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Life after the Holocaust

How Survivors managed to find success

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Abstract

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Life after the Holocaust

How Survivors managed to find success

This research conducted 65 years after the outbreak of World War II, being almost the last opportunity to examine personally how Holocaust Survivors (H.Ss) managed to build a successful life for themselves, despite their deep trauma.

The questions of this research are:

What were the motivational factors of H.Ss. that enabled them to build a successful life?

What were their difficulties in overcoming the trauma and achieving their goals?

The present study uses a qualitative methodology in a descriptive–interpretive constructivist approach. It describes and clarifies a complex phenomenon from subjects` personal point of view. The data was processed from 2 sources: interviews with 12 Survivors, and my reflections following the interviews. A content analysis was then performed, and categories and sub-categories were extracted.

The research findings show that all of the Survivors interviewed for this study wished to continue living, despite the loss, the suffering and the traumas they had experienced. They had different motivations for wanting to continue living and succeeding, like the need for a meaningful life, their need to belong, work, believe in ideology, to be together and achieve self fulfillment. Success meant different things to the people interviewed. The main difficulties indicated by the Survivors were emotional isolation, disturbing memories, loneliness, fear, and insecurity, the attitude of the local population to the H.Ss and absorption difficulties. Some of them concealed and repressed Holocaust experiences, some of the Survivors may wear the success mask even nowadays, others started to share their traumatic experiences with their environment and their families after 60 years of silence.

This is contrary to the assumption of this research that the most widely spread motivation was the need to belong and have a meaningful life. Some of them kept their pain inside. Maybe this was their way to show the world that they made it and that they were normal people.

Glossary[1]

Shoah – In Hebrew, as a heavy calamity, destruction, devastation, ruin, and desolation. Today it means Holocaust.

Churben (Yiddish) - or Hurban, from the Hebrew for "destruction", was the genocide of approximately six million European Jews and millions of others during World War.

Yad Vashem - "Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority" is Israel's official memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, established in 1953 through the **Yad Vashem** Law (L needs to be **L**) - passed by the Knesset, Israel's parliament. The origin of the name is from a Biblical verse: "And to them will I give in my house and within my walls a memorial and a name (Yad Vashem) that shall not be cut off".[Isaiah 55:5]

Haapala - The term 'Haapala' (Illegal Immigration or 'Aliyah') symbolized the determination in carrying out the Jewish immigration.

Berichah - The movement active after WWII, which organized groups of Holocaust Survivors to escape from Eastern Europe to the West and from there to reach Palestine.

Mossad Le'aliyah, - Institution for Immigration B. was a branch of the Haagana in the British Mandate of Palestine that operated to facilitate Jewish Immigration in violation of unilateral British restrictions. It operated from 1938 until the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. The name's origin is a play on words; the Yishuv referred to legal immigration as "Aliyah Alef", whilst illegal immigration was referred to as "Aliyah Bet".

Kibbutz - "gathering, clustering"; plural *kibbutzim*) is a collective community in Israel that was traditionally based on agriculture. Today, farming has been partly supplanted by other economic branches.

Agudat Israel - (In Yiddish, Agudas Yisroel) - Political party founded in Kattowitz , Poland in 1912 to represent Orthodox Jews.

Einsatzgruppen, - Mobile units of the Security Police and SS Security Service that followed the German armies to Poland in 1939 and to the Soviet Union in June, 1941. Their charge was to kill all Jews as well as Communist functionaries, the handicapped, institu-

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From Wikipedia [1]

tionalized psychiatric patients, Gypsies, and others considered undesirable by the Nazi State.

Mein Kampf - (My Struggle or My Battle) is a book written by Nazi leader, Adolf Hitler. It combines elements of autobiography with an exposition of political ideology. Volume 1 of Mein Kampf was published in 1925 and Volume 2 in 1926.

Der Fuhrer - The Leader, Adolf Hitler.

Yeshivot - Schools for Jewish studies.

Eretz-Israel – The land of Israel in Hebrew

Hutzpah - A Yiddish word derives from the Hebrew word ḥuṣpâ, meaning "insolence", "audacity". The modern English usage of the word has taken on a broader meaning, having been popularized through vernacular use in film, literature, and television.

Lamerchav newspaper - A name of a newspaper Aliyot-The distinctions were based on the immigration waves, known as Aliyot.

'Kabbalist'- cabalist: an expert who is highly skilled in obscure or difficult or esoteric matters.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Rationale for the Thesis

This research was conducted 65 years after World War II broke out. It takes one of the last opportunities to examine on a personal level how Holocaust Survivors (H.Ss) managed to build meaningful and successful lives for themselves despite the deep traumas they had experienced. This research investigates the extraordinary forces of motivation enabling souls almost lost to hopelessness, famine and loss of personal identity to reclaim their lives. The essential question of the study examined the abilities of H.Ss to direct their energies and drive not only to rebuild their lives following the war, but also to do it successfully.

This subject has preoccupied me from early adulthood, since I am a Holocaust Survivor myself. Over the years I have seen many Holocaust Survivors, some of whom are my relatives, succeeding professionally, socially, and economically. I was considered successful by my family, friends, colleagues, and the clients I have treated. I considered myself a successful woman as well because I achieved professional success as a psychologist and raised a family. I searched for studies on the subject of H.Ss and found that most of them were conducted on Holocaust Survivors in the USA (Suedfeld 1996; 2001; 2002; Helmreich 1979, 1992), However, I was unable to find any studies conducted in Israel and addressing the motivation for success among Holocaust Survivors.

I considered that by conducting this research I will be able to close a life circle that started when I was six years old and continues to this day. This research might provide some answers to questions that have concerned me for 60 years.

1.2 The Background of the Researcher

In this chapter I will introduce the background for my own life during the time of the Holocaust. I will try to further explain my need as an investigator to collect information of people with similar childhood experiences, who, despite all the traumatic events, managed to rebuild their lives and even succeed.

I was born in Budapest, Hungary, in 1938 to a well-established family of Jews highly assimilated into the society. I remember the day the Nazis entered Hungary. It was March

19, 1944. I remember it well because it was two days after my sixth birthday party. Life deteriorated and was never the same from that moment on.

We had to move from our home near the city's Opera house to my grandmother's apartment, on a main street in the city. One day, my father and uncle were suddenly taken away. More restrictions followed, and without a warning. The restrictions affected our lives as Jews and each restriction marked a new low for us. Jews could no longer take the roads of their choice, do the work of their choice, live in the space of their choice, buy in the stores of their choice, and so on.

I remember a family friend telling my mother that we could buy documents from the Swedish consulate attesting to the fact that we were Swedes (and therefore protected from the Germans). My mother immediately purchased the necessary papers. The next step was to move into a row of three houses along the Duna River, referred to by everyone as 'The Swedes Houses'. My mother was very happy, as we all were, to find a measure of safety, even though living conditions in those houses were very crowded. But that happiness proved to be short lived. After being there for just 10 days, we heard that the entire population of the two buildings alongside our own was assembled on the banks of the Duna by the Nazis. Hands tied behind their back, they were executed at gunpoint, their bodies falling into the river and therefore not requiring burial. It was only luck that saved us from the same fate.

On that same day, when my mother heard what happened, she took me to a street corner to meet with a person who then took me to a secret hiding place. There were no explanations. There was just the one rule. I must never tell anyone that I am Jewish. My savior's name was Matza. Her son Gyuri was my age, so I went to live with them. Matza's sister, Ily and her son Andrey, around the same age as I was, also lived with us. There were two adults and three children in the household. I felt abandoned, disoriented, hopeless, and alone.

As the war advanced, we spent most of the time in the basement shelter of the house. This was a small space, crammed full or people sleeping, eating and living pressed against one

another's bodies. We lived in that dank and smelly world for months. I was warned not to let a word slip out with regards to my biological family. Not a word!

The children in our shelter became friendly with each other and we tried to occupy ourselves by playing with an old deck of cards and by inventing new games. I remember being desperately lonely. I felt so sad that I was a live and growing up without seeing my family, my mother and my grandmothers. Nobody in my caretaker family spoke to me about my biological family or comforted me. I was completely isolated. Thinking about it now, I wonder if they were afraid of being seen or heard.

The fear that gripped my life during those terrible 10 months at the tender age of six never left me entirely. The shadows of fear still hang over me, even in adulthood, even now. Remembering this small abandoned child now, I feel pity for her and often cry. I cry when I hear or smell something that takes me back to that time in my life. Sometimes the memories drift into awareness out of nowhere, and the tears flow again. I think that the memories are always lurking in there, waiting for a reason to come out and be part of my consciousness again. The members of my caretaker family tried to help, but most of the time I recall hiding and crying, feeling sad and lonely, knowing nothing about my mother and other members in the family.

I remember hearing the sounds of cannons and aircrafts dropping bombs. We were all in the shelter, guessing: Was it a German or a Russian bomb? How close did it fall? When would this nightmare end? Life was full of questions and uncertainties, bad moods, no food and no contact with the outside world.

For us, the end came suddenly when a weapon storehouse exploded. It was located in the school yard, very close to our house in the neighborhood. We later learned that when the Nazis started retreating, they did not want to leave any ammunition for the enemy to use, so they destroyed it. The explosion wiped out the whole street, about 7 or 8 large buildings.

I still remember the screams vividly, the walls crumbling over people's bodies and crushing them. No help arrived, of course. We were lucky. Our family slept near the wall and the entire ceiling fell near our feet, creating a kind of bunker for us. By some miracle, we were not touched. Then I remember joining everyone running out of the crushed shelter into the street. I wore pajamas and I was alone, running barefoot in the rain, trying to avoid all the pieces of broken glass.

Suddenly, without a single word, a big man grabbed me in his arms. I remember it very vividly. He had a black coat and I felt saved by this wonderful and good stranger. He ran with me down a long street until we found an entrance to a house that could provide another shelter. In the next 10 days I was able to find my caretaker family. We kept moving from one shelter to another. Each shelter had problems, but the public shelters were the worst. They were very dirty and overcrowded.

At last the Russian soldiers appeared. We named them our rescuers because they stopped the war and brought us food. We were unaware at that time of the cost of peace with the Russian, but it didn't matter. They brought us hope. It was at that time that I reunited with my real family.

It took about six months before my mother and aunt found jobs and earned some money to buy food with. Finally, my father returned home. He was wrapped in rags, very weak, skinny, and full of lice. I remember sitting outside the door when he came. It was a joyous and unforgettable moment, to see my father again after I had been sure he was dead. All of us, my parents, aunt, my grandmothers, and I moved back to my grandmother's original apartment which she received again.

Those were difficult times, especially because of lack of food, money, and work. We stayed in Hungary for five months after the war ended. Then' in August 1945, we started our journey to Palestine. This was another long chapter in my story. We became refugees. We were not wanted in our native Hungary and were not allowed to enter any country of our choice. Instead, we were sent to a British internment camp in Cyprus, where we stayed for 14 months. After living in that camp, we were placed in another camp called Atlit. The conditions were worse there than they were in Cyprus. A large part of my childhood, from the age of 6 to 10, was consumed by the war and its after-

math. It took us thirty months before we finally got a place we could call home again. We were set free from the camp in Cyprus and from Atlit after 16 months, and were allowed to enter Israel–Palestine. This was before the declaration of the state of Israel.

I learned Hebrew, which was a new language for me, but I still felt like a stranger. I felt as if I did not belong and I struggled to cope. My family did the same. Our hardships were compounded by the constant scarcities in the young country and the many wars that began soon after our arrival. All these memories are still very vivid today. I try to block them out, but I cannot erase the deep sense of fear and anxiety that constantly overshadows me. My journey through life has been a battle to hold these feelings back while looking for ways to heal them, to overcome them and to be happy.

1.3. Reasons for Initiating This Research

I felt the need to design a definitive study about people of my generation and background. This fulfilled a long standing curiosity about the people who suffered so much, who ended up in a young country that could give them little more than shelter, and succeeded against all odds. I felt, as a H.Ss, as well as a psychologist, that I could add a unique perspective to the current information available on Holocaust Survivors by focusing on the motivations Survivors had to rise above one of the greatest human disasters of our time.

1.4. The Research Questions

In view of my personal history and after reading the research literature, the purposes of this research is to identify the motivational factors that enabled the Holocaust Survivors to deal with the loss, bereavement, and fears they had experienced during the Holocaust. In addition to coping, what other difficulties did they have to overcome?

The following questions derived from the above mentioned:

1. What were the motivational factors of H.Ss. that enabled them to build a successful life?
2. What were their difficulties in overcoming and achieving their goals?

1.5. Brief Theoretical Overview

The theoretical background of this research encompasses the four main issues of the study, which are (1) the Holocaust, (2) Holocaust Survivors, (3) success, and (4) a meaningful Life.

1.5.1 The Holocaust (chapter 2)

This chapter addresses the understanding of the Holocaust concept and its definitions. It addresses the universal concept that encompasses people from all of world who experienced the hardships of World War II. It also addresses the particular perception of the Jewish scholars. That is, understanding the significance of Holocaust in regards to Jewish people. The second paragraph of this chapter deals in the historical context of the Holocaust.

The dictionary defines the word Holocaust, Shoah in Hebrew, as a heavy calamity, destruction, devastation, ruin and desolation. Guttman (1995) believes that the uniqueness of the Holocaust is embedded in the Jewish history whereas Bauer (1988) maintains that the roots of this uniqueness are embedded in the history of the German Nazism. Contrary to the attitude emphasizing and stressing the uniqueness and exclusivity of the Holocaust, some researchers, including Jewish ones, tend to see the Holocaust as genocide (Horowitz 1984). Another approach emphasizes the uniqueness and exclusivity of the Holocaust, but also assumes that there is no contradiction between the Shoah's uniqueness and its universality (Bauer, 1988).

The second part of the chapter presents the historical context of the Holocaust. It is based on the assumption that Nazism developed in Germany as a result of the poor economic condition that existed in the Weimer Republic for many years. Germany has serious problems after World War I (Richard, 2003). There were three stages of alienation the Jews endured in Europe of that time. This began with the deportation and limitation of rights for Jews and ended with the systematic, planned extermination of them.

1.5.2 Holocaust Survivors (chapter 3)

This chapter deals with some of the definitions of a Holocaust Survivor. The conclusion is that a debate remains over the number of H Ss. still living in Israel and abroad. There is some confusion and disagreement with regards to the meaning of this term. Some people use a narrow definition, including only those who were living in, or were citizens of an area that came under Nazi control at the start of WW II. Others use a much broader definition. They include everyone who was living in such an area at the time Hitler came to power, even if they immigrated to a safe area long before the start of the war (Barkat, 2004). In recent years, Holocaust Survivors are considered to be those who lived in countries under Nazi occupation between the years 1939 and 1945. This data depends on the specific country and year. People who lived in North African countries from mid1942 until 1943 are also considered Survivors. (People) Those who lived in Western Europe from 1940 are also considered Survivors, as are those who lived in Eastern Europe countries from 1939. Several researchers, such as Raul Hilberg and Yaacov Leschinsky, estimate the number of Jewish victims between 5 and 6 million people (Hilberg, 2000). This chapter attempts to include most questions asked by researchers and to arrive at explanations. Other issues covered in this chapter are the perspectives on the concept of survival, Holocaust Survivors in the USA; the War of Independence 1948-1951, the background of H.Ss in the USA, Holocaust Survivors and migration and Israel, The Law of Return and the problematic relationship between H.Ss and Israeli locales.

This chapter introduces the socio-economic background of Israel after the Liberation War. It provides information as to the living conditions Survivors found upon their arrival in Israel. This will shed light on the Survivors struggles' during their process of acculturation and rehabilitation following the Holocaust.

1.5.3 Success (chapter 4)

This chapter focuses on the term success and the motivators for success among Holocaust Survivors. The word success might be applied to many concepts, such as economic success, social success, familial success, business success, and life success. But what is the meaning of success? How does it influence life and what does it contribute to it? What is the definition of the word success?

The literature illustrates that those having an external control focus and low self-esteem are more vulnerable to failures and academic difficulties. (Ainslie, Shafer & Reinolds, 1996, Fenzel et al, 1997).   In turn, a high self value helps in efficient coping with failures (Abouserie, 1994, Students with high self-esteem use various social resources in order to cope more efficiently, contrary to students with low self esteem who do not believe in their ability to succeed. Nelson (1999) claims that our success depends on the beliefs we hold. In his opinion, beliefs are the bedrock upon which all experiences are built.

The classical psychological literature presents the need to succeed as one of the main needs driving the person (Mc Clleland, 1953). The argument is that people are born with physiological needs such as food, water, and sex, as well as the needs of achieving, curiosity, and belonging. People differ in their need for achievements. In psychology we learn that the performance quality of a given mission is a consequence of two factors: ability and motivation. Planning and plan leading is required. The success is measured in material products.

 In this chapter, the objective is to understand this concept from the point of view of the Holocaust Survivors who remained alive and reached achievements in all aspects of life; in the social-family aspect, as well as the political, scientific, cultural and artistic aspects.

The factors described as contributing to success are faith, activity, and discipline. Faith and activity are very important since they lead to perseverance, which is absolutely necessary of success. Helmreich (1992) found that a considerable number of Survivors succeeded more than others did. They were resourceful and adaptable and had a plan to achieve success. In addition, they demonstrated flexibility in their approach.

In conclusion, the success reached by the Survivors was indeed characterized by the above mentioned factors, but they possessed a factor that was extraordinary for this population, planning capability.

1.5.4 A Meaningful Life (chapter 5)

This chapter addresses different approaches based on teleology and psychology It searches for beliefs in order to find theoretical   perspectives on meaningful life. However, not one concept had been found sufficient to explain the absurd events that occurred to so many people during the Holocaust, and their reactions to those events.

A meaningful life is an abstract notion that describes the justification found by a person to explain the need for his mere existence. It is in fact the answer of the individual to himself when posing the basic question: Why do I exist? What is the origin of life, nature, and the universe? What is the purpose of my existence? What is the goal and the reason for my life? These questions are very ancient. Since the beginning of time, each human society offered its members its own answers; a system of axioms and values which explain the meaning of life in whole or in part.

The concept of a meaningful life was investigated in the published works of noted psychologists, and sociologists, beginning with Adler (1924), Frankl (1956), and Sheehy (1981). Frankl (1956) suggested searching for significance in life. We have to find the significance of our own existence in order to take a role in life. Sheehy (1981) talked about the pathfinder's personality that had the Spirit of Survival to build the personality of a winner. Their challenges made them stronger and more immune to any future disasters. The winner personality has the spirit of a survival and the ability to find paths towards survival. These characteristics assist them in building their futures.

A psychological approach was used to analyze these qualitative results. The research was launched with different theoretical approaches that are based on teleology, psychology, sociological and existential philosophies. The goal was to understand the tenacity of Holocaust Survivors to succeed in their lives after the war. However, nothing has been found which could explain the horrors endured by Survivors. The reactions of H.Ss differed greatly. Obviously, this is due to the events Survivors experienced during the Holocaust. It was also due to their different spiritual backgrounds. : Some Survivors came from Zionist backgrounds. Other Survivors came from religious backgrounds, and yet others came from mixed marriages between Jews and gentiles.

Helmreich (1997) studied the issue of survival. In his study, he identified personal qualities of Survivors that help them function. Differences were also demonstrated in the definition of the existential situations and in the direction of the search for solutions. The differences between religious beliefs and humanistic secular beliefs are evident in the perception of the unique situations created in the Holocaust. According to Wong (1998), there are 3 components to meaning. The 3 components are cognitive, motivational, and affective (Reker & Wong, 1988; Wong, 1989). The literature review helped me grasp the concepts of Holocaust and Holocaust Survivors, as well as comprehend the changes that occurred to the definitions of these concepts in the last 60 years, since the end of World War II. The literature review also contributed to my understanding of Zionism, a motivational force that helped strengthen the will of some Survivors to rehabilitate after the war while weakening the will of other Survivors to do the same. It sharpened my comprehension of the concept of success on its various meanings for Survivors.

1.6. Methodological Overview

This chapter presents the methodological issues, rationale, and overall approach to the study. The chapter describes the research process and the methods of data analysis; the reliability and validity of the research; the role of the researcher and processing and analyzing the data. The chapter is concluded with a description of the ethical considerations I was aware of during this study.

1.6.1 Nature of the Research.

The present study uses a qualitative methodology in a descriptive–interpretive constructivist approach, (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Inductively, it describes and clarifies a complex phenomenon through the eyes of the subjects in order to construct a theory based in the data of Grounded Theory. Strauss & Corbin (1990) define Ground Theory as the meaning of an event, describing its phenomenon and reality, as perceived by the ones who experience it. Grounded Theory is really what it says it is, a theory that has been grounded in life experiences and then built up by certain theoretical concepts. The assumption is that the knowledge lies in the meaning. However, it transpires that the social factors relate

both to the reality that people experience and the processes that occur around those factors.

The interpretation of the findings by the researcher also relies on inductive data. Eisner (1993) states that qualitative research is more suitable for presenting findings that lead to understanding problems, than research that tries to isolate variables and monitor them under controlled conditions which at times provide solutions of a prescriptive nature.

1.6.2 Research instruments

Interviews and reflections were used as appropriate tools for this study. They enabled a description of the phenomenon and a profound understanding of it (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2004).

1.6.2.1 *The interview.*

For this study, I selected a semi structured interview. The semi structured interview marks the boundaries of the 'thematic field', draws the course of action for the interview, and leaves room for the researcher's questions regarding issues that were not elaborated during the interview. It allows the interviewer to speak freely. The concept for the main interviews was a mixture of the open and the semi–structured formats. This allowed the interviewees to give a free–flowing, narrative account of the crucial events after the Holocaust, but also guided them to answer pre–determined question (Spardley 1979)**.**

1.6.2.2 *Reflection.*

The second source for data collection in this study was the self reflections written by me during the period in which my interviews were conducted. These reflections can be regarded as a sort of narrative and serve as a research tool, representing personal significances of the researcher or the person researched. In this way, the individual, based on his or her personal experiences as well as those of others, can describe emotional situations, events experienced, and developments that were derived from those processes (Connelley and Cladinin 1988).

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1.6.3 Data Collection and Analysis.

The following steps were taken inductively and deductively to identify the motivational factors of H.Ss in living a fulfilled life. These factors were then expanded into categories around which the conceptual framework of my thesis was constructed. Firstly, the motivational factors were found via deductive and inductive means. The deductive factors were derived from my literature search and from my own experience as a Holocaust Survivor. The deductive factors listed below were used to construct the theoretical basis of my thesis and form the structure of my interviews with H.Ss. The inductive factors appeared along the interviews. The new (inductive) factors were not like the deductive ones because they were new, and were not mentioned in the specific literature. The first research question examined the factors that challenged the Survivors to continue living and to have success in their lives. Out of their statements, a central category emerged, defined in the research literature as a Meaningful Life. In this category, out of the interviews with the Survivors and the literature, we identified 5 sub-categories, which are (1) belonging; (2) work, study and functioning; (3) togetherness, (4) ideology –faith in Judaism /Zionism, and (5) goal orientation and Self–Actualization. The additional categories that most Survivors referred to were persistence and will power; Survivor mechanism; self–identity; positive feelings; beliefs, success, and supporting environments.

The second research question refers to the difficulties overcome by Survivors in order to achieve their goals. Out of their statements, the categories that emerged were loneliness; fear and insecurity; the attitude of the local population to the Holocaust Survivors, assimilation difficulties; emotional isolation, and disturbing memories.

1.6.4 Reliability and Validity.

In a qualitative research, reliability and validity largely depend on the researcher's skills, since his or her main tools are senses and perceptions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). All interviews were recorded. Data was collected from two sources (Triangulation), the interviews of Holocaust Survivors and the reflections that I conducted during the whole research process, which I wrote after each interview (Campbell and Fiske, 1959). When I

wrote the reflections, I tried to be aware of my emotional situation and my responses to the statements of the interviewed people. During the data collection period, I kept an organized routine.

In order to meet the internal validation requirements of this study, I presented the categories raised during my content analysis to part of the people interviewed, in order to hear their opinion.

1.6.5 Ethics.

There was a significant ethical challenge in this study as I am a Holocaust Survivor myself and am emotionally involved with the subject matter. There were many problems that bothered me at the onset of the study. For that reason, I designed and followed all the required steps very carefully. Denzin Lincoln (1994) identify four codes for research ethics. These are the right of the researched to be aware of the character, essence, and result of the study in which they are involved, as well as showing proper respect to human freedom. The researcher should obtain their full informed consent for participation in the study, as well as provide all required information about the study. Great care is advised in maintaining confidentiality, privacy of information, and subject anonymity. The identity of the researched and the data regarding the research must be protected at all cost. In addition, accuracy must be observed as it is forbidden to omit important data, to change or lie with regards to data and information collected. The ethics of a qualitative research guides the researcher to search for principles, commitment, and values.

The research was characterized by frankness and honesty. At the start of the study I presented myself, explained the purpose of the study, and informed participants about the study's requirements, some which may affect the participants' interest in participating. They were guaranteed anonymity and promised that the data will not be used beyond this study. All the names in the study were changed to fictitious ones to avoid their identification.

1.7 Research Sample

In selecting the sample, the researcher has to take into account the following factors: (1) sample size, (2) representativeness and parameters of the sample, (3) access to the sample, and (4) sampling strategy to be used (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). It took much time and effort to select the sample for this study. The criterion for subject selection was derived from the purposes of the study: The participants had to be Holocaust Survivors and living in Israel. Furthermore, it was important to me that the people interviewed include both genders and varied occupations. A group of twelve Survivors were identified and interviewed in depth in detailed interviews.

In order to find suitable interviewees, I turned to well-known organizations dealing with Holocaust Survivors in Israel; and requested names of living Survivors. It was critical to me to have a wide range of ages, both genders, and different professions. In the first phase, I chose interviewees for the pilot study. In view of the results of pilot, I continued with the process, in which one of the central conditions was that the interviewee's agreed to participate in talking about their experiences as Holocaust Survivors. I chose 12 Holocaust Survivors to be part of the research study. (On page 110, table 2; are the back-ground details involving the participants.)

1.8 Research Procedure

1. The pilot
2. Choosing the sample
3. Building trust between myself and the participants
4. Building the tools for the research: interview and reflection
5. Data organization – re-reading all the interviews and my reflections and examining the analysis possibilities of the data.
6. Contents analysis of the interviews and reflections (Chapter 7 – Methodology). At this stage, after repeated reading, I built the deductive and inductive categories of the research.
7. Organizing the findings (Chapter 9)

1.9 Problems and Difficulties

The critical reflection on methodological issues aims to show what went wrong, or how else issues in this study could be maintained. There was a risk that the interviews may not have been objective enough, due to my own background as a Holocaust Survivor and my sensitivity towards asking certain touchy questions. I was overprotective toward the H.Ss. I may have avoided asking certain questions out of fear of being hurtful. It was possible that I placed too much trust in the respondents. Were they strong enough to face the past and relate to my questions? During some parts of the interviews, I felt the pain because I empathized with the Survivors. This was not just psychological pain but physical pain as well.

1.10 Chapter Structure

Apart from this introductory chapter, this thesis has nine chapters.

Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 provide the contextual basis for the study. These chapters present the updated literature to the theoretical background of this study and show the central concepts in the research literature on this subject.

Chapter 2 presents the concept of the Holocaust. Chapter 3 presents the subject of Holocaust Survivors. Chapter 4 discusses the concept of success, and Chapter 5 discusses the concept of a meaningful life. These four chapters discuss a variety of definitions, their differences, and surveys conducted with this particular population. These chapters are the basis for the presentation of the research purposes and the formulation of the research questions.

Chapter 6 integrates information from previous chapters. It describes the conceptual framework of the study through a diagram and explanations.

Chapter 7 describes the methodology adopted for this study.

This chapter shows the considerations in the selection of the qualitative research paradigm and the selection of suitable tools for this study. The chapter includes references for validity and reliability, as well as for ethics.

Chapter 8 presents the manner in which the research participants were chosen. It presents research procedure and challenges, and refers to the position of the researcher in the research process. Lastly, it discusses the difficulties and restrictions of the study.

Chapter 9 presents the research findings based upon the questions which guided this research study. The first question focuses on the motivational factors of H.Ss. enabling them to build successful lives. The second question covers the difficulties in overcoming and achieving their goals.

Chapter 10 provides a discussion and conclusion, as well as an examination of the study's findings. It provides an explanation and interpretation of central aspects of the findings and relates them to current literature results. The chapter ends with general conclusions with regards to the study, as well as my personal conclusions.

Chapter 2 the Holocaust

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces some of the various definitions and concepts for the Holocaust and the historical context of the Holocaust.

The Holocaust (from the Greek *holókauston* from *holos* "completely" and *kaustos* "burnt"), also known as *Ha–Shoah* (Hebrew), *Churben* (Yiddish), is a term generally used to describe the killing of approximately six million European Jews during World War II as part of a program of deliberate extermination planned and executed by the National Socialist regime in Germany led by Adolf Hitler (Oxford,1992)

Other groups were persecuted and killed by the regime, including the Soviet POWs, disabled people, gay men, Jehovah's Witnesses, Roman Catholic Poles, and political prisoners. Many scholars do not include these groups in their definition of the Holocaust, defining it only as the genocide of Jews, or what the Nazis called the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question". Taking into account all the victims of Nazi persecution, the death toll rises considerably: Estimates generally place the total number of civilian victims at nine to eleven million.

2.2 Definitions

The Holocaust was an unprecedented calamity "even in the long suffering history" of the Jewish People and caused "terrible mental and spiritual shock". During the years of the Holocaust (1933-1945), anti-Semitism was a fundamental component of the Nazi ideology. In the last decades, the Hebrew language named Shoah as the term describing the fate of Jews under the Nazi regime. Sapir (1997) defines the word Shoah as: "1. A great calamity. 2. Ruin, desolation and annihilation. 3. Desolation- The denomination of the destruction of the European Jews during World War II" (Sapir, Hebrew dictionary, p. 1029).

This word appears several times in the Bible. Among other locations, it appears in Isaiah 10, verse 3: "And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the desolation which shall come", and in Proverbs 3, verse 25: "Be not afraid of sudden fear, neither of the desolation of the wicked when it cometh". In the Prophets literature, the word Holocaust expresses danger from neighboring countries or gloom prophecies regarding their fates. In other books such as Job 30, verse 14; Proverbs 1, verse 23, Psalms 35, verse 8, this word conveys severe hardship, bitter pain, intense agony regarding the fate of the individual (Oron 2006).

