevertheless, it appears to follow the patterns of the larger sample. The split between

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<sup>128</sup> Alexander J. Groth, *Holocaust Voices: An Attitudinal Survey of Survivors*, Amherst, (New York: Humanity Books 2003): 22.

<sup>129</sup> Salo W. Baron, *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 13, Table 3, Gale Group, 1972, 890-891.

male and female is similar, 2 to 1. In the dissertation, 61.1% are females and 38.9% are males versus 64.2 % and 35.8% for the TTP sample.

In the dissertation, the largest group of survivors is from Poland, 55.6%, as they are in the TTP sample (46.3%). Not surprisingly, fewer countries of origin are represented in the dissertation. As a result, the percentages differ from the larger TTP sample. Coming after the largest group from Poland are Czechoslovakia at 16.7%, Germany at 11%, Belgium at 11.1% and France at 5.6%.

The dissertation sub sample is a younger group of survivors. Only two survivors, 11.1%, were married prior to the war. Two survivors (11%) were below the age of ten versus 19% in the TTP sample. Two survivors were in their twenties (11%) versus 20% who were 20 or older in the TTP sample. The rest of the dissertation sub sample was in their teen years, 78% versus 61% in the TTP sample. As a result, the educational levels obtained by this sub sample were slightly lower than the larger TTP study. In this sub sample 33.3% had an eighth grade or less education compared to 25.5% of the larger TTP study. Only 22.2% had a college or postgraduate degree compared to 28.9%. Along with lower educational levels obtained is the fact that this group of survivors is less well off economically than the larger TTP group. Survivors who label themselves at the low income or poverty levels number 16.7% versus 4.3%. The rest of the sub sample is low-middle income, 5.6%, middle income, 61.1% and upper middle at 16.7% compared to the TTP sample of 2.1%, 69.1%, and 22% respectively. There are no wealthy survivors in

this sub sample. However, 77.8% are in the top occupations compared to 61% in the TTP study. One reason for the lower income levels even though more are in the top occupation classes could be the higher number of widowed survivors in the dissertation sample. Only 66.7% were either married or remarried compared to 75.7% in the TTP sample. Single older adults tend to have lower incomes than married older adults.

The majority of the survivors come from traditional homes that parallel the larger TTP sample where 75% come from traditional homes. It is important to note however that coming from a traditional home does not correspond to current religious affiliation in the dissertation or the TTP sample. In the larger TTP study, the affiliations reflect those of the greater Philadelphia area. In Philadelphia, the largest movement is Conservative and in TTP 70% of the survivors interviewed were Conservative. Twenty four percent participated in more left wing movements or none at all. And 18% were Orthodox. The higher percentage of Orthodox represents the higher percentage of Orthodox interviewers and the fact that interviewees were identified through personal contacts. In the dissertation study the total percentage of Orthodox survivors were even higher. One third of the sample studied was Orthodox. Although the sample was not chosen by religious affiliation, this higher representation allows for a more thorough exploration of the relationship of religiosity to tolerance.

**Table 3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS ON TOLERANCE IN SURVIVORS****COMPARISON OF DISSERTATION AND TTP TO NJPS SAMPLE**

	NJPS	TTP	DISSERTATION
AGE	75 years	70 years	69 years
GENDER – Female	62%	64%	61%
EDUCATION	60% (high school or less)	62% (high school or less) 25% 8 <sup>th</sup> grade or less	66.7% (high school or less) 33% eighth grade or less
OCCUPATION	70% (three top categories)	61% (all but skilled/unskilled trades, unemployed, housewife)	77.8% (three top categories)
MARITAL STATUS	75% married	75.7% married	66.7% married

**The Demographic Factors of Tolerance**

Tolerance in Holocaust survivors is the capacity to put up with and endure associations with individuals or groups, specifically the perpetrators and the ethnic groups that they belong to. Given the war experiences suffered by the survivors at the hands of these perpetrators it would not be surprising for survivors to normally dislike or hate members of the perpetrators' ethnic groups. Tolerant survivors do not hold hostile attitudes towards persons on the basis of their ethnic, religious, or political group affiliation. Limited-intolerant survivors confine their intolerance to the perpetrators or the specific groups representing the perpetrators who persecuted them. They otherwise hold tolerant

attitudes towards all other groups. Intolerant survivors express a more generalized hatred: first, towards the perpetrators and the groups representing the perpetrators who destroyed their families, livelihoods, and homes; during and right after World War II continuing to the present time and second, towards ethnic, racial, and religious groups outside of their own group.

In comparing the three groups of survivors, intolerant, limited-intolerant, and tolerant, it is important to remember that the number of cases in each group is too small to make broad generalizations. A comparison of the data can only note trends, possible differences and leave the definitive conclusions to those who conduct studies with much larger samples. Despite the small sample size, it will be noted that some of the demographic factors do vary among the three groups. A reminder to the reader that the three groups were chosen on the basis of the following: they have clear statements on their attitudes of political tolerance towards their perpetrators and other European ethnic groups involved in the war and they completed the project's Jewish Identity Survey that gave additional information about their political beliefs. Thus, any demographic differences that arise may point to differences that could continue to appear in a larger study as well.

### **Gender**

The first difference that appears is in gender. While the TTP sample is roughly two women to every one man, in this study men are overwhelmingly in the intolerant group.

There are five men in the intolerant group to one woman; and in the other two groups, five women to one man. This data contradicts what is predicted in the literature. Earlier studies found males to be slightly more tolerant than females.<sup>130</sup> They attributed their findings to the inequality between the sexes in American society. Maria Jose Sotelo's study of adolescents found girls in general more tolerant than boys with respect to both social and political rights. However, the differences were not very significant.<sup>131</sup> Here we find that the intolerant survivors are overwhelmingly male while in the other two groups females predominate.

### **Country of Origin**

No pattern appears in examining the country of origin of the survivors according to the three groups. Perhaps the only interesting fact to note is that in the larger TTP study, Poland representing 46% of the survivors and Germany representing almost 19% were the two countries accounting for the largest group of survivors. In this study, only the tolerant survivors come close to these percentages. Germany as a country of origin only appears in the tolerant group. However, this is not a situation where one can say that survivors from Western European countries are tolerant as two survivors who are in the intolerant group are from another Western European country, Belgium.

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<sup>130</sup> Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*, 155.

<sup>131</sup> Maria Jose Sotelo, "Gender Differences in Political Tolerance Among Adolescents," *Journal of Gender Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 217.

### **Parents' Occupation**

No distinctive patterns arise when looking at the survivors' fathers' occupations pre war. In all three groups, the majority is in business, either as owner/entrepreneurs or people who worked in businesses. In the larger TTP study, 70% of the fathers worked in or owned businesses. Perhaps the only thing that can be said is that two of the fathers of the survivors in the tolerant group also worked in other areas as professionals or skilled trades persons. In the other two groups, no other occupations outside of businesses were represented.

Looking at the survivors' mothers' occupations pre war an interesting pattern arises compared to the TTP study as a whole. In the TTP study 60% of the mothers were housewives and 24% worked in or owned businesses. In the intolerant group, five of the mothers were housewives. (One mother's occupation was not given.) In the limited-intolerant group, three were housewives and three worked in businesses. Only in the tolerant group were there differences not only from the other groups but also from the TTP study. In the tolerant group of survivors, only two mothers were housewives, one worked in business, two were professionals, and one was a skilled trades person. Perhaps the ability to choose a different occupation from the norm at that time is a reflection of the maintenance of a set of values, one of which was political tolerance, which the mothers passed on to their children.

### **Family Problems Pre-War**

In the larger TTP study three quarters of the survivor families did not experience any family problems such as losing a job, losing a parent, or suffering health problems or war injuries. In the dissertation, in the intolerant and the limited-intolerant groups each contained one survivor who had experienced family problems pre war. In the tolerant group, no one experienced family problems pre war. Thus, in the tolerant group family of origin relationships were intact. Although the quality of these relationships is not clear from this data alone the data suggest that tolerant survivors were more likely to experience intact and positive family of origin relationships that could and did foster political tolerance. This speculation will be more clearly examined through the qualitative data on family relationships in chapter five.

### **Nature of War Experiences**

In comparing the three groups on the kinds of war experiences they endured, at first it appears that some differences arise. In each group, at least half of the survivors spent time in the camps and in ghettos. However, more of the survivors who were in hiding during the war were in the tolerant group, four of the six survivors. This is in contrast to the limited-intolerant group where only 2 of the six were in hiding, and in the intolerant group where only 1 of 5 hid. The problem with this fact is that even though hiding appears to distinguish the tolerant group from the other groups, it is not the primary experience of all four of these individuals. Specifically, in examining the interviews of each of the four individuals, in two of the four cases, the primary war experience was not

hiding. In one case, the individual spent the majority of the war in Siberia. In the other case, the individual spent the war primarily in different camps. Thus, hiding is only the predominant experience in two of the survivors in the tolerant group and one in each of the other groups. These numbers are too small to show that the nature of the war experience evidenced any pattern related to tolerance.

Several categories consisted of only one survivor. One intolerant survivor was involved with the resistance. He was also involved in acts of revenge. One tolerant survivor used false papers and one the kindertransport. The survivor that used false papers spoke the language of her country of origin thus blending in with the non-Jewish population. No intolerant survivor ended up in Siberia. Two intolerant survivors emigrated before the war with their families. Again, these numbers are so small that no conclusions can be discerned about the impact of the war experience on tolerance in survivors.

### **Witnessed Killings During the War**

The question could be raised, that some war experiences were so horrific they could have a separate impact on the survivor beyond the camp, ghetto, or experience of hiding.

Witnessing death directly would be one of these experiences. Is there a connection between a survivor who saw others being killed and the attitude of tolerance towards others? In this study, the answer is no. Three of the six intolerant survivors and three of the tolerant survivors reported that they witnessed a killing of another person during the

war. In the limited-intolerant group, only one person reported a similar experience. In this sub-sample tolerance is not related to this particular trauma.

### **Losses of Family During the War**

All eighteen survivors lost some family during the war. Although only one survivor in the limited-intolerant survivor group lost a spouse and a child, at least half of the survivors in the study lost siblings. Interestingly, in the intolerant and limited-intolerant survivor groups more individuals lost their parents than in the tolerant group. In that group, only one survivor lost a parent as opposed to three and two respectively in the intolerant and limited-intolerant groups. This strengthens the indication of intact family of origin relationships supporting the political attitude of tolerance in the survivor.

### **Education, SES of the Nuclear Family, Religious Affiliation**

In the eighteen cases in this dissertation, no discernable patterns can be detected in these three categories among the three groups. Four of the six intolerant survivors, five of the limited-intolerant survivors, and three of the tolerant survivors did not graduate high school. These figures are comparable to the larger TTP study where two thirds of the survivors did not go beyond high school in their education.

Only one survivor in each of the three groups characterized their income as either low or poverty level. All the rest described their income levels as low middle to upper middle. No wealthy survivors were selected for the dissertation sub sample either. In the TTP

sample almost 70% of the survivors classified themselves as middle income. Another 24% were either upper middle or low middle income. Thus, the distribution of income in the larger study is reflected in the dissertation sub sample.

While the religious affiliation of the survivor's parents seems to diverge in the tolerant survivor group looking at current religious affiliation does not. The majority of the survivors come from traditional homes. All six of the intolerant survivors come from traditional homes. Five of the six from the limited-intolerant group come from traditional homes in Europe. But in the tolerant group, two come from liberal or non-practicing homes. Yet, there is no connection with current religious affiliation. In the intolerant group, three survivors are Conservative, two are more left wing, Reconstructionist or unaffiliated or secular, and one is Orthodox. The numbers are similar in the other groups. In the limited-intolerant group, two are Conservative, one is more left wing, unaffiliated or secular, and three are Orthodox. The pattern in the tolerant survivors is close to the pattern in the intolerant survivors. Two are unaffiliated or secular Jews, two are Conservative, and two are Orthodox. Thus, the relationship of coming from a liberal or non-practicing home to either current affiliation or political tolerance is unclear from this finding.

In conclusion, the dissertation analysis cannot make definite conclusions based on the small numbers that comprise each frequency examined in this chapter. Nevertheless, there appears to be several trends. Intolerant survivors in this study tend to be male, from

traditionally religious European homes where the fathers were involved with businesses and the mothers were housewives. They experienced more problems in their families of origin prior to the war. They were also more likely to have lost a parent during the war.

However, after the war the differences in demographics among the three groups are not as distinctive. No distinctive patterns in religious affiliation, income levels, or education exist in the three groups. To find out what are the significant factors that separate the three groups and define tolerant survivors it is important to examine the qualitative interviews for key political and psychosocial factors.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### POLITICAL FACTORS

What political factors contribute towards creating intolerance in survivors? One factor is perceived threat. As discussed in chapter one, Stephan and Ybarra among others have shown that perceived threat is a strong predictor of intolerance. The threat may be symbolic or realistic and/or tied into interactions with other groups and/or stereotypes. A second factor is worldview. Worldview as discussed by Carmil and Breznitz and others is a predictor of intolerance when its components are analyzed. The components of worldview for this study are optimism/pessimism, trust/mistrust, and self-centeredness/other directed as defined by compassion/altruism/vengeance. A third factor in the literature is strong in-group identity. Social group identity theory as explored by Gibbons and Gouws defined in part through political ideology and behavior has been linked to strong in-group identities that subsequently lead to strong antipathy to other groups and thus intolerance. A fourth factor is political ideology. Specific political attitudes interact with the other variables, according to Moore and others, to create intolerance. Political ideology comprises, in this study, political affiliations, voting patterns, public policy positions, and perceived attitudes towards other groups in society.

These theories will be examined across the three groups of survivors; tolerant, limited-intolerant and intolerant. Tolerant survivors do not hold hostile attitudes towards persons on the basis of their ethnic, religious, or political group affiliation. Limited-intolerant survivors confine their intolerance to the perpetrators or the specific groups representing the perpetrators who persecuted them. They otherwise hold tolerant attitudes towards all

other groups. Intolerant survivors express a more generalized hatred: first, towards the perpetrators and the groups representing the perpetrators who destroyed their families, livelihoods, and homes; during and right after World War II continuing to the present time and second, towards ethnic, racial, and religious groups outside of their own group.