The term Shoah in the context of the fate of the Jews under the Nazi regime appears for the first time in 1940, even before the systematical murder of Jews. That year, a booklet was published in Jerusalem by the United Aid Committee for the Jews in Poland, under the title "The Holocaust of the Jews in Poland", but until spring 1942 the use of this word was very rare. The term, as it was enrooted after the fall of Nazi Germany and the approval of the "Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day – Yad Vashem, 1953", the word appeared as the official term (Bauer, 1988). Nevertheless, not all the Jews accepted this concept. According to Agudat Israel Journal (A Jewish party) in the USA the term is "destruction". Some religious circles view the Holocaust as an episode in a long chain of severe tragic events in the history of the Jewish people over the generations. Some believed that the term Jewish Genocide should be used (Berenbaum, 1990).

Several terms were adopted in other languages. The most widespread is Holocaust, from the Greek, Holokustoma, whose original meaning is "whole burnt sacrificial offering to God" (1 Samuel 7, verse 9). The use of the term in English during the 16th-17th centuries was literally broadened and it also appeared metaphorically to indicate a sacrifice in general. The word Holocaust was used for the last time in this context in the 20th century before it was meant to describe the extermination of the Jewish people by the Nazis. This term was adopted only several years after the end of World War II, between the years 1957-1959. After the distribution of Claude Lanzmann's film 'Shoah', the word "Shoah" in Hebrew was introduced to various languages to describe the extermination of the Jews in Europe. One of the questions that rose regarding the term Shoah refers to the fate of

other ethnic groups at the same period of time. This issue was discussed at a scientific conference held in 1987 at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC on the subject: *Who were the Holocaust's Victims?* Is it possible to distinguish between "The Final Solution of the Jewish Problem" and the Nazi's policy towards other ethnic and religious groups and defined populations? And if so, what are the distinctions? (Berenbaum,1990).

Lang (2000) and Vidal Naquet (1985) criticize the term Shoah, mainly to the term Holocaust because of their religious context (whole burnt sacrificial offering to God). They question the term "God" in the previous definition. They wish to emphasize the fact that the Holocaust was not perpetrated from the heavens but by human beings, an aspect which they consider to be one of the most horrifying in this historical event. The American-Jewish philosopher Lang (2000) maintains that contrary to the customary use of the term Holocaust, that the extermination of the Jews during the Nazi period does not bear any sacrificial characters, except for its annihilation purpose. The sacrificed people did not have any intention to be killed, no sense of relinquishment or giving, those who were sacrificed did not make a vow that they should undo by the indeed itself. Vidal Naquet (1985) also believes that none of the events can be classified under the term Holocaust because this term implies the participation of priests. However, no priests were involved in the killing. Only servants of the totalitarian regime of two national countries, armed with various techniques were involved. The above arguments clearly describe the uniqueness of the Holocaust and its link to genocide.

The opinions of researchers, Survivors, and public leaders are split on another aspect reflected in the debate on the universality of the Holocaust and its uniqueness. Berenbaum (1990) who headed for many years the United States Holocaust Research Institute at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. wrote that the Israeli historians were categorically opposed to the commemoration of non Jewish victims at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum out of fear that this will affect the uniqueness of the Jewish fate. He believes that this state of affairs did not change since that time, and to a certain extent, these conflicting positions only escalated. Such attitudes un-

doubtedly influenced the relations between the victim groups. As in any historical events, with unique historical characteristics and components this can also be pointed out in the Holocaust. These events might be analyzed by 3 historical features. First, the purpose of the Holocaust was unprecedented. The "systematic" and "scientific" execution of the extermination processes cannot be compared to any event in human history and the results are horrible. There are six million dead, of whom over one million were children. This is unlike anything that happened in the past (Oron, 2006). Bauer (1988) makes a distinction between the Holocaust and other cases of genocides. He emphasizes that Hitler's plan for the Jews was essentially different from his intentions towards other people. He planned the physical extermination of all the Jews whereas his plans for other people included enslaving but not necessarily extermination. The mass murder of Slavs and Poles was designed to spread fear among the population and the leadership in order to prevent uprisings. In his opinion, the closest cases to the Jewish Holocaust were the Armenian and the Gypsy genocides. Over the years, Bauer's attitude towards this issue changed and his view was significantly transformed. Gorni (1998) claims that Bauer, who researched this issue over many years, changed his position from the patriarchal towards the universal stance. He moved from the resolute and public standing regarding the Jewish uniqueness at the Holocaust to a more subdued distinction between the Holocaust and genocide, although he continued maintaining that the Holocaust was an unprecedented event. Guttman (1995) emphasizes the Holocaust's totality and the fact that the essence of the Holocaust is an ideologically approved murder. As such, it is distinctive from other crimes and is an unprecedented event in the history of Jewish people and of nations in general. He warns that the underestimation of the Holocaust's uniqueness or placing the Holocaust in a long list of crimes (even if done with positive intentions) distorts the historical picture and might lead to the resurrection of the murderous ideology. Therefore, the importance of understanding the Holocaust uniqueness is not important just for the purpose of remembrance. It is also important for the significance inherited in the comprehension of this piece of history.

Guttman (1995) believes that the uniqueness of the Holocaust is embedded in the Jewish history whereas Bauer maintains that the roots of this uniqueness are embedded in the

history of the German Nazism. Guttman examines the implications of the Holocaust in the present, mainly as is significant for Jewish existence, whereas Bauer considers the Holocaust as affecting all humanity (Oron 2006). Katz (1994) an American-Jewish philosopher offers another view. He aims to prove the uniqueness of the Holocaust compared to mass extermination over the history of humankind, mainly in modern times. He maintains that, in relation to the extermination of various populations such as the American Indians, the Armenian, the Gypsies and the systematic extermination at the Gulags in the Soviet Union, the Holocaust is a unique catastrophe whose purpose was the physical annihilation of every person belonging to a certain people.

Contrary to the attitude emphasizing and stressing the uniqueness and exclusivity of the Holocaust, other researchers, including Jewish ones, tend to see the Holocaust as genocide (Horowitz 1984). Horowitz negates the eight characteristics raised by Fackenheim regarding the Holocaust uniqueness and brings forth examples from the Armenian and Cambodian extermination. He criticizes the theological tendency of Fackenheim and the mystical tendency of Wiezel (1978). He believes that the function of political sciences is, as in any other discipline, to rationalize the irrational and to commit to understanding the reasons for the taking place of this genocide (Horowitz 1984). Berenbaum (1990) claims no contradiction between the uniqueness of the Holocaust and its universality. He believes that both principles shall be implemented when dealing in cases that are analog but not identical to the Holocaust. The analogies shall be authentic from a historical perspective and they shall enlighten aspects of the Holocaust and the analog cases. If these principles are met, we shall not fear, since this comparison will not underestimate the uniqueness of the Holocaust.

2.3 The Historical context of the Holocaust

The next section describes the background and the historical context required in understanding the unusual changes in European society in the thirties and the modifications in the German Reichstag that enabled the occurrence of the Holocaust.

2.3.1   Nazi rise to power.

Germany faced serious problems after the First World War. The Weimar Republic was established on the ruins of a critically beaten Germany. Its lost territories on almost every border were under the control of the Allies who won the First World War. The German State was obliged to pay reparations that accounted to a massive sum. This sum heavily burdened the economy and hindered any economic recovery. The inflation dramatically increased at that period. This was further aggravated by the worldwide economical crisis of 1929, starting with "Black Friday" in the New York Stock Exchange and gradually sweeping all the markets worldwide (Elberhand, 2005).

In January 1932, the rate of unemployed people reached a new record. All the industries were paralyzed and the State was deeply immersed in debt. The major banks collapsed and the government was totally powerless. Street fights broke out between Nazis and Communists. President Hindenburg was too weak to bring about any change. He was responsible for Hitler's coming into power. In January 30, 1933, Hindenburg yielded to his advisors and appointed Hitler as chancellor even though Hitler promised that the Nazis will remain a minority in any future government. Berliners were unaware of any significant changes in government policy. Theodore Wolf was among the few who predicted the upcoming catastrophe. Hitler established his party under these circumstances (The National Socialist, whose manifest appears in his book: Mein Kampf (Elon, 2004).

In 1933, the Nazi party headed by Adolf Hitler took over Germany and from that day on, all the Parliament meetings in Germany were conducted in secret. This happened as Hitler understood that such a step is necessary in order to consolidate a strong coalition at his new parliament. In February 28, President Hindenburg signed the "Decree for the Protection of People and State" against the Communist violent actions. Later on, in March 1933, elections for the parliament were held and Hitler's party won 49% of the votes. The publication of the elections led to the gathering of the new Reichstag, selected in March 23, 1933 (Elberhand, 2005).

One of Hitler's first steps was to transfer all the legislation powers to the Nazi government. In fact, he revoked the whole Weimar Constitution. Germany became a one-party

state. The death of President Hindenburg on August 2, 1933 removed the last obstacle that prevented Hitler from taking over of the State. He had undisputable total power. Hitler used his authority as President and became the Head of the armed forces. He then eliminated the position of President and declared himself the sole leader of Germany, Der Fuhrer, the Nazi dictator of the Third Reich. From that period on, all Germans were expected to act as a one people, under one empire and one leader. All opponents faced prison or death. (Elberhand, 2005).

The extermination of the Jews was a process achieved in stages. Before the war, the Nazis passed laws purposed at separating and deporting Jews from the civilian society. They were sent to ghettos at first, and then imprisoned in concentration camps. The prisoners were used as forced labor and many of them died from exhaustion and disease. The Third Reich conquered new territories in Eastern Europe and established the Einsatzgruppen, which were special units to handle the massacred Jews and political opponents. The Jews lived under very crowded conditions in the ghetto and later on were transported over hundreds of kilometers in cargo trains to extermination camps. The majority of those who survived the journey were later killed in the gas chambers. All the bureaucratic arms of the German government were involved in the logistics of the mass murder (Elberhand, 2005).

2.3.2 Eliminating the Jews.

In his book Mein Kampf, Hitler stressed the need to punish the Jews on the pretext of treason. The selection of the Jews for special treatment already appears at the Nazi's platform in 1920, where the Jews were defined as sub-human. They used this statement as the basis for their political, social and economic claims and blamed the Jews for all the evils in Germany.

Nevertheless, it shall be noted that an anti-Semitic ideology was highly unpopular before the Nazis came into power and changed the policies (Bartov 2000).

2.3.3 Banishment: 1933–1939.

In 1933 Hitler was appointed Chancellor, Germany's Prime Minister. The Nazi government had two goals. They wanted to consolidate their power inside the State's institutions, bureaucracy the ministries, as well as to consolidate their power inside German society, penetrating their ideology in order to gain the People's support.

It didn't take long for the Nazis to succeed in winning the support of the nation's majority. Nazism was considered by the majority as the solution to Germany's problems. In addition, after suffering humiliation in Versailles, Nazism was thought to bring about the restoration of German pride. from the standpoint of foreign policy, Hitler gradually revoked the Versailles treaties and took advantage of the Appeasement Policy led by Great Britain and France's fear of another war (Elberhand, 2005).

The Jewish public was the main target for German action. Jews were a large part of the Nazi Ideology and of their race theory. The goal of Nazi Germany was to get rid of the Jews in all the countries occupied by them. It was at that time that some Jews understood that they could no longer continue living in Germany. They predicted the economic, emotional and physical hardships and saw that they will not be able to survive there. They understood that they had no future in Nazi Germany. Some of them even succeeded in leaving (most of them left all their belongings behind and fled secretly) but most of them remained in Germany (Schoenberner, 2004).

Anti-Semitism was widespread in Europe in the 20s and the 30s (although its history goes back for many centuries of Judaism). Adolf Hitler was a fanatic anti-Semite and his beliefs were expressed in his book "Mein Kampf" which became popular in Germany after he acquired political power. This fanaticism greatly assisted him in setting the people's national mood in Germany.

The actions against the Jews were carried out in three stages: The first stage was expelling the Jews from the educational, cultural and governmental systems, 1933-1934. The second stage was their isolation from German society and by deportation laws, occurring 1935-1936. The third stage and the main turning point were the pogroms, eviction and overt persecutions against the Jews in Central Europe occurring 1937-1939. The instiga-

tion against the Jews and the opponents of the Nazi regime reached a new peak on May 10, 1933. On that date the Germans started burning books written by Jewish writers and poets, as well as holy books. The burning was conducted in the framework of the Nazification, that everything must be purely Nazi, that anything not Nazi has no place in Germany and had to be burnt or expelled. For instance, they burnt Bibles and the works of Freud, Einstein and Karl Marx. The response of the Western democracies (Great Britain, France and the USA) was passive and caused the Nazis to believe they do not have to fear the world's public opinion; that they were free to act as they wished (Schoenberner, 2004).

The preliminary planning and the systematic actions of the Nazis resulted in terrible riots. The pogroms spread all over Germany; hundreds of Jewish stores were broken into and robbed. Schools and synagogues were burnt and Jews were injured. Part of the Nazi planning was to take over Jewish property still remaining in the hands of Jews and demanding that Jews pay 1 billion Marks as compensation to the State. The extension of the devastation was so vast that some of the Jews began to understand the hopelessness of continuing to live in Germany. Unfortunately, many of them made the decision too late and they did not succeed in leaving. Most countries, including Great Britain (Palestine) and the USA closed their gates and refused to let Jews immigrate to their territories (Burleigh and Wipperman, 1991).

2.3.4 Mass Killings: 1939–1942.

The Nazis set about displacing whole Jewish communities, collecting them and then killing them in masses, mostly by shootings. In the instructions regarding the Jewish Question published by Heydrich in September 21, 1939 for the occupied area in Poland in which they intended to confiscate the property of 2 million people and to establish a "Jewish Reservation", states as follows: "Obviously we cannot set from here all the details of the required tasks". Heydrich made a distinction between the final goal, "the Final Solution" and the stages to its accomplishment. In his speech at the Reichstag on October 6, 1939, Hitler announced the new principles of the "far reaching order of European life". The Holocaust array (scope) was chronologically ordered from the beginning. First, the Nazis aimed to cause Jews to lose all humanity by squeezing them like animals into a

much smaller area than required for decent human living. Sometimes four or five families were forced to live in one apartment at the ghetto's closed quarter. Under those conditions, when no one could enter or leave the ghetto (those were closed ghettos, although some were open). They suffered from hunger and thousands of Jews died as a result. After two years of brutal concentration, the Nazis knew the Jews were ready for change. Many of them were so desperate for change; they were willing to accept any change. Indeed, at the beginning of the Death Journey (the Final Solution) many were even willing to pay to escape the ghetto. Ironically, in many cases the Jews paid for their transport to the extermination and labor camps. In the fall of 1939 and in the following winter, 15,000 mental patients were murdered in Pomerania in Western Prussia and Poland. Such killings continued in 1940 and 1941. During that period, the SS units already organized mass murders in gas trucks. Those mass killings were closely related to the general resettlement policy. By the fall of 1941, 30,000 people were already killed. Some concentration camps were set up to work the Jews to death, as an experiment. During 1940-1941, a long correspondence was found between Eichman and the commanders in the various settlement areas regarding the fate of the Jews who were undesirable in the new resettlement areas. Those letters demonstrates that in September 1941 the decision to exterminate all Jews in gas chambers was not yet made. The documents confirm that "the Plan" was gradually developed until the spring of 1942 and was put to use after this date (Ullreich, 2000. Pp 69-101).

In those years, 1939-1941, the mass killing of the Jews began predominantly in Russia. The rate of murders did not satisfy the Nazis and they thought that they have achieved only limited efficiency. The army officers complained that some soldiers are showing signs of psychological stress and despair because of killing men, women, and children around the clock. It was therefore concluded that a more efficient and economical method needed to be found. The whole process of killing and future planning was made in secret and was hidden from the world. The Jews in the Ghettos could not even imagine what the Nazis were planning. For them, it was too inhuman to be true (Bartov, 2000).

2.3.5 Systemized Slaughter: 1942–1945.

This is the third and most infamous Holocaust period. In December 1941, Hitler decided on "The Final Solution", the extermination of the European Jews. In January 1942, the Wannsee Conference took place. Most of the Nazi leaders participated in that conference, including Reinhard Heydrich, Heinrich Miller, Adolf Eichman and many others. It was in that conference that the details of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" were discussed (Bartov, 2000).

In order to implement the extermination plan, the Nazis had to convert the concentration camps into death camps. The function of concentration camps originally designed to incarcerate political prisoners was changed. The Nazis started perfecting their mechanical extermination systems in an unprecedented scale (Schoenberner, 2004).

During 1942-1945, the camps were designed for two missions. These missions were taking advantage of the prisoner's labor force and the extermination of European Jews. The main systematic extermination was carried out in the camps in Poland. They were constructed in Poland since it was a central place in Europe in which they could concentrate the deportations. In addition, the railway system in Poland was widespread and efficient. The anti-Semitism in that country was among the highest in Europe and it was important to carry out the extermination in a place in which the population will cooperate or turn a blind eye. There was also a high concentration of Jews in Poland (Schoenberner, 2004).

Only a small number of prisoners were kept alive in every camp. They were responsible for removing the bodies of the people murdered in the gas chambers. The Nazis converted the body remains into an industry. They forced the prisoners to collect valuables from the bodies. The plan was to kill these workers as well, after they had completed their task. (Schoenberner, 2004).

2.3.6 Holocaust Aftermath.

Adolf Hitler's master plan to exterminate the Jewish race had effectively destroyed Eastern Europe's Jewry, who remained small in number and socially impoverished well into the 1990s. Poland was the most striking example of demographic changes. In 1939 there

were close to 3.5 million Jews lived in Poland, celebrating an ancestry of nearly 900 years in the country. There were wonderful Yeshivot (schools for Jewish studies), Jewish theatres, and synagogues. In 1946, fewer than 200,000 Polish Jews survived. Even smaller percentages of Jews survived in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In a final act of anti–Semitism, Poland managed to expel its remaining Jews. Even after the Holocaust became public knowledge, the Poles conducted two further pogroms, one in August 1945 and the other in July 1946. Polish Jews realized that emigration was their only salvation (Gilbert 2000).

2.4 Discussion

Over 60 years have passed since War World II and many researches are still studying the traumatic events of War World II in general and of the Holocaust in particular. For more than 50 years, books are being written and researches are being conducted on the subject. The Holocaust is perceived as an unusual event that no normal person is able to comprehend.

This chapter addresses the understanding of the Holocaust concept on its definitions both in the universal level, regarding all people in the world experiencing the hardships of World War II. This chapter also addresses the perception of Jewish scholars, understanding the Holocaust with regards to Jewish people. The second paragraph of this chapter deals in the historical context of the Holocaust.

The dictionary defines the word Holocaust, Shoah in Hebrew, as a heavy calamity, destruction, devastation, ruin, and desolation. This concept is mentioned several times in the bible. It is mentioned in Isaiah 10 – 4, Proverbs 3 – 25. In the prophecy literature, the word Shoah expresses danger from neighboring people, or gloomy prophecies with regards to their destiny. In the book of Job 30 – 14, Proverbs 1 – 23, and Psalms 35 – 8, the word Shoah expresses serious hardship, bitter pain, and intense agony. In the existing sources, in my opinion, these concepts are suitable only to enlighten their roots and their creation, but not in their present use.

The term Shoah, as used today, was adopted after the collapse of Nazi Germany and in the Law for the Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance – Yad Vashem 1953 it appeared

as a formal term for the first time. Agudat Israel in the USA did not accept this term and referred instead to the concept "destruction" (Berenbaum, 1970).   The term Shoah was used before its occurrence in the 20th century, in the sense of the genocide of the Jewish people by the Nazis. After the end of World War II, 1957-1959, and upon the distribution of Claude Lanzmann, "Shoah", many languages have started to widely use the term Shoah.

 The Holocaust was a unique event in history. It is connected to genocide, and to the extermination of the Jews in Europe, which was extermination like no other in the past. Six million people died of whom over one million were children. This is an unprecedented event in the history of humankind. The emphasis is on the totality, on the nature of it, which was murder with an ideological seal. It was a unique calamity purposed to physically exterminate every person belonging to a certain people, a certain race (Oron 2006). Another approach emphasizes the unique and exclusive nature of the Holocaust, but also assumes that there is no contradiction between the Shoah's uniqueness and its universality (Bauer, 1989). Approaches should be authentic from a historical point of view and shed light on the Holocaust, along its different dimensions. If those requirements are met, the comparison shall not belittle the Shoah's uniqueness and the uniqueness of the comparison. As a sacrifice that is burnt up, so were the six million Jews. Although no religious ritual connection accompanied these events, this terrible phenomenon may be likened to a burnt up sacrifice not on behalf of someone or something, but for no apparent reason; a Holocaust, an extermination sacrifice, extermination without any real or established reason. The Holocaust is a catchy term used by Hebrew speakers and by speakers of foreign languages, and is often used in daily speech. It is also important for the world to remember this terrible part of history and to contribute to prevent such an event from ever happening again.

The second part of the chapter presents the historical context of the Holocaust, based on the assumption that Nazism grew in Germany as a result of economic crises, which had taken place in Weimer Republic for many years. Germany had significant problems after World War I (Richard, 2003). Jews were the scapegoats held responsible for the deterio-

ration of Germany. It was therefore decided that Jews were no longer entitled to live in German society and should be exterminated. There are 3 main periods in the process of extermination of the Jews in Europe. The process was aggravated from one period to the next. It started with deportation and limitation of rights for Jews and ended with a systematic, planned extermination of them. Only a demoniac mind could come up with these atrocities, a genocide that has no parallel in the history of humankind. This process is the source of debate between scholars regarding the concept of Holocaust (which we discussed in the previous paragraph) that baffled the Jews in Europe and the disasters that baffled other people during War World II (Richard, 2003).

The next chapter focuses on Holocaust Survivors and the different definitions of the term. It presents the concept of survival and of Holocaust Survivors in a historical perspective. It discusses Holocaust Survivors and migration, Israel and the Law of Return to Israel.

Chapter 3 Holocaust Survivors

3.1 Introduction

The recorded population of Jews worldwide, 16 and a half million people, was registered in 1939, on the eve of the Second World War. Nine million and eight hundred thousand Jew lived all over Europe in 1939, before the Second World War.

Della Pergola (1980) stated that there is no exact data on the number of Jewish victims in the Holocaust. It is therefore difficult to estimate the number of Holocaust Survivors (Baron, 1995). The death toll is commonly determined as 6 million people. According to the Yad Vashem website, this number is based on the figure estimated by Adolph Eichmann, one of the main figures responsible for the Final Solution. Several researchers, such as Raul Hilberg and Yaacov Leschinsky, estimate that the number of Jewish victims is between 5 and 6 million people (Hilberg, 2000).

Rozet (2005) proposed at a more updated research that the number of Jews killed is between 5.59 and 5.86 million. The demographist Della Pergola (Della Pergola, 1980) also estimated that the number of Jews killed between 5.6 and 5.9 million. He stated that the difficulty in reaching an exact figure is derived, among others, from the issue of "Who is Jewish".

The definition of Holocaust Survivors concept underwent many alternations, due to political, economic, moral and documental disagreements and contradictions.

This chapter introduces some of the definitions of Holocaust Survivors, perspectives on the concept of survival; a historical perspective on Holocaust Survivors, and migration and Israel

3.2 Definition

Who is a Holocaust Survivor? How many Survivors are alive today, and who among them has the most pressing needs? Almost 60 years after the end of World War II, these questions are still present and spark debates among researchers, legal experts, politicians

and the Survivors themselves. There are still disagreements as to the definition of a "Holocaust Survivor", today. It is still questioned who is a Survivor, and how many Survivors are still alive in the world today. General definitions are favored over focused and narrow ones. Even within the narrow definition, not every Holocaust Survivor is a concentration camp Survivor. Any Jew, who survived in hiding, or by passing as a Gentile, or as a member of the Soviet army, would be a Holocaust Survivor without being a concentration camp Survivor.

How many Holocaust Survivors are in the world today? The discussion is expected to pivot around reports prepared in past months by two of the world's leading experts on the demography of Jewish communities. These are Ukeles from New York, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Della Pergola (Barkat, 2004). The two researchers reached radically different conclusions. In Ukeles' count, there are 687,900 Holocaust Survivors in the world today. Della Pergola's estimate is much larger at 1,092,000 Survivors. Any Jew who lived for any period of time in a country that was ruled by Nazis or their allies is called a Holocaust Survivor (by Della Pergola) or a Nazi victim (by Ukeles). Bauer(1978), claimed that Holocaust Survivors are only those people who were physically persecuted by the Nazis or their cohorts. Weinfeld, Sigal & Eaton (1981, p. 1-19) define all the Jews that lived during the War in Europe in countries under German occupation as Holocaust Survivors and War Survivors. By adopting this definition, they claim that "everyone that lived as a Jew in Europe during the Second War World had to endure a general climate of extreme anti-Semitism and constant fear for his life.
In the last years (almost 60 years after the end of the War), the Israeli parliament, Knesset, is examining claims of Survivors who demand compensations and inheritance money (Government Commission of Inquiry, 2009). The definition of the Holocaust Survivors, according to the criteria of the Government Commission of Inquiry (2009) is "Holocaust Survivors are those people who lived in the countries under Nazi occupation between 1939 and 1945 (depending on the country): North African countries from mid 1942 until 1943. Western Europe from 1940 and Eastern Europe countries from 1939"

. This is a wide and comprehensive definition, contradicting previous partial definitions, in which rules or arrangements were based on the past.

3.2.1 Conclusion

Having considered all the definitions, we conclude that even 60 years after the Holocaust, there is no clear and total definition. The definitions vary from a narrow and focused definition (Bauer, 1978) to wide and comprehensive ones (Weinfeld, Sigal & Eaton W, 1981). The debates and discussions on the definitions continue, at present deriving from economic or humanitarian considerations, depending on the defining group. As a result, there is still a debate over the number of Holocaust Survivors still living in Israel and abroad.

3.3 Perspectives on the Concept of Survival

Survival is a concept studied in various disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, communications, and medicine. At present, two main areas of survival are examined. Wide research is conducted in the medical area and there is a medical branch examining the ability of humans to survive various diseases, mainly chronic ones. Another area is applicable to daily life. Those are the reality shows that stretch a person's physical and mental abilities to their limit. In this chapter we will study different approaches to the concept of survival, following the Holocaust in the Second World War. We will raise the questions posed at that time as well as nowadays. We will try to learn from the various approaches about the survival of Holocaust Survivors.

1.3.3 Perspectives On the Concept.

One of the questions raised by scholars researching the Holocaust is: How would I have behaved if I were there? Following Primo Levi's book (1960), Frederic (2001) his philosophical book on survival, claims that most people, after reading the book, ask themselves the following questions: How would I have responded to such adversity? What are the physical and moral tools for survival? Do I have them? How could I prepare for such evil? Can we prevent it from happening again? These questions

intrigued him as well. He claims that he found a sophisticated comprehensive political philosophy that answered many of these questions.

Helmreich (1977) raises similar questions following his research among Holocaust Survivors in the USA. How do people who have experienced such catastrophic events pick up their lives? Where do they obtain the strength to continue? How do they learn to trust others and have faith in the future again?   Most importantly, what lesson can the rest of us learn from H.Ss about coping with tragedy and adversity?

Frankl (1946, 1950, 1956) coined the phrase meaningful life. He provides a psychological description and an explanation for the general characteristics of a prisoner in a concentration camp. In his experience, such a person is a reflection of his surroundings and may react to them positively. In his personal experience in camps, Frankl witnessed many examples of courage in people who had some measure of freedom in choosing their actions (1970). This shows that apathy can be overcome and depression can be pushed aside. A person is capable of retaining a fraction of mental freedom even when faced with terrible physical and mental conditions. Frankl recollects that those who lived in concentration camps remember that there were people who moved from shack to shack in order to raise other people's spirits.

The bitterness and feelings of emptiness experienced by Survivors, the attempts to restore the freedom they had previously known, were emotionally draining for Survivors. In spite of such complex feelings, they picked up and moved on. Frankl claims that, finding significance in one's life makes life worth living, and the person will make every effort to survive.

Helmreich (1977) quoted Frankl's concept of the meaning of life being a search for purpose in one's existence. A search for purpose may mean a commitment to family members, practicing art, having a meaningful profession, or be active in community projects. Helmreich (1977) reasons that the main motivation for survival was courage. This was the most wide spread characteristic evident in Survivors, their ability to embrace life after

the war. They were willing to take risks and also bravely fought the demons that haunted their memories. Survivors had to make great adjustments. They were left with no ties to their former worlds. Their long years of hiding and imprisonment had forced them to adapt in ways that were maladaptive in a free and open society. However, they were able to learn and adapt to their new conditions. The evidence in Helmreich's study (1977), along with results from other studies, suggests that ten general qualities were applied by those HSs who managed to lead positive and useful lives after the war. These are (1) flexibility, (2).assertiveness, (3) tenacity, (4) optimism, (5) intelligence, (6) distancing ability, (7) group consciousness, (8) assimilating the knowledge that they had survived, and (9) finding meaning in one's life. (10) Courage.

According to Sheehy (1981), the struggles faced by Survivors, rich and poor, were common to all Survivors, they reflected the background of the H.Ss and their sociological backgrounds. In the examples offered in Frankl's book, Frankl traces the same pattern of behavior in gaining a meaningful life after a tragic event (Frankl, 1970). Sheehy, makes a further point (says further) that by looking into people's lives, active and successful people found a path through an unexpected life accident. This is also true for Holocaust Survivors. However the measure of the accident and the tragedy of the event are very different. Becoming a pathfinder requires acts of courage, but one does not become a pathfinder because of a planned program. It is always a result of experiencing a life accident and emerging victorious. It is a process that stimulates growth. The same situation is present for the H.Ss because they became pathfinders in many ways. Sheehy discusses research conducted by Baldavi, who claimed that a sense of purpose is achieved through working or raising families. Therefore, the work itself becomes the person's motivational force. According to him, many pathfinders have found that their responsibility for their children has become their source of motivation to strive towards their goals.

White (2005) identified common themes in a group of Holocaust Survivors, who became successful after the Holocaust. The majority of individuals who volunteered to participate in his study attended the University of Munich after the war, when they were refugees. This group was called Jewish Alumni of German Universities. They attended between 1945 and 1955, and were interviewed for research purposes in 1997 by White

(2005). He was interested in the adaptation made by these individuals after the great loss they suffered and the extraordinary success they went on to achieve in workplace. According to White, the results resonate with Frankl's (1984) claim. This was also shared with Adlerians who maintain that man is a responsible being and must actualize the potential meaning of his life. According to White, the qualities found to characterize this group and/or contribute to their successes can be applied to the workplace, therapeutic and educational settings, and child and family guidance. Result indicates that these individuals were empowered and that they welcomed change. The findings can also contribute to future definitions of social interest and positive psychology. My understanding of H.Ss is similar to Sheehy's. The purpose is to build a better and meaningful life. The Survivors believe that the Zionist state will bring a safe and better future to every Jewish person and give them significance in life.