### **Factor #1 - The World as a Threatening Place**

The literature identified perceived or experiencing real threats to be a critical predictor of intolerance. Researchers explored this issue moving from symbolic threats and theoretical situations to conditions more accurately representing real life circumstances. These categories collapse into one with survivors. In this sample, all the interviewees experienced real life and death circumstances that had devastating consequences to them and their families. While in studies in the literature threats arise from current dilemmas, with survivors, the real threats to their security are not what current dilemmas they face. Those survivors who view the world as threatening do so based on their past experiences. The primary consideration is that they see Holocaust like conditions in the world today. While five of the six intolerant survivors and two of the limited-intolerant group of survivors expressed such views that the world is a dangerous place where the Holocaust could happen again, none of the tolerant survivors did. Specifically, intolerant survivors and those who hold limited-intolerant views perceive the world to be a threatening place. These perceptions are attributed to their experiences during World War II. In the interviews of those who perceive the world as a threatening place, there are constant references comparing the current view of the world to the Holocaust. These references fall into several groups: constant vigilance and preparedness for the next Holocaust;

comparisons to the Germans; concern about the Holocaust deniers and those who have forgotten what happened; the prevalence of antisemitism and the pervasiveness of the enemies of Jews. Each of these references place current fears and threats within the framework of the Holocaust, conditioning the intolerant survivors' response to other groups, current political events, and sometimes every day life events.

Some survivors are constantly vigilant and prepared for another Holocaust. LE, who is in the intolerant group, notes that when he was a young adult and celebrating his parents' anniversary, an uncle brought the parents a beautiful silver tea set. LE's father, also a Holocaust survivor, looked at it but LE could tell that he was not happy with the gift. A few weeks later LE asked him,

'you didn't really take the silver. I thought you liked silver.' And he said to me, 'How far can you run with the silver?' That really hit me...from that time on, I always have this feeling, I always have my passport in order. I've got my children's passports in order...my middle son was talking just recently about moving to Arizona. And I'm thinking, 'how am I going to tell him to have a lot of cash on hand, in case something happens, without him looking at me like I'm completely insane.'<sup>132</sup>

Other survivors couch vigilance in slightly different ways, cautioning their listeners to remember and "don't get so smug and pretend that nothing can happen to you...realize what humans are capable of."<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Survivor LE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 8, 1996.

<sup>133</sup> Survivor BL [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, August 13, 1995.

Some intolerant survivors compare extremist groups like the Ku Klux Klan to the Germans, combining stereotypes of groups with anxieties based on past experiences.

DH, another intolerant survivor, asks,

...It's terrible. How can they allow them (the KKK)...Like Germans...how can America repeat it? Oh, all the blacks and the Jews, they (the KKK) will kill them off...if we will not fight them, if we will not destroy them, it can happen, because they are growing, they are learning [teaching] the children to hate other people...<sup>134</sup>

DH combines a comparison to the Germans with a call to be vigilant and prepared for another Holocaust.

Several intolerant survivors also express attitudes that fall into two or more of the above categories combining perception of threat with stereotyping with anxieties towards other groups. Intolerant survivor SO decries the Holocaust deniers, identifies several enemies of the Jews, and combines these views with a concern that antisemitism still exists.

I'm always concerned that for some reason the Jewish life may be lost again and may be squashed...Because we have too many enemies and too many people who wish us ill...the churches, the religions are all more or less against the Jewish faith...and they are preaching and continuing to preach everything negative about the Jews...I don't think it will ever disappear...there is [sic] a lot of denials right now which bothers me very much.

He sums up his view of the world by saying,

That something may happen to our children the same thing as it happened to us. And that's why we are sensitive to those occurrences, which happen over here in the United States, and hearing what's happening in Europe again. So it is worrisome for us, and we probably take it more seriously [than others do.]<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Survivor DH [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, October 6, 1994.

Thus, the data on survivors who view the world as a threatening place support the integrated threat theory of the work of Stephan and Ybarra that threat is composed of symbolic threats, real threats, anxiety towards other groups and stereotypes. However, the distinction between symbolic threats and real threats does not hold when the reference frame for survivors is only the very real extreme trauma that they experienced. This perspective shapes their attitudes in a general sense towards non Jews resulting in their fearing other groups irrespective of any interactions they may have had with these groups in the United States in the post World War II era which has been defined as a sociotropic view of threat. The above interview excerpts confirm that to Holocaust survivors in the intolerant and limited tolerant groups the world as a threatening place is real, stereotypes based on past experiences with their perpetrators create anxieties towards other groups, and perceptions of danger and insecurity stem from their war experiences coloring their current view of the world.

In the interviews of the tolerant survivors, the world is not viewed as threatening. There is no mention of vigilance, concern about Holocaust deniers, the numerous enemies of the Jews, or the worry about a reoccurrence of the Holocaust. The question remains as to why one group of survivors does not see the world as threatening.

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<sup>135</sup> Survivor SO [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 25, 1995.

## **Factor #2 - Worldview as a Predictor of Intolerance**

In the literature, some researchers found the worldview of Holocaust survivors to be different from that of other Jews in their cohort. Compassion for other victims and optimism were two of the differences.<sup>136</sup> Mistrust of others is another difference.

Altruistic behavior and acts of revenge are additional differences in worldview that I have added as means of exploring the compassion for others aspect. In examining the three groups of survivors, there are differences among the worldviews that each group holds.

Worldviews in this study consisted of the following factors: trust/mistrust; optimism/pessimism, and self-directed/other-directed as determined by altruism/acts of revenge.

### **The Trust/Mistrust Component**

In the course of the interviews, the survivors were asked if they trusted people or were they suspicious of people. As Peter Suedfeld noted in his research<sup>137</sup>, mistrust predominates among survivors. This is regardless of their attitudes on tolerance. The statements of the survivors in all three groups look similar. An intolerant survivor states, "I have a hard time with trust. That people really will be nice, if I could only trust them."<sup>138</sup> A tolerant survivor uses similar words,

Well, I learned. I learned from my experience that it's not good to trust, and it's not good to believe, because people don't, sometimes they don't say the truth. I'm, for example, wouldn't lie, or wouldn't do harm to nobody. If everybody would be

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<sup>136</sup> Carmil and Breznitz, "Personal Trauma and World View" 402; Sigal, and Weinfeld, *Trauma and Rebirth*, 137.

<sup>137</sup> Suedfeld, "Erikson's 'Components of a Healthy Personality'", 13.

<sup>138</sup> Survivor LJ [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 15, 1995.

like this, I could trust...the experience I went through unfortunately, it's not like that.<sup>139</sup>

Conversely, in all three groups there were only two survivors who expressed trust in their fellow humans, one in the intolerant group and one in the limited-intolerant group. The intolerant survivor summed up his attitude by saying,

Very trusting...and I got hurt a lot of times too because I trust everybody. But in life,...you have losses and you have gains. If the gains outweigh the losses, you are still in good shape. But I am trustful...I trust everybody. But naturally I'm not too...stupid that I believe ones who I shouldn't believe, but in general I believe more and I trust more people than I should normally trust.

So even, this survivor is somewhat equivocal on his attitude of trusting people.<sup>140</sup> Thus,

the degree to which survivors view others with suspicion or with trust is not a critical factor in creating tolerant individuals. Their Holocaust experiences have left most of the survivors in this sample expressing mistrust in their initial contacts with others. As Suedfeld noted, the survivors experienced situations where

the thoroughly learned rules concerning antecedents and consequences, social roles, etc., no longer held; in Janoff-Bulman's (1992) poignant phrase, the assumptive world was shattered. Outstanding accomplishments did not shield Jews from losing their job; police became persecutors and killers instead of protectors; neighbors betrayed, robbed, and sometimes murdered former friends.<sup>141</sup>

The survivors learned to mistrust everyone they encountered. This mistrust remains with them. Only two of the eighteen survivors did not express mistrust. Thus, the

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<sup>139</sup> Survivor KS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, December 8, 1994.

<sup>140</sup> Survivor SO [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 25, 1994.

<sup>141</sup> Peter Suedfeld, "Specific and General Attributional Patterns of Holocaust," Unpublished manuscript, 1.

mistrust/trust component is not a distinguishing factor of worldview among the three groups.

### **Optimism/Pessimism Component**

Optimism or pessimism, another component of worldview, was determined by the survivors' own words where they directly or indirectly categorized themselves as one or the other. Those survivors who were in the tolerant group overwhelmingly characterized themselves as an optimistic person. Only one tolerant survivor called herself pessimistic. In the limited-intolerant group, five of the survivors labeled themselves optimistic people. Of the intolerant survivors, four placed themselves in the optimistic category. Thus, in every group of survivors an optimistic viewpoint dominated. A tolerant survivor states, "I made the best of bad situations."<sup>142</sup> While another tolerant survivor notes, "I learned that it could be good. You're not allowed to lose your hope...you always have to think, G-d will help. It's gonna be good. And this keeps you going."<sup>143</sup> An intolerant survivor remarks, "You'll feel better tomorrow. It will go away, you know. You always have to live with hope."<sup>144</sup> In many of the survivor interviews in all three groups, optimism is cast as hoping for a better day in the future. Only two survivors in the intolerant group, two in the limited-intolerant group and one in the intolerant group characterized themselves as pessimists. Since there is not really any discernable trend here, it appears

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<sup>142</sup> Survivor PE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, 1994.

<sup>143</sup> Survivor KS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, December 8, 1994.

<sup>144</sup> Survivor DH [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, October 6, 1994.

that similar to mistrust/trust, optimism/pessimism does not contribute to defining differences in worldview among the three groups.

### **Self-centered/Other-directed and Altruism Components**

A third component of worldview is the trait of being self-centered or other-directed.

Self-centered survivors place themselves at the center of their world and focus almost exclusively on their own needs to the exclusion of the desires and needs of others. Others who are other-directed are able to take into consideration the needs of others. In looking at the three groups of survivors the distinctions among them are small. Overall, most survivors were categorized as other-directed. This is not a surprising finding since these survivors also are high on altruism. Only three survivors out of the 18, two in the limited-intolerant group and one in the intolerant group, were found to be self-centered. Two-thirds of the survivors reported altruistic behavior. Most of the survivors in all three groups told us stories about their behavior that reflects their commitment to helping others, often even in perilous situations. As one survivor in the limited-intolerant group reported,

To do a mitzvah for somebody, I would go in the middle of the night to do it...if somebody moved, and I could help him, I did it. I didn't count the hours...Even now, what I'm older, and I try to do things for people.<sup>145</sup>

What may be different about the tolerant survivors is whom they help. One survivor in the tolerant group spent a considerable amount of her time and resources on helping the families of the non-Jews who helped her family survive. She stated in the interview, "A very kind man (the man who helped her family during the war). And this is why we have

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<sup>145</sup> Survivor RA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 7, 1994.

not forgotten his children, and his grandchildren. We constantly come, we send them parcels from here...we felt that...those people deserved it."<sup>146</sup>

A second survivor in the tolerant group worked on interracial issues after liberation and immigration to the United States. She noted,

I was horrified about the racial issues here in America, and I had joined the League of Women Voters, although I was a bloody foreigner. And for equal housing, and I had worked for all kinds of inter-racial intergenerational ways.

She explained her need to help others in the following way,

I always felt that I need to repay -- not repay. That's the wrong word. I need to help others. I still feel that I have a contribution to make, and it's my obligation to do [so], to pay back and not to take for myself. And now this is something that is a remnant of the early days...This is the way I was brought up, by giving...I guess that's the background of my mother and father.<sup>147</sup>

A third tolerant survivor helped Russian prisoners of war during the war. During the interview she noted that she spoke about her experiences in public primarily because she wants people to know that many non-Jews helped the Jews.<sup>148</sup>

Unlike the tolerant survivors, the altruism of the intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors was directed at and for helping only Jews during the war and after. This is in spite of the fact that all the survivors even the intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors

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<sup>146</sup> Survivor JA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 17, 1994.

<sup>147</sup> Survivor PE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, 1994.

<sup>148</sup> Survivor SD [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 22, 1995.

experienced acts of kindness by non-Jews during the war that facilitated their survival. Conversely, almost all the survivors even the tolerant ones experienced antisemitism prior to World War II. Yet only the tolerant survivors mentioned acts of altruism directed towards helping non-Jews as well as Jews. These survivors felt motivated to help non-Jews as a form of payment for the non-Jewish help they received during the war.

### **Experiences of Antisemitism Pre War**

In this study, most of the survivors experienced antisemitism prewar. Only one tolerant survivor and two limited-intolerant survivors did not. Thus, the experience of antisemitism does not turn out to be a predictor of differences among the three groups.

### **Anger and Acts of Revenge**

In contrast to the altruistic behavior of tolerant survivors towards non-Jews are those of two of the intolerant survivors in this study and two of the survivors from the limited-intolerant group. All four of them tried to or succeeded in participating in acts of revenge against their perpetrators. In most cases the objects of their revenge were Germans and in one case, a Ukrainian.

One survivor from the limited-intolerant group encountered a Ukrainian woman living in her aunt's house. When the woman said to her, "Hitler didn't kill you yet?" the survivor told her, "You're not going to live in that house. Maybe I would have taken a few pennies from you and left you here [but] this is going to the Russian government." She then proceeded to get official papers to claim ownership of the house and gave the papers

to a Russian official saying, "Now you take this piece of paper, because I don't need it. It's not worth a penny to me. And you sell the house to whoever you want or move in a family from Russia...if she [the Ukrainian woman] drags her feet, throw her out."<sup>149</sup>

To another survivor in the limited-intolerant group, the revenge was vicarious. Her revenge was viewing the bombed out city of Dresden. She stated,

I was right there. And that's the only place I saw that was bombed. And I am sorry, but I honestly felt it was good to see that at least something was destroyed. Because every place else, Germany was beautiful. As we were marching through these magnificent mansions and streets and cities, they were all untouched.<sup>150</sup>

In addition, this survivor and two of the survivors in the intolerant group engaged in boycotting German products as a means of expressing their anger. BL reported,

I couldn't buy anything that was made in Germany. I still can't. But that is my personal choice. I refuse to buy. And I don't want to go to Germany. Germany is a very beautiful country, but I cannot see the beauty. You know, if I were there, I couldn't enjoy it.<sup>151</sup>

LE used similar language in declaring,

I can't handle anything that's got to do with Germans...I had an offer, a business offer, to go to Germany and do some business there, and it would have paid quite handsomely, and I couldn't. I couldn't set foot in Germany. I don't think I could set foot in Poland or Austria...<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Survivor RE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, March 5, 1996.

<sup>150</sup> Survivor BL [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, August 13, 1995.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Survivor LE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 8, 1996.

His brother, LJ, cut off communication to his own son for several years when that son bought a German car.

Two of the intolerant survivors engaged in actual physical and sometimes violent acts of revenge against their perpetrators. One survivor described his acts of revenge in these words,

...This was my pleasure...to kill them, shoot them...I...wanted them to know I'm a Jew...This was enough for them. They knew they are dead. They knew they are finished...I wanted them to know that a Jew is going to kill them...this was the biggest, biggest relief that I had...