Sheehy (1981) continues by commenting on the pattern of Survivors. She interviewed 200 Survivors, from Cambodia, the Holocaust, Survivors of alcoholism and also Survivors of severe illness or death of close family members. And her conclusion was that the trauma was not necessarily a cause for going through life with fear. Instead, these Survivors became more flexible toward life situations. They learned to cope. In an unexplained way, the spirit of the human being is able to heal itself.

In her books *The Passages* and *Pathfinders*, Sheehy (1981) stated that according to her study participants, such factors are important to building a winning personality. This is very true for H.Ss, as their successes and challenges made them stronger and more immune to any disasters facing them in the future. H.Ss demonstrated this feeling and behavior in my interviews with them as well. They desensitized themselves to dangers and became strong believers that things will be better for them in the future.

Some of the psychological approaches explain the survival ability as strengths existing within the person and/or used by him or her. Some researchers identify this strength in coping. Coping is a concept that bridges between the external and internal resources, and the reaction to pressure. According to Folkman et al (1986), coping means that cognitive and behavioral efforts are constantly changing. They are designed to handle specific ex-

ternal and/or internal requirements estimated as dwindling or being beyond the resources of the person.

It is argued in the strength perspective that every person has strengths, enabling him or her to cope and to survive. According to this approach, the person shall be evaluated according to his strength and not his weaknesses (Dejong & Miller, 1995, Saleebey, 1996). This will enable us to better understand his behavior and ability to use these strengths. Some claim that a feature or a behavioral pattern considered as strength in one cultural context may be considered as the opposite in another cultural context. In addition, the ability of a person to adapt to different cultures in which he functions is an important source of strength (McQuade & Ehrenreich, 1997).

3.3.2 Conclusion.

The understanding of the concept of survival is always on the agenda of psychologists, sociologists and philosophers (Frankl, 1950, 1956, Sheehe, 1981, Bour, 1989 Helmreich, 1992, Oron, 2006). Although many have studied this issue, they disagree in their understanding of its essence and sources.

Researchers agree that survival is related to a person's past motivations, his education, environment, and personality structure (Frankl, 1950, Sheehy, 1981) Various studies were conducted over the years and many theories were written about the different approaches to the concept of survival (Helmreich, 1992). Some refer to various personal traits, such as courage, the need to belong, internal strengths, and external forces. Others, such as Frankl, Sheehy, and Helmreich attribute it to cognitive emotional components. In addition, some claim that survival is understood differently by each culture, as the behavior patterns are different among cultures. Subsequent to the Second World War and the Jewish Holocaust, this concept preoccupies researches even more than it did before. Even at present time, the question persists. What enabled the survival of those who stayed alive?

Were the Survivors stronger or smarter than those who died? There is no evidence to support this. In the overwhelming number of cases, H.Ss did not have the slightest opportunity to influence their destiny. No one could foresee the future and know which transport would lead to living. Many stated that chance was the most important factor in survival. These people were hardly considered as humans. Yet, within a few years they went on to became useful and productive members of society, both in their behavior and in their outlook (Helmreich, 1977).

The second question arising from the various approaches is: What strengths possessed those who recovered and even succeeded in life?

3.4 Holocaust Survivors in a Historical Perspective

This part will present Holocaust Survivors in a historical perspective:

Part 1: The initial period of freedom. The first period after the liberation, when most of the Survivors were still all over Europe, some of them in transit camps and others wandered around, looking for relatives that might have survived.

Part 2: The Holocaust Survivors immigrated to the Land of Israel and their assimilation to the country. The purpose is to clarify the Survivors' process of assimilation in Israel. The period may be divided into sub-periods, according to 3 criteria:

(1) The quantity of common knowledge regarding the events of the Holocaust and the nature of this knowledge.

(2) The attitude towards the Holocaust as an ideological subject, mainly from two points of view: national and personal. National meaning Israel and the diaspora, and personal, i.e., the right to judge the Jews in Europe during the Holocaust by those who did not experience the horrors of the Holocaust.

(3) The most important approach derived from the other two, which is the attitude towards the Survivors.

This was an exceptional process of converting Survivors from a group of immigrants, which do not belong to the generation of the founders, to a public that represents one of the ideological central pillars of Israeli society.

Between the years 1945 and 1967, we can point out five sub-periods in the absorption of the Holocaust Survivors:

1945-1947: The first immigration years.

1948-1951:   The large immigration and the War of Independence in Israel.

1952-1959:   The years of fortification.

1960–1967: The years of sovereignty, the Eichmann trial in May 1967, and the Understanding of the tragedy of the Holocaust by Israelis.

Part 3: Holocaust Survivors in the USA

  3.4.1 The first "period of freedom" 1945-1947

This period spreads over two parts of the world, in ruined Europe in which the Holocaust Survivors wander, some in transit camps, others on their way to Palestine, and others are making their first steps in Palestine – Israel.

According to Segev (1991), who documented the first Israeli reality of 1949, several weeks before independence was proclaimed, the policy for handling the immigration and absorption that was already under way was defined by a Labor Party committee. They prepared a budget to absorb 150,000 H.Ss annually". This committee planned for 600,000 immigrants over four years and did not imagine that their number would rapidly swell to 400,000 in one year. The urgency of the situation in Europe and multitude of tasks in the new country resulted in a highly unstructured and disorganized immigration process. Arranging the transport of Jews from their countries of their origin was filled with risks and consumed many scarce resources. There was also, the need of Jewish secret agencies responsible for brings Jews from Europe.

Everywhere in Israel, it was said that the State had to be a shelter for Jews

After the Holocaust, the Survivors acted as if paralyzed. They had experienced a heavy tragedy .It was a post trauma effect period.

Many of them lived in the shadow of the terrible trauma that they experienced for 6 years. The mental trauma is a state of mind deriving from impotence. When it occurs, the affected person stands helpless in front of a power stronger than him. When this power is a force of nature, it is a catastrophe, but when the power is held by another person, he

commits atrocities. The traumatic events collapse the regular defense systems which confer to the person a feeling of control, relationships and meaning (Herman, 1994). Traumatic events usually are related to threats on one's life, physical wholeness or a close personal encounter with violence and death. The common denominator for mental traumas is the feeling of "intense fear, helplessness, loss of control, and danger of extinction" (Andreasen, 1985. P. 143). The traumatic events cause deep and constant changes in the body, feelings, consciousness, and memory. The literature addressing this subject argues that the period immediately after the trauma is the most critical and the coping takes places predominantly in the first weeks and months after the trauma (Brewin et al, 1999, Shalev, 2002). Coping involves a multi-dimensional process which includes emotional, biological, social and cognitive elements (Pearlin& Schooler 1978, Shalev, 1994). In view of the above, we can understand that the progress made by Survivors was extremely slow in every aspect of life because they were alone, either waiting for family members to come home or hoping to meet friends from their past. After this war, all old differences or misunderstandings were forgotten, at least for a while, as everyone shared the same new situation of hardship, grief, trauma, homelessness, loneliness, and uncertain futures. H.Ss could relate to one another. They shared common experiences, common goals, and they provided psychological support for one another. They could even feel stronger than they felt before the HHolocaust, they were ready to start planning their lives again and decide what to do next. It was this feeling of togetherness, of sharing stories and feelings of loss, sorrow, mourning, and grief, with 'fated friends' who really understood them, that gave them relief, and even joy. (Yablonka 1994)

In the immediate post-war years, Europe was highly disorganized, with no fixed borders. Everything was new – the transportation, the trains, and the laws. The temporary admin-istration was handled in many European states by the Americans or the Russians. This unique situation secretly allowed Survivors freedom to migrate from place to place. It was a period of temporary camps. Many gathered there for the purpose of going to Pales-tine-Israel (Yablonka 1994)

For Survivors, this period was characterized by their exposure to the totality of the Holo-caust. Luttwak (1999) reports their difficult reactions, which were lack of faith in their surroundings, lack of self-confidence, a feeling of crushing loneliness, seclusion from society and avoidance of it due to their suspicions about everything. Their physical con-ditions were also very difficult. Tens of thousands of Survivors became the foundation of a population that would later grow to a quarter of a million souls and be known as the 'Survivors'. These were the people who came from 'Displaced Persons' D.P. Camps and included children who hid in monasteries, forests and hiding places .To summarize all the above information, we know that groups of H.Ss spent the immediate post-war years in transit camps before they immigrated to Israel or other countries such as U.S.A. , Can-ada, and Australia. Small groups immigrated to Scandinavia. Survivors found it very difficult emotionally to absorb the tragedy of the Holocaust and its aftermath. Although they knew what had happened to them, they were unable to respond, first retreating into denial and only later beginning to emerge from it with some kind of response. Being giv-en the title of 'Holocaust Survivors' enabled them to find their identities and to make plans for becoming pro-active towards shaping a better future.(Goleman , 1999)

Prior to the foundation of the State of Israel, it was very difficult for Survivors to reach the land. Very few immigration permits were issued by the British Mandate authorities. Some Survivors arrived through the Hapala- the illegal immigration. Due to immigration difficulties, an impressive majority of immigrants who made it to Israel were young men, without any family attachments. During those years, a large number of Ghetto leaders and combatants had immigrated to Israel as well. This was a highly desirable population for the absorbing society of Israel. Sixty six percent of them were between the ages 17-44. In addition, most of the immigrants were ideologically defined, as identifying with the Workers Movement and the Collective Agricultural Labor Settlement. The Jewish Settlements in Palestine were not fully informed about the Holocaust. They developed stereotypes and superficial ideological distinctions (Ofer 1993). Another fact that should be taken into account, although it is simplistic and inaccurate, is that the Jews in Palestine were saved from the "Final Solution". This seemingly proved the most basic Zionist the-sis, that there is no place for the Jews in Europe.

The gates of the State of Israel finally opened for free immigration. The general atmosphere awaiting the large wave of Survivors was that of stigmatization of their behavior (of the Jewish masses) after the Holocaust; the predominate Israeli opinion(s) was against Jewish existence in diaspora, and negative stereotyping of the Survivors' society (Yablonka, 1994).

According to Yablonka (1994) the Survivors started energetically looking for work opportunities and if they had no profession or trade, they would attempt to learn one. Not knowing Hebrew was a major obstacle in their way, but many knew Yiddish or German, and these languages helped them to manage somehow. Among the Survivors were also people who lost no time in opening shops and working the land. They redefined themselves and established new beginnings. The British Mandatory powers still ruled Palestine. Two years after the massive wave of immigration, it appeared that things were sorting themselves out. People found jobs and lives and placements for their children in schools. They were assisted by local organizations, with volunteers helping the newcomers stand on their feet.

3.4.2 The War of Independence 1948-1951

The hundreds of thousands of Survivors who arrived to the State of Israel during the years of the State's inception, were deeply scarred by the horrible events they endured in recent years. The trauma of the Holocaust left an indelible mark on the immigrants' souls. It also affected their demographics, especially when considering the composition of the age groups. There were a very small percentage of children aged 5-14 and very few elderly, as these were the two populations most affected. There were far more men than there were women. As for their education, there were almost no illiterates among the immigrants and despite the difficult years they endured in Europe, their level of education was identical to the people arriving to Israel before the Second War World. Professionally, the immigrants from Europe were most prominent in crafts and industries, administration and clerical professions, as well as in liberal professions (Yablonka 1994).

The largest wave of Survivors arrived to Israel in the years 1948-1949, in the midst of the War of Independence, which was considered the most difficult war experienced by Israel to present day. Ideologically, there were parallels between the experience of the Jews during the Holocaust and that of the Israeli in their struggle against the Arabs. Weitz (1995) wrote in his diary during those days, following the fall in battle of the son of his friend Sprinzak. He described his deep feelings of grief and his efforts to grasp all that had happened as he reflected on all the friends who passed away, never to return. However, no such parallels really existed. The issue of recruiting Holocaust Survivors to fight in the War of Independence was extremely charged and sensitive. In many cases, the Survivors were the last remainders of their families to survive, and they fell in battle while serving in the IDF. Their stories are heartbreaking but they should be studied from a historical perspective. The recruitment of Survivors was very important for their integration into Israeli society (Yablonka, 1999).

The figures are astounding. About half of the Israeli combatants in the War of Independence were Holocaust Survivors (IDF & Defense Establishment Archive, n.d)

They were composed of foreign recruits that started largely in spontaneous ways in December 1947. Recruits were enlisted in the displaced Camps among immigrants arriving to Israel between 1945 and 1947. It should be noted that this was also their percentage of the total fallen soldiers in combat. The first encounter between those recruits and their fellow soldiers wasn't usually easy. In addition, Survivors did not feel a sense of belonging because of the language barrier and because of not having a house at the home front. However, other important issues were also addressed by this warfare. The joint fighting over the country provided many immigrants with an immediate sense of ownership and belonging to the land. This undoubtedly accelerated their absorption process, and also healed some of the immigration trauma. Another important aspect of this recruitment is related to the trauma of the Holocaust. The combats allowed Survivors to vent some of the sensations of revenge that agitated them. It also granted some meaning to the tragedy that they had endured. Many of them called this process "Revival Revenge". Israeli's soon realized that the recruited Survivors are not inferior to them as combatants and also have the same fighting motivation. It quickly proved wrong the Israeli's concern about

the large number of the immigrants causing harm to the quality of the Israel Defense Forces (Slutzky 1972, Pail, 1979).

Historically, these facts did not change the relationship between the immigrants and the rest of the population. Israel, at the end of the forties and in the fifties, was a collective and mobilized society, full of existential problems. Moreover, there was still very limited information about the Holocaust and the whole event was considered only at the macro level, as a national catastrophe. Usually we refer to this period as the "Large Silence" or "Conspiracy of Silence". Popular thought is that Holocaust Survivors living in Israel did not talk about what happened to them during the Holocaust. They (kept or) repressed their story deep within themselves. However, this is incorrect. Holocaust Survivors did talk during those years, but not always in the first person singular. This will be discussed further in the description of the third period. In most cases, the psychological renewal was expressed through marriage and birthing children. The main and recurring feelings were separation, dependence, responsibility, belief, connection, loss, and joining together. In short, the renewal drove Survivors to understand the experiences of the Holocaust and deal with them. In this way, they could transform their feelings of guilt into personal responsibility, preserve their self-identity and find new meaning and hope (Stier, 2009).

In his writing, Mankovitz, et al (1978) refers to the theory of the sociologist Skills, which helps him to explain the Zionistic dynamism of Eretz-Israel as presented by its representatives. He says that there was a need for a new ideology, since the Holocaust destroyed everything. The dedication to Zionism helped Survivors avoid burying themselves in grief, and to reach conclusions about their past and to plan for their futures.

Zionistic ideology, or as Ben-Gurion (1955) preferred to call it 'Zionistic instincts' of the Survivors exceeded the limitations of political ideology. The desire to raise new families was exactly the goal to which Zionism had aspired. It is important to review the early years of Holocaust Survivors in the countries that accepted them. The literature men-

tioned here relates broadly and objectively to the events that had occurred, and to the underlying conditions. It captured the atmosphere, thoughts and feelings of those days.

3.4.3 1952-1959

The fifties were characterized by massive influx of various Survivors 'groups into any possible area of Israeli society. It happened publicly, as the Holocaust began to be consolidated into Israeli consciousness. It also happened on an individual level as they settled down economically. (Zameret, Yablonka,1997). One of the most widely used explanations for what looked like the silence of Survivors is the fact that the vast majority of the immigrant Survivors strived to develop "Israeli(s) charapah.
They were primarily busy building their new families and investing in the future of their children. It appears they needed fortified and renewed energy in order to delve into the past again. Addressing the Holocaust at that period of time was not appropriate for them psychologically, emotionally, and situationally. However, despite their silence, they did not isolate themselves in their homes (Yablonka, 1999).

When defining the Survivors, we can see that they were not a homogenous group. They were not from the same countries of origin and had vastly different experiences during the Holocaust. Some of the Survivors stayed in concentration camps and others in ghettos, hidden, escaping or joining the Partisans. When they arrived to Israel, many of the Survivors organized themselves according to these divisions. The organizations they established were used both for the process of penetration into Israeli society and for establishing dialogue with them. It is important to stress that the Survivors were never absorbed into the Israeli society. They penetrated it (Yaar & Shavit, 2001). When examining the public impact of Survivors, we should distinguish between the various Survivor groups. It seems that part of the Survivor groups left a substantial public mark indeed, even as early as the fifties.

3.4.4 1960-1967

Many researches (Almog 1997, Shapira 1997, Gotwein, 1998, & Gorni 1998) studied the Holocaust and its place in the Israeli society. They pointed out the Eichmann trial as the

turning point marking the Israeli society's exposure to many of the stories of Holocaust Survivors. They were educated about the Holocaust through the Eichmann trial and their attitudes toward the Survivors changed. In other words, two important issues in modern Jewish history were underscored by the Eichmann trial. These were the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. This process was part of the daily occurrence and contributed to the sense of national independence. Through the trial Israeli society finally granted legitimacy to all the group of Survivors and to their stories as individuals (Oz 1998). The trial changed the way the Holocaust was understood. Haim Guri, who was the journalist that covered the trial for Lamerchav newspaper, defined it perfectly when he said that when this material moved to the prosecution desk and became part of the indictment, when those documents broke free from the silence of the archives, it seems that they now speak for the first time. In fact, Haim Guri referred to the process in which the trial testimony is converted into public knowledge. At the Eichmann trial, the Israeli society encountered the Holocaust through the individual; a real, accessible individual who is an integral part of the all the nuances of the Israeli society. Due to the revelations of the trial, and the pervading insensitive attitude towards Survivors, Israeli society began an extensive self-examination regarding the quality of their absorption. "Could we have given those people more than we did?" asked Nathan Alterman. From that point on, the policy that discouraged criticism towards the Jews in Europe during the Second World War was legitimized (Shapira, 2002).

The point of view of many writers is a grim description of the rift between Israeli people, the settlements, and the Holocaust Survivors. The Holocaust narrative was so unprecedented and thus was very hard to accept and process it. Shapira detailed in her book (1997) that the Israeli settlement/Yishuv knew and yet did not know that the Holocaust occurred. The settlement/Yishuv suffered and yet did not suffer as a consequence of the tragedy. There no longer was any censorship of the Holocaust narrative and it becomes essential as a shaping factor in the national ethos. In fact, this was the beginning of very significant transformative processes in Israeli society. The Israeli born locals could not yet fully comprehend the horrific events that had recently occurred in Europe during the war. They could not identify with the perceived impotence of the European Jews during

that time. The Israelis will only start experiencing the first rays of understanding in May 1967, during the Waiting Period (the period before the war of 1967). The 1967 war provided the native Israelis their first-hand experience whereby they could identify with the experience of impotence felt by the HSs during the war. Between this combination of aspects of understanding and identification, along with the results of the Eichmann trial, soon provided the Holocaust and the H.Ss a central role shaping the national and cultural image of the State of Israel (Shapira, 2002, Yablonka 2001).

   3.4.5. The Background of H.Ss in the USA.

Survivors tended to band together, many of them hardened by their suffering. Their decisions and priorities in terms of time, energy, money and level of commitment were constantly influenced by the Holocaust. They compiled an impressive record of achievements during the past 4 decades. Some of them focused on earning enough money to take care of their immediate needs. However, it became evident in this study that the dominant trend was a strong commitment and involvement to communal and religious activity. They were deeply involved in Jewish organizations and schools and their achievements were truly remarkable. Their preference was joining organizations that emphasized religious activities. This was based on three major considerations:

1) Feeling that communal responsibility was always a feature of Jewish culture.

2) A desire to show appreciation for the assistance given to them when they first set foot on American soil as refugees.

3) Understanding what it meant to be turned away when requesting help from others (Helmreich 1977).

The gap between the Survivors and the American Jews was immense. Many H.Ss believed that the average American Jew was sometimes insensitive to the suffering of the Jews who arrived from the war–torn Europe. Furthermore, they felt that Americans and American Jews alike were incapable of understanding what had happened over there. A strong motivator among H.Ss was to provide a good start

in life for their children, so that they would become self–sufficient and also play a future role in any issues surrounding the Holocaust.

Despite facing many obstacles, HSs were successful in reaching many personal and communal goals in the USA. They arrived from European DP camps, often to a lukewarm welcome. Relatives were not anxious to extend themselves on behalf of their newly discovered family members. America, which had a strong aversion to Jewish immigrants since before the war, resented the 'greens', as they were called. Even where united services were working on behalf of the newcomers, the HSs were unable to find the warm acceptance that they so desperately wanted.

(Helmreich 1977):

By 1953, 140,000 HSs had made it to the USA, dispersing all over the country. They succeeded in their lives, with their families that they raised, and in forming social relationships. (Helmreich, 1977). When Helmreich published his book in 1996, one third of the HSs who came to the USA had already died. Yet, the questions remained relevant:

- How do people who have experienced such cataclysmic events pick up their lives?

- From where do they obtain the strength to go on?

- How do they learn to trust others and have faith in the future again?

- What lesson can the rest of us learn from HSs about coping with tragedy and adversity?

Survivors interviewed for the research were chosen arbitrarily from the total HSs population. The stories combined the accounts of the famous and not so famous Survivors who saw themselves as successful because they felt that they did well in many areas. Helmreich stated that they were fulfilled in their lives, a fact that gave them a elevated status. (Helmreich, 1977)

Suedfeld survived the Holocaust as a child. His book *Light from the Ashes* (2002), contains autobiographical chapters by Seventeen people whose early life was disrupted by Nazi persecution. Six Jewish youngsters spent the entire war in German dominated countries, as did one Christian child whose father eventually

died in a concentration camp because he was a prominent opponent of the Nazis. Ten others, including one from another anti-Nazi Christian family, became refugees. All eventually emigrated from Europe and pursued research careers in the humanities or social sciences.

He found Holocaust Survivors were often dismissed not only by

other children but by adults, frequently including their own parents. They were told that their experiences in the ghettos or in hiding could not have been as bad as those of concentration camp Survivors. With the passage of time, many of these problems were effectively buried. With advancing age, retirement, and the emptying of the home nest, more child Survivors have begun to participate in Survivor gatherings and organizations, write their autobiographies, and agree to be interviewed for oral history archives.

"Many share a generalized skepticism about other people. As a logical corollary of mistrust, child Survivors tend to have little faith in the benevolence of people, or the world in general—even less than do adult Survivors. Child Survivors overwhelmingly feel intimately connected with others" (Suedfeld,2002, P. 15).

Survivors think more about the Holocaust currently, than they have allowed themselves to do for the preceding five decades, but, perhaps inescapably, most still find it incomprehensible. Many Survivors, however, have some clear ideas about what enabled them to survive. They recall dealing with problems in a rational practical way rather than by denial or other types of avoidance. Almost every chapter in *Light from the Ashes*, emphasizes the importance of love, affection, support, and caring among the Survivor's childhood families and friends, as well as between the Survivor as an adult and his or her spouse, surviving parents, uncles and aunts, children, grandchildren, friends, and colleagues (Suedfeld, 2002).

3.4.6 Achieving Meaningful Life in the USA

Helmreich (1977) achieved a very important objective by interviewing Holocaust Survivors in the U.S.A. He is Professor of Sociology and Judaic Studies in City College New York, and the author of ten books. His book 'Against All Odds', published in 1996 was the first comprehensive study about the 140,000 H.Ss who ar-

rived in America by 1953 and rebuilt their lives. The book demonstrates the Survivors' spirits and strength to go on, informed the world of how to overcome tragedy. Helmreich spent more than six years traveling in the States and gathering personal stories of hundreds of Survivors. He also examined more than 15,000 pages of data taken from archives that were exposed for the first time. This enlightening work explores how people who had gone through such appalling experiences were able to pick up and move on. Helmreich posed a number of key questions: What happened to the victims of the Holocaust after the war was over?

How did they manage to adjust as well as they did?

How did they manage not to succumb to despair and insanity?

To what extent were they influenced by the post–war environment, remaining family members, new communities and organization with which they had contact? What were the qualities that allowed four out of five H.Ss to re–adjust without seeking professional help?

3.5 Conclusions

Following the above historical review and historical documents of that period, it can be concluded that the problematic relationship between H.Ss and Israeli locals was the central issue of the times (Almog 1997, Shapira 1997, Gotwein, 1998, & Gorni 1998) The number of Survivors who found employment, ninety two per cent, was considerably higher than that of the native born. They quickly integrated themselves into the labor force and were a strong influence within the new population. The collective profile of the H.Ss was formed out of their dire experiences in the Holocaust. Three out of four Survivors were already able operate/manage independently. The immigrants comprised one–fifth of Israel's total population and did not miss any opportunities to advance themselves. However, the fundamental feeling in the country at that time was that of apprehension. There were many concerns before this massive flow of immigration arrived. Israelis were concerned about the implications of an immigration this size, the effects on medical services, educational facilities, work opportunities, and available housing (Yablonka, 1999).

The Survivors were very active in all initiatives and cultural activities of the 'Ha'apala', the organization struggling to smuggle illegal immigrants into the country during the British Mandate. The positive aspects of these newcomers was their ability 'to get along' and integrate. On the other hand, they were suspicious and wary of their fellow man. Once the Independence War was over in early 1949, immigration became the top priority in Israel. Yablonka states that "Ben Gurion felt that immigration, no matter what kind, was the most important factor in building national security" (Yablonka, 1999).

The value system that H.Ss found upon their arrival in Israel was completely different from their experiences and aspirations. This was a culture that valued working the land, pioneer spirits, socialism, and support of the collective above support of the individual. In addition, interactions with local people were saturated with tension. On the one hand, Survivors were viewed as people who did not know how to protect themselves. On the other hand, the locals harbored feelings of guilt(y) about not having done enough during the war and the Holocaust to help the Jews of Europe.

These conflicted feelings of shame and guilt, simultaneously expressed in the open and also hidden, clouded the relationship between the two groups of inhabitants during their initial years in Israel.

Another issue of great importance to the newcomers was the need for recognition of their past. The native Israeli youth presumed that the past belongs to the past and should not be brought up again. In contrast, the H.Ss youth carried their memories within them, silently. This created a large gap between the two groups. According to Young, immigrants passed three stages:

- The effect of the initial impact of freedom
- The feeling of togetherness and their increasing awareness of themselves as individuals.
- Learning to rely on the assistance of friends, so that despite frictions between them, they would remain close to one another (Yablonka, 1999).

To conclude, it should be noted in this context that the issue of the absorption of the Holocaust Survivors was not an encounter between "old" and "new" immigrants. About 2/3 of the locals were themselves new immigrants, most of them from Eastern Europe. Therefore, it was a meeting between popula-

tions sharing cultural similarities. They came from the same countries of origin, but the Holocaust experience caused a severance between them that seemed insurmountable and even impossible to bridge.

3.6. Holocaust Survivors, Immigration, and Israel

In this chapter I will present the immigration of the Holocaust Survivors at the end of the Second World War, and the absorption of Survivors-immigrants in the existing society in Israel, as well as the Israeli immigration policy, including the Law of Return.

Ofer (1966) describes the Israeli society as a society of immigrants, refuges and Survivors. Most of its inhabitants are still immigrants and descendants of immigrants. One of the most important lines of distinction in the Israeli population is that between those who arrived in Israel before the foundation of the State and those who came afterwards. Most of the immigration to Israel, starting at the end of the 19th century and ending at the beginning of the Second World War, was from Europe. Some laid the foundation for the new society and hence became the dominant group in Israeli politics and society. People from the same group of origin (Europe), but who arrived to Israel between 1948 and 1954, were primarily Holocaust and War Survivors. There were also distinctions made between the local groups, those who immigrated to Israel before the establishment of the State. The distinctions were based on the immigration waves, known as "Aliyot", immigrations. There were five immigration periods, starting in 1932, but disagreements regarding its ending. Usually the "Fifth Immigration" is thought to occur between 1932 and 1939. However, some make no clear distinction between Jews arriving in the 5th immigration and those arriving during WWII (Eisenstadt, 1954).

It is noteworthy that the sociology of Israeli society at the time did not dedicate a special debate to the existing differences between the immigrants from Europe who arrived prior, during and after the war. An important source for noting such distinctions is the findings of the researches on the Holocaust and War Survivors. The literature on Holocaust Survivors is very vast, though mostly being clinical literature, indicating the marks that the Holocaust and its horrors left on the Survivors. The term "Survivors Syndrome" (Zuckerman, 2001), describes the mental scars left on the Survivors and the attitudes they de-

veloped as a result, towards themselves, their fellowmen and the society at large. The Israeli government received assistance with regards to immigration from large Jewish charitable organizations, such as the American Joint Distribution Committee, the American Jewish Committee and the World Jewish Congress. The World Jewish Congress is a landmark organization instrumental in the relationship built between parts of the organizations, mainly the American Jewish Committee and the Zionist Movement with the State of Israel. Those organizations, based in the United States and other countries, represented varied groups with different goals within the Jewish public in the USA. They provided various types of assistance to the immigration policy of the State of Israel. The American Jewish Committee, established in 1906, was basically a political organization. Its representatives were among the educated economic elite of the Jews in the USA. It's activity focused on defending the Jewish citizens in the USA against Anti-Semitic groups. In 1948, the organization began to activate their political contacts in the USA and within various other governments to help the immigration to Israel (Ofer, 1996). When discussing the activity of the American Joint Distribution Committee, it is difficult to distinguish between their activities on behalf the immigrants arriving before the foundation of the State, and those who arrived afterwards.

The Joint aided and financed some of the expenses of the DP camps in Cyprus and their maintenance. Full cooperation was given down to the smallest detail, to the Berichah, (the flight), officers, and the Mossad Le'aliyah, (Institution for Immigration), (during this whole period) for the entirety (Bauer, 1989) of the (activity of the) Joint's activity in Cyprus (Bogner, 1991).

Segev(1991), documented the first Israeli political reality WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? of 1949. According to Segev, several weeks before independence was proclaimed, a labor party committee was drafting a policy to address the issue of immigration and absorption, already under way.(, was written by a Labor Party committee.) They prepared a budget to absorb 150,000 H.Ss annually. This committee expected 600,000 immigrants over a four year period. They could not anticipate that the numbers would rapidly increase to 400,000 in a single year. The urgency of the chaotic situation in Europe and the enormity of the of tasks at hand; such as finding

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employment, a place of residence, and acquisition of a new language in the new country, all resulted in a highly unstructured and disorganized immigration process.