Another time this survivor found a store in Styer selling bars of soap made from Jews. After calling the military occupation authorities to the store, he told them he wanted all the soap in the stores in Styer. He arranged for all the soap to be buried in the Jewish cemeteries. He told the MP,

And if this is not going to be done, we'll explode all the stores in Styer...That's what I did...you feel like doing something...even today. It's a shame...the way they tortured the Jews, the women, the children...my golly, I had them dogs in my hands in the thousands and I didn't do that.

The other intolerant survivor told his interviewer,

We tried to revenge, but we were punished right from the start...in the beginning right after the war, maybe a month or two they (the Germans) were very feared (sic) and scared. But later on they...saw what the American authorities are doing to them that they give them all the opportunities to get back to their lives...<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Survivor SS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, July 9, 1994.

Thus, anger and revenge, whether violent and physical, vicarious, or through boycotts distinguishes the intolerant and some of the limited-intolerant survivors from the tolerant survivors.

### **Summary of Factors Comprising Worldview in Survivors**

In summary, the worldview of tolerant survivors looks different from the other groups in only one factor. Mistrust is prevalent among all three groups. Optimism is common among the three groups. Altruistic behavior is also common among all three groups. But the altruistic efforts of tolerant survivors are often directed at those outside of their own ethnic/religious group to those who helped them survive or to those who are in less fortunate circumstances. Conversely, in the intolerant and limited tolerant survivor groups some survivors engaged in acts of revenge against their perpetrators and the perpetrators' entire ethnic group.

### **Factor #3 - In-group Identity as a Predictor of Political Intolerance**

Gibson and Gouws speculated in their 2003 study that strong in-group positive identities create strong outgroup negative identities that are connected to antipathy towards other groups perceived to be threatening and thus to political intolerance. They postulated that social identity theory could help explain this phenomenon.<sup>154</sup> Tajfel defined social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."<sup>155</sup> In other words, while social or group identities are

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<sup>154</sup> James Gibson and Amanda Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance," 278.

composed of psychological characteristics they assume political significance when individuals not only are aware of their membership in a particular group but they also assign value to it. The stronger are the ties to the group, the more individuals will seek to differentiate their group from others. Differentiation leads to psychological security and self-esteem.<sup>156</sup> Gibbons and Gouws identified groups in South Africa who possessed strong group identities. They then found in this particular study that those who ascribe more importance to their group identities also derive greater psychic benefits from it and are in turn more likely to assert the need for group solidarity. The desire for solidarity is associated with the ability to identify an outgroup or political enemy which makes social identities politically relevant. Gibbons and Gouws then showed that those with stronger identities are more likely to see the world as composed of political enemies and thus are politically intolerant.<sup>157</sup> Gibson's later research contradicted these findings and agreed with the findings of this dissertation.<sup>158</sup>

Through the Jewish Identity Survey (JIS), the group identities of the survivors have been analyzed. (Table 4.1) The questions in the JIS are similar in intent to those that Gibbons and Gouws asked of South Africans. The data in this study challenges the Gibbons Gouws conclusion and supports the latest findings of Gibson in his South Africa research.

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<sup>155</sup> Henri Tajfel, "Social Categorization, Social Identity and Social Comparison." In *Differentiation between Social Groups. Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel. New York: Academic Press. 1978, quoted in Gibson and Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance," 279.

<sup>156</sup> Donald M. Taylor and Fathah M. Moghaddam, *Theories of Intergroup Relations: International Social Psychological Perspectives*. Westport: 1994, Praeger, quoted in Gibson and Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance," 280.

<sup>157</sup> Gibson and Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance," 291.

<sup>158</sup> James L. Gibson, *Overcoming Apartheid*, 288.

Strong group identities exist almost across the board in the survivors regardless of in which group of political tolerance, they fall. Almost all the survivors either agree or strongly agree with all the measures in the table: pride in their identity; means of conveying status through connecting them to their past; exclusivity as in outsiders don't understand and reliance on the group in times of need and for friendships; advocating group public policy positions; and on the importance of their group identity.

Table 4.1 SOCIAL IDENTITY MEASURES - Negative Answers Have Been Bolded

	Intolerant	Limited-intolerant	Tolerant
Being a good Jew means advocating values of social justice and concern for the poor	4 strongly agree with statement; 2 agree	4 strongly agree with statement; 1 agrees; <b>1 somewhat disagrees</b>	5 strongly agree with statement; 1 agrees
Political lobbying in support of Jewish causes is an important right for American Jews	5 strongly agree; 1 agrees	4 strongly agree; 2 agree	6 strongly agree
I am proud to be a Jew	5 strongly agree; 1 agrees	4 strongly agree; 1 agrees, <b>1 strongly disagrees</b>	4 strongly agree; 2 agree
Being Jewish is so much a part of me apart from traditions and customs, I couldn't stop being Jewish	3 strongly agree; 3 agree	4 strongly agree; 1 agrees; <b>1 somewhat disagrees</b>	5 strongly agree; 1 agrees
Jewish involvement is a way of connecting with my family's past	4 strongly agree; 2 agree	5 strongly agree; 1 agrees	4 strongly agree; 2 agree
I feel there is something about me non-Jews could never understand	2 strongly agree; 3 agree; <b>1 somewhat disagrees</b>	2 strongly agree; 3 agree; <b>1 somewhat disagrees</b>	2 strongly agree; 4 agree
How important is it for me to be a Jew	5 very important; 1 important	5 very important; <b>1 not important</b>	5 very important; <b>1 somewhat important</b>
When it comes to a crisis, Jews can only depend on Jews	1 strongly agrees; 4 agree; <b>2 somewhat disagree</b>	4 strongly agree; 2 agree; <b>1 somewhat disagrees; 1 strongly disagrees</b>	3 strongly agree; 2 agree; <b>1 strongly disagrees</b>
Jews have a special responsibility for one another no matter where in the world they live	4 strongly agree; 2 agree	5 strongly agree; 1 agrees	5 strongly agree; 1 agrees
Jewish denominational affiliation	1 Orthodox; 3 Conservative; 1 Unspecified	3 Orthodox; 1 Conservative; 1 Secular, 1 unaffiliated	1 Orthodox; 1 Traditional; 1 Orth/Conservative; 1 Cons/Reform, 1 unaffiliated
Amount of Jewish friends survivor has	3 all friends; 2 most friends; 1 some	4 all friends; 2 some friends	1 all friends; 3 most friends; 1 some

Thus, social identity does not seem to be a contributing factor towards creating tolerance in survivors. It is clear that other factors must contribute to tolerance in survivors. The explanation for this finding could be that the experience of extreme national trauma where the individuals were persecuted based solely on their social or religio-ethnic identities left almost all of the survivors with strong social identities. Regardless of their war experiences or in fact, because of their experiences of persecution, across the three groups survivors expressed strong identification with being Jews. With these survivors who have been persecuted because of who they are and because of which group they belong to, social identity does not operate as a factor in creating political intolerance. This finding is supported by the research of Beatty and Oliver who also agree that tolerance may not be as issue or group dependent as Sullivan, Piereson and others suggest.<sup>159</sup> As their work suggests a history of persecution for religious beliefs creates distinctive patterns of tolerance.<sup>160</sup> This study supports their proposition that a history of persecution may encourage tolerance of other groups. Thus, other factors are operating to contribute to tolerance in survivors.

### **Support for Israel as a Component of the Strength of In-group Identity**

As discussed earlier Gibbons and Gouws,<sup>161</sup> among others, speculated that strong in-group identity plays a part in attitudes of tolerance, with the stronger identities leading to

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<sup>159</sup> Kathleen Murphy Beatty and Oliver Walter, "Religious Preference and Practice," 327.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 328.

<sup>161</sup> Gibbons and Gouws, "Social Identities and Political Intolerance," 279.

intolerance. One marker for strong group identity is support for Israel. Others have noted that support for Israel is stronger among all survivors than among the general American Jewish population. Survivors have visited Israel more frequently and express strong feelings of support for Israel at a significantly higher rate than the rest of the American Jewish population.<sup>162</sup>

The survivors in this study follow the same pattern. Almost every survivor, all but four, give statements of strong support for Israel in their interviews. And of the four who are missing such statements, it is not known if this is because they were not asked in the interview or if Israel is truly not important to them. Every survivor but one had visited Israel at least once. When asked in the Jewish Identity survey if they were emotionally attached to Israel all but one answered saying extremely or very. Among the intolerant survivors all but one had considered living there, especially right after the war. Among the limited-intolerant survivors, also all but one had considered living there. And the same held true for the tolerant survivors. The survivors in each group documented their feelings towards Israel with similar statements.

From the intolerant survivors:

I'm very strong towards Israel, ...very pro-Israel. I think it's extremely important that Israel survive.<sup>163</sup>

The only time I ever really felt at home, I really felt I belonged was the trip to Israel.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Alexander J. Groth, *Holocaust Voices*, 116.

<sup>163</sup> Survivor LE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 5, 1996.

I'm a Jew...it is my country and I like to go over there and...spend time over there ... I enjoy other places too but it's not like Israel.<sup>165</sup>

...all of us who survived were always enthusiastic about Israel surviving ...we were always proud of them. And whenever a war came about we were very upset ...the stronger Israel is going to be the better it is going to be for the whole Jewish world wherever Jews are ...(if) Israel would have been in existence when the Holocaust happened, they would have screamed so loud all over the world that maybe it would, somebody would have listened.<sup>166</sup>

And similar statements from the limited-intolerant survivors:

...Thank G-d that ...we got now a country. Is a beautiful country... to telling the truth, if I would be young, I would be in Israel.<sup>167</sup>

Statements from the tolerant survivors are as strong as the other two groups:

What really gave me strength and the desire to have children, and to go on with a normal life, is the...existence of the State of Israel. If we would not have had the State of Israel after the war, I don't think I would have continued with a Jewish life. And this is not a statement that I make lightly...why bring in another generation of people to expose to more suffering? This is what gave me the desire to live and rebuild my life and have children, and raise them with love for Israel, and the Jewish people. I go every year for a visit to Israel....I hope I'll never skip a year. And it's not just because I have two brothers living there and many friends. It's because I feel I need it. It's my "fix" you know? For justifying my good life here."

This survivor goes on to state,

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<sup>164</sup> Survivor LJ [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 15, 1995.

<sup>165</sup> Survivor SS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, July 9, 1994.

<sup>166</sup> Survivor SO [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 25, 1994.

<sup>167</sup> Survivor RA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 7, 1994.

...if it was my choice, I would give up all these worldly things...and I would go to live there. But my husband wouldn't even think about it...one thing that I do find in common with all the survivors is our caring and our love for the State of Israel...we saw what happened to the Jewish people when we didn't have anyone to care for us, and to speak for us.<sup>168</sup>

I got to like it so much, ...you grow to this land. It grows with you, or you grow to it. It's unbelievable to even explain...the land pulls you.<sup>169</sup>

In Israel, I was a majority among the majority I had a right to speak out. I was one of the majority and it felt wonderful. And that's what I really loved (about) Israel. And every other place I went afterwards I was...an outsider.<sup>170</sup>

I will not vote for somebody that is not supportive of Israel. Definitely, I have that dual loyalty that I feel very deeply. We buy every year Israeli bonds, not because it's a good investment but because we feel that they still need support and money, and if I don't do it than who will do it? So, I want to do my share. Yes, it affects our behavior, no doubt about it. The fact that you want to be supportive of the Jews, so anybody that wouldn't be supportive of Israel or the Jews, in Washington, wouldn't be my friend. No way. Even if they are good for our taxes...<sup>171</sup>

The statements just quoted of the tolerant survivors are as strong in support for Israel as in the intolerant and limited-intolerant group of survivors. Once again, the findings show that strong identification with Israel, which may be considered a part of the survivor's social identity, is not relevant to political tolerance. Their Holocaust experiences have led all the survivors to strong commitments to Israel documented through clear unequivocal statements and by the number of trips they have taken to Israel, numbers that

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<sup>168</sup> Survivor JA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 17, 1994.

<sup>169</sup> Survivor SD [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 22, 1995.

<sup>170</sup> Survivor PE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, 1994.

<sup>171</sup> Survivor RL [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, July 31, 1996.

are above the norm of the general American Jewish population. The data reveals that their identification as survivors is a critical element of their support for Israel. Support for Israel thus confirms our finding that strong in-group identity is not linked to political intolerance in victims of religioethnic persecution.

#### **Factor #4 - Political Ideology as a Predictor of Political Intolerance**

Several researchers identified political ideology as a factor in political intolerance. They stated that the intensity of hatred and intolerance toward out-groups reported by individuals is influenced by specific political attitudes and their collective identities, all of which interact and influence each other.<sup>172</sup> Examining the political affiliations and the positions on public policy questions of the survivors reveals their political ideologies. In this study political ideologies are composed of the following components: party identification and presidential voting pattern; public policy positions; and perceived attitudes towards other groups in society. In analyzing these components, there are slight differences among the three survivor groups. The trend is that the intolerant survivors are slightly more conservative than the limited-intolerant survivors who are slightly more conservative than the tolerant survivors. This finding corresponds to the literature, which predicted that intolerant individuals are more conservative.<sup>173</sup> Among the intolerant survivors, three call themselves conservative Democrats; two call themselves moderate Democrats and one is an independent. Among the limited-intolerant group, only one is a

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<sup>172</sup>Dahlia Moore, "Intolerance of 'Others' among Palestinian and Jewish Students in Israel," 288.

<sup>173</sup> Dahlia Moore, 304; Allan L. McCutcheon, "A Latent Class Analysis of Tolerance for Nonconformity," 481; Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill, *Dimensions of Tolerance*, 274.

conservative Democrat; three call themselves moderate Democrats, one a liberal Democrat and one an Independent. Among the tolerant survivors, four call themselves moderate Democrats; one is a liberal Democrat and one a conservative Democrat. In the past forty years only one of the tolerant survivors voted for a Republican candidate for presidency in one election and all voted for Clinton. Among the limited-intolerant survivors four voted for Reagan and two voted for Bush, one voting for Bush against Clinton. Among the intolerant survivors though only two voted for Reagan, one for Bush and one for Nixon, everyone voted for Clinton. Thus, party and voting differences among the three groups are minor but follow in the pattern of intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors voting for the more conservative candidates.