It was widely believed in Israel that the State had to be a shelter for Jew. The Scroll of Independence discusses the Holocaust and declares that immigration to Israel rescues Jews from destruction and assimilation. Ben Gurion (1955) placed the highest priority to bringing Jews to the country. He stated that without HSs there is no recovery and no state. Early government agreements demonstrate how this policy was applied at every possible stage. Israel signed an agreement with Poland obligating Israel to buy merchandise from Poland. In exchange, Poland was to allow Jews to leave its borders and immigrate to Israel. Bulgaria was paid by Israel (even before the proclamation of Independence) for every Jewish immigrant. Other Communist satellites, such as Romania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, also requested a great deal of money in exchange for letting Jews out of their country.

The country was very poorly organized and lacked infrastructure rendering it unprepared for massive immigration. This was true before the Independence of Israel, as well as after it. In fact, only the Kibbutz movement constructed a method of absorption, starting in the beginning of 1947. Their method received everlasting criticism and re–evaluations. In addition, only a minority of Survivors were absorbed into Kibbutz settlements. The majority searched for any possible opportunity to establish themselves in Israel, not via any official and planned channels, but completely randomly and with a strong desire simply to get along. Too many parallel pressures interfered with a smooth process of absorption: These were the aftermath of World War II, the War of Independence, the critical lack of resources, and of man power.

There was a stark contrast between the warmth and excitement demonstrated to Survivors by soldiers of the Brigade and the delegates while they were still on European soil and the reception given to those same Survivors when they finally arrived in Israel. Ben Gurion was a dominant figure in matters of security and defense. No equivalent figure, undertook the job as a de facto 'Minister of Immigration and Absorption' for the purpose of absorbing H.Ss into the new State (Segev, 1991).

Most of the Survivors were hardly aware of the existing conditions in Israel and were not at all prepared for the harsh reality they found. It was a shock for them. No official documentation of this period is in existence however there are many letters sent by HSs to their relatives abroad, all expressing disappointment. Systems for absorbing immigration existed but they were very rudimentary and badly understaffed by the locals. Somehow, the majority of Survivors managed to find their way, establishing families and being absorbed in the economic, social and cultural fabric of life in the country, according to their education and professional qualifications. Historical examination of the available evidence discloses that there was a deficit of warmth,(a lack) of knowledge and of public interest in how the Survivors assimilated into their new lives, a fact that was imprinted onto their consciousness. Only after 1948 did the situation begin to improve (Yablonka, 1994).

3.6.1. The Law of Return

One of the underlying questions raised was to whom should the country grant the status of citizenship The immigration policy of a state expresses its perception of citizenship as significant to that country. Most countries demand a period of residence in their territory as a condition to obtaining citizenship. In order to meet this condition, the foreigner must first obtain a permission to enter the territory according to the State's immigration laws. Therefore, immigration is basically an essential precondition to obtain citizenship for those who did not become a citizen upon birth. Nevertheless, citizenship still holds an important place and it is supposed to let the person enjoy the full human rights and their protection. The initial obligation of the state is to honor and ensure the human rights of all its citizens and all the people under its jurisdiction (Carmi, 2003 p. 70).

Shuval (1998), explains the reason for the unique phenomenon of the
The "Law of Return" (1950) in his book "Migration to Israel the Mythology of Uniqueness" He claims that Jews left their homes and had no home after the Second

World War. They became strangers in their countries of origin. They needed a country of their own.

"The Law of return" (1950), established an open-door policy for Jews.

All the refugees could come to Israel, find a home, work, and sometimes meet relatives.

In 1950 the Law of Return was enacted, according to which the State of Israel considers itself as the home for all the Jews of the world. This is the most important law expressing the Jewish character of the state's population. One of its stipulations is that every Jew has the right to immigrate to Israel. According to this law, all the Jews of the Diaspora immigrating to Israel are entitled to obtain Israeli citizenship without any conditions. Non-Jewish residents of the State may obtain Israeli citizenship according to the definitions of the Law of Citizenship (Delumi &Cohen , 2000).

3.7 Conclusion

Who is a Jew? How many Survivors are currently living in Israel? How many survived and how many died? Who is a Survivor? There is some confusion and disagreement(s) about these questions.

This chapter addresses some of the working definitions and the discrepancies between them. The debate remains over the number of H.Ss. still living in Israel and abroad (Della Pergola , 1980., Baron, 1995,. Hilberg, 2000). The Survivors could never escape the memories of all they had endured during the Holocaust (Yablonka, 1994). Nevertheless, the strength within them to build new lives and actively contribute to the country was prominent.

Many questions resulted from this huge tragedy. Could we have prevented it? Where did the Survivors find the energy to go on? Most importantly, what lessons can be learned about coping?   The Survivors coping mechanism was examined for both their physical and mental significance (Yablonka, 1994) .

This chapter tries to address the majority of questions posed and studied by researchers. The conclusion to the first question is that we could not have prevented it the Holocaust because Jews did not initiate the conflict in the first place and the combined Allied Forces almost failed to win in the war. The second issue is finding the strength to go on. It is an important question and was investigated in depth.

There are different psychological and sociological approaches attempting to explain the capacity of the Survivors to return to normal daily functions and rehabilitate their lives. Researchers questioned whether those who survived were stronger or smarter than those who did not. They also questioned the source of the inner strength evident in those who survived and then went on to succeed in life. The Eichmann trial is thought to be the turning point in the way Israelis perceived the Holocaust .The trial served to improve the problematic relationships between Holocaust Survivors and Israeli locals. (Suedfeld, 2002. Helmreich 1977 . At the conclusion of the War of the Independence immigration became top priority in Israel. (yablonka , 1999)

In conclusion, it should be noted that 2/3 of the locals were new immigrants themselves. Despite the fact that most of them were from Eastern Europe, there was an enormous gap between them and the Survivors demarcated by the experiences of the Survivors. This disparity was very hard to bridge. The Law of Return was enacted in 1950 The State of Israel declares through this law, it is considered a home for all the Jews of the world. This is the most important law expressing the Jewish character of the State's population. Every Jew has the right to immigrate to Israel and is entitled to obtain Israeli citizenship without any conditions.

3.8 Critic

In this chapter we can learn about what transpired in Israel during the initial period following the declaration of a State. It will cover the Survivors' efforts to build new lives for themselves, as well as the price they paid. However, this chapter does not cover Survivors' failures, reasons for those, and those who did not survive the process of acculturation.

In my view, it must take time, at least one generation, before we can earnestly relate and evaluate ourselves retrospectively, and understand our situation.

The next chapter will focus on the concept of success. This concept is one of the key components of the research question. Theoretical approaches to the concept of success will be presented.

Chapter 4 Success

4.1 Introduction

Human beings try to pave their way towards success through daily struggles in their lives. Many people think of success, but almost everyone defines it differently.

My research investigated the motivators for success among Holocaust Survivors. Many wanted to start new lives, far away from the destruction and the landscape that reminded them of their tragedy. Their most tangible goal was to reach the land of Israel (Yablonka, 1994).

In this chapter my objective is to understand this concept from the point of view of the Holocaust Survivors. The H.Ss attained achievements in all the aspects of life; social, familial, political, scientific, cultural, and artistic success. I have always wondered marveled at the Survivors' capacity of resilience, to find the strength to go on, and even thrive. I observed my family and the people around me, those Survivors who were able to leave the most terrible place, go on, and even succeed. This chapter presents the concept of success as perceived by the individual. The chapter will display all of the theoretical perspectives and summarize them from the researcher's point of view.

4.2 What Is Success?

The word success might be attached to many concepts, such as economic success, social success, familial success, business success, and success in life. However, what is the meaning of success? How does it influence life and what it contributes to it? What is the source of the word success? When is success effective and when does it become a failure?

Webster dictionary defines success as 1.obsolete: outcome, result 2.a: Degree or measure of succeeding b: favorable or desired outcome; also: the attainment of wealth, favor, or eminence; 3. one that succeeds. The Large Jewish Quotations Book, (Cohen, 2003, p. 192) includes sayings, thoughts and proverbs of Jewish sages, leaders and lettered people

to the success concept. The secret of success is constancy of purpose (Benjamin Disraeli 1804-1881). Success will be reached only after hard work (see Moshe Ibn Ezra 1055-1140). The belief in God, blessed be his name, and his Law will lead the person to eternal success. True success is spiritual success (Yosef Elbaz, 1944-2008). We must succeed! We have no other choice but to succeed (Izhar, 1916-2006). The art of every practical success is to concentrate all the efforts, in all times, in a single point (Ferdinand Lassalle, 1914). The true success of a person is to reach the aim that he is able to obtain out of his intellect and dedicate all his intentions in life to achieve it (Shem Tov Palkira, 1716) (Cohen, 2003).

These statements demonstrate that, throughout the generations, people aspired to understand the meaning of success, its sources, where, and how to achieve it. . The first principle is the definition of meaningful results, and the second is constant and continuous action. Some see success as part of the effort that people make, constancy of purpose, whereas others attribute success mainly to the person's mental coping ability and mental strength. All of them agree that success demands self-discipline, yet there are some think that the belief in God and his Law will bring you success.

4.3 Theoretical Perspectives

Success is a status sought by everyone. This was true as far back as ancient times. Cain slew his brother Abel because jealousy, as Abel's sacrificial offering to God was accepted while his was not. Cain felt that he did not achieve success and that he had failed God (Genesis, chapter 4). We are very familiar with the jealousy that children feel over their parent's love. Educational psychology covers this occurrence in depth (Dreikurs 1957). The desire to succeed and to excel is an important motive embedded within us all. The more successful you are, the greater a threat you will become to some. Your challenge will be to optimally manage your relationships inorder to support your accomplishments and to disarm those who would want to sabotage you (Austin 2000).

What brings success? We have learnt from Behavioral Psychology that success stimulates repeated action. In other words, strengthening the current status and creating the motivation for goal achievement. The educational system is built around the principles of giving positive feedback for that reason, with the goal of encourage or negating new behaviors. Feed-

back can also change or renew behavior. This is termed Behavioral Shaping. There are even attempts to shape animal behavior (Skinner 1978). Abouserie (1994) claims that the key to success is unknown but that the key to failure is the constant attempts to look successful in the eyes of others. That is, success and failures are key concepts related to self-attitudes, as well as to external-internal motivation and concentration and effort. The need for success, as well as the avoidance of failure are universal and based on the assumption that the man is inherently willing to dedicate him and to make efforts, provided that he succeeds in his actions and avoid failures. The concept of success will be analyzed in following segments, as will the opposite of success, the concept of failure. The identification of an action as a success or a failure is determined according to internal and external sources. The internal source is the student himself, who perceives success or failure based on goal achievement. That is internal motivation. The external source for the identification of success or failure is the judgment of others regarding one's goal. Both sources, internal and external, merge and create a personal and unique equation, which differs between people in various situations.

Differences between individuals in identifying their successes are expressed in the distinction between 2 components of success and of failure. (1) *nature of success*, which refers to academic grades, social functioning, and sports; (2*) dosage of success,* as the size of success is related to the social circle of the student. For example, Success for one child is expressed in his inclusion in a ball game. Success for another child is expressed in his activity on the school committee. For both children, grades are likely to be considered a very important component of success because this is a code of academic performance used by the school system. As to dosage of success, every student constructs his own dosage level according to his expectations. These expectations are set primarily in relation to the history of success failure ratio in the student's major field of study, as well as according to his limited group of friends with whom he equates himself. Study efficiency is related to the ability to cope with various difficulties, such as academic failures, exams, social tensions, instructor control, and discipline. Studies have demonstrated that students with external locus of control and low self-esteem are more vulnerable to states of failure and academic hardships (Fenzel et al., 1997 Ainslie ,Shafer&, Reinolds, 1996).

Failures reinforce the belief in the influence of external factors (for better or worse). People with external control focus tend to have low self-esteem and trouble coping. On the contrary, people with internal control focus, high self-esteem and deep belief in one's own capabilities, consider failures as a problem in functioning that should be improved, a challenge that should be achieved. They invest more of their internal resources by concentrating and making exerted efforts for a long period of time. People who do not regard themselves as winners respond in various ways. For example, pupils that don't have a choice with regards to attending school tend to have disciplinary problems. Adults can choose to change their occupations to those bringing more success. In more extreme cases, the lack of success leads to Feelings of Avoidance, increase in anxiety, decrease in efforts, and the attribution of failures to factors beyond their control. When past experiences of success are few, the person does not take them into account. He or she feels powerless and concludes that all efforts were in vain. Young children have optimistic expectations regarding their competence, and high level of aspirations for success (Abouserie, 1994).

Studies show that high self-value helps in efficient coping with failures (Abouserie, 1994, Parish, Nunn, 1992). Students with high self-esteem use various social resources in order to cope more efficiently In contrast, students with low self-esteem do not believe in their ability to succeed.

Nelson (1999) claims that our success depends on the beliefs we hold. In his opinion, beliefs are the foundation upon which all experiences are built. Our decisions depend on our prior beliefs. For that reason, we have to challenge some of our beliefs. He claims that a belief is not a fact. A belief is a statement about something, a conclusion we reach about life or about something else. The belief is based on what we've experienced, observed, or have been told by friends, parents and society at large. We have to know that a belief is what we act upon, and more often than not, what we assume is fact.

The cognitive social approach explains human behavior as resulting from cognitive processes predominantly influenced by social events. Social events refer to interactions with significant people in one's life, as well as to personal experiences of success and failure.

Their experiences form a set of self-expectations and self-attitudes. One's belief in his ability to set and accomplish one's goals result from these self-schemes. In this way, self-schemes are involved in the management of daily living (Kaniel, 2000).

Bandura (1997) claims that a person tends to retain his positive self-value. He found that a person tends to attribute causes of success to himself and causes of failure to external sources; the concept self efficacy evolved from social learning theory. Bandura (1997) refers to it as the expectation or the position of a person regarding his abilities to perform certain tasks. Concepts similar to this, of self-perception, self-invention, and empowerment also apply. The opposite concept of self-ability is helplessness. The central assumption is that a person's motivation with regards to an activity depends on his ability to perform it successfully. If a person perceives himself as capable, he will be motivated to carry it out and persevere to overcome failures. People having the same abilities and skills might reach different conclusions regarding their abilities to perform certain tasks. Factors like anxiety, self-perception, sexual identity, and especially previous experiences influence the perceived abilities. (Bandura, 1997) states that the distinction between self-value and perceived abilities is very clear. Self-value answers the question: "How much am I worth in my own eyes?" According to value criteria established between his interactions with his environment, the person's culture affects his inner judgment.

The concept "control focus" runs the spectrum from external to internal. External control focus expresses a certain degree of fatalism: That is, a belief in the power of faith. And the belief that all events are predetermined and cannot be changed. In this case, the person is convinced that he will fail since his life is controlled by external factors (for better or worse) (Kaniel, 2000).

The desires to excel and to succeed are mainly driven by the need to achieve. The necessity to succeed is universal and is based on the assumption that any man, by nature, is willing to dedicate himself to a goal and to make an effort(s) if he expects success (expansion of Thorndike's Law of Effect). Thorndike (1924) claims that two factors, internal and external, will determine a person's success or failure. The internal factor is the

student himself perceiving success by achieving his goals. The external factor is the judgment of others regarding goal attainment.

The classical psychological literature presents the need to succeed as one of the main needs driving the individual (Mc Clleland, 1953). They argue that people are born with physiological needs such as food, water, and sex, and psychological needs such as achievements, curiosity, and belonging. Some of these needs, while universal, differ in the degree of need from one person to another. People differ in their need for achievements. Ambitious people enjoy challenges in various fields (not necessarily intellectual) and develop abilities, a sense of responsibility, independence, and an internal control focus. Some of them are in competition with themselves and others aim for popularity and cheap, superficial leadership. Most of them dedicate a great deal of time to selecting difficult challenges, requiring much effort over long periods of time. Ambitious people disregard the "logical" voices of their parents or friends who ask them to reduce the pressure caused by the work towards goal attainment. The degree of closeness and fondness of the achieving person with his family is under average. This enables him to disconnect himself from binding relations and advance towards an endless road of consecutive successes. Ambitious college students described their parents as less friendly, less helpful and stricter and pedant (the pushy mother that wants her son to become a physician or lawyer). On the contrary, the under-achieving type has closer relations with his family and claims that the family is placed above all else and nothing in life is worth sacrificing the family for it (Muijs, 1997). Internal drive refers to the internal force system that drives (the) individuals when the benefits are an integral part of goal attainment (enjoyment, curiosity, self advancement). External drive refers to the external benefits of the person such as money or fear of punishment (Zimmerman, 1985).

People motivated by internal drives act for the experience, adventure, and challenge. People with external drive search for easy, comfortable, and safe activities. A person with internal control focus considers failure as deficient functioning that should be improved or a challenge that should be achieved. Internal control focus is characterized by a high degree of taking responsibility and the belief that a person can control the results. Exter-

nal control focus is characterized by failure to accept responsibility and much disbelief in one's ability to control results (Fiske & Taylor (1991)

We can learn about the power of internal control focus from studies on students. Students that conduct independent learning tend to set realistic goals, select suitable learning strategies, and solving the problems arising in their path towards their goal (Winne, 1996). It was also found that those conducting independent learning have high initiatives in managing their academic development, high motivation to study, and the ability to cope successfully with self set goals (Zimmermann,1990). Whenever the belief in internal control is high, so is the perception of self efficiency. As a result, the efforts made toward a goal will be more continuous and skilled (Taylor & Fiske, 1991). When a person is faced with a challenging task, it is more likely that the one who believes in his ability to perform the task effectively will rise to the challenge and will persist until performing the task successfully. People with internal control focus tend to search and gather information more actively than those with external control focus. The information enables people with internal control to feel that they can foresee events (Taylor & Fiske 1991). Internal control focus is an essential condition to taking responsibility, but is not enough to develop emotional intelligence or emotional depth or capacity to create a self capability sensation. A person might feel that the results of his actions depend on him and that he controls his successes and failures (internal control focus), but at the same time, he may believe that he cannot carry out a certain task because it is above his abilities and skill level.

Salomon (2005) claims that the concept of success usually expresses a given performance mode by a person or a group of people. Therefore, theoretically, or from a research point of view, there is no doubt that this concept represents a variable derived from other variables. Success is the consequence of many factors. In psychology we learn that the performance quality of a given task is a consequence of two factors: ability and motivation. The more a person wishes to perform a certain task; the greater are his chances for success. The drive to perform is indeed an utmost important condition, but it is not enough for success. Every task requires suitable abilities for its performance (information, experience, skills, and capabilities). Without performance competence, the chances of success are slim.

In the modern world, success is often measured in terms of money and assets (Burns, 1976) The focal point is economic success factors in the lines of advertising, marketing and sales. In commerce one finds many examples of creating success and of analyzing its contributing factors. Managing a project towards a successful conclusion requires exact planning, including the identification of key factors and the importance of strategy. Pinpointing the driving force in a business is critical, and can bring to success or failure. In the business world, as in other fields, the criterion for success must be very specific. What is common to them all? What information can be transferred from one field to another? The need for planning, and the need to manage the process; the need for ongoing monitoring, comparing present state with past state and with the status of others to make sense of data. Only at the end of this process, can one understand the critical factors required for success in that area (Bergas, 1986). Success in marketing and sales, according to Weitzul (1993) is brought by certain factors in the marketing of products that serve to spark the success-building process. For example, factories must focus on a limited number of essential factors and ignore those that have minor importance. One can be informed in that research, for example, how achieving unique sales improves market positions.

Success is measured in profitability. Factors leading to success are productivity and the constant use of leverage. These factors are interdependent. For example, one must be selective. It is impossible to achieve results without skills. Those activities that are unsuitable must be cast aside. This is not always understood, leading to problems of time delay between the manufacturer and the sales person. The results are negative because sales shrink and sales management practices are called into question. One must guard against the obstacles caused by inconsistencies and gaps in timetables (Bergas, 1986). Sales people must be carefully evaluated. These are the first people to make the wheel turn and the ones who are most relied upon. They are the first to be replaced if found unsuitable. The evaluation process needs to be monitored in three areas: persistence of effort, level of output, and anticipated performance. So what can be learned from field sales success? Planning has primary importance, followed by the action strategies to achieve one's goals. Alongside this is the constant monitoring needed to verify the performance of each stage, and perhaps the firing of poorly-performing personnel (Weitzul,

1993). People wishing to achieve significant results in their careers must first believe that it is possible. They must be sure of their own abilities. Any target can be achieved. In fact, the feeling and the activity leads to something else, which is determination. Nothing is allowed to stop the process until success is won. Belief cannot be sustained without concrete action. Belief and action are very important part of success. To achieve success in life, one must apply discipline to managing one's activities.   Today there is tough competition at all levels. There is competition between children, in companies and in academic settings. In fact, the drive for achievement is found everywhere, in every field, from wall to wall and from floor to ceiling (Weitzul, 1993).

Awareness of competitiveness begins in kindergarten, when children are asked to choose who drew the best painting and pin it to the wall. The next time around, this question becomes redundant, because the action will already be done. The children will select the most beautiful painting and applaud the child who succeeded. Within this child, the desire will grow to repeat this feeling and succeed once more (Wilson &Gibbs 2005).

Later on, anxiety of implementation arises around the feeling that perhaps this time one will succeed less, and then what will family and friends say? As people mature, these fears gain strength. Sometimes they are felt so powerfully that they act as an obstacle, preventing the individual from doing anything for fear of disappointing those around him or her. In other words, these fears do not allow him to meet his and other people's expectations. Fortunately, there are seminars today that provide instruction on confronting one's fears and succeeding in one's goals when the right conditions exist. Several steps are necessary for reaching success. These are early planning, determination, a belief in one's abilities, a real and practical action, self-monitoring during progress, and constant adjustments to changing circumstances (Bergas, 1986).

Friesen & Johnson (1995) argue that some people do not achieve success and do not reach continued prosperity in their lives because they focus on the belief that economic success is impossible. Many people suffer from unconscious barriers that prevent them from reaching the wealth and abundance they are consciously entitled to. Most people believe they are doing their best to achieve their aims. Nevertheless, in some ways they

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might still believe, unconsciously, that they are unable to reach success. The more the person avoids and evades this aspect inside him, the more it will continue showing up and cause him difficulties in his daily life. This is the way that our mind works. These types of beliefs restrict people since they look for the answers outside of themselves, whereas in reality the key to prosperity resides inside them. Wealth is not reflected in your possessions but in your state of mind. People that succeed in their lives from the economic point of view, hold positive beliefs regarding money, wealth and prosperity. They understand that wealth is an internal experience.

Another source for the understanding the motives for success are the exceptional population of Holocaust Survivors. When the Nazis took control over Germany, there were many affluent people whose property was robbed from them and they were sent to concentration camps. Frankl (1955), and Frank (1944), found themselves in situations of misery and poverty but they conducted full lives. In his book "Man's Search for Meaning" Frankl says that you cannot deprive a person of his attitude. Frankl, who was a psychologist, adopted a creative approach which helped him to survive the horrific experiences of the concentration camp. He proved his internal wealth by utilizing his right to do so. This approach paved the way for him to achieve a life of prosperity at the war's conclusion

4.4 Critique

It all starts with a dream. You dream of success and then devise a plan. Awareness enters into force, and thus the belief in your ability to achieve it is formed. Beliefs in possibilities and desires create logical plans in which self confidence is expressed. The person tests his limits to see the extent of his coping and to show others how far he will go to achieve success. In this case, perseverance is imperative to success above all. It is important that the person persists as much as possible to fulfill his dream and success. This is my understanding of the concept of success.

There are various kinds of successes (Skinner 1978; Abouserie, 1994;Austin 2000; Bergas, 1986) For example, there is family, economic, and business success. Studies show that those having an external control focus and low self esteem are more vulnerable to failures. However, people having internal control focus and self esteem, consider failures

as challenges that should be overcome. Researchers demonstrate that high self value helps efficient coping with failures. The opposite of ability is helplessness. People with internal control focus tend to take more responsibility. In psychology, we learn that performance quality of a given task is a consequence of two factors: ability and motivation. Planning is required. The success is measured in material products.

The factors identified as contributing to success are faith, activity, and discipline. Belief and activity are very important since they lead to perseverance, a behavior success could not be achieved without. Helmreich (1995), found that a considerable number of Survivors succeeded more than non-Survivors. They were resourceful and adaptable and had a plan to create success, being flexible in their approach.

The success reached by the Survivors was indeed characterized by the above mentioned factors but they possessed a factor that was extraordinary for this population: planning capability. At the end of the war, Holocaust Survivors were left to fend for themselves in a cold, estranged, and cruel world. They did not have time to plan. They had to act to survive. They did not have the luxury to think and plan because everything happened too fast. They operated out of the necessities of life to recreate new environments and families for themselves. I believe they had very high aspirations to fulfill their dreams, because success always starts with a dream, and because this was their compensation. Another important factor was their great power, their dedication and their perseverance. They did not relent on themselves. They were not deterred by anything. They allowed no obstacles in their way, not the diseases, misery, mental difficulties, orphan hood, bereavement, or the horrors that they experienced. The Survivors who succeeded were motivated by their aspirations to achieve their goal and succeed.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined diverse theoretical approaches to the examination of success together with references to empirical work undertaken in this field. This has been undertaken with a specific orientation to Holocaust Survivors. However, these perspectives on success require a more fundamental examination of the subjective dimension, an examination of what has given meaning to the lives of those who have survived the Holocaust.

Accordingly, the next chapter focuses upon theoretical and empirical aspects of this dimension.

Chapter 5 A Meaningful Life

5.1 Introduction

The meaning of life is an abstract notion that describes the justification that a person finds in order to explain the need for his mere existence. It is in fact the answer of the individual to himself when posing the basic question: Why do I exist? What is precious in my life? What is the origin of life, of nature, of the universe? What is the purpose of my existence? What is the goal and the reason for my life? These questions are ancient. Since the beginning of time, each human society offered its members its own answers, a system of axioms and values which explain, partially or wholly, the meaning of life.

The concept of a meaningful life was investigated in the published works of psychology, sociology and philosophy. This chapter will present different theological and psychological approaches and perceptions of the notion the *meaning of life*.

5.2 Theoretical Perspectives

After World War II a school of thought emerged in Europe, called the "Existential Psychology". Almost at the same time, the "Humanistic Psychology" emerged in the USA. Both schools of thought, which have a great deal in common and are at present referred to as the "third school of thought" in psychology. Psychoanalysis is the first school of thought and behaviorism is the second. The basis for the third school of thought in psychology, including the existential and the humanistic approaches, is the Existential Philosophy, identified with philosophers such as Heidegger, Sartre, Kierkegaard, Nietzche, Camus and Buber. This philosophy focuses on the person as an individual and the only existing reality is the one referred to by the person, as he is the only one giving meaning to it. It is thus easy to understand why this philosophy gained such momentum after World War II in particular (Greenberg, et al., 2004).

The enormous destruction caused by the fascist regimes, which believed in the superiority of society and the State over the individual, resulted in a counter-reaction, putting man at

the center and completely disregarding the importance of society, culture and morality. In their opinion, as already mentioned, freedom leads to the full responsibility of the person for his destiny. In any case, the person chooses whether to exist open or closed to the world, be responsible or irresponsible for his choices, with or without will and intention, and with or without awareness of the future's influence on his attitude towards himself and his environment (May, 1958.1985). The authentic person bears responsibility for his choices and shows responsibility to exist openly in the world .He copes with the essential facts of existence, which are the existential dynamic conflicts between the human being and the world: death, freedom, existentialist isolation and insignificance. Confronting these facts leads the person to responsibility, choice and accomplishment. The existentialists tend to view the unauthentic existence as the source of mental problems. The unauthentic person pays a mental and adaptive price in the ways in which he avoids the burdon of existence. The authentic person does not avoid existential anxieties and blame, but meets them with courage. This approach opposes Heidegger's approach (Sigad, 1975), who considered the unauthentic existence as a comfortable and simple existence that does not require constant coping and grants a feeling of security. The unauthentic existence is not better or worse than the authentic existence and it is open to the will of each person (Sigad, 1975).

Schweid (1996), An Israeli philosopher, wrote that the intellectuals who survived the Holocaust felt that they had to speak up and make the world aware of the unthinkable horrors of the ghettos and concentration camps. Existing work written during the Holocaust lacked sensitivity to the subject matter, which was evident in the manner in which the Holocaust was described and explained. Metaphors drawn from the language of normal human existence were insufficient in describing and explaining the horrors they went through. The gap of experience between the authors, who were Survivors, and the readers, who were not, proved extremely difficult to bridge.

Authors who wrote during the Holocaust, such as Itzhak Katzenelson (1939-1944), Avraham Sotzkever (1939-1045), and a long line of popular poets, known and anonymous, did not have any trouble addressing the Jewish public, which shared the events with

them. Schweid (1996), they embraced a direct and simple language (everyday language,) and they were sure that their readers, who listened and sang their songs, knew exactly what they meant. However, after the war, they realized that they were not truly understood. Events occurring in the Holocaust were so far removed from anything even resembling normal human existence, that those who did not directly experience the Holocaust themselves could not truly understand it. Comprehension of such horrifying events is beyond the capabilities of those who have not experienced it on a first hand basis. There are ingrained communication and comprehension problems and judgment of such existential situations. The question begs: Is it possible to evaluate human behavior in forced situations as in the Holocaust, under conditions so removed from anything vaguely resembling normal existence? Is it possible to judge such behaviors from the same distance? On the other hand, it is impossible to rise to a level of literary expression without looking from the inside and the outside simultaneously. And how to have both an emphatic and a critical view. Sartre absolutely rejects psychological determinism. He points out that we all have, as it is sometimes called, the 'feeling of freedom'. Often, this is an unpleasant feeling (Schweid (1996),

Kaniel (2001), claims that each person has a tolerance for a certain incompatibility and that there is a high diversity among people and groups regarding this tolerance. Some are able to tolerate a high degree of incompatibility whereas others will tend to have a lower threshold and act in low incompatibility levels. We can assume that when the incompatibility appears in a small number of non-central positions, the tolerance will be high and the person will remain in this incompatibility. However, if such incompatibility is systematic and encompasses a large number of important positions (high centralization), the tolerance will be low and chances that the person acts to reduce this incompatibility will be higher.