Support on policy questions for the three groups also showed a slight trend towards the intolerant and the limited-intolerant taking more conservative public policy positions. However, as a group survivors tend to support the same liberal positions that the rest of the Jewish community supports. All of the survivors supported the separation of church and state. All but two, one limited-intolerant survivor and one tolerant survivor, supported keeping abortion legal. The two who disagreed did so on the basis of their religious beliefs. On the obligation of the government to support the poor through welfare, all but four agreed with this position. Two intolerant survivors and two in the limited-intolerant disagreed. Thus, it is only on this position that we see the trend of intolerant survivors and limited-intolerant survivors leaning towards conservative policy positions.

### **Attitudes Towards Other Groups as a Part of Political Ideology**

Each survivor was asked on the Jewish Identity survey about the perceived antisemitism of various groups in American society. The surveys were administered around the time of the interviews in the mid 1990s. The hypothesis was that intolerant survivors would perceive more groups as antisemitic than the limited-intolerant and tolerant survivors. This question served as another means of identifying perceived political enemies and threatening groups. However, the findings do not support this hypothesis. In each group, the survivors labeled many ethnic, religious, and political groups at least partially antisemitic. No pattern appeared among the three groups. This lack of conclusive differences among the three groups could be due to the theoretical nature of the question. The survivors were asked, "Is this particular group antisemitic?" The groups asked about were businessmen, union leaders, Hispanics, Blacks, Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives, Catholics, Protestants, Fundamentalist Protestants, and Muslims. No specific incidents were attached to the questions. Thus, the answers the survivors gave were not related to their attitudes towards tolerance to other groups, their feelings about their perpetrators, nor to their behavior towards other groups. For example SS, the survivor who engaged in violent acts of revenge against the Germans, only labeled one group antisemitic. And one tolerant survivor, JA, labeled nine out of ten of the groups' antisemitic. JA was the survivor who engaged in altruistic acts towards the families of the non-Jews who helped her survived. This data thus points to the conclusion that there is no relationship between the perceived antisemitism of certain groups in society and

tolerance in Holocaust survivors. In fact, perceived antisemitism may be related to mistrust which as was shown earlier is prevalent in Holocaust survivors.

### **Summary of the Political Factors Contributing to Political Intolerance in Survivors**

The analysis of the political factors contributing to intolerance in Holocaust survivors both supports and contradicts the literature. My study supports the position reflected in several studies over the years that perceived threat is one predictor of intolerance even in Holocaust survivors. Though the nature of the threat is real and based on the traumatized experiences of the survivors, the intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors view the world as a threatening place.

Worldview, in this study as in the literature, is a second contributor to intolerance but only in aspects regarding altruism and revenge. Though many survivors engaged in altruistic acts, which the literature predicted, only the tolerant survivors directed these acts towards non-Jews. Conversely, several intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors engaged in acts of revenge towards their perpetrators and the groups that the perpetrators belong to.

Confirming the latest research, in this study strong in-group identities do not contribute to intolerance. All the survivors evidenced strong in-group identities through their statements on being Jewish and their identification with Israel. Given the persecution they faced because of their identities this strong identification is not surprising and stands in many of their minds as a testimony to the failure of Hitler to eradicate the Jewish people. However, this finding does lead to the hypothesis that with survivors of

religioethnic persecution other factors, some of which were previously discussed, may contribute to intolerance.

One of these additional factors that contribute to intolerance appears to be political ideology. A slight trend towards conservative party identification and voting patterns as well as slightly more conservative positions on some public policy issues were observed in the intolerant and limited-intolerant groups.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PSYCHOSOCIAL FACTORS

The psychosocial factors that contribute to tolerance as identified in the literature can be more readily examined if they are divided into their respective fields of sociology and psychology. The three sociological factors examined in this study were: education, personal values, and religiosity. In the sociological literature, these factors have in the past been measured in a one-dimensional framework. Prior to this study, these factors had only been analyzed using a quantitative methodology. Using the qualitative data from the interviews, this study expanded the definitions of these three concepts to see if additional insights on tolerance could be gained. In addition, the expanded definitions may offer clarification of the conflicting conclusions in the literature about these particular sociological factors.

#### Sociological Factors

##### Factor #1 – Education as a Predictor of Tolerance

In the sociological literature, education was defined as the highest-grade level reached by the individual. Early studies starting with Stouffer found a relationship between educational levels and tolerance.<sup>174</sup> As noted in the chapter on demographic factors this study did not find a link between high levels of education and tolerance. For this sample, the war permanently interrupted their schooling and few survivors were able to go back to school after the war. Therefore, actual education received was not an accurate reflection of educational aspirations. A new way was needed to assess the relationship

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<sup>174</sup> Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*, 105; Vyacheslav Karpov, "Political Tolerance in Poland and the United States," 1525; Alozie, "Political Tolerance Hypotheses and White Opposition," 1; Lawrence Bobo and Frederick C. Licari, "Education and Political Tolerance," 303.

between education and tolerance in Holocaust survivors. Grounded theory research enables the researcher to find expanded definitions from the language of the interviewees.

In examining the statements of the survivors, the importance of the value of education appeared frequently. Many survivors mentioned that in their families of origin or in their nuclear families obtaining an education was an important value. Therefore, the study examined this value across the three groups of survivors to see if tolerant survivors would be from those families that placed a greater value on the importance of obtaining an education.

The examination of the value of the importance of acquiring an education still did not reveal a connection to tolerance. In each group of survivors, at least half the families stressed the importance of receiving an education, irrespective of level of tolerance.

However, the influence of persecution can be seen on the value of an education. In several interviews, the survivors' parents stated the belief that while material goods could be taken away from them; no one could take away the education they had received. One survivor's father told her, "Going to school is important because no one can take your education away. They can take everything else from you. But who you are, what you are will always be yours."<sup>175</sup> In addition, some of the survivors stated that if not for the war, they would have gone much further in their education than they did.

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<sup>175</sup> Survivor BL [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, August 13, 1995.

Three of the six intolerant survivors noted that education was an important value. Four of the six limited-intolerant survivors showed the same pattern, as did three of the tolerant survivors. In summary, the expanded definition of education, the value the family placed on the importance of education did not appear to be related to tolerance.

### **Factor #2 - Personal Values as a Predictor of Tolerance**

In the literature, there is a large body of research, which compared political values such as equality and patriotism to tolerance<sup>176</sup> but no studies, which compared personal values to tolerance. Using the grounded research methodology to examine the qualitative data in the interviews, this study compiled a list of the values that the survivors mentioned as part of their personal value systems. Since the question was asked in a very general way in each interview, no one value appeared in every survivor's narrative. However, the values most frequently mentioned were: the work ethic, honesty, the importance of family, helping others, making the best out of the circumstances, gratitude, and being part of a community.

In examining, both the personal values reported to be held by the families of origin pre-war and the personal values held by the survivors post-war, there did not appear to be any relationship between personal values and tolerance. The same or similar personal values were commonly held in all three groups of survivors by the survivors themselves and by their parents. It is interesting to note that the personal values of the survivors did not differ from that of their parents. These values were important to the families of origin

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<sup>176</sup> Mark Peffley, Pia Knigge, and Jon Hurwitz, "A Multiple Values Model of Political Tolerance," *Political Research Quarterly* 54, no. 2, (June 2001): 379.

before the war and were retained by the survivors in the post-war era. This finding applied to all three groups. As a result, the analysis of personal values did not shed any additional light on tolerance.<sup>177</sup>

### **Factor #3- Religiosity as a Predictor of Intolerance**

In the earlier chapters of this investigation, the data revealed that the affiliation of the family of origin to a particular denomination within Judaism and of the current denominational affiliation of the survivor did not evidence any relationship to tolerance. In the literature, there are some studies that found a relationship between religiosity and intolerance.<sup>178</sup> In the literature, religiosity was often defined by frequency of church attendance, Christian theological beliefs, or fundamentalism.<sup>179</sup> These definitions were not relevant to this sample of Holocaust survivors so the interviews were examined for an expanded definition of religiosity that would describe the religiosity of Jewish Holocaust survivors. Statements related to religiosity from the interviews fell into four categories: statements about belief in God held by the family of origin or by the survivor in the years before the war and statements about belief in God held by the survivor in the years after the war; statements about level of ritual observance in the family of origin or by the survivor before the war; and statements about level of ritual observance by the survivor after the war. No relationship was found between belief in God and tolerance or ritual

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<sup>177</sup> The Peffley paper came to a similar conclusion regarding political values, see page 401.

<sup>178</sup> Michael Corbett and Julia Mitchell Corbett, *Politics and Religion in the United States*, 290; Gary K. Leak and Brandy A. Randall, "Clarification of the Link Between Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Religiousness: The Role of Religious Maturity," 250; Beatty, "Religious Preference and Practice," 319; Christopher G. Ellison, Marc A. Musick, "Southern Intolerance: A Fundamentalist Effect?" 389.

<sup>179</sup> Sam G. McFarland, "Religious Orientations and the Targets of Discrimination," 333; Rob Eisinga and Albert Felling, "Religious Belief, Church Involvement, and Ethnocentrism in the Netherlands," 58;

practice and tolerance. However, the analysis of these statements revealed that change in belief and change in ritual practice from pre-war to post-war years was related to tolerance and intolerance.

For five of the intolerant survivors, statements about belief in God remained the same pre and post-war. They were either traditional statements about belief in God or vague ideas about God that remained either traditional or vague after the war as well. Examples of survivors whose beliefs in God did not change follow:

I always believed even as a child...that there is a God and He is going to come back to me. I still believe strongly in God.<sup>180</sup>

Everybody believes in God. Like my parents, I remember they were davening [praying]. They believed till the last minute...and I said a lot of people got killed, but you have to believe.<sup>181</sup>

...He was with me and He's still with me.<sup>182</sup>

The pattern found in the intolerant group was reversed in the other two groups where a majority of the survivors changed their view of God from pre to post-war. In the limited-intolerant group, four of the six survivors reported that their current idea of God was different from their family of origin beliefs or their own beliefs prior to the war.

Examples of this change appear in the following statements:

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<sup>180</sup> Survivor WC [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, February 4, 1994.

<sup>181</sup> Survivor DH [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, October 6, 1994.

<sup>182</sup> Survivor SS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, July 7, 1994.

When I became more independent, we start[ed] not to believe...we turn[ed] away from the way, which my father wanted.<sup>183</sup>

I was attached to Catholicism since I went to that first school in my life, and when the war started, and they started to persecute Jews even more, I got more attached to the Catholic religion, because I realized that the Jewish God doesn't care for his people.<sup>184</sup>

I just don't [believe] in a God that sits and destines [decides] what should happen to Jews...who should die or who should not die... There's a different God, a Power...A spirit. I don't believe God says to wait six hours for meat; dairy or...no this makes me angry...this makes a mockery of the real Power that exists.<sup>185</sup>

The tolerant group followed a similar pattern as that of the limited intolerant group regarding change in beliefs about God post-war. Three tolerant survivors changed their beliefs because of the war. Their statements about this change are:

You practice as much as you can, and what you can't you don't practice, and I don't believe G-d will punish you just because you cannot do all of it. But it's the moral teachings of the Torah, and the ethical behavior that we must display at all times, that is the essence of our teachings of Judaism. And in this respect, I feel that I have found G-d again, but not in the sense what the Orthodox might call. And I practice as much rituality as possible, but I don't really upset myself if I transgress in some way. To say, Ach, G-d will punish us. Because I do not believe in that.<sup>186</sup>

Yeah, I believe, but I have questions.<sup>187</sup> (This statement was an answer to the question do you believe in God?)

Today, when I'm very much down, I pray. 'Please, wherever you are, please pray for me or help me.' I don't know if this is childish, but I do that quite often; I pray to my

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<sup>183</sup> Survivor RA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 7, 1994.

<sup>184</sup> Survivor RE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, March 5, 1996.

<sup>185</sup> Survivor HS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 8, 1996.

<sup>186</sup> Survivor JA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 17, 1994.

<sup>187</sup> Survivor KS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, December 8, 1994.

father. And I feel that he has some kind of a power to do something, to ease up my thoughts, to give me a little peace of mind.<sup>188</sup>

So, a change in belief in God was found to be more prevalent in the limited-intolerant and tolerant survivor groups.

In examining the degree of change in the levels of ritual observance in the pre-war families of origin compared to the post-war statements by the survivors, the pattern is reversed. In the intolerant survivor group, while the majority did not change their beliefs about God, five of the six changed their level of ritual observance from pre to post-war.

Examples of statements explaining these changes are:

...They say you get more religious as you get older, but I become more questioning.<sup>189</sup>

...I did not identify with Judaism as a culture to which I had anything to do...I wanted very much to disappear into the woodwork... it [Judaism] did not offer me anything.<sup>190</sup>

I preserved more or less the tradition. I didn't exercise the religion the way I would probably do it if it wouldn't be for that war.<sup>191</sup>

In the limited-intolerant group, a similar pattern of change regarding ritual practice was found. Thus, limited tolerant survivors not only changed their beliefs in God but the

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<sup>188</sup> Survivor SD [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 22, 1995.

<sup>189</sup> Survivor LE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May, 8, 1996.

<sup>190</sup> Survivor LJ [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, January 15, 1995.

<sup>191</sup> Survivor SO [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 25, 1994.

majority also changed their observance of ritual practice from pre to post war. Examples of these changes are:

To be more religious, I can't. Because I have a lot of questions to myself and I can't find the answer...And I can't change myself. I'm telling the truth...and I couldn't do it, and my brother couldn't do it, because we went in the wrong way. In the wrong way, you understand? We turn away from the way, which my father wanted.<sup>192</sup>

I was told as a child that God sits and watch everybody. I don't believe in that religion. We have our people which struggle with our laws, which don't necessarily agree with each other...I was born into it. If I would be here and you'd [her daughter] belong to a Conservative synagogue, I would have no problems with that...it's not for me to judge.<sup>193</sup>

When the war is finished, I don't want to be anymore a Jew.<sup>194</sup>

In the tolerant group of survivors, only two survivors changed the pattern of their ritual observance from pre to post-war. Four survivors maintained their family of origin practices. If their families of origin practices were traditional, these survivors post-war followed Orthodox practices. If their family of origin practices were liberal then these survivors' post-war practices were liberal, Conservative, or Reform. Examples of statements illustrating this trend follow:

Yes, the way I was brought up...the children grew up with ritual Shabbat services here in the house, with the kiddush and the havdalah. And they do the same things in their home. And the other holidays, the same as well...We're kosher. I don't have to tell you.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Survivor RA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 7, 1994.

<sup>193</sup> Survivor HS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 8, 1996.

<sup>194</sup> Survivor RE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, March 5, 1996.

<sup>195</sup> Survivor WM [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 1995.

Oh, we belonged to the temple and I went to Hebrew school but you don't learn as much in what we call "liberal." It's like the reform synagogue here and a little more Conservative as you would if you go to cheder...I was really zionistically oriented even in Germany as I think I mentioned, my mother was a Zionist and I was very consciously Jewish.<sup>196</sup>

Changes in belief in God are seen in the limited intolerant group and the tolerant group but not in the intolerant group. Changes in ritual practice are seen in the intolerant group and the limited-intolerant group but not in the tolerant group. The work of David Sears and others on the influences of the family of origin in developing attitudes may provide an explanation for the continuity of beliefs in the intolerant group. His research proposed that the attitudes formed in childhood persist into adulthood.<sup>197</sup> His research also linked conformity and intolerance. The desire to conform ensures that attitudes learned in childhood especially those on intolerance persist in adulthood.<sup>198</sup>

In contrast, the tolerant survivors' post-war statements of belief in God exhibited flexibility not conformity to the pre-war statements. The trauma of the war "shattered their assumptions"<sup>199</sup> and forced them, after the war, to reconstruct their beliefs to reflect their war experiences. What cannot be discerned from this study is the reason why tolerant survivors exhibit more flexibility and why they are not subject to the pressure of

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<sup>196</sup> Survivor PE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, 1994.

<sup>197</sup> Steven D. Miller and David O. Sears, "Stability and Change in Social Tolerance: A Test of the Persistence Hypothesis," 214.

<sup>198</sup> Donald K. Kinder and David O. Sears, "Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism Versus Racial Threats to the Good Life," 416.

<sup>199</sup> Ronnie Janoff-Bulman, "A Theoretical Perspective," 1.

conformity. Prior research has identified inflexibility with authoritarianism,<sup>200</sup> prejudice, and intolerance. This study found a link between the capacity to change the nature of one's belief in God as a response to surviving persecution (flexibility) with tolerance and the tendency to not change one's belief in God as a response to surviving persecution (inflexibility) with intolerance. The relationship between flexibility, conformity, and tolerance in the family of origin and its effect on the survivor cannot be discerned from this data. Therefore, the only finding from this data is the connection between change in belief in God and tolerance in survivors. Further research is needed to understand the underlying influences in the family of origin that led to flexibility in tolerant survivors and in flexibility in intolerant survivors.

The pattern of change in ritual practice followed a different pattern. Tolerant survivors tended to retain their ritual practice and intolerant survivors did not. Ritual practice is behavior, often a family activity, and not belief which is internal and personal so the different pattern is understandable. The family nature of ritual observance means that it is influenced by the quality of relationships in the family of origin.<sup>201</sup> Bethamie Horowitz cited two studies and her own work on the link between mother's religiosity, the quality of family relationship dynamics in the family of origin, and the child's adult religious behavior. Previous unpublished work by this author may also help to explain the changes in the levels of ritual observance based on the quality of family relationship

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<sup>200</sup> Alan H. Roberts and Milton Rokeach, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice," 355; Howard Schuman, Lawrence Bob, Maria Krysan, "Authoritarianism in the General Population," 379

<sup>201</sup> Bethamie Horowitz, *Connections and Journeys: Assessing Critical Opportunities for Enhancing Jewish Identity: A Report to the Commission on Jewish Identity and Renewal* (UJA-Federation of New York, 2000): 97.

dynamics. This dissertation found negative family dynamics predominated in the intolerant survivors and positive family dynamics predominated in the tolerant survivors. In an earlier research paper<sup>202</sup> that analyzed TTP data related to the transmission of Jewish identity, the findings pointed to the trend that for survivor families with strong positive family relationships, there seemed to be a pattern of continuity in life style and values between the generations. Horowitz found this in her study as well.<sup>203</sup> In contrast, for survivor families with problematic relationships, there seemed to be a pattern of discontinuity in life style and values. Thus, it is not surprising that the intolerant survivors changed their level of observance from pre to post war. It also makes sense that the tolerant and limited-intolerant survivors who came from families where positive family dynamics predominated kept to the same levels of observance as their families of origin. Finally, the experience of persecution may influence these two aspects of religiosity. Belief in God, which is an individual experience, may be influenced by flexibility and conformity. Ritual practice, which is a group-based experience, may be influenced by the quality of family relationships. This dichotomy is an interesting question, which arises from the dissertation's data and needs further exploration.

#### **Factor #4 - Statements of Survivor Guilt as a Predictor of Intolerance**

An unexpected finding arose when the interviews were analyzed for personal values.

While the statements of the survivors' personal values did not show any particular relationship to intolerance or tolerance, one set of statements emerged which did appear

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<sup>202</sup> Nancy Isserman, "Transmission of Jewish Identity in Two Generations of Holocaust Survivor Families," unpublished conference presentation, Yale University, 2002, 3.

<sup>203</sup> Bethamie Horowitz, *Connections and Journeys*, 97.

to be linked. These statements were not values but post-war emotional reactions to the experiences the survivors endured. They were expressions of “survivor guilt” which appeared more pervasively in the interviews of the intolerant survivors. What is survivor guilt? “Survivor guilt” is guilt and “survivor guilt” is a sense of being unworthy to survive when compared to others who did not survive.<sup>204</sup> Three of the six intolerant survivors reported that they felt guilty that they had survived instead of others. LE asked,

What am I supposed to be doing? What’s my goal, why am I here...I go through these guilt feelings sometimes when I read about the Holocaust, when I think about it, and wonder about my life, what have I accomplished? There are probably children that were killed there who probably could have contributed a lot more to the world than I have or ever could.<sup>205</sup>

A second survivor in the intolerant group noted,

...One of the things that really gets to me every once in awhile, is: Why did I survive...what am I doing here? Is it just chance? I don't know. It bothers me more and more...survivor guilt, which much to my great surprise, has become...I was spared, and what great things have I done?<sup>206</sup>

The third survivor, expressing guilt over the deaths of his father and his friend, stated,

It really bothered me a lot that I went separately. I shouldn't have gone without my father. A lot of times the father also survived...Sometimes I had feelings of guilt that I should have never left my friend and go on my own. I probably would have been dead together with my father. I wouldn't have probably have survived, and those are the guilts I have.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Bea Hollander-Goldfein, *Survivor Guilt*, unpublished essay, 2002, 1. See Appendix A for a more complete discussion of this concept.

<sup>205</sup> Survivor LE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 8, 1996.

<sup>206</sup> Survivor LJ [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 15, 1995.

<sup>207</sup> Survivor SO [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 25, 1994.

In the limited-intolerant group, only one survivor expressed survivor guilt. He noted,

They would start to cry and to take them was impossible...where we going to take them? And what they going to do? How they going to walk? So I went...and we left behind mein father and my mother...Of course, it wasn't nice. Till now I regret it, what I did. I didn't say goodbye. I didn't kiss my mother...<sup>208</sup>

Again, in the tolerant group, only one survivor reported feelings of guilt for surviving.

He stated,

Why was I chosen? You see, that creates a guilt complex...I have a guilt complex, because I, in my own thinking was not the most valuable person, who should have been chosen to survive. Yet I was...other people, I'm sure, were more deserving perhaps but they didn't make it. So, I have that guilt complex. I live with that.<sup>209</sup>

Thus, the intolerant group was the only group where more than one person expressed feelings of guilt. An additional finding is that all the survivors who uttered these statements were male. Why were there more survivors that were intolerant expressing statements of survivor guilt? And why were they only the males? Although the reasons for the survivor guilt cannot be discerned in this study a hypothesis could be that, the guilt could partially be a manifestation of anger that had no vehicle for expression such as anger at the perpetrators. Or it possibly could reflect guilt or ambivalence about leaving relatives who subsequently died and with whom they did not have good relationships. The data in this study cannot explain why men are more prone to survivor guilt. Future research may find that intolerance includes anger, ambivalence, and guilt. Moreover, the connection between gender, survivor guilt, and intolerance needs further exploration.

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<sup>208</sup> Survivor RA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 7, 1994.

<sup>209</sup> Survivor WM [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 1995.

In the table below all the sociological factors are compared according to the three groups of survivors showing the patterns just discussed.

**Table 5.1 - SUMMARY OF SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS AND TOLERANCE**

Sociological factors	Intolerant	Limited-intolerant	Tolerant
Beliefs in God changed from family of origin to post-war survivor	One survivor	Four survivors	Three survivors
Ritual practices changed from family of origin to post-war survivor	Five survivors	Four (same individuals as in first box)	Two survivors
Statements of survivor guilt present	Three survivors	One survivor	One survivor
Personal values changed from family of origin to post-war survivor	No survivors	No survivors	No survivors
Statement of importance of education present	Three survivors	Five survivors	Three survivors

### Psychological Factors

The political science literature discusses two groups of psychological factors: personality traits and psychological insecurity. Self-centered/other-directed, low self-esteem/high self-esteem, the authoritarian personality, trust/mistrust, pessimism/optimism,<sup>210</sup> anomie, inflexibility, and dogmatism are some of the personality traits that the literature has

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<sup>210</sup> John L. Sullivan and J.E. Transue, "The Psychological Underpinnings of Democracy," 9.;

linked to intolerance.<sup>211</sup> Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus<sup>212</sup> identified psychological insecurity as one of three explanations of intolerance, the other two being perceived threat and political ideology or commitment to democratic institutions.

#### **Factor #5 - Personality Traits**

Due to the nature of the study, which relied on a secondary analysis of the data, there was information in the interviews only on three personality traits. They were trust/mistrust, optimism/pessimism, and self-centered/other-directed. These traits were discussed in conjunction with the discussion of worldview in chapter four because they are the psychosocial factors that influence worldview, a critical component in the development of political attitudes. Chapter four explained that the only difference in worldview between intolerant and tolerant survivors was that tolerant survivors directed their altruistic behavior towards non-Jews and intolerant survivors only towards Jews. In addition, intolerant survivors engaged in acts of revenge or anger against their former perpetrators and the perpetrators' ethnic or national groups.

#### **Factor #6 - Psychological Insecurity**

The literature noted that a major predictor of intolerance is psychological insecurity. According to published studies, psychological insecurity is made up of low self-esteem, mistrust, and dogmatism.<sup>213</sup> Of these three traits, the available data would only permit

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<sup>211</sup> Jeanne N. Knutson, "Personality in the Study of Politics," 50; Sullivan, "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis," 100

<sup>212</sup> Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus, *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*, 218.

<sup>213</sup> Rubenstein, "Authoritarianism in Israeli Society," 237; James L. Gibson and Raymond M. Duch, "Anti-Semitic Attitude of the Mass Public." 21.

the study of mistrust in survivors. Self esteem and dogmatism could not be examined using the interviews, as they did not focus on these concerns. Consequently, this study turned to the field of psychology for an approach to study psychological insecurity. Attachment theory gave an explanation for psychological insecurity that could be studied with the available data. Attachment theory explains the foundation for cognitive and emotional development in the child and attributes healthy development to the nature of the attachment between the child and the parent or caregiver.<sup>214</sup> Through attachment theory the study could examine psychological insecurity by analyzing the interviews for descriptions of family of origin relationships.

Attachment theory describes four attachment styles between the parent/caregiver and the child that directly influence attachment styles in adulthood. Attachment theory describes the secure base as offering the healthiest foundation for secure attachments in the future and styles that reflect elements of insecure attachment that carry into adulthood. The insecure attachments in childhood influence the development of psychological insecurity in adulthood. While varying instruments in the attachment literature are used to determine attachment style based on rating scales and questionnaires these instruments cannot be applied to the qualitative assessment of secondary data. Four dimensions of qualitative family relationships were used to analyze the interview data in order to assess psychological insecurity. Dr. Bea Hollander-Goldfein identified these four dimensions based on her grounded theory research and extensive clinical practice experience. These four dimensions describe the basic family of origin interactions that determine secure or insecure attachments.

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<sup>214</sup> Bea Hollander-Goldfein, "Key psychological dimensions of coping with extreme trauma"

The four dimensions of parent-child dynamics that describe the family of origin attachment relationships along a continuum are:

**Closeness ← → Distance**

**Empathy ← → Self Centeredness**

**Validation ← → Criticism**

**Expressions of positive emotions ← → Expressions of negative emotions.**<sup>215</sup>

The definitions for these terms are in chapter two – the methodology chapter. Based on the psychosocial literature that links psychological insecurity to intolerance and the attachment literature that links parent-child relationships to psychological insecurity this study hypothesized that negative attachment ties between survivors and their families of origin, would be more apparent in the interview of the intolerant survivors. Negative attachment ties create insecure relationships between the survivor and the family of origin and are reflected in the survivor's relationships with the nuclear family, other adults, and other groups. Negative attachment ties are ones of distance, self-centeredness, criticism and negative expressions of emotion. Conversely, positive attachment ties between the survivors and their families of origin would be more apparent in the interviews of tolerant survivors. Positive attachment ties create secure relationships that are reflected in the survivors' relationships with the nuclear family, other adults and with other groups.

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid. page.

Positive attachment ties are ones of closeness, empathy, validation, and expressions of positive emotion.

The quality of the family relationship dynamics was revealed through the content and frequency of stories about family of origin relationships in each interview. It was because of the comparison among the three groups that the more negative relational dynamics in the intolerant survivors was noticeable. The interviews of the six survivors who were in the intolerant group contained fewer stories of positive qualitative dynamics than the other two groups. Unless a family is severely dysfunctional there will always be some positive narratives yet in the intolerant survivor group the number of the negative narratives equaled the number of the positive narratives and the overall number of narratives, positive or negative, was low. Compared to the other two groups the numbers of narratives reflecting closeness or expressions of positive emotions ties were low. In addition, intolerant survivors appeared to remember very few empathic or validating narratives about their family of origin relationships. In summary, the intolerant survivors reported very few positive stories about their relationships with their parents. Examples of the negative narratives are given below:

One example of a narrative reflecting a distant relationship is:

With my mother, it was somewhat more distant, because I didn't see much of her...  
And I think we had breakfast together. But I don't remember having dinner  
together.<sup>216</sup>

An example of a narrative reflecting a critical relationships is:

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<sup>216</sup> Survivor LJ [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 15, 1995.

I think the real disciplinarian was my father. He had talked often that we should have gone to military schools, rather than public schools, or strong religious schools. He was terribly disappointed that my eldest brother didn't become a doctor.<sup>217</sup>

An example of a narrative reflecting expressions of negative emotions is:

No, it wasn't too much of a togetherness with my father. The only time when we went on a Sunday where I had no school and he was going to the same town...And we were talking normally and, but nothing of a way where I can remember was really substantial, nothing he really shared with me in his private life and mine.<sup>218</sup>

Moreover, these survivors told far fewer total narratives in their entire interview than the interviews in the other two groups. This reflects that it is easier to tell positive family stories than it is to reveal the negative family stories.