In terms of the meaning of identity, we can draw a scale, (having) on one end is the organized and harmonic identity, (when) in which the meaningful components inside the sub-identities (and among) them are compatible. At the other (hand) end of the scale there is a dispersed, unorganized, inharmonic, and incompatible situation among the meaningful components and , inside the sub-identities and inside them. This compatibility (harmony) enables the person to establish continuity and succession of memories, attitudes and

commitment in relation to the goals in the future and even efficient coping with stressful situations (Marcia, et al. 1993).

Baeck (1873-1956) was among the prominent Jewish theologians , prior to War World I. He believes that human suffering is a religious achievement, if, and as long as possible, it is defined as compulsory. They have not only to mark the agony. The tragedy is even bleaker when they only know how to suffer the torments. They have to actively bear them. They have to meet their mass with all of our force. They should not deny the pain and the persecutions by immersing in God and the interpretation of the suffering in their imaginations. This then misleads them to confirm the torments by secure certainty, converting them into a moral imperative. Do your duty and then the worst will become a virtue. The Jewish sages and teachers agree with that statement (Liebeschiitz, 1966).

They are not a gift that should be given to us, but a function that we should fulfill. Therefore life is worth living! And henceforth: the death as a saint is the real martyrdom, the most evident testimony of God, the certain proof to God's reality. This is the last word and the absolute conclusion of the moral responsibility. Baeck views the Holocaust, although he was aware of its exceptional dimensions, as a historical "episode" that happened consecutively in the history of the Jewish people. It was another destruction in the chain of destructions, of a people who were called to sanctify the name of its God and spread his truth among humanity. The Holocaust was a trial in his opinion, maybe more severe and immeasurably harder that previous prosecutions. However, it basically was the same trial and we should face it in the same way, out of complete certainty that even if a very large number of people died as martyrs sanctifying the name of God and his people, these people will not die but live and will proclaim what the Lord has done (Liebeschiitz,1966).

Adler (1924), speaks about The feeling of Belongingness. One of the basic ideas behind this concept, being that a man is a social being, and as long as he has a feeling of belonging, he can fully function and devote his energy to meet his needs. The feelings of belongingness should be initiated and established by the child toward his family early in life, and continue for the rest of his life in order to live a fulfilled life. This important

feeling was missing in the lives of H.S.s for a long time during the war period, at least 5-6 years, if not more, as demonstrated in many interviews. The Defense Mechanism according to Freud (1920), helps H.S.s to distance themselves from traumatic experiences and place them in psychological storage, thereby avoiding the need to face them and live with them in awareness. This defense mechanism protected them and permitted them to live in a healthier manner. Human beings use this mechanism automatically, in order to avoid pain, agony, and lose of self. H.S.s used this mechanism, which protected them and permitted them to live healthier lives. Both feelings of belongingness and the use of defense mechanisms made their lives better and more meaningful. However, there is a difference between the two concepts. The first is motivating the person for action and the second is defending the person from falling, and avoiding the overcoming of difficulties.

Frankl (1970) believes that the experience of a prisoner in a concentration camp is a reflection of his surrounding and may react well to it as he would in other life situations. As I understand from Frankl's concept, there are some measures of freedom in choosing peoples' actions, and many examples of courage. This demonstrates that apathy can be overcome and depression can be pushed aside. A person is capable of retaining a fraction of mental freedom even when faced with terrible physical and mental conditions. There were a few examples, but they are a proof that everything may be taken from a human being, except for one thing, which is the freedom to make choices. There are always daily and hourly opportunities for choosing A few of the prisoners found their inner freedom and inner power to overcome the situation and cope with the conditions. This attitude helped them not to see themselves as victims but as people accidently being held in this place without reason. Such thinking gave them the power to take a mental leave from this accident. Examples like this are not limited to just in the people's experiences in concentration camps. If a person believes that his own future is dead, his fate became sealed. When his belief is gone, his spiritual power fades away and he deteriorates both physically and mentally. I also have learned from the concept of Frankl that in the end, when the white flag was raised and the gates of the camps were opened, Survivors were not happy. These were days of apathy. They did not have the will to return and rebuild the world that they no longer belonged to. They felt that the world was against them for

so many years. They lost their meanings in life. There was a feeling of emptiness and indifference toward everything. Frankl, like Adler and Freud, believed that a person can protect himself mentally and physically, and manage to achieve personal revival; even in very difficult situations (the aim of this study is to find what motivated the H.Ss to be active and live their lives again). Every concept suggests a different way to achieve the goal of being active (Frankl, 1950; 1956).

Schweid (1996) claims that the appreciation of the formative contribution of Freud is present almost in all the books of Frankl. The admiring words of the disciple to his teacher at the introduction to the "Aspiration for Meaning" are typical and especially impressive. Schweid continues by saying that the: Psychiatric theory of Frankl is based on the philosophical anthropology whose religious characteristic is inherent to it, that is, a theory including religious characteristics already at its premises, they do not deal directly with the question of the person's religiousness or secularity, but rather on the concept of the personal's uniqueness and his attitude toward himself, his social and his natural environments. The logo therapy rises or falls with the existence or the refutation of the following claims:

a. The person is a creature that does not look for happiness as a goal or for the integrity of his imminent natural forces (self-fulfillment) as a goal, but looks for a transcendental meaning to his life.

b. The person is, therefore, a creature bearing responsibility in front of an entity that is beyond him and delegates a transcendental meaning to his life.

c. At the nucleus of the self, a personal conscience operates, directing each person to his special transcendental meaning (thanks to which the human being is a creature that the Creator "created in his own image").

d. The person has the ability to attribute meaning to suffering and failure and be rescued by it .The basic question that each person must pose to himself is not: "What can I obtain from life?" (in an egoistic way), but "What does life demand of me?" and more precisely, "what does life require of me as a unique personality"? Schweid (1996) claims that these assumptions are essentially religious even before his references to specific definitions of conscience and transcendental existence, in front of which the person bears responsibility and

from which the meaning of his life is delegated. Indeed, Frankl himself will confirm the definition of these assumptions as religious in their essence, since he developed his doctrine in "The unconscious God" towards its theological climax on the foundations of these assumptions. This theory determines, in fact, that the distinction between "religious" and the "unreligious" is indeed valid on the conscience level, or in the (level of the) viewpoint of the person who holds it and explains his behavior through it. This is enough to also base the distinction between the "secular" function of the psychiatrist and the function of a "religious personality" in its relation to the suffering believers. However, it is not valid on the unconscious level, in which all human beings are religious, each according to his own way, or according to his personal "conscience" (and from this point of view, the professional psychiatric treatment also includes, according to the logo therapy method, religious characteristics). Due to their importance in principle, as a basis to the whole discussion, he establishes them on the clear determination of Frankl(1977). The philosopher himself claims that the concept of metaphysical meaning is not necessarily theist. When he was fifteen years old he reached the definition of the concept of God, to which he returned again and again in his old age, and he called it operational definition. He believes that God is the partner to the most intimate talk of our soul. And when you talk to yourself in totally good faith and absolute intimacy, the one that you direct your words, shall be called God.

Such a definition bypasses the dichotomy between the atheist and the theist viewpoints. The difference between them will be disclosed later, when the non-religious will insist that the conversation of his soul is his monolog with himself. Indeed, bypassing the difference between the atheist and the theist also determines the secular dimensions of this method, inside an expanded circumference of a thought which is essentially religious. In the totality of these assumptions, which is the point of religious departure of Frankl, we will find as well the seeds of his return to the classical religious Jewish moral theory, and too(as well as) the seeds of his affinity to modern Jewish philosophers who distance themselves from it. The first point in which we see a return to the anthropological view of the traditional moral literature is the distinction

between soul and body. Here we refer to the central issue in which Frankl drew away from Freud and his disciples, the founders of the psychoanalytical schools and also from the behaviorist school (Neimark, 1986).

Bulke (1979), who frequently wrote about Frankl's logo therapy method and its link to Judaism, stated that Christian psychologists and theologians have already discovered the religious characteristics of Frankl's doctrine and its closeness to Christianity. The interest of Jewish scholars in the religious Jewish analysis of this doctrine was very late in his opinion, even though Frankl never concealed his belonging to the Jewish people and faith. There is much interest in religion in recent times, as demonstrated by several articles published in Jewish magazines in the U.S.A. We shall be willing to sacrifice our lives on behalf of goodness. In order to agree with God, the person shall be able to give up his desire for life. On this foundation he could consolidate his response as the spiritual religious leader of the people of Israel in Germany when, in his opinion, the trial time came, causing the believer to stand in front of his supreme obligation (Ainslie, Shafer & Reinolds, 1996; Fenzel et al, 1997).

Sheehy (1981) stated that in order to gain meaningful lives, H.S.s had to become pathfinders. Finding goals and a sense of purpose helped them act and succeed in life and enabled them to cope in overcoming the past for the sake of the future. Living life not as victims, but rather as people empowered. They believed that this was the key for continuing, toward accomplishing their goals. The pathfinder personality is based on self- consciousness; and the ability to adjust and be easy going in social relationships; also the ability to use humor in daily living, to use imagination, to have good relations with a mentor and to realize that an event, as difficult as it may be, does not last forever. As Sheehy (thought) contended, the winner personality encompasses the will to path-find and the spirit of survival. These are the factors which led them to build futures for themselves.

According To Helmriech (1996), Survivors needed qualities that were applied in order to live a positive and useful life. Reker (1997), highlighted the relationship between meaning and purpose, with a life purpose being an important aspect of personal meaning. In fact, meaning is most simply defined as "a sense of purpose". In effect, it is

critical that a capacity to create or derive meaning includes the ability to construct purpose as well.

White (2005), states that the Survivors responded with resilience to the needs of new situations. Assertiveness was a tool they sometimes used in order to get the desired job. Through tenacity, they believed that this was way they could achieve their purpose. By using optimism, they focused on the future, and this determination helped them in their new life. Intelligence was a quality that helped them to analyze the new situations enabling them to make good decisions and face complex adjustment problems.

While one individual may be able to derive purpose from daily events and experiences, another may also define the purpose for his or her life, involving more coherent and creative forms of meaning production. The mastering of a purpose refers to one's ability to infer his or her purpose in all events and experiences. This is essentially another form of meaning production.

Wong (1998), says that the meaning consists of three components, cognitive, motivational, and affective (Reker & Wong, 1988; Wong, 1989). The cognitive component includes such items as "a belief that there is an ultimate purpose in life". The motivational component encompassed both goal striving and goal attainment. It included such items as "pursues worthwhile goals". The affective component reflected feelings of contentment and fulfillment and includes such feeling statements as "feels satisfied with life,"

Up until now, we mainly presented the existentialist approach to the concept "meaningful life" of the authentic person and the source from which this approach was derived. In the opinion held by psychoanalysis (Freud) and the behaviorism (Skinner, Bandura) they attribute a high importance to social norms. They consider mental health as a predictor of the adaptation of a person to the environment. The term Adaptation appears repeatedly as one of the indices for mental health. In this respect, we can surmise that, that approach encourages the person to don (wear) a mask over his face, and in accordance to the "third school of thought", negate himself and his per-

sonal point of view. The conformist wears a mask. The adaptation, equated with mental health may be very challenging for people who do not conform to expected mental health norms

If one does not cope with finding significance and a purpose in life, it leads to existentialist void. Laing (1977), claims that unauthentic existence causes, in certain situations, a split between the real me and the fake me, and identity problems entitling pathological anxieties. Keen (1970), distinguishes between existential and neurotic guilt and claims that the person who rejects the existential guilt, has to face the neurotic guilt.

Frie (2003) claims that Binswanger (1958), termed the certain world to which the person is thrown a "ground of existence". This ground, even when posing certain limits, enables the person to develop in various directions. Each ground of existence permits freedom of choice. This freedom derives from accepting the limitations of reality. The level of freedom is the level of openness to the possibilities embodied at the same reality.

The unauthentic existence might be comfortable, except for crisis moments involving a conflict with the existing facts or in times of transition and change. In such moments, the unauthentic person will have difficulties to cope with his situation. This difficulty might cause an authentic existence in certain cases. The unauthentic person hides himself behind "them" (appearing as institutions, ideologies, science, etc.) and thus gains relief from existential anxiety and guilt. Yalom (1980), claims that death is the first source of anxiety, since death is an undeniable truth. All lives end in death. This truth creates inexistence anxiety. According to May (1985), this anxiety intensifies as long as the person tries to realizes its unique existence in the world. The temptation to deny our unique existence and to escape the social conformism exists in each of us and is a means to take the sting out of death by converting the existence to the lack of significance. The main source of Anxiety, with a capital A. according to May, is the clash between the possible existence of the inexistence. This clash is common to all of us and therefore we all experience anxiety when this clash occurs inside us.

Another anxiety type, called DMS-4 is the post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). In this disorder, according to the DSM, the suppression is severe and causes extreme fears. The disorder includes the following symptoms: the person experiences and re-experiences a psychologically traumatic event, expressed in reiterated troubling thoughts or nightmares related to the traumatic event. Concentration and memory are also affected. The person consistently avoids stimuli related to the trauma. Persistent symptoms of increased arousal might appear, such as chronic stress and nervousness, and finally depression. There are several typical events that might cause a post traumatic stress disorder. These are disasters such as terrorist acts, participation in wars, accidents, etc. Professional literature refers to disaster symptom (Carson, Bucher and Minke, 2001) when it describes the process of trauma as a result of a disaster. The first stage is the shock. The person experiencing the disaster is stunned, apathetic and dazed. The second stage is the inspirational one, suggestibility, in which the victim tends to be passive and obey the instructions of the rescue and evacuation forces. The third stage is healing, in which the person who experienced a disaster might be stressed and fearful and display general anxiety, but he gradually returns to psychological balance. He then feels a recurring need to tell the disaster's details and at this stage he might suffer from a post trauma stress disorder. Another trauma is caused by being captured as a prisoner of war or being sent to a concentration camp. Many prisoners died in concentration camps (Carson, Bucher and Minke, 2001). The damage caused to Survivors of concentration and extermination camps was tremendous. The main symptoms that they suffer are insomnia, general anxiety, headaches, anger, depression, nightmares, and sexual dysfunction (Chambers, 1952; Goldsmith & Cretekos, 1969).

Another main source of anxiety is fear of loneliness (Bugental, 1965). This anxiety derives from the acknowledgement that the person is the only one responsible for his life and when the time comes he will stand alone and lonely against death. The number of friends and relatives does not dissipate loneliness anxiety. Friends and families can only console the person in his loneliness, but they cannot prevent this feeling. Yalom (1980), referred to the concept of existential loneliness in order to describe per-

sonal loneliness and not the social one. Yalom reminds us that we were born alone and will die alone. That is, at the end of the day, we are lonely creatures and we cannot escape from this loneliness, as we cannot escape from freedom and from death. According to Yalom, the mere acknowledgment of freedom, the knowledge that the person is the only one responsible for his life, is the acknowledgement of the existential loneliness and if we fear this void and loneliness, we will not be able to approach others in an intimate and loving way (Yalom, 1980). That is, existential loneliness is a given that we must tolerate instead of trying to avoid.

5.3 Summary

This chapter presents the different approaches in teleology and psychology, and examines beliefs in order to find answers to what had happened in the Holocaust (Frankl, 1050, 1956, 1963., Schweid1, 1996). In the final analysis, the biggest question is what motivated them to move toward the living life after the Holocaust? We can learn from the theoretical perspectives how this process developed.

According to Frankl (1950), the drive was to seek meaning for life as they wanted to believe in something. According to Adler (1924), they wanted to belong. Their drive was finding a sense of belonging . However, after overcoming such horrifying experiences and suffering such massive losses, it was almost impossible to start a new life, set new goals, and have new desires.

According to Freud (1988), in cases such as these they needed defense mechanisms to protect their consciousness from the deep hurt of torture and humiliation. They felt less than human. It was like being saved from hell. But Frankl suggests that every human being can choose how to react, and that the reaction of a person is an individual choice.

The central question is how could they endure the depths of their suffering? Sheehy suggests that in order to gain meaningful lives, H.Ss must become pathfinders. Helmriech (1977) discusses the qualities that Survivors needed. We can draw the conclusion that the real motivation, drive, is hidden. There are several approaches explaining the meaning of life and their view of the Survivors' attitude toward life after the Holocaust.

Adler discussed the need to belong and suggested that this need drove Survivors to continue living.

Freud (1920) suggests the value and effectiveness of self defense mechanisms in protecting the Survivors' consciousness and in finding new definitions for their lost self-identities. Both factors are helpful. The Survivors can tell themselves that the German tortured them because they (the Germans) are evil, and they could find new identities by forcing themselves to get rid of inferiority feelings and start to adopt the roll of being strong like pathfinder must be.

Frankl suggests that in attempting to find significance in life, we have to find our own personal reason for existence, in order to roll with life Sheehy talked about the pathfinders' personalities. They had spirits of survival, and were able to build winner personalities. Their challenges made them stronger and more immune to any future disasters.

Helmriech addressed the issue of Survivors according to the finding in the research he conducted. He suggested qualities of Survivors that helped them function.

We may determine that Baeck in(Liebeschiitz,1966) Frankl completed each other's point of views and the special knowledge accumulated by each of them. On the other hand, the difference between the Zionist Socialist ideologies, being essentially "earthy" and the theological existentialism focused around the belief of a personal transcendental God as an essential difference, demonstrated in the definition of the existential situations and also in the direction of solutions search. The difference between the religious observation and the humanistic secular observation is the perception of the uniqueness of the situation created in the Holocaust.

However, the existentialists have also admitted that, in many cases, the person wears a "mask" to cover his anxieties and to function as an authentic person, using concepts that define his as looking for meaning, but in fact, he is in a state of defending his anxieties. He denies himself and his personal point of view. The lack of coping with finding meaning and a purpose in life leads to an existential void. Laing (1977) claims that the unauthentic existence causes, in certain situations, a split between the real me and the fake me, and identity problems entitling pathological anxieties. The need to be like the others in order to adapt is an existential need of the anxious person.

The literature reviewed helped us grasp the concepts Holocaust and Holocaust Survivors. We can comprehend the changes that have occurred in the overall understanding of these concepts, as well as their definitions in the succeeding 60 years since the second World Wars end. The literature reviewed also has contributed to our understanding of the Zionist motivational factors which weakened the will of the Holocaust Survivors to rehabilitate after the war. It sharpened my comprehension regarding the concept success and its various meanings for the Survivor.

Chapter 6 will present a mapping of all the literature review parts, in order to understand the conceptual framework of the research, using explanations and a diagram.

Chapter 6 the Conceptual Framework of the Research

6.1 Introduction

To conclude, in view of the literature review, we can delineate the concepts of this research and their interaction, as shown in Figure 1.
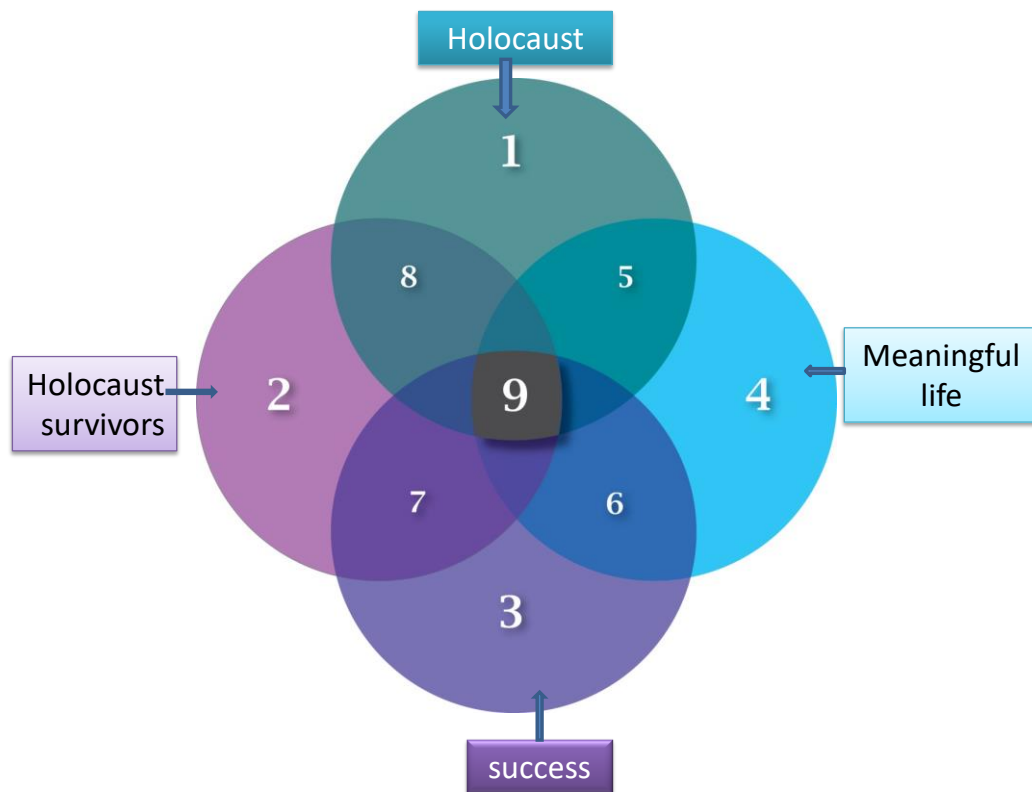
The concepts presented in figure 1 are:

1. Holocaust
2. Holocaust Survivors
3. Success
4. Meaningful life
5. Meaningful life and the Holocaust
6. The success and Meaningful life

7. Success and Holocaust Survivors

8. Holocaust Survivors in the Holocaust

9. research and its limitations

The overlap of the four concepts in Figure 1 defines the focus of the research and its limitations (9).

The main topics are: (1) The Holocaust, (2) The Holocaust Survivors, (3) Success, and (4) Meaningful Life. Each meeting of a couple of concepts created a new one: Holocaust Survivors and the Holocaust (8), The Holocaust Survivor's Motivations (Difficulties) and Success (7), Meaningful Life and Success (6), Meaningful Life and the Holocaust.

All these concepts were reviewed in the above theoretical perspective. The review of the literature revealed connections between the concepts, which are partly overlapping. The term Holocaust (1) is the basis for the understanding of the background and the period of the study. The Holocaust has various definitions deriving from different approaches by historians and sociologists with regards to the traumatic event that took place between 1933 and 1945. However, they disagree about the question of whether this is the most traumatic event(s) ever experienced by mankind. Bauer (1992) makes a distinction between the Holocaust and other cases of genocide. He emphasizes that Hitler's plan for the Jews was essentially different from his intentions for other peoples. Some religious circles view the Holocaust as a chapter in a long chain of severe tragic events in the history of the Jewish people over the generations. Some believe that the term Jewish Genocide should be used (Berenbaum 1990). Guttman (1955) believes that the uniqueness of the Holocaust is embedded in the Jewish history whereas Bauer maintains that the roots of this uniqueness are embedded in the history of German Nazism. Guttman examines its implications in the present, mainly in the significance of the Jewish existence whereas Bauer considers it as affecting all humanity (Oron 2006).

The literature demonstrates that different approaches were proposed to understand the Holocaust, although there is a general agreement regarding the horrors that this event imprinted on the world. These disagreements might arise during my research and I may have to refer to various researches.

The theoretical chapter on the Holocaust, including its various definitions over the generations (60 years), enabled me to understand the event beyond my personal knowledge and experience. The studies on the subject and the historical descriptions included in this chapter opened a wide window for me to see that it was a worldwide event, even though it occurred in a specific area of Europe. The story of the Holocaust and its various components directed me to extensively look at the historical background of the Holocaust itself. From the definitions raised in this chapter, I concluded that in every generation, more questions arise that bother not only the Holocaust Survivors, but also sociologists, historians, religious scholars and educators to this day.

Berenbaum (1970) claims that some criticize the term Shoah or Holocaust because there was no religious or offering context, a sacrifice wholly burnt. Some critics wish to stress that the Holocaust was not an action from the heavens but a human action. Agudat Israel in the USA did not accept this term and referred instead to the concept "destruction".

The Holocaust itself was the culmination of a process that occurred in stages. Firstly, years before the outbreak of World War II, legislation was enacted to remove the Jews from civil society. Later, the Nazis set about displacing whole Jewish communities, collecting them and then undertaking mass killings.

For many years, since my childhood, I regarded the Holocaust from my personal and family point of view, as an event that I was born into, even though I was aware of its large scope. This research process sharpened many questions for me and focused my observation of the event from a historical, political, and human point of view(s), and to a large extent also from the Israeli civilian perspective. It enhanced my need to better understand what happened to the people who lived through the Holocaust, what happened to the Survivors during the war and how they coped with it after the war.

The second concept in this review refers to the Holocaust Survivors (2). It is significant in this research when corresponding to the concept Holocaust (1) in order to understand this special population. The emphasis is on their survival (5). How do people who have experienced such cataclysmic events pick up their lives? Where did they obtain the strength from which to go on? How did they learn to trust others and have faith in the fu-

ture again? This can be understood only after comprehending the concept of the Holocaust and the events that took place during that period.

Reading of the Survivors' testimonies and the various studies carried out during the last 60 years exposed me to a whole world of varied references and opinions regarding Holocaust Survivors. I learned about the changes that the Survivors themselves underwent in the course of the years and how the Survivors were perceived by different populations over the years after the Holocaust. The most important insight that arose following the reading of the literature in this chapter is that they are not a homogeneous population. They are people from different cultural backgrounds, with different needs, different hopes and aspirations, and different education backgrounds. This knowledge obliges me to expand and to understand the causes that challenged Survivors to continue coping and even succeed. When I worked on this research study, I found out that the understanding of the concept Holocaust Survivors changed over time (Baur, 1988). With this new information, the scope of my understanding has widened, as to the reasons for their continued coping and even success. The Zionist motivations were mentioned by various Survivors, but the common denominator shared by all the Survivors was that contrary to all expectations, they remained alive.

They survived despite all the extermination plans devised by the Nazis (Frankl, 1950).

The literature and research on this subject opened new insights for me regarding the Survivors, enabling me to stretch my limited attitudes and open up to other information and approaches. In view of the above, I understood that in order to comprehend the issue that I wanted to examine, it was important that I investigate the meaning of the concept of success, as elaborated by various researches and theoreticians.

The concept of success (3) can explain the elements of success, which were already realized by the Survivors, despite all the hardships that they experienced. This concept enables a more profound understanding of the motivations of those who survived. This concept attempts to explain the difficulties alongside the motivations. This is the main issue that preoccupies many researchers even nowadays (Skinner, 1978; Abouserie, 1994; Bandura, 1997).

The factors described for success are faith, activity, and discipline. Belief and activity are very important since they lead to perseverance, which is an absolutely indispensable prerequisite for success and nothing replaces preservation. Helmreich (1995) found that a considerable number of Survivors succeeded more than others did. They were resourceful and adaptable and had a plan to create success, being flexible in their approaches.

The concept of success can be understood in view of various sociological theories. (Skinner, 1978; Abouserie, 1994; Bandura, 1997) Reading the literature and studying the work of various researchers demonstrated to me that success is not a one-dimensional concept. Not all those perceived by others as successful are really so. The handling of this concept obliged me to re-read and expand my understanding of the various theories regarding success, to comprehend that, for part of the people, the motivation to succeed derived from an inferior starting point. Some strive to succeed as a form of revenge. Others only wear the mask of success, but secretly they live with feelings of failure. This varied vision exposed me to new questions. What constitutes success from the point of view of the Holocaust Survivor (7)? Who remained alive and went on to reach achievements in all aspects of life?

The fourth concept, Meaning of Life (4), is strongly related to the above mentioned concepts. It is a philosophical, psychological and theological concept that is designed to explain the significance behind the will of the person to exist on Earth. It can partially explain the motivation of H .Ss. to continue their lives and to succeed. The theological answers interpret the status, the condition, and the purpose of the person in view of the existence of God the Almighty (Schweid, 1996; Frankl 1970).

Several religious systems offer partial answers to some of the questions, mainly to those related to the person's purpose, his proper way of life and defined set of values ; Kaniel, 2000) . The source of authority for those answers is God himself, according to which the basic principles of religion were determined. On the other hand, the philosophical answers to the question of the meaning of life are many and varied. However, most of them have a common denominator, which is the assumption that there is at least one essence

common to all human beings. As the essence of the person is the aspiration for goodness, so the essence of the human being and the meaning of his existence is the realization of his potential. The existentialists argue that the person is born without any fixed essence; therefore the meaning of his life is for him to create. A person will live a significant, purposeful life only if he molds it and bestows original contents to it. Understanding the concept of Meaning of Life largely consolidated my hypotheses regarding the Survivor's survival based on their personal backgrounds. Yet, to a certain extent, it also undermined some of those suppositions. From my readings, I understood that Meaning of Life is not the common answer for all of the Survivors. Not every form of success is a motivation for a meaningful life and I had to find other motives that challenged the desire to continue living and even succeeding.

There is a connection, a link between the concepts of Success (3) and Meaning of Life (4) but that is not true for every case. This point obliged me to be more cautious in my conclusions from my readings, and to mainly be aware of my personal attitudes that derive from my being a Holocaust Survivor, to be alert and not to transmit my own feelings onto others, not to read only testimonies and researchers that support my point of view. However, the connection between these concepts (6) enables me, to a certain extent, to understand the will of the person to survive, to live and succeed, and to fulfill himself, to understand and evaluate the meaning of life.

This conceptual approach of relating to the Holocaust, Holocaust Survivors, success, and meaning of life, will be translated into practical aspects of research design.

The research questions deriving from the literature review and the concepts summarized above are:

1. What were the motivational factors that stimulated H.Ss to build new and successful lives?
2. What difficulties did they have to overcome in order to feel a sense of success?

6.2 Conclusion

The limits of this research study are presented in diagram (9). The concepts, as appearing in the diagram, helped me to focus the problems deriving from this research project, created a critical approach that enabled me to understand the background and the events around the subject of the study.

The reading enabled me to try and distance myself from my personal experience, to be able to be inside and outside the research at the same time, to develop insights and a variety of attitudes that enabled me to listen to others.

Next chapter will present the methodology selected for this research study and the considerations that led the researcher to choose a qualitative approach. Validity and Reliability of qualitative research, as well as tools (interview, reflection) will be presented. The chapter concludes with the ethical consideration that accompanied me during the study.

Chapter 7 Methodology

7.1 introduction

This chapter presents the methodological issues, methodological rationale, and overall approach to the research. Following that, the chapter describes the research process and the methods of data analysis; the reliability and validity of the research; the role of the researcher, and processing and analysis of the data. The chapter concludes with a description of the ethical considerations that accompanied me during this research.