In both of the limited-intolerant and the tolerant survivor interviews groups, narratives of positive family dynamics were numerous and the narratives of the negative dynamics were much fewer in number. All four positive family dynamic components were represented in the limited-intolerant survivor interviews. Each category usually contained several examples. And the examples were for the most part strong, clear, unambiguous statements about the family's positive dynamics. Two examples of narratives describing positive relationships are:

I saw a lot of love in my home.<sup>219</sup>

I got everything from my father, beside love. Love, attention, advice...He always took me in his arms, he cuddled me if I cried...If I came home, he wouldn't work...He would run ahead, meet me. 'Give me your report,' and run with that report

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<sup>217</sup> Survivor LE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 8, 1996.

<sup>218</sup> Survivor SO [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 25, 1994.

<sup>219</sup> Survivor SB [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, February 15, 1996.

to his neighbor. 'Well, what did I tell you? It's the same as last year! It's excellent from top to bottom.' He would show it to everybody...<sup>220</sup>

In the tolerant survivor group, the statements of positive family dynamics were even stronger and more numerous. The interviews contained numerous positive narratives.

Again, the statements were striking for their strength. Some examples are:

Very close-knit family...there was no such thing as not caring for a sibling.<sup>221</sup>

Everybody got along with each other. Keine hore, nine children, we got along. My mother taught them to be close to each other, to not to holler at each other. Be nice and kind, and to help.<sup>222</sup>

Validating statements and expressions of positive dynamics were also strongly worded.

Some examples are:

I remember he was warm, he was always taking care of me. And when I was near him, I always knew that I'm protected.<sup>223</sup>

My father was our guiding light. He was everything for us...know. We looked up to him for some kind of miracle....<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>220</sup>Survivor RE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, March, 1996.

<sup>221</sup>Survivor JA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 17, 1994.

<sup>222</sup>Survivor KS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, December 8, 1994.

<sup>223</sup>Survivor SD [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 22, 1995.

<sup>224</sup>Survivor WM [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 1995.

The narratives of negative family dynamics are few. One interview contained no negative narratives at all. One interview contained only one negative story. Three other tolerant survivors' interviews contained only a few negative narratives.

**Table 5.2 – THE RELATIONSHIP OF NARRATIVES IN THE FAMILY OF ORIGIN RELATIONSHIPS AND TOLERANCE**

Family dynamic aspects	Intolerant	Limited-intolerant	Tolerant
Closeness	11	49	38
Empathy	4	14	25
Validation	4	19	11
Positive emotional expression	10	32	48
<b>Total Positive Narratives</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>122</b>
Distant	11	8	7* (2)
Critical	5	2	2* (0)
Self-centered	2	1	4* (1)
Negative emotional expression	14	6	15* (6)
<b>Total Negative Narratives</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>28* (9)</b>

\*- These numbers are higher because of one individual who had a poor relationship with her mother and sister pre-war but who received significant positive emotional support from her father and grandmothers who lived with her. The numbers in parentheses are the numbers representing the other five individuals in the group and more clearly show the contrast between the intolerant and tolerant survivors.

Thus, the data showed that numerous positive narratives and few negative narratives were found in the tolerant and the limited-intolerant survivors' interviews. So, in regards to the limited-intolerant survivors and psychological factors they look like the tolerant

survivors. Survivors who had positive narratives formed secure attachments to their caregivers, which were reflected not only in their relationships with family members but towards others as well. In addition, the empathy, validation, and expressions of positive emotions that these survivors received, especially from their parents, gave them the capacity to have greater empathy for others. One manifestation of this empathy was the development of an attitude of tolerance for others outside of their own group.

When the relationships between the survivor and the family of origin members clustered more on the negative end of the continuum, intolerant attitudes predominated in the survivors. This is a result of the interplay of not having their psychological security needs met in their childhood from negative family of origin relationships. Insecurity in the family of origin relationships leads to psychological insecurity. In contrast, when the relationships between the survivors and their families of origin clustered on the positive end of the continuum and psychological security needs were met, tolerance attitudes predominated in the survivors.

#### **Factor #7 - Messages of Tolerance**

While analyzing narratives about the family of origin dynamics another unexpected finding emerged. Some tolerant and limited-intolerant survivors reported receiving messages from close family members, often parents, but sometimes a sibling or grandparent that functioned as a guide for their future tolerant attitudes. The messages may have been given to them just prior to the war, in the normal course of growing up, during the war, or after the war. One problem, however, with using secondary analysis,

is that the survivors were not consistently asked about receiving messages of tolerance from their parents or other family members. So, it is not clear how extensive this trend is because the stories were shared spontaneously with the interviewer only in some interviews. These messages of tolerance were reported in only two tolerant survivor interviews and three limited-intolerant survivor interviews.<sup>225</sup> No intolerant survivor interviews contained these messages. Future research will be needed to discern how well this factor relates to tolerance. The four examples of these messages follow:

And my parents were able, after the war., to give me that comfort and strength to be able to turn that hate that I felt against the whole world, and especially all those Christians who have collaborated with the Nazis, to turn it around in a positive force. I had many discussions with him [her father] after the war about hating those people, and he always stopped me. He never let it go any further. And he said, "I know it's terrible to suffer. But will you be happier if you will turn into the type of individual that have hated us?"<sup>226</sup>

We were taught early on in our lives to know that we were good children-that the hatred of the Jews was not a personal hatred. I never heard from my mother or father any messages of hate towards any other religion or nationality.<sup>227</sup>

I never heard from my mother, or father any messages of hate towards any other religion or nationality...<sup>228</sup>

[I] didn't grow up to hate people...it's the way I was brought up, to trust people. People are good...<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> In a previous paper using a slightly different sample of TTP survivors, the trend was more predominant. See Nancy Isserman, "Identifying Individual Determinants of Intolerance in Holocaust Survivors", in Johannes-Dieter Steinert and Inge Weber-Newth (eds.), *Beyond Camps and Forced Labour*, Secolo Verlag (Osnabrueck, Germany) in press.

<sup>226</sup> Survivor JA [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, November 17, 1994.

<sup>227</sup> Survivor PE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, 1994.

<sup>228</sup> Survivor RE [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, March 1996.

<sup>229</sup> Survivor HS [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, May 8, 1996.

My mother used to teach us. I will never forget...If somebody throws a rock on you, you throw back bread...You never throw back a stone. Never throw back a rock. And that's the way she taught us. And I will never forget when she used to tell us this that we should never be mean. Even somebody's mean to us we should try to be nice and you could work it out.<sup>230</sup>

Additional research is needed to see if messages of tolerance from family of origin members to the survivor played a role in developing attitudes of tolerance in the adult survivors.

In summary, when this study examined psychosocial factors contributing to tolerance or intolerance in survivors some factors identified in the literature were confirmed and some were not. Unlike in the literature, tolerance in survivors did not relate to education and personal values even with expanded definitions. Based on the interview statements religiosity was divided into two categories of beliefs in God and level of ritual practice. Although these dimensions did not directly relate to tolerance, the element of change in beliefs or observance did relate. Further research is needed to explore these two dimensions and tolerance. Emerging from the data, two new factors, survivor guilt and messages of tolerance, influenced tolerance. Finally, a new approach in political science based on attachment theory, which analyzed the narratives of family of origin relationships, led to a greater understanding of how psychological insecurity contributes to intolerance.

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<sup>230</sup> Survivor DG [pseudo.], interview by TTP, interview transcript, Transcending Trauma Project, October 31, 1996.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE CONCLUSION

For the past fifty-five years, political scientists have studied what factors contribute to political tolerance. Until recently, the research on political tolerance was based on quantitative surveys related to hypothetical situations. This dissertation, *"I Harbor No Hate: A Study of Political Tolerance and Intolerance in Holocaust Survivors"*, examined tolerance in people with a history of persecution through in-depth psychosocial interviews that covered the pre-war, war, and post-war lives of Holocaust survivors to gain a better understanding of the relationship between persecution and tolerance. By examining what people actually said in their interviews about their attitudes towards other groups, one goal of this research was to illuminate more fully the scope of important concepts influencing tolerance. In addition, this dissertation's use of grounded research methodology revealed factors related to tolerance that had never been studied before and confirmed factors found to contribute to tolerance and intolerance through prior quantitative investigations. Factors reported in the literature and new factors were explored in order to consider the question why some people are tolerant and some people are intolerant after experiencing persecution. Finally, the dissertation applied the psychological theory of attachment to better understand psychological insecurity, one of the critical factors in intolerance identified by the field of political science.

In the literature prior to this study, the relationship of persecuted individuals and attitudes of political tolerance were mentioned in a few studies but not explored in-depth. The impact of persecution is a theme that runs throughout the analysis of the factors. A brief

comparison to another persecuted group, Armenian survivors, revealed that the findings of this dissertation apply to other groups who have survived genocide attempts.

Understanding the connection between persecution and attitudes towards tolerance could hopefully help reconciliation efforts in different parts of the world.

Another goal of this dissertation was to examine the theories about tolerance presented in the various social science disciplines to gain a better understanding of how factors from each discipline contribute to the study of tolerance. While this dissertation did not develop an overarching interdisciplinary framework, which accounts for the interrelationships among all the different factors, it was able to confirm through qualitative data several factors that had been found to be important contributors to tolerance in previous studies using quantitative methodologies. In addition, the qualitative data identified two new concepts that relate to tolerance and intolerance, survivor guilt and messages of tolerance from family of origin members.

Finally, the study uncovered a new way of understanding the foundations of psychological insecurity, one of the key contributors to intolerance as identified in the literature. An in-depth exploration of the quality of relationship dynamics between the family of origin and the survivor was an important step in explaining how attachment relationship influences psychological insecurity and how psychological insecurity influences intolerance.

### **Summary of Demographic Factors**

In this study age, education, religious affiliation, and country of origin did not relate to tolerance or intolerance. Only one demographic factor, gender, was connected to intolerance. Five of the seven males in the study were in the intolerant group. Future research is needed to fully explore the connection between gender and intolerance. The lack of other demographic factors relating to tolerance or intolerance may be due to the one-dimensional nature of these factors in the literature. More importantly, there are significant differences between a sample comprised of average Americans and a sample comprised of survivors of genocide. Finally, these demographic factors may not discriminate variability within the largely homogenous population of Holocaust survivors especially given the small sample size.

### **Political Factors**

This study supported the conclusions of past research investigating four key political factors. The four key factors are: threat, worldview, political ideology, and strong in-group identity. This study found that the first three of the four political factors, threat perceptions, worldview, and political ideology all evidenced linkages to tolerance.

Sociotropic threat is present in intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors. The impact of the persecutions they suffered was reflected in the statements they made describing the world as a dangerous place where the Holocaust could happen again. The impact of the persecutions was seen in the worldview of the survivors as well. The study confirmed that almost all the survivors were optimistic, mistrustful, and other-directed. The

differences between the tolerant survivors and the others were minor. Only tolerant survivors targeted their altruistic behavior to help non-Jews. Conversely, intolerant and limited-intolerant survivors exhibited anger and acts of revenge towards the perpetrators and the groups they represented. The fourth political factor, strong in-group identity, did not show any linkage to tolerance, which confirms the most recent research in the field.<sup>231</sup> Again, the experience of persecution strengthened the group identity of the survivors regardless of their attitudes towards tolerance. Thus, the qualitative methodology of this study provided a deeper understanding of the political factors and how the history of persecution affects tolerance and intolerance.

### **Psychosocial Factors**

#### **Sociological Factors**

The psychosocial factors were divided into two groups, those that were more sociologically based, and those that were psychologically based. The three sociological factors examined in this study were: education, personal values, and religiosity. In each case, the study looked at expanded definitions, which diverged from the definitions most frequently discussed in the sociological literature. Based on the literature, the study examined the hypothesis that tolerant survivors would be those whose families stated that education was an important value. However, the data did not show any pattern.

This study also examined the interviews of the survivors to determine what personal values the survivors held to be important. However, no particular pattern emerged and there was no evidence to link values to tolerance.

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<sup>231</sup> James L. Gibson, *Overcoming Apartheid*, 288.

In previous research, religiosity was often defined as frequency of church attendance or was based on Christian theological beliefs such as fundamentalism. In this study, the important relationship to tolerance was between a change in beliefs and observance or a lack of change in beliefs and observance from the pre-war years to the post-war years. In the literature, inflexibility is linked to the authoritarian personality and both concepts are linked to intolerance. The connection between the pressure to conform and prejudice could help explain why the intolerant survivors clung to their pre-war beliefs in God even after the war while the tolerant survivors were able to be more flexible and adapt their beliefs in God to the realities of their war experiences. Since positive qualitative family relationship dynamics were linked to tolerance, it is possible to speculate that flexibility is a mediating factor that results from psychological security created by healthy family attachments. However, additional research is needed to fully explore the relationship between flexibility, conformity, and tolerance in the family of origin and the survivor.

The quality of family relationship dynamics would also explain the changes in levels of ritual observance, which are based on shared experiences in the family of origin. Thus, positive family dynamics between the family of origin and the survivors supports a continuation of tradition while negative family dynamics between the family of origin and the survivors helps break tradition through a discontinuation of the continuity of the family's practices. Tradition stays the same from family of origin to survivor in families where positive dynamics predominate because secure attachments foster positive associations with the traditions.

## **Psychological Factors**

The political science literature on tolerance discusses two groups of psychological factors: personality traits and psychological insecurity as contributing to intolerance.

Due to the nature of the data, only three personality traits could be analyzed. They were: trust/mistrust, optimism/pessimism, and self-centered/other-directed. These traits are part of worldview, discussed in the political factors chapter. The other traits in the literature such as the authoritarian personality, low self-esteem, or dogmatism could not be directly analyzed by the data in this study.

The second psychological factor the literature discussed as contributing to intolerance was psychological insecurity. This study turned to the field of psychology to understand the concept of psychological insecurity and its etiology. Through the analysis of the narrative stories in the interviews about relationships in the family of origin and through categorizing these narratives on a four-factor continuum this study has incorporated an alternative approach whereby the field of political science can expand its understanding of the underlying forces of psychological insecurity and how it relates to intolerance.

Psychological insecurity is based on the premise that the basic psychological developmental needs of the individual have not been met in childhood. The psychological and emotional development of the child in the family of origin expressed through secure and insecure attachment styles which can be described by analyzing the narratives in the interviews that reveal the nature of the parent-child relationship.