The conceptual framework for this research was based on the belief that its findings will support and provide qualitative answers to the research questions stated at the outset of this study. A psychological approach was used to analyze these qualitative results. The research was launched with a pilot study, where four participants taken from a cross–section of Israeli H.Ss were selected and interviewed in depth about their life histories. The pilot study then paved the way for the main study.

7.2 Nature of the Research

The research applies an 'ethnographic' approach, where both inductive and deductive methods are applied to create new understandings of existing and emerging issues. Guba and Lincoln (1998), define inductive data analysis as: a process of making sense of the field data and examining the existing reality and the outcome. In the case of this study into H.Ss, it uses its own special characteristics to examine those who have succeeded in life. The research is conducted as a qualitative–interpretative investigation, while also combining an inductive and deductive approach to theory building. The qualitative data and data analysis was based on psychological theoretical explanations.

Applying deductive and inductive methods greatly assists in bridging the distance between theory and social research (Denzin &Lincoln,1994).

 The social scientist must both skillfully deduce a hypothesis and then translate it into operational terms. This means that the social scientist needs to specify how data can be

collected in relation to the concepts that make up the hypothesis. Cross–referenced points of view serve to provide better explanations of the research topic and the outcome. The combination of methods also indicates the researcher's intention to provide more than one interpretation. Denzin and Denzin and Lincoln (2002) point out that the variety of methods enables the simultaneous presentation of multiple realities. Observations about the subjects can be made from different viewpoints.

The present study uses a qualitative methodology in a descriptive–interpretive constructivist approach (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Inductively, it describes and clarifies a complex phenomenon through the eyes of the subjects in order to create a theory anchored in the data of Grounded Theory. Strauss & Corbin (1990) define this as t–he meaning of an event, describing its phenomenon and reality, as perceived by those who experience it. Grounded theory is really what it says it is: a theory that has been grounded in life experiences and then built up by certain theoretical concepts. The assumption is that the knowledge lies in the meaning. However, it transpires that the social factors relate both to the reality that people experience and the processes that occur around those factors.

The interpretation that the researcher gives to the findings also relies on inductive data. Grounded theory is derived from inductive data that has been systematically gathered and analyzed throughout the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventually theory development are closely related to one another. Strauss and Corbin (1998), report that there is capability for providing generalization when the validity of the theory has been established. Most importantly, they further state (1990): that research findings constitute a theoretical formulation of the reality under investigation, rather than consisting of a series of numbers, or a group of loosely related themes. Schutz (1967) discussed two levels of interpretation: a) the interpretation made by the subjects, who construct their everyday life and explain their world to themselves and to the researcher; and b) the interpretation made by the researcher who created an interpretive description as an observer." One way of conceptualizing the study is to watch a phenomenon, connect it to the findings with additional knowledge and then seek to say something more general about the actions of human beings.

The qualitative researcher gets close, listens, and observes the way people perceive and interpret their world. Therefore Shkedy (2003) states that designing the qualitative–constructivist study is likely to be naturalistic ethnographic in nature due to the participants. Lincoln & Guba (1981) say that the naturalistic–ethnographic study observes social events changing in their natural environment, even in extreme episodes as in this study. It captures all the elements in the study and creates the conceptualism in the research.

Eisner (1993) says that qualitative research is more suitable for presenting findings that lead to understanding problems, as opposed to research that tries to isolate variables and monitor them under controlled conditions which at times provide solutions of a prescriptive nature. According to Zabar Ben Yehoshua (2000), he claims that qualitative research gained recognition as a significant contributory approach for educational, psychological and sociological researches, due to its potential to capture the whole. It reflects on cultures, thoughts, developmental processes, knowledge and beliefs that comprise a phenomenon and individuals who play a role in it.

All the above summaries justify the use of Qualitative Research in this study, which follows the characteristics of a qualitative research paradigm, according to all the above factors and definitions.

7. 3 Reasons for Applying Qualitative Research

1) The research questions start with a 'What' or 'How'. Creswell (1998) states: that in qualitative research, the research questions start with a 'how' or 'what' so that initial forays into the topic describe what is going on.

2) This kind of research permitted a topic to be explored in depth. This was the case when variables could not be easily identified. Theories were not available to explain participant behavior and therefore fresh theories needed to be developed.

3) Qualitative research is the methodology applied in order to present a detailed view of the topic.

4) In this type of study, the individuals were approached in their own natural setting and were exercising their will in a new life.

5) This type of research was more appropriate to the task in hand. I saw my role as a person who can bring my empirical knowledge as inside understanding and relay it.

Table 1**: How qualitative characteristics suited the present research**

Reasons for applying Qualitative Research How qualitative characteristics suited the present research Criteria-Social relationship	My history as a H.S allowed me to identify with the emotional and others situational conditions in my relationship with the participants.
My past life was connected to the life of H.Ss.	My initial knowledge of the participants' perceptions was general. By interviewing them in their homes and collecting data, I had the opportunity to learn about their thinking patterns, characteristics, and the atmosphere of their present life after understanding their past life according to their memories. Additionally, my own experience as a H.S myself and as the daughter of a H.S greatly assisted me in becoming very familiar with their feelings and needs. Most importantly, as a psychologist I was able to understand their thinking, feelings, and motives.
First–hand information	The research approach is holistic from the perspective of the history and literature information of the H.S. This resulted in gathering the information gained through the interviews as well as via literature.
	Delving into the life histories of four participants took the research into a deeper level of insight in viewing their situation more profoundly.
The ethnographer as a research instrument	Throughout the study, I conducted investigations alone. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), being flexible in listening and close to the complexity of the researched human experience is like being a research tool.
Naturalistic observation	By being able to capture the H.Ss' social life, the researcher was psychologically able to understand their feelings in the reality of the Holocaust years and thereafter when they started to rebuild their lives.
Criteria of ethnographic research	Adapting the characteristics to the present research.
Humanistic perspective	During the study, the data collected and the findings made from humanistic aspects. Some were raised in the methodology: listening during the in–depth interviews, equality for all people; placing value to what they say; having a deep understanding about their thinking and behavior.
Cross–cultural frame of reference	This research and its findings allowed me to make comparisons to similar social conditions, using the same framework and assessing their outcome.

7.4 Research Instruments

A review of the literature on research methods guided me to interpretive modes of research, and within those, to interviews and reflections as appropriate tools for this research. These enabled a profound understanding and description of the phenomenon (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000).

7.4.1 The Interview.

The interview is a discussion with an objective. It is a simple, flexible, and direct way for people to understand each other, receive information and answers for the research question and later analyze them. The research interview may serve three purposes. First, it may be used as the principal means of gathering information having direct bearing on the research objectives Second, it may be used to test hypotheses or to suggest new ones. Third, the interview may be used in conjunction with other methods in a research undertaking. (Robson, 1993)

Interviews in this sense range from the formal interview, in which a set of questions is asked and the answers are recorded on a standardized schedule; through less formal interviews in which the interviewer is free to modify the sequence of questions, change the wording, explain them or add to them to the completely informal interview (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000).

The research interview has been defined as 'a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information. The interviewer focused on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation (Cannell and Kahn, 1968. P. 527). It involves the gathering of data through direct verbal interaction between individuals.

The qualitative interview is usually opened ended and is referred as the 'elite interview' by Lincoln and Guba (1981). In an open ended interview, interviewees tell a story unguided, undisturbed, and uninterrupted. The interviewer encourages interviewees to convey their experiences, describe important events, express opinions and views in order to collect as much information as possible to reach a deep understanding (Lnzinzki, 2000). The interview is a conduit between the interviewer and interviewees and provides imme-

diate clarification (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Its disadvantages are the difficulties in quantifying and analyzing results within the required time. The advantage is the interviewer-interviewee's trusting relationship (Robson, 1993). This trust enables interviewees to express their personal views openly and frankly.

For this study, I selected a semi structured interview. This type of interview is less structured than a guided interview, but more structured than a semi- structured open ended interview. The semi structured interview leaves room for the researcher's questions regarding issues that were not elaborated during the interview. It allows the interviewer to speak freely Spardly, 1979).

Zabar Ben Yehoshua, 1999) claim that an interview has three crucial ethnographic elements. A common objective: The object of the interview must be clear.

1. Ethnographic interpretations: The interviewer must receive explanations from the interviewees in order to grasp their perception of their own culture.
2. Ethnographic questions: The questions have to be descriptive, structured, and capable of exposing information on the manner in which the interviewee organizes his knowledge.

7.4.2 Interviews of the Pilot.

The interviews of the pilot research with 4 participants occurred as a social event, or an in–depth narrative informal conversation. They enabled me to build the interview out of the research, based on my research questions. The pilot began by identifying 4 H.Ss with whom I could conduct in–depth interviews. We began with free story telling. I later asked questions to get a wider understanding of their lives. The guidelines for constructing the questions were based on my life experiences. It was very natural for me to ask questions such as: "What was the first thing you thought about doing when you were liberated? In the camps, when you were all skin and bones, where did you find the energy to move, to think, to wish to go on? Did you want to work, after feeling better?" All of them reported that their first priority was to start working.

The pilot study enabled me to plan my research study, interviews, and research questions.

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7.4.3 Interviews with Holocaust Survivors.

The concept for the main interviews was a mix of open and semi–structured question formats. This allowed the interviewees to give a free flowing, narrative account of the crucial events after the Holocaust, but also guided them to answer pre–determined questions.

The main interviews were pleasant, even healing activities relative to the tragic subjects under discussion. They took place in the H.Ss' private homes, where I was welcomed very warmly. I began each interview with a short explanation on the nature of what has been researched. These explanations encouraged them to express themselves naturally in their daily language.

The participants usually had a companion with them, a spouse or friend. The companion usually sat in the background and was interested in helping, but did not really participate. Data gathering was made in an open and inductive way, trying to understand the situation being investigated while taking care to collect extensive data through the direct testimony of the H.Ss. All interviews were recorded after receiving permission from the interviewees. Recording the interview is important because every word is meaningful and it helps me, as a researcher, to freely listen to the interview and make observations.

7.4.4 Reflection.

The second source for data collection in this research projects were the self-reflections that I wrote during the period in which my interviews were conducted. Dewey (1933) exposes reflective thinking as deriving from uncertain situations, hesitation, or discussion. It includes an act of search and clarification. It is a complex cognitive process. Schon (1987) describes reflection as a key factor in rebuilding of thought and action patterns. He also describes reflection as enabling a deep understanding of unique and complex life situations and insights leading to success. Van Manen (1977) referred to 3 reflection stages. The first stage is technical-descriptive. The second stage is based on previous practical experience and clarifies processes. The third stage is a criticism, ethical aspects and raising insights.

After each interview, I used to write down a reflection of my experiences during the Holocaust and of my feelings following the interview. This was my internal dialogue with myself. My routine writing enabled me to capture the moment, focus on my experiences, memories and feelings and clarify my ideas. The reflections enabled me to separate between my experiences and memories and those of the Survivors interviewed, to be aware of the likeness and the difference. Smith (2004) claimed that the writing process serves to make tacit knowledge known.

These reflections may be a sort of narrative and serve as a research tool, representing the personal significances of the researcher or the person researched. In this way, the individual is evaluated, examined, observed based on his personal experience and not according to those of others (Connelley and Cladini 1988). This kind of a narrative provides us with connections between the past, present, and future. It relates the time to the experience, and provides a sense of continuity of the writer with his memories and experiences.

7.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Data analysis in research is dynamic and analytic. Its purpose is to enable the researcher to interpret and include the data (Strauss and Corbin 1998). The data collection and analysis in the research are based on the hypotheses of the inductive research and the use of interpretive methodology. The data collected by the interpretive researcher are usually textual, such as documents, conversation summaries, interviews, observations and various verbal reports (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Strauss and Corbin, **199**8). This research included a small number of subjects (12) and was carried out in their natural daily environment, with the purpose of obtaining insights regarding the research questions. The data was processed from 2 sources: interviews with the people researched and from my reflections following the interviews. The interviews were transcribed by an external, professional entity that specializes in interview transcription. The transcriptions served as a central database for processing and analysis. The transcribed interviews were analyzed by content (the method of data analysis in qualitative research based on creating categories for repeated events, phenomena, assertions, and experiences). An initial analysis was performed. Categories and sub-categories were then ex-

tracted, being consolidated with further analysis of the interviews. In order to obtain stable categories, some of the interviews were sampled and examined according to said categories. The procedure was designed to increase the categories reliability. Following this procedure, I conducted three rounds of interview analysis, and the categories were updated and modified. Sometimes several subcategories were merged while others were split into more paragraphs. This long and meticulous procedure was designed to strengthen the structure of the categories and stabilize them, to make them meaningful and enable a significant comparative analysis of the data obtained (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The process of analyzing data was ongoing. It involved moving back and forth within the data. Miles and Huberman, (1994) refer to a 3 stage procedure of the circular process of content analysis in order to condense the categories.

The deductive part of the research is also categorized. It focuses on the meaning of the data, linking it to the pre–assumption of the theory in this study. Because of the approach of open interviews, it was possible to probe the H.Ss views and feelings more fully. The relaxed atmosphere of the interview allowed the discussions to flow easily and openly.

The type of research method selected for this study is related to the nature of the studied phenomenon. The qualitative methodology is more than a series of data–gathering techniques. In its wider view, it is a research method intended to expose and explain natural phenomena occurring in natural and complex situations. Zabar Ben Yehoshua (2001), states that existing assumptions that the researcher has, together with the theory and line of inquiry that create the research framework, eventually construct the knowledge that the researcher is seeking. The strategy in the present study is to identify the perceptions and understandings of the participants. This is considered subjective and important information that relates to the qualitative form of research.

The pilot interviews allowed me to compose all my deductive categories, from which the inductive categories were later derived, categories such as will power, goal seeking, and so on. The pilot study was a strong turning point for me as I felt ready to start my thesis with confidence and orientation.

The following steps were taken inductively and deductively to identify the motivational factors of H.Ss in living a fulfilled life. These factors were then expanded into categories around which the conceptual framework of my thesis was constructed. Firstly, the motivational factors were found via deductive and inductive means. The deductive factors were derived from my literature search and from my own experience as a Holocaust Survivor. The deductive factors listed below were used to build the theoretical basis of my thesis and form the structure of my interviews with H.Ss. The inductive categories appeared along the interviews. The new categories were unlike the deductive categories because they were new factors that were not mentioned in the specific literature.

The first research question examined the factors that challenged the Survivors to continue living and to succeed in their lives. Out of their statements, a central category emerged, defined in the research literature as Meaningful Life. In this category, 5 sub-categories have been identified out of the interviews with the Survivors and out of the literature:

    a. Belonging

    b. Work, Study and functioning

    c. Togetherness

    d. Ideology –Faith in Judaism /Zionism

    e. Goal oriented and Self–Actualization

The additional categories that most Survivors referred to were:

f.   Persistence and Will Power

g.   Survivor Mechanism Self–Identity

h.   Positive Feelings

i.   Beliefs Supporting Environment

j.   Success

The second research question refers to the difficulties which the Survivors overcame in order to achieve their goals.

What were the difficulties of H.Ss in overcoming and achieving their goals?

Out of their statements, the categories that emerged were:

a. Loneliness

b. Fear and insecurity

c. The attitude of the local population to Holocaust Survivors

d. Absorption difficulties

e. Emotional isolation

f. Disturbing memories

The second level of interpretation contains a discussion and conclusions, generalizations, and conceptualizations. In conclusion of this section, this form of analysis relies primarily on locating, applying, and characterizing reoccurrences in the raw findings. It also relies on defining the units of analysis and constructing the hierarchy between those categories that were finally found. (Gibton, 2001).

7.6 Validity and Reliability

7.6.1 Reliability.

Qualitative research is criticized for failing to establish reliable criteria, as is found in quantitative research. The qualitative researchers claim that this paradigm presents thinking, deriving from another philosophy, and its meanings are different as per their reliability. (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman 1994; Yosifun 1997; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000)

In qualitative research, reliability can be regarded as a fit between what researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched, a degree of accuracy and comprehensiveness of coverage (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). This is not to strive for uniformity. Two researchers who are studying a single setting may come up with very different findings but both sets of findings might be reliable. Kvale (1996) suggested that, in interviewing, there might be as many different interpretations of the qualitative data as there are researchers.

Yosifun (2001) claims that, the strength of quantitative research is in reliability, while the strength of qualitative research is in dependability, the ability to rely on data collection.

Lincoln and Guba, (1985) propose the concept of "trustworthiness" as an alternative to reliability and validity in quantitative research. In qualitative research, reliability and validity largely depend on the researchers' skills, since his main tools are his own senses and perceptions (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

In order to promote the research's reliability, the researcher must be skilled and prevent bias related to inaccuracy as much as possible. The researcher's obligation is to reduce the effect of personal influence regarding his ideas and opinions to the degree possible. He therefore should have a very organized and strict research procedure. The way to obtain reliability is largely by collecting data from more than a single tool. That is, by triangulation.

Triangulation may be defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behavior. It is a technique of research to which many subscribe in principle, but only a minority use in practice. Triangulation is a powerful tool for demonstrating concurrent validity, particularly in qualitative research (Campbell and Fiske, 1959).

This type of reliability is sometimes obtained when researchers keep a diary during the research process. This kind of documentation enables efficient adherence to the research procedures (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

In this research process, I was aware of my task as a researcher and of being a Holocaust Survivor myself. I therefore planned an organized research process. All the interviews were recorded. The data was collected from 2 sources, from the interviews of Holocaust Survivors and from my reflections, which I documented after each interview. When I wrote the reflections, I tried to be aware of my emotional state and my own emotional responses to the statements made by the interviewed people. During the data collection period, I adhered to the research procedure.

7.**6**.2 Validity.

Validity is a key component of effective research. A piece of invalid research data invalidates the entire study. In qualitative data, validity might be addressed through honesty, depth, wealth, and the scope of the data achieved, the participants' approach, the extent of triangulation and the disinterest or objectivity of the researcher (Cohen, Manion and Morrison,2000).

Interpreting research is intended to explain the meaning of behaviors and not to predict behaviors. For that reason, predictive validity is of no concern. Qualitative research presents construct validity and does not require valid predictions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The researcher in qualitative research presents categories significant for himself and for the research participants (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000).

Researchers are part of the world that is being researched, and we cannot be completely objective about that. Validity, then, attaches to accounts, not to data or methods (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). It is the meaning subjects give to data and inferences drawn from the data that are important. 'Fidelity' requires the researcher to be as honest as possible with the self-report of the researched. The claim is made that, in qualitative data collection, the intensive personal involvement and in-depth responses of individuals secure a sufficient level of validity and reliability.

Data selected must be representative of the sample, the whole data set, and the field. It must address content, construct, and concurrent validity. The validity in qualitative research replaces certainty with confidence in our results. In addition, he suggests that as reality is independent of the claims made for it by researchers, our accounts will only be representations of that reality rather than reproductions of it. (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Internal validation seeks to demonstrate the explanation of a particular event, issue, or set of data (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000).

External validity refers to the degree to which the results can be generalized to the wider population, cases or situations. The generalization in qualitative research is problematic. It has been interpreted as comparability and transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Co-

hen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). These writers suggest that it is possible to assess the typicality of the situation, to identify possible comparison groups, and indicate how data might translate into different settings.

In order to adhere by the requirements for internal validation in this research, I undertook the following actions: I presented the categories raised during my contents analysis to part of the people interviewed in order to hear their opinion. I sent my draft of the findings analysis to my advisor and after receiving his feedback, I expanded my observation on the factors of success of the Survivors interviewed. I continued reading research literature while analyzing the findings. I searched for additional sources, such as "The Shadow Children", a play written on the Holocaust by Ben Zion (1963). I studied various testimonies from Yale University and Yad Vashem Institute in Israel as well as Massua Archive and searched for similarities between my findings and those in the research literature (chapters 2, 3, 4, 5).

7.7 Ethics

7.7.1 Introduction.

The ethical problem was crucial in this research, since I am a Holocaust Survivor myself and am emotionally involved with the subject matter. There were many problems that bothered me already in the research planning process. Firstly, I decided to plan carefully so that I do not over identify with the people interviewed and so that I keep a factual and objective attitude as much as possible during the interviews. Secondly, I was careful not to influence the people that I interviewed with my preconceived attitudes and made certain I kept their anonymity.

In this paragraph I will first present the various approaches in ethics for qualitative research and will end with the process that I adopted from the ethical point of view.

7.7.2 Theoretical Approaches to Ethics in Research.

Dushnik & Zabar (2001) defines ethics for qualitative research as looking for commitment and value principles that should guide and characterize the ethics as basic

moral principles, honesty, justice and respect towards human beings who do not characterize a certain research. Ethics cares for the commandments between people, trying to establish rules for human behavior, and for the relationship between each person and his fellowman. The purpose of ethics is to consolidate a world-view, to define a scale of values, to set priorities, and to describe a system of proper behaviors to implement the ethical codes.

A quality research might imply moral pits and requires careful thinking and preparation before entering the field. Without suitable training and supervision, the researcher might be over-involved and the limits of his task as researcher may be blurred, causing damage to the subject (Lincoln and Denzin 1994). According to Peled & Leichtentritt (2002), after the researched agrees to participate in the research, the ethical conduct requires(d) the researcher to provide the participant with full and relevant information on the characteristics, course, and purposes of the research, as well as the risks and chances resulting from his decisions. Nevertheless, in case of a quality research, (Zabar 2000) claims that those agreeing to participate in a research, are unaware of how they may be affected by their agreement. She also refers to the reliability of the research and the ethical questions created following the quality research. Two questions are initially raised: first, did the researched agree to participate in the research out of their own free will or were they coerced by the researcher? The second question is: did the researched make a conscious and educated decision when agreeing to participate in the study?

Lincoln and Denzin (1994) indicated four codes for research ethics: the right of the researched to be aware of the character, essence, and results of the research in which they are involved. The right of the researched to freedom should be properly respected. The researcher should obtain the full agreement of the researched for their participation in the research and be willing to render all required information. The researcher must oppose any fraud, unequivocally, and maintain subject privacy and anonymity. That is, keeping the identity of the researched and the data regarding the research confidential. The last code is to observe the accuracy. It is unethical to omit important data, change or lie regarding data and information. The ethics for a quality research protect the search of prin-

ciples, commitment and values that should guide the proper behavior of the quality researcher.

In view of the ethical requirements of the qualitative research, as mentioned already in the research planning stage, I adhered to items proposed by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p. 71).

Their guidelines are as follows: Source Adapted from Reynolds, 1979:

1. The purpose and procedures of the research should be fully explained to the subjects at the outset.
2. The research and its ethical consequences should be seen from the subjects' and institution's point of view.
3. Ascertain whether the research benefits the subjects in any way.

4. Where necessary, ensure the research does not harm the subjects in any way.
5. Possible controversial findings need to be anticipated and where they ensue, handled with great sensitivity.
6. The research should be as objective as possible. This will require careful thought being given to the design, conduct and reporting of research.
7. Informed consent should be sought from all participants. All agreements reached at this stage should be honored.
8. Sometimes it is desirable to obtain informed consent in writing.
9. Subjects should have the option to refuse to take part and know this; and the right to terminate their involvement at any time and know this also.
10. Arrangements should be made during initial contacts to provide feedback for those requesting it. It may take the form of a written résumé of findings.
11. The dignity, privacy and interests of the participants should be respected. Subsequent privacy of the subjects after the research is completed should be guaranteed.

12. It is important for the researcher to reveal fully his or her identity and background.

7.7.3 The Relationship between the Researchers and the Participants.

The research was characterized by frankness and honesty. At the start of the research I presented myself, indicated the research purposes to the interviewed, and informed them about all the research features that might affect their will to participate. They were assured that their identity will be kept anonymous and that the data will not be used beyond the purpose of this study.

All the names in the study were changed to fictitious ones to avoid their identification.

Chapter 8 the Research in Action

The overall purpose of this thesis was to probe the participants' motivation for attaining success in life. Such information can improve our understanding and suggest new angles on positive thinking after experiencing personal or national tragedy. The focus of study was a group of Holocaust Survivors (H.Ss).

This research was intended to find out the following:

1. What were the motivational factors that stimulated H.Ss to build a new successful life?

2. What difficulties did they have to overcome in order to feel a sense of success?

8.1 Introduction

The following paragraphs will present the research in action (in progress)

research sample, procedure of the research, problems, and difficulties.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research process starting from the planning stage. That is, the procedure of selecting the sample while the researcher examines herself and her ability to perceive the difficulties that this research posed to her.

8.2 Research Sample

It took much time and effort to select the sample for this study. The criteria for the research sample derived from the research purposes. Participants had to be Holocaust Survivors and living in Israel. Furthermore, it was important to me that the people interviewed included men and women as well as people in varied occupations. The difficulty consisted of the fact that 60 years have passed since the end of World War II. Many Survivors have died during the years. Most of the remaining Survivors are 70 years old or older. This is a population that has trouble sharing and exposing them (even anonymously). Twelve people meeting the criteria that were established by me were selected, the youngest being 65 years old, and the eldest 91 years old. The mean age was 80 years old.

According to Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, (2000) Sampling decisions must be taken in the time of planning the research. Factors such as expense, time and accessibility frequently prevent researchers from gaining information from the entire population. Therefore, they often need to be able to obtain data from a smaller group or subset of the total population in such a way that the knowledge gained is representative of the total population.

In selecting the sample, the researcher has to take into account the following factors:

1 Sample size

2 Representativeness and parameters of the sample

3 Access to the sample

 4 Sampling strategy to be used (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000)

The population of this research included 12 participants, they are Holocaust Survivors.

Table 2- **A list of anonymous Survivors**

Research Subjects: Background details of H.Ss (October 2003)

Name	Gender	Status	Age	Occupation
Roza	Female	Widow	93	Farmer in a new settlement & seamstress in a salon
Miriam	Female	Widow	91	Secretary
Azriel	Male		82	Accountant in a large firm & an educator
Shraga	Male	Married	68	Mayor & educator
Arie	Male	Married	**83**	County judge
Eva	Female	Married	84	Reporter and translator from English
Aviho	Male	Married	85	M.P. Private law firm, Kibbutz member, Vice President of a University in Israel

Yonit	Female	Widow	78	Housewife and dressmaker
Yoram	Male	Married	65	High school teacher, book illustrator, kibbutz member
Folie	Male	Married	82	Professor, kibbutz member.
Shy	Male	Married	84	Professor, researcher in social sciences.
Menachem	Male	Married	75	Accountant and owner of companies.

8.3 Research Procedure

I conducted this research because I am a Holocaust Survivor (Chapter A) and I wanted to fully understand the processes that Holocaust Survivors underwent when they arrived to Israel. What was their motivation to continue living? What were their difficulties in their rehabilitation process in Israel?

1. The pilot: When I started planning this research, I decided to carry out a pilot research based on a small number of participants (4 participants). The purpose of the pilot research was to learn about their thinking process, their desires, their pain, and their problems. In order to prepare the questions for the interviews, I met the four participants several times. I talked with them and heard about their lives ever since they arrived in Israel.

   The pilot interviews allowed me to compose the main interview questions. The concept of the main interview was a mix of open and semi—structured format. This allowed the interviewees to give a free-flowing, narrative account of the crucial events that happened to them after the Holocaust, but also guided them to answer my pre-determined questions.

2. Choosing the sample: The criteria for the research sample derived from the research purposes. Participants were Holocaust Survivors and living in Israel. Furthermore, it was important to me that the people interviewed in-

cluded men and women as well as people in varied occupations. Their average age was 70-80 years old, due to the fact that 60 years have passed since the end of World War II. It was difficult to find participants due to the age limitation and the need for cooperation with a population that has trouble sharing and exposing itself. (The research in action – Chapter 8).

3. Building trust between myself and the participants

It was imperative for the purpose of the research that I build trusting relationships with the participants. Trust was required in order for participants to share with me experiences that they underwent since their arrival to Israel.

I met the participants in their homes. It was not an easy for me to go to distances for interviews. However, my concern was for the Survivors who wanted to take part in this study.

I introduced myself as a Holocaust Survivor. I defined my goals for this research. I explained the ethical limitations of this research and shared with them the importance of the research for me.

4. Building the tools for the research: interview and reflection.

The interview was based on my preliminary conversations with 4 people from the pilot research, based on my personal experience, and on research literature on the subjects of the Holocaust and the Holocaust Survivors. The interview was an open, semi structured interview (see Chapter 7 – Methodology).

Every interview took 4-5 hours, during which time we achieved our aim. The research participants were very kind. The spoke openly about their lives in the Holocaust and all that happened to them following the Holocaust. They described how they managed their lives, how they started over again after being at the lowest point possible. They discussed their feelings, memories, and plans for the future. They described the own meaning of success.

Throughout the interview, I was aware of the fact that I am a Holocaust Survivor and made a conscious effort not to become emotionally involved and not to identify with the stories of the participants.

Reflection: Out of awareness for the need of triangulation and because I am personally involved in the subject matter, the second tool for this study were my own reflections written in my house after each of the interviews. The reflections enabled me to express my feelings, to see the similarities and differences between their lives and my own, and to be more aware to my empathy and emotional involvement. In the reflection I made sure to mention the points in which I felt empathic towards the person interviewed.

5.   Data organization: Re-reading all the interviews and my reflections and examining the analysis possibilities of the data.

6.   Contents analysis of the interviews and reflections (Chapter 7 Methodology). At this stage, after repeated reading, I built the deductive and inductive categories of the research. I divided those categories to deductive and inductive categories.

During my interviews with the H.S., additional, unexpected motivational factors emerged, which could be called inductive categories. These were goal-orientating, self-actualization, togetherness, work, study, isolation, and initiative. I organized all the interviews and reflections according to those categories and built the findings Chapter (Chapter 9) from that data.

7.   Organization of the findings chapter (Chapter 9): The results of data organization according to the category (contents analysis) were reorganized in the findings chapter, in which I show the finding and the citations from the interviews and the reflections.

8.4 Problems and Difficulties

8.4.1 Critical Reflections on Methodological Issues

This critical reflection on methodological issues aims to show what went wrong, or how else I could maintain issues in the research. It should be noted that the interviews I conducted were subjective to a certain degree, principally derived from my own position as a Holocaust Survivor. These points may have affected my interpretation of the answers that I received. I was probably overprotective in my interpretations. Because of this reason, it is possible that the outcome was not objective enough.

1) There was a risk that the interviews may not have been objective enough, due to my own background as a Holocaust Survivor, and my sensitivity towards asking certain touchy questions. I may have avoided asking people of my own generation specific questions. For instance, it was difficult to ask how they reacted to the death of their children, or their parents next to them, or how they could put the awful and tragic events behind them in order to continue their lives.

2) Another risk related to the objectivity of the research, and that of not getting a true picture from the interviews, was due to my over–protectiveness of the H.Ss. and therefore may have avoided asking certain questions out of fear of being too hurtful. For example, it was difficult to ask how they dared to get up and start a new life in spite of the fact that their family members and friends were deceased.

3) There was a possibility of placing too much trust in the respondents. Were they strong enough to face the past and relate to my questions? Or, were they highly experienced in hiding their true feelings, causing me to misinterpret some of their answers. I cannot change these issues. However, I do believe that what I have chosen is honest and very good.

I regretted not having asked them more direct questions. However, I was conscious of the possible risk of seeking information at the price of opening old wounds that had

taken so long to heal.

8.4.2 The Dilemma of the Holocaust Researcher /Critic

Stuefeld (2001)) stated in his book *Light from the Ashes*: "Much to my surprise and dismay, both the speakers and the audience insisted that I become an active participant and tell my own story. This gave me a much more sympathetic fellow feeling for the people who had declined my invitation. But, in all honor, I could not refuse what I had urged others to do, so we wound up with five speakers (Stuefeld (2001, p.4)

When I started my research, I knew that I will have to relate to the subjects as regular people, without prejudice. However, one is strongly tempted to be over–protective. The following questions were not asked by me directly, they were asked via other supplementary questions, in order to obtain what I was looking for.

Examples:

- Could you talk about mistakes that Jewish people made before the Holocaust?

- Who do you blame for what happened?

- Could you describe your feelings of optimism during the war and afterwards?

- Did you earn any spiritual benefits from this difficult period? For instance, in your beliefs, or in your feeling that something made you into a better person? Did you become a believer in God? In contrast, did you become a non–believer and a worse person in your own eyes?

- Were you disappointed in the behavior of your friends and relatives during that time?

- Did you dare to make plans for the period after the war would end? Did you think that the future existed at all?

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8.4.3 The Pain of the Researcher

When investigating these subjects I am conscious of the fact that I may have missed some information in data collection due to being diverted by the pain of the subject matter. Trying to understand the outcome of the Holocaust is a dilemma, even to a H.S. Being an objective interviewer and a H.S myself is twice as difficult. It took a long while before I was able to feel detachment in my working, thinking and feeling. With feedback from my supervisor, I was eventually able to find my own voice in this drama. I found myself reliving past events that I had tried to bury deep in my subconscious. However, it was important to have this experience in order to empathize with my H.Ss subjects. It energized me to continue and properly process the research data. At the same time, I watched out for being a systematic researcher.

- During some parts of the interviews, I felt pain because I empathized with the Survivors. This was not just psychological pain but physical pain as well. During the search for participants, during the interviews, and at other times as well, I could rely on a support system to help me. However, I had to take a break occasionally, until I felt stronger, so that I would not influence my study unwittingly.

I raise this issue here because I feel that I need to evaluate not just the shortcomings of my research but also how it affected me. Before I started my thesis, I did not imagine that these factors would affect me so strongly. I was determined to cope with the issues that I heard, having as my guide, these remarkable people who never stopped struggling for a better life. I have an emotionally strong character and it often helped me in my work on this study. My support system was in place to help me when I felt weak. Additionally, the stories of the H.Ss were inspirational for me to follow in their footsteps and be strong, and to overcome without breaking down.

The above mentioned references demonstrate that the subject is unusual and provokes many emotional difficulties. Therefore, I had to be alert.

The following chapter is about the findings. It will be presented according to the research questions order, based on the categories elaborated on in order to analyze the contents (Chapter 7 – Methodology).

Chapter 9 Findings

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings based on the questions which guided this research:

1. What were the motivational factors that stimulated H.Ss to build new successful lives?
2. What difficulties did they have to overcome in order to feel a sense of success?

We obtained the categories that answered each of the two questions of the research Based on the literature attached to this research, the analysis of the interviews' contents, and the reflections of the researcher.

9.2 Categories

The first research question examined the factors that challenged the Survivors to continue living and to succeed in their lives. A central category emerged out of their statements, defined in the research literature as Meaningful Life. We identify 5 sub-categories to this category, based on the interviews with Survivors: Belonging, Work, Study and Functioning, Togetherness, and Ideology – Faith in Judaism /Zionism, Goal orientation, and Self–Actualization. The additional categories that most Survivors referred to were Persistence and Will Power, Survivor Mechanism, Self–identity, Positive Feelings, Beliefs and Supportive Environment, and Success.

9.3 A Meaningful Life

According to the findings in interviews, H.Ss regarded belonging as the most important factor in life after the Holocaust. In order to build themselves a successful life, they were first motivated to have a meaningful life, feel the void in a sense of meaningfulness and belonging almost automatically. The first step that H.Ss took was to develop their feelings of belongingness. They followed many different paths, but the core was always the strong urge to feel that they belonged.

9.3.1 Belonging.

Survivors described the drive to merge into Israeli society, to belong, and to make Israel their home, as resulting from the wishes of their parents "It was the will of my family to live in Israel" says Shraga … *"The will* … *of my family who wanted me to do this, and their dream became a reality for me."* He mentioned that the dormitory and the Kibbutz were good places for the newcomers starting to build their sense of belonging, having a new place to live in and being cared for and guided: "….*I started to feel good about existing again…."*

Yoram:*"… I was looking for a place to plant roots, to be safe and to belong to people… Suddenly, the small things in life showed me that this country. I had a feeling of belonging. The sense of belonging was reinforced by being with others. I liked the power of the group…"*

Arie*: "My dream was to belong to a new state after the war. I wanted to make a significant contribution and have a sense of belonging."*

Shraga: *"…having a meaningful life and a sense of belonging meant*

Coming to Israel and being part of the establishment. …My aim in life was building the country…"

Another way to feel good and belong is to live close to the natives.

Yonit: *"…After a few years of living among Israelis, I felt that I belonged to them..."*

Shraga explained his desire for settling in Israel with great enthusiasm. *"It was the key to having a meaningful life and being a part of the new establishment…I wanted to feel closeness to a family living in Israel. My brother also came to Israel and we felt that this was a gift from heaven: that we are alive so we belong to each other and continue to live here in Israel. This was my desire, to plant roots in an organized Jewish setting…."*

The sisters Rosa and Miriam believed that they can belong only by forming a family in Israel. They said:

Roza and Miriam "…*We wanted to belong to someone or to something in our lives. The first thing we did was to look for a partner to marry."*

Some of the Survivors talked about their sense of belonging by marrying Israeli women referred to as Zabars.

Yoram:*"... I married a 'Zabar' (person born in Israel)"*

Menacham *"...When I got married to a 'Zabar', I felt that I belonged to a great family and had friends around me there, so I was satisfied with my life in every aspect. ..."*

Arie believed that his choice was made unconsciously: *"...I got married to a Zabar and felt good about belonging to a new society..."*

9.3.2 Work, Study, and Functioning.

One of the characteristics of a meaningful life that seen in most of the interviews is the need to function in society after all the years they had been cut off from the world. This need is reflected mainly in 3 levels: (1) The need to find a place of work, both to earn a living, and to belong to society; (2) the longing to study. Some of them did not go to school because they were too young when the war broke out and some were cut off from the study circles; (3) fulfill organizational social roles, which may create a social status and roles that contribute to the individual and to society. They described not only the need to work but also the need to progress and reach a higher level position, each time. Their testimonies show a need to continue living. Yoram described it in an unequivocal way. In his opinion, being busy is part of the healing process.

Yoram says*:"... I give deep respect to Holocaust Survivors and I know what strength it takes to rise up from the ashes. And I can say that keeping busy is the best cure..."*

Azriel refers to his work as the most important need to continue his existence. In his opinion, other people that he met felt the same need.

Azriel …" *I was busy working all the time... Always, when the conversation started..The main question was whether the person worked or not.*"

Eva indicated the importance of work. Her need to work was so strong that she worked without salary part of the time, as a volunteer, in order to contribute to society, to join (t) the working circle, to be part of the community.

"I gave private lessons in English… … Later on I worked as a translator and a teacher… I volunteered to read at the Radio for 5 years in English programs".

Arie also attributes a lot of importance to work. He describes the assistance that he received from friends at the beginning and how he advanced in his positions.

Arie *"… I was helped to find a job ,friends here, arranged for me a job in the English army cantina, and there my role was " to sniff around…Then I started to work in the health organization as a clerk I was… Then I started to work in bookkeeping because I needed livelihood…"*

Yonit says: *"…, I stayed a year in the kibbutz. There I worked in everything…Later I was a dressmaker and immediately started to work from home. I had one room only… I knew that I wanted to work. It was very important for me…"*

Shy: *"… I was the editor of the "Spark" paper until my arrival to Israel… A month and a half after the liberation I published the paper, I had interest in life even there…"*

It is evident that the emphasis for all of them is their readiness to work immediately. They did not recoil from any occupation. Some of them not only joined the working circle, but also wished to fulfill their youth dream, interrupted because of the Holocaust, the dream to study and progress. Although they were not always able to achieve their plans before the war, it did not stop them from continuing and striving to reach their main goal, which was to study, after the war had ended.

Arie *"…And ,then I started to think about studies because I always wanted to be a doctor… but I knew that the economic situation will not allow me because I needed to work in the day and Law school was the only option to learn in the evening…. I learned and I worked. It was difficult…"*

Aviho*: "…At the same time I started studying at the University of Munich. I signed up for 5 subjects. Each day I traveled from the camp to the university and at nights I would work at the camp. We actually built there a small Jewish state. We were 1/4 million Jews…"*

Menachem describes a combination between studies and work out of his desire to advance and obtain better positions.

Menachem:*"…I studied half days for 4 years because I continued working as a maintainer of the type machines of my father's newspaper…"* Yoram: *"… I studied very seriously.*

Since then I learned much Hebrew and also other things… I studied for a bachelor degree at the Jerusalem University, I studied literature…"

Shy studied and worked: "… *I went to study and worked very little…My wife was the main financial supporter of our family…"*

Some of them describe the need to study and work as a way to avoid thinking about the fate of their families.

Aviho*:"… I did not have time to think what happened to my family or the Jewish people. I contributed myself to work for the community and hard studies for myself this is how I am keeping busy all the time…"*

Menachem *"…work makes forget the Holocaust in the past and also now I need in order to forget…"*

Another way to belong, and be part of society and return to life, as described by the Survivors interviewed is to accept various social roles. Aviho volunteered to organize the Survivors immediately after their liberation. Yonit dedicates part of her time to help others.

Aviho says: "…. *The Holocaust that happened to me and to all of us the people of Israel, instead of being sad and thinking about this I started to organize a group of people…"*

Yonit says *: "…I helped people as I worked and felt excellent…"*

Yonit *: "… I also felt excellent because my work was interesting and helpful to people. Naturally that helped the feeling of belonging…."*

Others joined defense organizations or the military service.

Arie:"… *I was active in the Etzel (the secret military movement before the War of Independence) and that also gave me a sense of belonging."*

Menachem volunteered to the Hagana and participated in its operations. Later on he enlisted in the IDF.

Menachem: "… *I was asked if I want to enter the 'Hagana', a secret military organization before the establishment of the state…I was sent to different courses and also to an officer's course…"*

Shraga joins Kibbutz Nitzanim and becomes one of its founders.

Shraga says: "…*I will overcome. …I arrived to Nitzanim. We started setting up Nitzanim, a new youth village where there was before the war…*

Shy offered another example to belonging and having a meaningful life: *"I'm active as a journalist. I published a lot, and I do research on the subject of World War II and Germany."*

9.3.3 Conclusions.

The statements of the Survivors interviewed demonstrate that all of them felt a need to carry out meaningful deeds, for themselves and for society, to return to normal functioning, not to ponder over what happened to them, to face the future and not the past. They accomplished it through work and studies.

9.3.4 Togetherness.

Another way to exist and belong was the need for togetherness, with friends and family that survived, to be together with those who shared their experiences of suffering from hunger, bereavement, fear, etc. By staying together they could master the power to cope and the will to continue living.

Folie*: "...Never again! We depended on each other after having the luck of surviving the war years together. .... My source and desire to progress was based on my belief in my existence and my commitment to my family…"*

Moshe *: "...The source of my motivation for meaning and success was keeping all my surviving family members together, my father and aunt, and to create a new family as well. ..."*

Azriel says:"…. *We were all together, later on we got organized."*

Folie: "…*We were a 'team of destiny'. This is what I call it, the friends that were together ...Some of us were together from the Ghetto… It was important for me to stay together with all my friends, we wanted to stay together, because of the experience of the Holocaust, that is how we explained it".*

Some of them expressed their wish to live close to the center of the country in order to maintain their contact with other Survivors.

Folie: *"...We wanted to live close to Tel Aviv then was also a main place in the lives of new comers to Israel in jobs and getting to know people and getting along..."*

Shraga, one of the young Survivors interviewed, was 12 years old when the Holocaust

ended and he also describes the need of the group of children to stay together. They did not have any families and the group was their family. They experienced the same hardships, lived in the same conditions and it was clear to them that this was the group that would support them.

Shraga:*"... I was little, 12.years old. We were all orphans with the same history, in the same Conditions…We were together two years in Sweden, as H.Ss.*

It can be said that we felt "together"... We, the children had a similar background and we stayed together as a group…"

In addition, Shraga declared that his father's last will was that he protects his brother and that they remain together. This is the meaning of the "family togetherness".

Shraga says*: "My father's last words to me were 'keep a close eye on your little brother'. I did it then and I am still doing it now. I had obligated myself to this and this was the meaning in my life. It gave me a lot of energy to go on."*

9.3.5 Ideology –Faith in Judaism /Zionism.

Another need of the Survivors for meaningful life and for belonging was reflected in the faith that they remembered from home. For some it was the Jewish faith, the Jewish religious laws and traditions, and for others it was the Zionist ideology and the longing to immigrate to the Land of Israel.

In this category, the Survivors indicated the need to continue the family traditions that they remembered from home. They said that after the war they longed to return to their "father's home", to remember their home. The past creates a link to an important future for them, to celebrate the Jewish holidays, which they were denied during the war. It was important for them to continue studying together, as they did in their homes of origin. The belief that they belonged to a people and a nation, helped them to rise from the past hell and continue living. This belief enables them, after their liberation, to celebrate the Jewish holidays and to be part of a people that others wished to exterminate.

Azriel says: *"We celebrated Passover because they remembered the dates. We were all together…"*

Aviho: *"I stayed a believer after the Holocaust as in the bible it says: 'There will be a hiding of God'…I am not a 'Hasidic', I am a 'Kabbalist'.*

I learn Kabbalah each night until this day. This is the tradition, to learn and not to be narrow minded. My father was not religious, but I remember that on Saturdays he sat and studied bible with a cigarette in his mouth …"

Aviho; *"… The tradition to learn and not to be narrow minded.* **…** *when I was young I was in a Yeshiva and my whole life I remember that on Saturdays he (my father) would sit and study bible with a cigarette in his mouth…. "*

Others described the socialist ideology as part of the meaning of their life:

"Ideologically, Zionistic and socialistic brought me to Israel…"

"We were motivated by the Zionistic ideology. This was the essence of life and the way to reject the pain and create success."

"From my studies and research, I learned and felt that the world treated the Jews differently, so I had a special motivation and the power to look into it. While I was studying, my wife was the financial supporter of the family. … All this was the result of me working with high motivation, because my source was the belief in Zionism."

For Eva the source for a meaningful and successful life was following the role models of her parents*: "I was raised by an enormously tough family who passed their styles and attitudes onto me. This served me well when I came to Israel as a widow and decided to live in the same way. I was not a fearful person. I knew how to maintain self-discipline to reach my goals.*

My target was to advance by being a good Zionist and proving to myself that I can play my part in building the state of Israel…Life here was very hard, but I was determined to help build the country and create a successful life according to my parents' ideals. I was instilled with a love for Israel, not to live in the Diaspora (outside of Israel)…. Working , obligations to family and taking care of them in order to have roots here…I had met an orphan kid in the street and later I adopted him when I got married: he became our son."

Another way for a meaningful life was to help others, to take care of others and try to make arrangements for a new life. Azriel: *"After four months I arrived in Israel. I encouraged a group of youngsters to come with me and I became their tutor. This time I started to feel that the meaning of my life was through Zionism…. I felt that this is my goal and it has been the source of motivation that led my life. I was interested in the Zionist movement my entire life …. I believed that by being here I could build a successful life for myself and that my dream and my parents' dreams would come true. ..."*

Similarly to the keeping with the tradition that caused the Survivors to feel that they belong, the Zionist ideology that they absorbed in their homes of origin gave meaning to their lives after the Holocaust and motivated them to continue living:

Azriel; *"I feel meaning in my Zionistic actions and this makes me feel that I belong to this country..."*

Shy: "*I was searching for a friend from my Zionistic youth group with whom to come to Israel, make a life, and feel that this is ours and that we belong here…."*

Aviho: "*I found my own meaning in life by following Zionism and* building Israel*: My belief and my program for life is to live for Israel; this is what…"*

Yoram: *"My family and I came to Israel because this was the only meaningful aim in our lives after the Holocaust. I was determined to come to Israel. I was sure that this is the only solution ..."*

Others were not satisfied with only immigrating to Israel, but considered their fulfillment in joining a kibbutz and becoming farmers. This is the Zionist ideology they were born into. Yoram said that the source of his motivation for success was his belief in Zionism, The source of Folie`s will to live a meaningful and successful life was his search toward his own fulfillment. He was a great Zionist according his personal history*: "I wanted to live in a Kibbutz, the best place to start building the state. When I arrived in Israel, my desire was to contribute to the building of this country, to build up a new state. I was educated on Zionist's ideological faith. This was the source that helped me overcome the hard life at the beginning. My intention was to live an ordinary life here in Israel, in a socialist framework, in a Kibbutz. I still live there. I was devoted to the idea of socialism in a new country. I trusted myself to cope with every issue in life…."*

The inspiration behind Roza and Miriam in living a fulfilled and successful life was their strength in overcoming the difficulties that faces them without asking questions. Their view of life was simple and practical: *"We believed that despite going through the Holocaust, with so much suffering, it was possible to gain a normal life again. We felt a determination to achieve what we needed for a normal life. Our meaning of life itself is to live it…We also believed that the Zionist concept was our only hope for a better future. We started to slowly organize our everyday needs. We felt that nothing could stop us from believing in life and in success because we are here in our country and we have been saved. We also have a secret motto that we want to reveal to them and to those who wanted to destroy us completely." 'Desire to achieve and never give up'. We have constantly tried new challenges, like working in agriculture (*for Roza*) and starting secretarial work with a new language (*Miriam)"*.

The faith in Judaism was always present, without words, and was expressed differently by every Jewish person, ranging from the religious community to the agnostics. Together with living in Israel, it was the central factor connecting these people in many ways. Zionism instead of pure Judaism became the faith and provided the meaning of life, where the goal shared by all was to build the state of Israel.

Aviho was an excellent example of this: *"I had an inner desire to study the bible. I followed my father and after the war, here in Israel, I felt that I must go in that direction too, because it seemed to me that this might be the reason for my surviving after all. Every night I studied and was devoted to religion. I was learning about Judaism nonstop. My belief in God gave me the real reason for doing things. This was my route and the Holocaust did not succeed in destroying my beliefs. I'm religious but not a fanatic."*
According to Aviho's priorities, working and learning the Talmud were the source of his drive. Being involved with everything, staying busy, was also his rejection of, and his solution for the constant psychological pain he felt. *"I worked without stopping. I decided to devote my life to Zionism, to build the country. I was left all alone, since my entire family was exterminated. The source of my motivation to live a meaningful and successful life was my belief in God and in the philosophy of Judaism. This belief system worked for me. I knew that I had to continue doing everything, I could to progress my career. I*

felt the ambition to achieve something. This powered my life and my sense of having so-cial security. I planted roots and I succeeded, with an immense will to live because of my faith in God. "

Yonit offered an original reason for feeling that life had meaning. *"When I could use my humor, my head and my hands, I felt that I lived a meaningful life and this was my way to feel that I belonged..."*

9.3.6 Goal–Orientation and Self–actualization.

Goal–orientation and self–actualization are sometimes linked. The aim in achieving self–actualization and/or a desired goal in life meant that the individual achieved fulfillment. For H.Ss in particular, life gained significance because the achievement itself became the basis of existence. By using these factors as tools to advance them toward their goals, they were able to win in the game of life. These are the same people that defined themselves as persistent and will powered. They constructed long term goals for themselves, as mentioned in the interviews: These were immigration to Israel, financial and social success, raising a family, acquiring an academic title, serving in the army and studies.

Miriam and Roza (sisters*): "Our first life goal was to leave Hungary... We felt that we realized our dream and actualized ourselves because finally we could live according to our ideals here in Israel. It was all we needed..."*

The motivation for some Survivors to immigrate to Israel was due to fear of a new Holocaust.

"I wanted to come only to Israel, because I feared that the Holocaust might occur again. When I arrived, I felt that I had self–actualized my dream completely…"

Other than immediate goals, Survivors also had long term goals, such as immigrating to Israel and building the State.

Yonit "*I always thought that it was good to come to Israel, to build the country and have a new family here, this was my goal…"*

Folie: *"My main goal was to reach my homeland..."*

Yoram*: "My parents came to Israel following my Zionist beliefs. This is how I actualized my secret dream..."*

They also had goals such as writing one's history or becoming a judge.

Arie: *"I was motivated by meaningful things, like becoming a judge and then writing my history, which took me seven years. When I had finished writing, I felt that I had self–actualized myself, and then I had to look for a new goal."*

Part of the new long term goals were designed to cause them to forget the pain of the past. The mere forgetting contributed to their self fulfillment. At the same time, Folie said that they never "forgot" and for that reason he taught the subject and even researched it.

"I have never forgotten the Holocaust…Not at all. I was a teacher for 30 years and discretely made my students aware of the Holocaust. You cannot escape the past, in my opinion…I also work now on research…"

Aviho also did not forget, but he made an effort to overcome the pain.

Aviho: *"…I worked hard in order to ease the pain. This was one of my goals. I did this because it helped me a little to forget to a certain degree and I felt that I had self–actualized myself..."*

Yonit, on the other hand, claims that she dedicated herself to her work in order to forget, in order to be able to cope with long term goals, raising a family and taking good care of them.

Yonit says: " *I met many people. I worked a lot and did not have time to think about the past, and that was good. I focused on building my home and providing a good life for my family. I lived the moment…"*

Shraga and Arie consider the need to study as a long term goal in order to achieve financial and social security.

Shraga: "*I wanted to be in a Jewish organized setting…I thought that I must study, and started to make plans, in order to evolve and achieve something…to achieve financial security and personal and social setting…but first of all, for me, as I had no one to lean on. In this case, I had two options, to live by myself or to not live at all…"*

For others, military service was a long term goal which could help them achieve self-fulfillment. Yoram sees military service as a means of social integration that was extremely important for him.

Yoram: *"I went into the army in order to be like a best native Israeli. For me, this was a self–actualizing action. I was more than happy by this action…"*

Yonit wished to return to the quality of life she had before the war, and although she was aware of the difficulties, she set quality of life as her goal.

Yonit: "*I wanted the good life that I had once. This was not easy, but it was my goal*"

Aviho's goal was to act and be active, to not be depressed, and to strive for a normal life.

Aviho*: "I acted in an opposite way [to the way I was feeling], by acting and doing, I mean, and not sitting being sad. I knew there is a lot to do in order to return to a normal life …"*

The goal of some was to raise new families instead of the family that they had lost in the Holocaust.

Miriam and Roza*:"… now we had new goals: to build families, to get married and have children. … having a family is the best proof we could provide for ourselves in order to feel strong and well..."*

My reflections also show similar attitudes to this subject:*"…I was oriented toward self–actualization from a very early age.* Naturally*, I was not aware of it until much later. I recall that at the ages of 11–12 I became more self–conscious about this state and this feeling deepened over the years as I acquired more values and needs. As an adult, I had many dreams which I felt compelled to actualize. My first priority was to study. My second priority was being Israeli. These goals meant the world* to me."

Out of the categories addressing the meaning of life, I observe that some of them feel that they indeed succeeded in achieving self-fulfillment, that they achieved their desire to live in Israel, that they renewed their studies despite of all their difficulties, that they succeeded in providing for their families and at the same time contributed to the society in which they lived. They accomplished all of this through their roles as Member of Parliament, journalist in a respectable newspaper, court judge, and an author that documented her experience in the Holocaust.

Roza and Miriam (sisters): *"Our first motivation and goal for life was to leave Hungary. Our secret was the force of desire as our motivation for not giving up. We felt that we achieved our dreams and actualized ourselves, because finally we could live according to our ideals here in Israel. That was all we needed."*

Yoram: *"...I wanted to come only to Israel…. When I arrived, I felt that I had self–actualized my dream completely."*

Yonit: *"I always thought that it was good to come to Israel, to build the country, and have a new family here. This was my goal".*

9.3.7 Persistence and Will Power.

Persistence means to go all the way to the end. The person who possesses the quality of inner persistence can achieve his goals, overcome any obstacle, and deal with any situation. Persistence leads to success. Inner strength, along with persistence, enables the carrying out of all actions accomplished by the person.

Persistence is the foundation within the person's character and is the factor that can bring fruitful results. In order to be creative or achieve a goal, a person must be persistent. Otherwise, he or she can easily fail. The test of capacity for success is therefore finding the energy to overcome weakness. This quality in our personality is not obvious. We are not born with it but rather acquire it through education.

Will power is an essential factor for success because you never know at the beginning of a journey whether you will find unexpected obstacles that have to be overcome. It may seem superficial, but it was the true situation for H.Ss who had to struggle and not give up all the way towards reaching success.

Many of the Survivors define themselves as possessing persistence and will power. Persistence is a quality that appears in many aspects of their lives. Persistence showed in their academic studies, in raising families, and in taking care of others. Their desire to survive, to live again, to show the Germans that they prevailed, the desire not to give up, enabled them to integrate into society and reclaim their place in life. Shraga and Yoram believe that persistence was the basis for success in their studies and in their lives.

"My family and I came to Israel because this was the only meaningful aim in our lives after the Holocaust. I was determined to come to Israel. I was sure that this is the only solution for the Jewish people".

Shraga: *"Persistence is often the defining quality that separates those who succeed from those who fail... I also determined that academic achievements would be the first thing in my life after being in the army."*

Yoram: "*I was determined and persistent in my academic achievements and in building a family. After my wife passed away, I recovered by raising my son, and eventually by starting a new family.*"

Aviho dedicates his persistence to study the Torah and continue his father's tradition.

Aviho: "*I devoted my life to Zionism and to learning the Talmud. I inherited my desire for biblical study and the Talmud from my father.*"

Eva attributes her survival to the treatment of others: "*The way I persisted and endured was by taking care of others, specifically a 10 year old orphan boy whom I had met in the street... I saw this act as my contribution towards the founding of Israel and as the acknowledgement of my own survival...*"

Azriel describes the difficulties he encountered in his life without any help. Nevertheless, he persisted and did not give up. He says:"*...I planned to leave this job after 2 years, to go out, to learn how to be a mechanical engineer I was very sure of that goal...I was 23 years old and did not give up. It was a little painful and there was no one to help me. I thought of searching further. I did not cry or give up for a second...*"

Arie: "*I did not give in to myself even one milligram. My model was a person swimming that instinctively does all sorts of movements in order to rescue himself...*"

In his opinion, in order to persist in the use of your will power, you must have a goal. He provided this as an example: "*In the Ghetto I had a purse from beautiful leather and I guarded it and did not sell it, also not for food... I guarded the purse for the purpose that someday I will arrive at the university in Israel to learn...I had a goal and that's why I guarded the purse...*"

Aviho discovered, after the fact, that his persistence indirectly saved others.

Aviho: "*After the war many people told me that I have saved their lives as I was very determined and stubborn. This is what convinced them to eat, and saved them in the lager (concentration camp)...*"

Like Aviho, Miriam and Rosa describe their commitment to their goal and their will power not only for themselves, but also in the way their strength influenced their friends.

Miriam and Roza*: "We had strength for ourselves and strength for others in order to overcome the obstacles during the first period when we had nothing.*"

In addition, their goal was to show the Germans that they can survive.

Rosa and Miriam*: "The strong feeling to show them…we must show them our power to live, purposely…to continue to live to do the best we can."*

When they arrived to Israel, their goal was to continue living, not to give up, to be active and to prove that they can succeed.

"Here, in Israel, we felt that we must live and be active. Never, but never, would we consider giving up. The opposite was true. We wanted to prove how successful we can become…"

Yonit copes in a similar way. She described that, during the Holocaust and the suffering she endured, she did not cease to believe in her will to continue living. She never thought to give up or to surrender.

Yonit *: "I pulled myself during the war because I wanted to overcome, then I pulled myself with force and I did not stop. I wanted a good life, as I said before! No, never said I'm fed up. These words never crossed my mind. Obviously our secret was not to give up,"*

The combination of persistence and will power are also evident in Shay's words, when he said:

"My will power is having ambitions for achievements."

Similar conclusions derive from my own reflections in this research:

I cannot describe myself without this quality. I believe that it is primarily through my education that I found this gift, this sense of persistence. It has given me the faith to understand that work with passion can turn my dreams into a reality.

"I was very persistent about wanting to belong in order to blend with my new surroundings…after finishing my army service, I continued to believe that persistence is the key for success in every facet of life. Persistence brought me everything important in my life. By solving each ongoing difficulty through work and study …"

My own willpower was put to the test my whole life. Due to my background and character, I always work very hard to get goals for myself. I have memories from third grade, when I arrived in Israel at the age of 9*: "I was in my new class without knowing a word in Hebrew. My parents could not help because they did not know any Hebrew either. I had no choice but to cope. I said to myself, I will speak Hebrew soon.*

Everything will be fine. I was happy. We, the newcomers, had to be focused on our goals, to prove to others and ourselves what we were capable of achieving."

 However, I never gave up on reaching my goals**.**

   9.3.8 Survivor Mechanism.

The most significant phrase that illustrates this category is Shraga's words when he says: *"It was a situation that everyone tried to survive. There was a passion for life. No one said: Damn it, I cannot continue trying and there is no point in life."* That is the Survivor's mechanism and being a Pathfinder. These people succeeded in life after experiencing traumatic events. They have optimism, humor, energy, and hope. The most important fact about the personality traits that drive pathfinders is their ability to seek and find uncommon solutions to common life crises. Personality can be strengthened with effort. Such people know how to cope and solve problems in order to achieve better lives.