Insecure attachment ties result from negative relationship dynamics between the family

of origin and the survivor as revealed through the narratives. These insecure attachment ties create insecurity in the parent-child relationship and the basic needs of the child are not fully met. This, one may speculate, leads to insecurity in the relationships between the survivor and others in the family, other adults, and finally to intolerant attitudes towards outside groups.

Conversely, secure attachment ties result from positive relationship dynamics between the family of origin and the survivor and create security in the parent-child relationship. Basic needs are met. These secure attachment bonds lead to secure relationships with others, in the family, other adults, and are reflected in tolerant attitudes towards other groups. This process is a new approach to explaining the relationship of psychological insecurity and intolerance that is not found elsewhere in any previous studies on intolerance. It supplies a critical piece of knowledge on understanding psychological insecurity. From the analysis of the narratives, it becomes clearer why individuals are psychologically insecure or secure. Thus, a major part of understanding why some survivors are intolerant and some are tolerant can be traced back to the dynamics of the family relationships in the family of origin.

### **Cross Cultural Comparison**

I did not find many studies looking at tolerance in survivors of ethnic groups that faced genocide. Israel Charney, Editor-in-Chief of the Encyclopedia of Genocide and Executive Director of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, speculated that research on this question was sparse because oppressed traumatized peoples, and to an

extent their researchers too, for a long time were not emotionally free to look at their own attitudes towards others.<sup>232</sup> However, one oral history interview-based research study on Armenians, may provide some cross-cultural comparisons. The study interviewed over 100 Armenian survivors mostly living in the Los Angeles area in the late 1970s through the 1980s.

The researchers, Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, created a six-fold typology of responses to the Armenian genocide to explain how the survivors dealt with the trauma. The categories were: avoidance and repression; outrage and anger; revenge and restitution; reconciliation and forgiveness; resignation and despair; and explanation and rationalization.<sup>233</sup> Some of these categories seem similar to the categories of intolerance in the Holocaust survivors discussed in this study. The interviewees placed in the categories of “outrage and resentment” and “revenge and restitution” described similar thoughts to the intolerant Holocaust survivors. The individuals placed in the category of “outrage and resentment” felt “the fire of resentment burning deep within their conscience and consciousness, and they dealt with the injustice and pain of the genocide by regularly venting their feelings about those who perpetrated the crime.”<sup>234</sup> They expressed their anger through words and not actions. The second group, those in the “revenge and restitution” group, channeled their anger into seeking reparations or revenge against the perpetrators. Since the actual perpetrators were no longer living,

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<sup>232</sup>Private email communication to the author, January 21, 2005.

<sup>233</sup> Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993): 159.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

revenge was directed at the Turkish government and its representatives. Anger towards the Turks, avoiding people speaking the Turkish language, and engaging in acts of revenge including murder of Turkish government officials were some of the behaviors shared by both groups of survivors. Thus, in these two groups, Armenian survivors expressed sentiments and engaged in acts similar to those expressed by the intolerant Holocaust survivors.

The category of “reconciliation and forgiveness” is the closest to the tolerant Holocaust survivors. These individuals came “to terms with the trauma of their childhood...the wound has healed, despite the visible scars that remain.” Many distinguished between “good” and “bad” Turks similar to the Holocaust survivors in the limited-intolerant group. They blamed the government in Constantinople not the entire Turkish population.

The Millers’ study also identified factors influencing the survivor response that were found in this dissertation as well. They examined belief in God and found some had retained their beliefs, some had ambiguous beliefs, and some had become atheists as a way of reconciling what had happened to their families. Thus, the experience of persecution also impacted religious beliefs in the Armenian population. What we do not know from their research is which survivors retained their beliefs and which changed their beliefs.

The Millers also speculated that every survivor in their study spent the first five or six years of their lives in stable family situations which had a positive impact on their lives

after the genocide.<sup>235</sup> They found that children who had at least one parent survive were less traumatized than those who lost both parents. This is a similar finding to this study which found that survivors who survived with one or both of their parents, and were in a position to receive messages of tolerance from those parents, were, consequently, found to express tolerant attitudes towards their perpetrators and others. Thus, their study also supported the finding that the dynamics of the family of origin relationships influence the attitudes of the adult survivor. The Millers also encountered some Armenian survivors who expressed statements of survivor guilt. However, they did not identify which survivors suffered from survivor guilt.

In addition, the Millers' study found that the denial of the Turkish government of the genocide coupled with the experience of surviving the Genocide strengthened group identity among the Armenians just as the experience of the Holocaust strengthened group identity among its survivors.<sup>236</sup> This strong group identity appeared to cross all categories of their typology though they did not specifically say so.

It seemed that the impact of the Turkish government denial on the survivors helped to obscure clear references to tolerance in the interviews. A major focus of many of the Armenian survivors was on efforts to work for restitution and acknowledgement that the genocide occurred. Since Holocaust survivors received acknowledgement from the German government and some received restitution, this was not an issue in this dissertation.

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 160.

What the Millers did not do in their study was to try to link the findings just discussed with the typology of survivors that they devised. So, from their research it is not clear if for example, statements of survivor guilt were found predominantly among the survivors grouped into the outrage and resentment or revenge and restitution categories. Or if the survivors who came from stable home environments in their pre-genocide lives were only in the reconciliation and forgiveness category. We would have understood more about the responses of the Armenian survivors if the typology had been carried through and incorporated the factors influencing the “survivor response” that the Millers described. In addition, the comparison to the Holocaust survivors and tolerance would have been more complete if the typology had been used to align the survivor responses with particular types of Armenian survivors.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this dissertation added to the knowledge about tolerance in the field of political science in two important ways: by revealing the influence of persecution on factors leading to tolerance and intolerance and by applying psychological theories and methods to better understand the relationship of psychological insecurity and intolerance. The study used qualitative grounded research to explore in-depth psychosocial life stories of Holocaust survivors. It found that a history of persecution changes the factors that contribute to tolerant and intolerant attitudes. Threat, worldview, and strength of in-group identity are factors that operate differently in victims of persecution. Gender became an important factor although the reasons for this were not discerned from the

data. In addition, religiosity was defined in a new way through change in beliefs about God and change in levels of observance between the pre-war years and the post-war years and showed a relationship to both intolerance and tolerance. Finally, this study studied psychological insecurity and intolerance through a process taken from psychology and applied to political science. By utilizing attachment theory, this study has offered a meaningful way to assess psychological insecurity. The strong relationship between quality of family relationships, psychological insecurity, and intolerance provides a base from which to expand this investigation into other mediating factors such as flexibility and conformity. Moreover, the similarities between the research on Armenian survivors and this research on Holocaust survivors shows that this methodology is applicable to other survivors of persecution who are currently struggling to come to terms with rebuilding their lives and their societies.

## APPENDIX A

### The Definitions of Survivor Guilt

“Survivor guilt” as guilt comes from the psychological meaning of guilt as feeling “bad” for wrongdoing. The sense of “wrongdoing” may be self imposed, not based on reality, but grows out of a sense of responsibility for something bad that has happened.

Regardless of the real situation, feelings of guilt reflect the belief that the individual did something wrong. In the context of Holocaust literature through the 1980's the term typically referred to the belief held by survivor that they had done something wrong. The classic example is from Eli Wiesel's book, *Night*, where Wiesel described his feelings when on a forced march with his frail father whom he promised never to leave. At one point the march stopped, he left his father for just a few minutes to get some water and came back to find his father had died. Wiesel's guilt manifested itself in the experience of looking in the mirror and seeing his dead father's face. He was filled with guilt because he believed that if he had not left his father, his father might not have died.

A second aspect of “survivor guilt” is the sense of being an unworthy survivor. Survivors ask the question “why did I survive when others who were more worthy, pious, younger, smarter, etc. did not? Why did I survive when millions did not?” This aspect of survivor guilt is not about wrongdoing. It reflects the belief that one's survival was unjust, unfair, beyond one's control, and, so, difficult to accept. Individuals feel “survivor guilt” when bad things happen to family, friends, or others that did not happen to the individual. Thus, the term guilt is not accurate. Nothing wrong was done but the individual still feels

a sense of guilt for continuing with his or her life while other people are suffering or are not alive. The guilt is really a manifestation of the question, "why is life so unfair that others suffered or died and I did not?" It becomes an existential question about life not about the sense of wrongdoing.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Bea Hollander-Goldfein, Unpublished essay, 1.

## APPENDIX B

### The Forms Used by the TTP for Data Collection

#### 1. TRANSMISSION OF JEWISH IDENTITY SURVEY-Survivors

**1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: When you think about being Jewish, the following thoughts come to mind...**

A I am proud to be a Jew

strongly agree      agree      disagree      strongly disagree

B I feel that I am personally connected to Jewish history, one link of a chain that extends for over 5,000 years

strongly agree      agree      disagree      strongly disagree

C Jews have had an especially rich and distinctive history

strongly agree      agree      disagree      strongly disagree

D Being Jewish is so much a part of me apart from Jewish traditions and customs, I couldn't stop being Jewish.

strongly agree      agree      disagree      strongly disagree

E For me, Jewish involvement is a way of connecting with my family's past

strongly agree,      agree,      disagree      strongly disagree

F I feel there is something about me that non-Jews could never understand

strongly agree      agree      disagree      strongly disagree

**2. When you think of what it means to be a Jew in America would you say that it means being a member of...(CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)**

1 a religious group

2 an ethnic group

3 a cultural group

4 a race

**3. How important would you say that being Jewish is in your life?**

1 very important

2 somewhat important

3 not very important

4 not at all important

**4. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: anti-Semitism is a serious problem in the US today?**

1 strongly agree

2 somewhat agree

3 somewhat disagree

4 strongly disagree

**5. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: when it comes to a crisis, Jews can only depend on other Jews?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: that being a good Jew means advocating values of social justice and concern for the poor and disadvantaged?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**7. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: being a good Jew means having a personal commitment to Jewish religious beliefs?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**8. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Pentateuch (Five Books of Moses) or Torah?**

- 1 The Torah is an ancient book of history and moral precepts recorded by man
- 2 The Torah is the actual word of G-d
- 3 The Torah is the inspired word of G-d but not everything should be taken literally, word for word
- 4 can't choose

**9. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: a Jew's moral behavior should be guided by the Jewish religion?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**10. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: to be a Jew in the full sense requires observance of religious rituals, practices, etc.**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**11. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: Jews have a special responsibility for one another no matter where in the world they live?**

1. strongly agree
2. somewhat agree
3. somewhat disagree
4. strongly disagree

**12. In your opinion, how important is it for a Jew to have a Jewish education?**

- 1 very important
- 2 somewhat important
- 3 not very important
- 4 not at all important

**13. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Jewish religious practices are not essential for Judaism to flourish.**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**Even if you have no children or have children who are already intermarried please answer the next two questions.**

**14. Hypothetically, if your child were considering marrying a non-Jewish person, would you support or oppose the marriage?**

- 1 strongly support
- 2 support
- 3 accept or be neutral
- 4 oppose
- 5 strongly oppose

**15. If your child married a non-Jew, how would you relate to the marriage?**

- 1 strongly support
- 2 support
- 3 be neutral
- 4 accept with reservations
- 5 oppose
- 6 strongly oppose

**Please follow these directions precisely. Rank in order from most important (1) to least important (5) the answers to #16 and #17**

**16. To what extent is your involvement in Jewish religious practice based on:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ community affiliation  
 \_\_\_\_\_ expression of Jewish identification  
 \_\_\_\_\_ belief in G-d  
 \_\_\_\_\_ a commitment to Jewish survival

\_\_\_\_\_ other, specify

**17. To what extent do you see your involvement in Jewish communal activities as:**  
 \_\_\_\_\_ expression of your need for communal involvement and /or philanthropic connections?

\_\_\_\_\_ expression of Jewish identification

\_\_\_\_\_ expression of your commitment to Jewish survival

\_\_\_\_\_ fulfillment of religious precepts(mitzvot) related to the welfare of the community

\_\_\_\_\_ other

**18. How important was it for your parents that you be identified as a Jew?**

1	2	3	4	5
Not important		Moderately important		Very important

**19. What did they do to foster your identification as a Jew? Circle all that apply and briefly explain what they did.**

- 1 religious practice
- 2 religious education
- 3 identification with Zionist causes
- 4 involvement with social causes
- 5 youth groups
- 6 synagogue involvement
- 7 other

**20. What were your parents' goals in fostering your identification as a Jew?**

**21. To what extent did they succeed in their goals?**

1	2	3	4	5
Not successful		Moderately successful		Very successful

**22. How strong is your Jewish identification and involvement?**

1	2	3	4	5
Not strong		Moderately strong		Very strong

**23. What was the primary family practice or ritual that influenced your identification as a Jew?**

**24. How important is it for you that your children be identified as Jews?**

1	2	3	4	5
Not important	Moderately important		Very important	

**25. In what ways did you try to instill a strong Jewish identity in your children?****Circle all that apply and briefly explain what you do**

- 1 religious practice
- 2 religious education
- 3 identification with Israel, Zionist causes
- 4 involvement with social causes
- 5 summer camps, youth groups
- 6 synagogue involvement
- 7 Soviet Jewry/Syrian Jewry/Ethiopian Jewry activities
- 8 Holocaust remembrance activities
- 9 Bedtime, morning or meal rituals
- 10 Other

**26. How well are you succeeding (or have you succeeded)?**

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Not successful		Moderately successful		Very successful

**27. When you teach your child(ren) about Jewish beliefs and practices, how do you present these issues to them? (CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER).**

1. as expressions of a Jewish lifestyle which allows for personal choice
2. as religious obligations/mitzvot
3. other

**28. How important is it for your children to raise their children with a strong Jewish identity?**

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Not important		Moderately important		Very important

**29. If you have grandchildren, in what ways are your children trying to instill a strong Jewish identity in their children? Check all that apply for each child.**

	<u>Child #1</u>	<u>Child #2</u>	<u>Child #3</u>	<u>Child #4</u>
1 religious practice	_____	_____	_____	_____
2 religious education	_____	_____	_____	_____
3 identification with Israel, Zionist causes	_____	_____	_____	_____
4 involvement with social causes	_____	_____	_____	_____
5 summer camps, youth groups	_____	_____	_____	_____
6 synagogue involvement	_____	_____	_____	_____
7 Soviet/Syrian/Ethiopian Jewry activities	_____	_____	_____	_____

- 8 Holocaust \_\_\_\_\_  
 remembrance activities \_\_\_\_\_
- 9 bedtime, morning \_\_\_\_\_  
 meal rituals \_\_\_\_\_
- 9 other \_\_\_\_\_

**30. How important were your grandparents' influence in the transmission of Jewish identity to you? Please explain your answer.**

\_\_\_\_\_  
 1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
 Not important                      Moderately important                      Very important

**31. Did you ever receive, as a child, any formal Jewish education, such as heder, yeshiva, state run religious school or home tutoring?**

- 1 yes  
 2 no  
 3 other (specify)

**32. Circle the number of each type of schooling you received for your formal Jewish education and note how many years you attended that type of schooling.**

- 1 yeshiva. years \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 cheder. years \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 state run religious school. years \_\_\_\_\_  
 4 home tutoring. years \_\_\_\_\_  
 5 other (specify)

**33. Did you have a Bar or Bat Mitzvah when you were young?**

- 1 yes, either or both  
 2 no  
 3 no, but as an adult had a bar/bat mitzvah  
 4 no formal ceremony due to the customs for girls in the religious community where I lived  
 5 other (specify)

**34. Did you ever participate in any of the following activities, classes or experiences? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)**

- 1 attend a college-level or adult Jewish studies course  
 2 participate in an organized educational trip to Israel  
 3 belong to a Jewish or Zionist youth group  
 4 participate in activities that support Israel or Soviet Jewry  
 7 other

**35. With regards to your children are they currently or have they ever received any formal Jewish education?**

	<u>Child #1</u>	<u>Child #2</u>	<u>Child #3</u>	<u>Child #4</u>
Age	_____	_____	_____	_____

Grade \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gender \_\_\_\_\_  
 Code \_\_\_\_\_

**36. What type of Jewish school did your children attend?**

- 1 full-time Jewish school, day school, or yeshiva.
- 2 part-time Jewish school that met more than once a week, afternoon school, Talmud Torah or cheder
- 3 Sunday school or other one-day-a-week Jewish educational program
- 4 private tutoring
- 5 other (specify)

**37. Did your children ever participate in any Jewish Youth Group or Jewish Camp that included Jewish programming in its activities?**

- 1 yes, Jewish Youth Group
- 2 Yes, Jewish summer camp
- 3 yes, both
- 4 neither

**38. Referring to Jewish religious denominations, do you consider yourself to be...**

- 1 conservative
- 2 orthodox
- 3 reconstructionist
- 4 reform
- 5 something else Jewish (specify)
- 6 Jewish, unspecified
- 7 secular/cultural
- 8 orthodox/conservative
- 9 conservative/reform
- 10 Jewish and another religion

**39. Were you raised...**

- 1 shomer shabbos (orthodox)
- 2 traditional
- 3 Jewish, unspecified
- 4 secular/cultural
- 5 something else Jewish (specify)
- 6 zionist
- 7 other (specify)

**40. How did your parents think of themselves when you were growing up?**

**Mother** \_\_\_\_\_ **Father** \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 shomer shabbos (orthodox)
- 2 traditional
- 3 Jewish, unspecified
- 4 secular/cultural

- 5 something else Jewish ( specify)
- 6 zionist
- 7 other (specify)

**41. Were your parents members of a synagogue or shul?**

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

**42. Currently, if you are a member of a synagogue with which denomination is the congregation affiliated? If you belong to two synagogues use #7-16 for your answer.**

- 1 conservative
- 2 orthodox
- 3 reconstructionist
- 4 reform
- 5 conservative/reconstructionist
- 6 other (specify)
- 7 both conservative
- 8 both orthodox
- 9 both reform
- 10 orthodox/conservative
- 11 orthodox/reform
- 12 conservative/reform
- 13 orthodox/some other group
- 14 conservative/some other group
- 15 reform/some other group
- 16 reconstructionist/some other group
- 17 some other type of group (like a Havurah)

**43. If #42 was no, in the past were you ever a member of a synagogue or temple?**

- 1 yes
- 2 no

**44. If #43 was yes, why did you stop belonging to a synagogue or temple?**

- 1 dues were too high
- 2 my children were no longer in the religious school
- 3 my last child in the religious school was confirmed or bar/bat mitzvahed
- 4 joining a synagogue or temple no longer fulfilled my needs
- 5 other

**45. About how often do you personally attend any type of synagogue, temple, or organized Jewish religious service?**

- 1 not at all
- 2 once or twice a year
- 3 on special occasions, i.e. bar mitzvah, wedding...
- 4 on High Holidays (Rosh Hashana, Yom Kippur)
- 5 a few times a year (3+)
- 6 about once a month

- 7 several times a month
- 8 about once a week
- 9 several times a week

**46. Are you or any member of your household a member of a church or other non-Jewish religious group?**

- 1 yes - specify who
- 2 no

**47. If you answered #46 yes, then about how often do you personally attend any type of Christian or other type of non-Jewish religious service?**

- 1 not at all
- 2 once or twice a year
- 3 on special occasions, i.e. weddings, confirmations, baptisms, etc.
- 4 on Easter or Christmas
- 5 a few times a year (3+)
- 6 about once a month
- 7 several times a month
- 8 about once a week
- 9 several times a week

**ANSWER #48 USING THE FOLLOWING CODES:**

**1=never, 2=sometimes, 3=usually, 4=all of the time**

**48. Do you or your household observe the following practices?**

- light candles on Friday night? \_\_\_\_\_
- say a blessing over a cup of wine on Friday night? \_\_\_\_\_
- say a blessing over challah on Friday night? \_\_\_\_\_
- refrain from handling or spending money on the Jewish Sabbath? \_\_\_\_\_
- refrain from traveling in a car on the Jewish Sabbath? \_\_\_\_\_
- attend a Sedar during Passover in your home or somewhere else? \_\_\_\_\_
- read from a Haggadah during the Sedar? \_\_\_\_\_
- refrain from eating chametz during Passover? \_\_\_\_\_
- buy Kosher meat for home use? \_\_\_\_\_ we are vegetarians \_\_\_\_\_
- eat only kosher meat outside the home? \_\_\_\_\_ we are vegetarians \_\_\_\_\_
- use separate dishes for meat and dairy? \_\_\_\_\_ we are vegetarians \_\_\_\_\_
- light Chanukah candles? \_\_\_\_\_
- have a Christmas tree? \_\_\_\_\_
- hear the megillah on Purim? \_\_\_\_\_
- celebrate Yom Hatzma'ut (Israel Independence Day) this year? \_\_\_\_\_
- fast on Yom Kippur? \_\_\_\_\_ prevented by health problems \_\_\_\_\_
- fast on Tisha b'Av? \_\_\_\_\_ prevented by health problems \_\_\_\_\_
- fast on the Fast of Esther? \_\_\_\_\_ prevented by health problems \_\_\_\_\_
- engage in formal prayer? \_\_\_\_\_
- engage in personal prayer? \_\_\_\_\_

**For questions #49-53, "volunteer work" means working either in some way to help others or in an organization for no monetary compensation.**

**49. During the past 12 months have you done any volunteer work yourself or as part of a group for a Jewish organization, for example - synagogue, social welfare agency, Federation agency, school etc.?**

1 yes 2 no

**50. About how many hours in an average month do you spend in these Jewish volunteer activities? \_\_\_\_\_**

**51. To how many Jewish organizations other than a synagogue or temple do you belong?**

**52. If you belong to a synagogue, have you ever served as an officer or on the board or on a committee?**

1 yes  
2 no

**53. If you belong to an organization have you ever served as a officer or on the board or on a committee? Name the organization(s) \_\_\_\_\_**

1 yes  
2 no

**54. In the past year, did you and/or other members of your household contribute or give gifts to Jewish philanthropies, charities, causes or organizations?**

1 yes  
2 no

**55. Do you read any Jewish periodicals, newspapers or magazines?**

1 regularly  
2 occasionally  
3 never

**56. How many times have you been to Israel?**

1 never  
2 once  
3 twice  
4 three times  
5 four-nine times  
6 ten or more times  
7 I was born in Israel

**57. Has anyone else in your household ever been to Israel?**

1 yes 2 no

**58. How emotionally attached are you to Israel?**

- 1 extremely attached
- 2 very attached
- 3 somewhat attached
- 4 not attached
- 5 don't know

**59. Have you ever seriously considered living in Israel?**

- 1 yes
- 2 no

**60. Among the people you consider your closest friends, would you say that..**

- 1 none are Jewish
- 2 few are Jewish
- 3 some are Jewish
- 4 most are Jewish
- 5 all or almost all are Jewish

**61. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement, "political lobbying in support of Jewish causes is an important right for American Jews"?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**62. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement, "separation of church and state is an important constitutional right"?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**63. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement, "under no circumstances should the government give any support to religious educational institutions including textbooks, transportation, in school services or teachers for children with developmental problems"?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**64. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement, "it is the government's obligation to support the poor through a welfare program"?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree

4 strongly disagree

**65. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement, "abortion should be legal as it is now, allowing a woman to make her own decision in consultation with her family, rabbi and others"?**

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

**66. In your opinion, what proportion of each of the following groups in the U.S. is anti-Semitic? CHECK ONE ANSWER FOR EACH GROUP LISTED.**

	Most	Many	Some	Few	Not sure
<u>Big business</u>					
<u>Union leaders</u>					
<u>Hispanics</u>					
<u>Blacks</u>					
<u>Democrats</u>					
<u>Republicans</u>					
<u>Liberals</u>					
<u>Conservatives</u>					
<u>Catholics</u>					
<u>Mainstream Protestants</u>					
<u>Fundamentalist Protestants</u>					
<u>Muslims</u>					

**67. Do you favor or oppose giving preference in hiring to each of the following groups? CHECK ONE ANSWER FOR EACH GROUP LISTED.**

	Yes	No
<u>Disabled</u>		
<u>Women</u>		
<u>Blacks</u>		
<u>Hispanics</u>		
<u>Jews</u>		
<u>Asians</u>		

**68. When you were growing up, which of these best described your father's usual stand on political issues? CIRCLE ONE ANSWER**

- 1 very liberal or liberal
- 2 middle of the road
- 3 conservative or very conservative
- 4 other

**69. When you were growing up, which of these best described your mother's usual stand on political issues? CIRCLE ONE ANSWER**

- 1 very liberal or liberal
- 2 middle of the road
- 3 conservative or very conservative
- 4 other

**70. Please check off who you supported in the following list of presidential elections?**

1960 John Kennedy _____	Richard Nixon _____	didn't vote _____
1964 Lyndon B Johnson _____	Barry Goldwater _____	didn't vote _____
1968 Hubert Humphrey _____	Richard Nixon _____	didn't vote _____
1972 George McGovern _____	Richard Nixon _____	didn't vote _____
1976 Jimmy Carter _____	Gerald Ford _____	didn't vote _____
1980 Jimmy Carter _____	Ronald Reagan _____ J. Anderson _____	didn't vote _____
1984 Walter Mondale _____	Ronald Reagan _____	didn't vote _____
1988 Michael Dukakas _____	George Bush _____	didn't vote _____
1992 Bill Clinton _____	George Bush _____	didn't vote _____

**71. What best describes your political/party identification now?**

- 1 conservative Republican
- 2 moderate Republican
- 3 liberal Republican
- 4 conservative Democrat
- 5 moderate Democrat
- 6 liberal Democrat
- 7 independent
- 8 other

**72. What best describes your political/party identification when you first started to vote?**

- 1 conservative Republican
- 2 moderate Republican
- 3 liberal Republican
- 4 conservative Democrat
- 5 moderate Democrat
- 6 liberal Democrat
- 7 independent
- 8 other

**73. Has your political/party identification changed?**

- 1 yes
- 2 no

**74. If so, when?**

**75. Why did your political/party identification changed?**

- 1 the party and/or political figures I used to support were not strong enough in their political and economic support for Israel
- 2 a specific candidate or political figure was offensive to me
- 3 a specific candidate or political figure was appealing to me
- 4 my former party's (political figure's) position was too conservative on fiscal policy, the federal budget or taxes
- 5 my former party's (political figure's) position was too liberal on fiscal policy, the federal budget or taxes
- 6 I am fed up with the welfare programs my former party (political figure) supported
- 7 my former party (political figure) did not support enough decent programs to help the poor
- 8 I am fed up with the affirmative action programs my former party or political figure support
- 9 I am fed up with the lack of support for affirmative action programs of my former party or political figure
- 10 my former party (political figure) policies were too anti abortion
- 11 my former party (political figure) policies were too pro choice
- 12 other

**2. OUTLINE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW - SURVIVORS****CURRENT IDENTIFYING INFORMATION**

Nuclear Family - name, age, birth, education, employment, children, economic/religiou/orgs

**BEFORE THE WAR - FAMILY OF ORIGIN**

Demographic Information - birth, relocations, family/business/SES/religious status, education

Descriptions of Family Relationships - grandparents, parents, siblings, spouse, children

Descriptions of Friendships and other special relationships - type, nature, importance,

Areas of Inquiry About Family of Origin - problm solving/conflict management, memories, dreams, family loss/difficulties, affection, discipline, religious/Jewish identity, life philosophy,

General Areas of Inquiry - typical day, philosophy of life, future expectations, anti-semitism,

Winds of War - family/friends/personal response to events, actions taken by you/family

During the War - specifics re you/family, partings, responsibilities, special bonds, losses, coping, thoughts and feelings during war, help to survive, faith, beliefs, values, feelings

### AFTER THE WAR

Liberation - how/under what circumstances, thoughts/feelings, decisions after and why

Mourning Losses/Finding Survivors - family and friends/reaction to/feelings/actions, coping mechanisms then and now, mourning, who survived, family relationships since war

Emigration to U.S./Faith in G-d/Jewish Identity - ability or desire for living, events re settling in US, faith in G-d during and after war, G-d's role in world, role of Jewish identity/ tradition

Marriage/Children/Family Life/Self Care - doubts re/meaning of marriage, describe spouse/marriage, desire/fears for children, attitudes re childrearing/decision making

Rebuilding Life in America - adaptation to, support network, levels of trust, values conflicts,

Support Networks/Supportive Factors - who, how, role of friendships, balance of work/leisure

Successes/Failures - how/what re successes, mistakes,

Faith/Tradition/Identity - role of since war and in family

Confronting the Holocaust - import/effect of, re changes in Europe/Israel, society's interest in

Memories/Retrospective/Strategies for Coping, Adaptation, Surviving - happiest/difficult moments, influence of family background, thoughts on life/marriage/children/rebuilding life, how coped, strongest memories, impact of Holocaust on future/children/your life

Emotional Responses/Beliefs/Attitudes - hopeful/pessimistic, flashbacks/nightmares, trusting/suspicious, safe/frightened, capable of joy/happiness, worrier, depressed

Special Topics - secrets, memories/dreams, Jewish id, faith in G-d/religion, mourning, exceptional lives, abyss

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