Already in the first days after liberation, according to the Survivors interviewed, they talked about their will to continue living and to survive the Holocaust. The will to survive was stronger than any other feeling they had. They overcame hatred, cold weather, lack of clothes, and lack of roofs over their heads, and worry about their survival.

Azriel*: "We found a house and started looking for civilian clothes and food. We needed to be careful from drunken German soldiers."* Miriam and Roza*:"... we started with the small things, the everyday life, to eat, to go to sleep in our bed…"*

Yonit*: "There was nothing, nothing, nothing. I simply did not have any choice. That's what I felt and that is what impulse me."*

Folie describes the desire to continue living even when facing great dangers .

Folie : *"We rode a train that had to stop because it was bombed …, we came off the train and started to run towards the forest, and the first thing that I remember is that we wanted to survive and eat."*

One of the characteristics of Survivor mechanism is not to despair, even when you are alone in the world. You must take care of yourself.

Shraga: "*I remember the first thought that I had was that now I am alone and need to take care of myself. I think it was my first instinct that pushed me a person must take care of*

himself and his family. I was accompanied by that feeling for many years. I don't re-
member that I cried."

The following were derived from my reflections:

"I lived as a Pathfinder and had (and still have) the Survivor mechanism as defined by Sheehy (1982) without being conscious of it, of course. *I had learned to cope and, yes, I have lived with fears*. But, I was not immune to pain and suffering. Otherwise, I could not have functioned in my profession, where being sensitive is necessary. *"I found that achievements always played an important part in my life in reducing the bad memories*." I created achievements that reinforced my being. As a H.S I needed to do so much more than an average person did.

"I do take risks in order to solve the problems in life, like pathfinders naturally do." One of my main attitudes to life as a Survivor and pathfinder is to be responsible toward my children. Every person seeks some form of happiness. The sense of purpose may come from the work of raising a family, as the work itself motivates the person.

The source of Shy's motivation for meaning and success was to keep very busy in many ways. He used it as a mechanism to reject the pain*: "I keep myself intellectually busy all the time, doing research to understand Jewish History."*

We can see from the statements of Survivors interviewed that most of them were aware that despite the trauma they suffered, they want to survive and to continue. They have self-discipline, or at least this is how they named this quality.

Arie: "*I suffered, but I had self–discipline with regard to perseverance."*

Menachem: *"I was in a dormitory here with other children like me without family. I had to live with self–discipline and learn the rules."*

Yonit noticed that despite all the difficulties, she did not complain.

Yonit*: "I did not complain and nobody else did either. Even if the price was to suffer… we were living freely in our own country.   I had some secret source of energy so I was able to avoid feelings. It was my way to avoid suffering from the past."*

Miriam and Roza (sisters): *"Even when coping with hostile feelings from our kinfolk, we did not open our mouths to complain."*

Folie describes another characteristic of this mechanism, which is the need to take risks and to try.

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Folie: *"I like to try, even if there is a possibility of danger. Sometimes I must take risks."*

Others fully devoted themselves to work in order to survive and continue living.

Eva: "*I was industrious and had many jobs in order to support myself and my family. I liked to work.*"

Shy considered that the need to achieve and to progress lets you forget the past and enables you to survive and advance.

Shy: "*I had a drive for achievement. It was the only thing that helped me to forget the past to some degree. This was my joy*".

For Aviho, the Bible is the source of power and the basis of survival.

Aviho: "*From the day that I was free, I studied the bible at night. It gave me enormous power.*"

9.3.9 Self–Identity.

The prospects of being free made H.Ss feel confused and lost. They asked themselves many common questions such as: "Who am I?" "What can I do now?" "Why?" "Where?" They felt a sense of emptiness and loss. They were searching and did not have answers. For some of them, emerging from this psychological state was more complicated and needed more effort.

Survivors felt disoriented, and devoid of self-identity. They felt as if they were losing their minds. Regaining self-identity took place consciously and unconsciously, through trials and errors: *"I felt the freedom, but I did not know what to expect and from whom. I was lost entirely and felt alone, like a leaf blowing in the wind. I was an adult child. My age was 12 but my experience was 50. I had to come to terms with myself."*

The sisters Roza and Miriam provided another example: *"At that time we were excited, confused, and could not think or plan, but it changed slowly every day."*

9.3.10 Beliefs.

One of the expressions that we hear in the interviews is the concept of "belief". We could assume that people that experienced the Holocaust, that faced death, that lost their whole families and their belongings, would not use the word "belief". Nevertheless, most of

them used the concept of "belief", referring to a religious belief, a belief in their friends, a belief in their families, ideological belief, and a belief in their abilities. Their statements show that a belief has a great meaning for the willingness to continue living and succeeding.

Arie: *"I started to believe in this (the dream), and it changed my life …this belief changed my life,…nothing was difficult to deal with, because I believe that God … and I felt security because I resided with father and mother and met my wife."*
Aviho believed in the fall of the Nazis and this belief gives him strength.
"I believed from the first day that the Nazis would fall. I like predicting the future. I knew that Hitler would fall."
Yonit believed that a Holocaust could not occur in Israel:
"The whole time I believed that here can't be a Holocaust and that is the most important thing."
Yoram immigrated to Israel because of his belief in Zionism: "*In that period, 1950, we came to Israel, according to my Zionist belief.*".
Folie said that he believed the Kibbutz is the most secured place for him: "*The Kibbutz gave me a sense of security and a reason to live because of the belief."*

9.3.11 Feelings.

One of the findings regarding the Holocaust Survivors is that they do not tend to express their feelings much and do not tend to share their experiences. The Survivors interviewed talked about memories, thoughts, plans for the future and behaviors. However, they were less likely to share their feelings. Nevertheless, they did express emotional subjects.
Azriel spoke of feelings of freedom and excitement:
"I was a free man."
Shy: *"We arrived in Haifa at night. We were very excited, more than you can explain in words…the reality was far more exciting than imagination."*
Yonit says: "W*e are free. This is our country. The war is behind us and we want to live."*
Menchem: *"I was released from the IDF and felt like a free man."*

But the feeling of freedom did not always cause Survivors a sense of relief and enthusiasm. They provided descriptions of feeling lost and confused after liberation, as Shraga says:

Shraga*: "When we were free we felt like we were losing our way. Although there was freedom to make decisions ... the basic feeling was to be free, but we did not know what to do with our freedom ..."*

Another form of expression that indicated their emotional state was the optimistic statements of the Survivors, which were contrary to their life situations. Despite all the hardships, loss of their families, hunger, and loneliness, they provided expressions indicating optimism for the future.

Azriel*: "I thought it is great, my dreams come true and it is my and their opportunity."*

Yoram says: "*… complain? No. I was born without this quality. What's there to complain about? I did not think of it."*

Menachem: "*I did not give myself a chance to get nervous."*

Folie*: "No one gave up and, for instance, stopped functioning. No. For sure no."*

The strongest expressions of optimistic thinking and positive feelings are reflected in the statement of Shraga, who never lost his desire to live and succeeded in imagining positive images even in the most difficult and darkest places.

Shraga*: "One of the main things I remember, and it is pretty strange, the green fields that surrounded the camp. In the camp there was death and I would look ...outside and see green. Children playing, everything quiet and there is something to live for....I hoped and believed. I don't know how but my will was strong. I wanted to live a new life...I believed that it would be good for us in Israel, that it is enjoyable, that Jews help each other there."*

Another feeling is "happiness", which is one of the only feelings expressed by Survivors. They are happy with their lot, that they had immigrated to Israel, raised new families, were able to support themselves and live a meaningful life.

Arie: "*now I live modestly and it provides me and I am happy in my partial...."*

Roza and Miriam: "*We were happy ... we were in bad situations in every way long enough. Now nothing is bad...we have families, we have food, we have security, we have our own state, we are grateful and enjoy our lives very much ..."*

Yonit (with a big smile):*"... when I was married and later when I had children and there was bread on the table and on the bread there was margarine and a glass of coffee I was happy…"*

Menachem: "*I got there a job and was happy with my part what I had…"*

9.3.12 Supporting Environment.

Despite the Survivors' tendency to minimize hardship, their absorption process was difficult. The local population often did not understand them. They invested mental resources in the absorption process. They were assisted by friends, family members, kibbutzim, public entities, and various volunteers.

Arie: "*… I was, later accepted to be the principle secretary, Doctor Allenberg , he came from Poland before the war. He had a great personality and I was amazed by that…I was helped to find a job and then friends here arranged a job in the English army for me."*

Aviho describes the help of the Jewish Brigade soldiers that assisted them after the Holocaust.

"At the end of the war they helped H.Ss in every way they could. They were able to move easily from place to place. They knew what was going on and where, the media in all of conquered Europe …"

Shai describes the help of the American soldiers in Europe: "*The Americans tried to move us from there to our 'home land'. In addition to our own activities with the Brigade,…"*

Azriel : "*…In 4 months I arrived in Israel on 7.11.45 through Austria and Italy. It was with the aid of the Jewish brigade."*

Yoram says: "*Life started to smile on us. Also, friends from our town arrived."*

There were also individuals who helped Survivors, as described by Menachem:
"There was a nice man there who I became friends with and he told me about the opportunity of continuing my studies for an academic degree in accounting. "

Yonit married a Brigade soldier who understood what she went through and supported her.

"My husband did not go through the Holocaust but was in the brigade and knew all about

it… He supported me very much and helped me…"

Menachem describes the help they received after the Holocaust, when they were still in Europe, which assisted him to immigrate to the Land of Israel.

"Media came from all over the world in the first few days and connected us to the world outside. They helped us. This is how I was able to leave Europe and come to Israel."

Some were luckier and were assisted by relatives in Israel: *"We were lucky we had relatives in Israel who helped us and I had a small heritage from distant relatives and this helped us to get along and rent an apartment."*

shraga : "*I had relatives in Israel. My mother's brother came to Israel in 1933 … my father's brother and sister too. The brother lived in Ein Shemer and the sister in Tel Aviv. That made it easier…"*

Another group that helped the Survivors was the emissaries who arrived from Israel and helped the Survivors already in Europe and also in their absorption in Israel.

Shraga: "With the help of messengers from Israel I had no real internal conflicts, about where to go. The Swedish were also convincing but very gently…"

9.3.13 Success.

The concept of "success" is another finding that supports the assumptions of this research. The interviews with the Survivors show that they tended to refer to themselves as successful people. Some referred to their success in raising families. Others described financial success, success in fulfilling their roles, helping others, etc.

Shraga believes that the Survivors had no other option but to succeed: *"… my approach that we came from sand and ashes but we can and must succeed in spite of everything…"*

His goal in immigrating to Israel was first and foremost to succeed: *"I came to Israel in order to succeed it was thus, to all it was important, to start a new life…"*

Arie: *"Thank God. I'm very pleased from my actions, and with my wonderful family…Now that I'm retired I continue to work as I please and am very happy…"*

Aviho: "*I have succeeded as a person and have done things that fulfilled me, yes, very much so. I was one of the pioneers of the new country."*

Roza and Miriam: "…*we feel that we fulfilled our dreams successfully. We are content,*

happy, live in a loving family that we made, surrounded by grandchildren and grand grandchildren….We are 89 and 92. We are happy and never complain."

Yoram spoke about success and satisfaction in life, referring mainly to family, art, and professional success. He did not refer to financial success since he is a kibbutz member.

Yoram: "*I went on in life and accomplished many important things in my life: I have a great family. I illustrated over 150 books …every place people liked me and helped me. I cannot complain…. I don't have any materialistic accomplishments as I lived in a Kibbutz, but the creativity and the idealistic accomplishment fulfilled my life.*"

When Shy was asked what his motivation for success was, he said: "*I really wanted to succeed…and what is success in my eyes? To raise a family and a good and secure financial base….*"

Menachem: "*I don't think that I was able to choose my ways differently and I am satisfied. …. I built a nice family. I also made good money. I studied and became a professional and the most important thing for me was being a Zionist so that I would be able to participate in building Israel. This is my life. I love it and will try to enjoy what I have…*"

Folie described himself as a happy and successful person and said: "*Life gave me a lot of personal rewards that made me happy and joyful. Till today I am busy with research. I am now writing a book.*"

Shraga declared that he invested much in his work. It was important for him to plant roots and succeed financially in order to create a secure environment for his family: "*I chased after progress in life and invested my energy at work as much as possible…There was a motivation to plant roots, to succeed financially, and to be in a safe environment.*"

Another way to express success and a feeling of security was reflected in the ability of some of the Survivors interviewed to share their past experiences with their children. The Survivors said that in the last years, a supporting atmosphere was created to share on the subject of the Holocaust, along with questions raised by the second generation.

Yonit*: "I started to speak about the Holocaust with my children. I felt that it was important to let them know. The people who lived here in Israel could not understand that H.Ss could return to a normal life and so when they started to ask me questions, I told them almost everything, chapter after chapter."*

9.4 Findings Conclusion for Research- Question 1

The first research question examined the motivations of the Survivors to rebuild their lives after the Holocaust and to succeed. The findings from the interviews point out internal and external motivations.

The findings show that all of the Survivors interviewed for this study wished to continue living, despite the loss, the suffering and the traumas they had experienced. They did not give up, did not surrender. The central idea challenging the Survivors to rebuild and to live was the need for a meaningful life. Their need to belong, work, believe in ideology, in Judaism and Zionism, to be together and achieve self-fulfillment, all derive from this motif. Their statements show that the need to belong is a basic and essential feeling which none of them had and all of them craved.

The Survivors tried various actions in order to belong to the State being created, to the people and the faith. It was very important for Survivors to belong and to join others because most of them were alone. They lost their families in the Holocaust. Thus, the friends that remained together during the war called themselves a 'Team of Destiny'. The qualities that helped them cope and advance in their long and short term goals were as follows:

Persistence and Will Power, Goal–Orientation, Survivor Mechanism,

Self–identity, Positive Feelings, beliefs and supporting environments .

Their investment in work, the army, their religious beliefs, Zionism, and in their families helped them, among all else, to forget the horrible memories of the Holocaust and continue functioning. They reported aspiring to achieve a high quality of living, financially, professionally and socially. Their sense of humor also helped them maintain their meaning of life.

To conclude, Survivors defined themselves as people who succeeded in their lives and in their work, with their families, and in society. Some of them started talking about the Holocaust and sharing their experiences with the second generation sixty years after the fact.

9.5 The Second Question of the Research.

The second research question refers to the difficulties which the Survivors overcame in order to achieve their goals. What were the difficulties of H.Ss in overcoming and achieving their goals?

9.6 Categories

Out of their statements, the categories that emerged were: loneliness; fear and insecurity; the attitude of the local population to the Holocaust Survivors; absorption difficulties; emotional isolation; and disturbing memories.

Every one of the H.Ss had difficulties in starting a new life, some more than others. Generally, it can be said that after a long struggle to stay alive during the Holocaust years, they arrived in Israel, without much help, in order to start anew. Very few of them spoke Hebrew and many of them had no professions. The following section describes their specific difficulties, which were applicable to nearly all refugees arriving in Israel.

In my interviews with H.Ss, I found that they were not willing to recall the bad events that troubled them and totally avoided complaining about anything. Only a few opened up about that tough period in their lives.

Several factors are responsible for the silence of the Survivors. First, the attitude of the local population in Israel towards the Survivors silenced them. Second, they refused to see themselves as victims, and third, they felt that complaining was a sign of weakness, like giving up on life. In reality, the mass immigration into Israel could not have happened at a worse time. There were very few resources available for immigrant absorption as resources were required by the liberation war that was taking place at that time. The state was trying to absorb the newcomers while fighting for its own existence.

9.6.1 Loneliness.

The emotional difficulties of loneliness, bad memories, and fears felt by Survivors are described below.

Shraga: "*I felt that I was alone in the world. We are different from regular people who are not H.Ss. I felt that I had two options, either to live, or….*"

Yonit: "*The loneliness was difficult, only being able to associate with other Survivors. Firstly during the war and then afterwards, I pushed myself to…*"

Shy: "*I was alone, very sick at that time and missing my family. That's when my father died….*"

Yonit:*"… it was hard and I was alone, with my brother I hardly meet because we were working all the time. The loneliness was hard…*"

My personal childhood memories also indicate loneliness and feeling different, mainly because the local children in Israel did not share the Holocaust experience.

"I felt very bad, firstly because of the language barrier and secondly because at this age, around 10, I was associating with children who could not know about my past. It created a big gap between us and this gap was difficult. Then, in adulthood, this feeling intensified. I remember suffering, wanting to be like them but feeling like an outsider for many years".

9.6.2 Fear and Insecurity.

In addition to the difficulties deriving from the loneliness of the Survivors, some of them also talked about fear that they felt for long periods in their life. Sometimes fear was a regular visitor. The fear was caused during the Holocaust, but sometimes continued in later periods of their lives. Yoram: "*I lived in terrible fear all the time. I hid because I was Jewish… All my memories sum up for many years. War and then later on my youth study period in Israel when the goal was survival. This was followed by feelings of insecurity because of lack of money and family. I had constant fears..*".

Shraga's mainly feared hunger*: "I remember the fear of food shortage well because I remember the best people dying in the war from diseases and hunger."*

Roza described the decision made by her and her husband not to have children due to the fears of the war experiences, her husband's illness and the worry that he will be left alone without support.

Roza*: " I decided not to have children... first reason, for not wanting a child came from the resistance of my husband who lost his family and felt unhealthy. The second reason was the outcome of the first, plus the strong fear I felt being alone again …"*

Some of them still feared of a new Holocaust. Yonit stated*: "There was no sense in this in*

spite of there is a fear that maybe there will be a Holocaust again."

9.6.3 The Attitude of the Local Population to the Holocaust Survivors.

Another difficulty described by most Survivors is the lack of support from the local residents of Israel in the trauma they experienced in the Holocaust. The local population did not accept their behavior during the Holocaust. A common remark was: "Why did you go like lambs to the slaughter? Why did you not rebel?" The local population did not show empathy to the hard experiences of the Survivors and was not able to comprehend the extent of the horrors that their loved ones had to suffer. For that reason, many of the Holocaust Survivors did not share their experiences for many years, not even with their relatives who did not experience the Holocaust.

The fact that the newcomers experienced considerable difficulties in adapting themselves to the local population pushed them into the corner as a group. Only the outstanding individuals amongst them could and did well, and felt better

Yonit: "*I was the only Survivor in my family. A short time after I came here, I got married but I had no support from my husband's family. I felt lonely and very desperate."*

This estrangement of the Israelis from the Holocaust often caused anger and bitterness between the Survivors and the local population, as described by Yonit: *"I also felt bitterness toward the Israelis who surrounded us. The people here did not receive us well. They could not identify with the H.Ss*."

Arie*: "When I arrived Israel, the people here did not believe the stories of the Holocaust Survivors, as simple as that."*

The rift between both populations caused alienation between them. The local residents envied the Survivors some of the time, claiming that they received better conditions in Israel than they (the local residents) did. The envy and alienation was mainly due to the inability of the local people to believe that all the atrocities indeed occurred, since, in their opinion, it was impossible to survive them. Yonit*: "When I came to the country people here did not believe that there were things like that in the Holocaust, that it was possible at all to survive the Holocaust and to remain alive…Israelis we met, when we stayed in Tel Aviv were jealous. They there were not good with the new immigrants … they said that we were received well, and we were helped a little and they weren't when*

they arrived to Palestine."

They describe a lack of sensitivity. Menachem said*: "In those days they were not so sensitive…"*

9.6.4 Absorption Difficulties.

Among the difficulties endured by some of the Survivors were absorption difficulties. These were due to various reasons. Some Survivors lacked educational backgrounds and had no professions. They were young when the war broke out and did not get a chance to be educated. Others had difficulties finding places to live, or could not organize their lives without family assistance. In addition, the economic conditions in Israel were also harsh.

Eva*: "I did not work for a year. My husband and I hardly had anything to live on. He only got 16 liras a week from his work in the army and rent was already eight …We did not have much money. All the money went for our house … I worked for 10 hours a day... My family with all their connections because they already were here for many years could not find good work for me, because those days were hard for everyone…"*

Roza and Miriam*: "In 1947, we arrived in Palestine after being on our way for 25 months, because the British did not let us enter to Palestine, so we became refuges, and were closed in camps first for 2 years , in Cyprus and then in Atlith, which is also a camp near Haifa."*

9.6.5 Emotional Isolation.

The difficulties of living with past memories showed in the Survivors' introversion and in their repression of feelings. They did not complain out of fear that they will be considered weak and will not be able to rebuild a normal life. At the same time, as a result of the attitude towards the Survivors by the local population in Israel, they preferred to continue suffering in private and to present a normal outward presentation. This was particularly true around the minimizing and even patronizing attitudes of those who did not experience the Holocaust.

Folie: "*My bad memories detached me from feeling things and well after the liberation the difficulties of being a refugee was still there... I felt that if I continued to think about the Holocaust all the time, I would not be a normal person… even if that meant suffering more".*

The need to suppress the past caused them to share the horrors they experienced, and to suffer and grieve.

Folie*: ".... but I had a need to tell about my past. My father and I came from the Ghetto to Auschwitz…. These memories are sharp, killing me all my life."*

The two sisters that described their happiness of raising families and living in Israel also talked about moments of despair they had experienced and did not share with the others.

Miriam and Roza: "*We wanted to jump from the balcony when we came back from Auschwitz and did not find our parents. We were desperate, on the very edge of having no energy to go on… After the war we continued to suffer.*" Nevertheless, they did not give up and continued their normal lives.

Miriam and Roza: "*Nevertheless, we never considered giving up, even though it was very hard. On the contrary, we were determined to show how successful we could be."*

One of the ways they used to isolate and suppress their feelings was to work constantly. They had a desire to be busy in personal affairs, as well as in writing, public work, and in helping others. They did everything to avoid talking, feeling or thinking.

Azriel says*: "I was busy working all the time. There was no time to stop to feel of think. No one wanted to speak of the past."*

Aviho: "*I did not have time to think what happened to my family or the Jewish people. I immersed myself in work for the community and hard studies for myself this is how I … I was always busy in events for the society, for others. Not for one day I have not thought about, the Holocaust. I passed everything. Some say I was immune…"*

Yonit: "*I met many people. I worked a lot and did not have time to think about the past and that was good I focused on building my home and making sure my family lived well. I lived the moment."*

The fear of talking about the Holocaust, of remembering it was so deep, that some of them did not talk about it for several decades. They thought that if they thought or spoke

about the Holocaust, they would become abnormal. Most often, they did not even talk about it with friends and spouses who were Holocaust Survivors themselves.

Yoram: "*When I arrived in Israel, I did not want to tell anyone what I had been through and I could not tell anyone…*"

Menachem: "*I felt that if I would think about the Holocaust all the time, I would not be a normal person. I did not speak a word about the Holocaust for 30 years.*"

Shraga: "*We did not talk about this even with our children. We only spoke of this 10 years ago, and even though my late wife was a H.S herself…*"

Another reason not to share it with their families was to protect them from the atrocities.

Shraga :"*We thought to keep our awful tragedy private. We had 3 sons. The subject did not come up as we thought that it is best for our children to be raised with no Holocaust stories…*"

Yonit: "*I did not speak on the past with my close friends… There was no sense in this even though there was a fear that maybe there will be a Holocaust again.*"

All the testimonies of Survivors demonstrate that most of them suppressed the events of the Holocaust for many years. However, later on we see that the subject bothered the Survivors very much and consumed them. Folie expressed it well: "*We weren't done with the past and couldn't struggle with the future. I think that the Holocaust stayed in each one,that was a part, inside, that was there…The reality here wanted us to change and forget and as a response, many Survivors did not speak of the Holocaust at all. The subject was closed.*"

The testimony of Shraga illustrates the various feelings that some of the Survivors experience to this day: "*There are also many Holocaust Survivors here, in K. S., where we have lived for 45 years. Our neighbors are also Survivors and it feels good. We are just different from the average people who are not Survivors.*"

This statement shows that, even 60 years after the Holocaust, and despite the fact that most Survivors adapted themselves and most of them greatly succeeded in life and raised families, they still feel different. They suffered traumas unique to the Holocaust, which they have not been able to process, forget, or overcome to this day.

9.6.6 The Disturbing Memories.

Psychological effects of traumatic experiences never heal. This is demonstrated by the Survivors.

Arie: "*It's a never ending topic, why and how the Holocaust happened. I cannot forgive the Germans.*"

Azriel: "*I left with a bag of pain and sorrow and came to Israel with friends like myself…*"

Shraga: "*I thought that I was finished. I was only 12 years old, and remember all that crying. Hiding food was a normal daily action. I remember the fear of food shortages and of people dying. I will always remember it. All of those memories are terribly depressing, grief causing for me but without tears.*"

Because of feelings of loneliness, Holocaust Survivors preferred to relate to other Survivors who shared similar past experiences, present difficulties, and future goals.

Yonit*: "I became friends with people with the same past in spite of that we did not speak about it, but everything was understood between us."*

My early memories from the first period when I arrived to Israel are also memories of feeling strange and different from others.

"I felt rejected from the minute I went to school. It was hard not knowing Hebrew. The kids there never met somebody like me. Even the teacher could not talk with me. It took about two months until I could understand the language. During my teenager years, I felt rejected, but I was not strongly aware of it. I just felt that I didn't belong, that I wasn't one of them."

Another observation from the repressed memories is the suppression of anger, complaints, and suffering. Most of them are proud of their ability to hide hostile feelings and anger. They consider the expression of such feelings as a weakness.

Arie: "*I suffered, but I had self–discipline and I persevered*".

Menachem: *"I was in a dormitory here with other children like me without a family. I had to live with self–discipline and learn the rules.*"

Yonit*: "I did not complain and nobody else did either. Even at the price of suffering. We were living freely in our own country… I never complained about my very poor living*

conditions. I just did it. I had no other choice. I had some secret source of energy so I was able to avoid feelings. It was my way to avoid suffering from the past."

Roza and Miriam (sisters): *"Even when coping with hostile attitudes from our peers, we did not open our mouths to complain."*

9.7 Conclusions of Research Question 2

The second research question examined the difficulties that the Survivors overcame to achieve their goals. The interviews demonstrate that the roads taken to success by the Survivors participating in this study were full of obstacles and difficulties. This was especially true in their first few years in Israel. The main difficulties indicated by the Survivors were emotional isolation, disturbing memories, loneliness, fear, and insecurity, the attitude of the local population to the Holocaust Survivors, and absorption difficulties. They had difficulties absorbing in the workplace and acquiring professions. They had emotional difficulties due to the attitude of the local population. They concealed and repressed Holocaust experiences. This was due on the one hand to the attitudes of the local population toward them, and on the other hand due to their desire to repress terrible memories. They also had difficulties in sharing their memories with their children. They described the difficulties of coping with the alienation from the local population, and with feeling different from that population due to their unique experiences and circumstances.

In their responses to questions about their difficulties and strategies for success, every one of these Holocaust Survivors demonstrated their willingness to pay their dues for achieving the goals that they set for themselves. Their sources of strength were their faith and a strong desire to go on with their lives and achieve success. They considered feeling safe in their homeland country and raising families an important goal in their lives. They were prepared to overcome every obstacle in order to achieve that goal. That generation never complained because they believed complaining meant showing a weakness and demonstrating victim-like qualities. They kept their pain inside. This was their way to show the world that they made it and that they were normal, average people, like everyone else.

Chapter 10 Discussion and Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

 This study aimed to identify the factors that motivated H.Ss to build new suc-
 cessful lives and the difficulties they had to overcome in order to feel a sense of
 success.

I wondered to myself: How did they do it? Where did they derive their sense of strength
to succeed from? I have been asking these questions ever since I reached adulthood. As I
came of age, I observed my family and the people around me, and followed those who
were able to leave the most terrible place, go on and even succeed.

When I started this research study, my assumption was that the main reason for the suc-
cess of the Survivors derives from the concept coined by Frankl (1946) "meaningful life",
but after analyzing the interviews with the Survivors (Chapter 9 – Findings), and after
studying the research literature, I realized that the Survivors' motivations for success
were different and varied. My first assumption for this research was based in large on my
own life experience as a Holocaust Survivor, as well as on my family's experience.
Therefore, in this chapter I will address the various findings in order to understand their
meaning and the process that I underwent in order to see other perspectives (points of
view) and present a wider and deeper interpretation of the findings.

In this chapter, I attempt to provide an explanation and interpretation of central aspects in
the research findings. Findings presented in Chapter 9 will be examined in the discussion
section of this paper, and will be drawn from material furnished in the review of the liter-
ature and from additional sources. The discussion will focus on the findings according to
the research questions as presented in Chapter 9 – Findings: As for question number 1, I
will attempt to understand the meaning of success as seen by Survivors and their views of
successful lives. Furthermore, I will present the various factors that Survivors described
as contributing to their management of successful lives. Finally, I will consider the con-
cept a "meaningful life" and its components and examine its meaning for the Survivors.

10.2 The First Question of the Research

1. What were the motivational factors that stimulated H.Ss to build a new successful life? This research question examined the factors that challenged the Survivors to continue living and to succeed in their lives. This question arose from the desire to understand how people that experienced a severe trauma, lost everything they cherished, including family, friends, and property, succeeded despite all expectations to rise from the ashes and function again.

In order to understand all the factors identified from the interviews with Survivors regarding their success in life, I will first try to examine the definition of success and life success as perceived by the Survivors.

10.2.1 Success (a successful life).

The findings chapter shows that some of the Survivors believed that they had no other option but to succeed. Shraga says: *"… my approach that we came from sand and ashes but we can and must succeed in spite of everything. I came to Israel in order to succeed it was so, to all it was important, to start a new life…"* This statement may point out to the belief that they had to continue living. Perhaps they wanted to live to tell what happened to them. Maybe it was due to their belief in their invincibility, their ability to cope with suffering and to face the future, as they did up until that point. Another possibility is that being successful has enabled them to suppress the memories. The interviews show that they never even considered the option not coping.

Nelson (1999) says that our decision making process depends on our beliefs, which are the reason we have to challenge them. We have to know a belief is what we act upon, and more often than not, what we assume as fact. Other studies show that high self-value helps to efficiently cope with failures (Abouserie, 1994). The Survivors tended to refer to themselves as successful people. Some indicated their success in raising families, while others described financial success, success in fulfilling their roles, and in helping others. Some claim that the goal of immigration to Israel was a first and foremost condition for success. Roza and Miriam said: "W*e feel that we have fulfilled our dreams successfully. We are content, happy, living with a loving family that we made, surrounded by grandchildren and grand grandchildren."* Shy: *"What is success in my eyes? To rise a family*

and a good, secure financial base."

Some of the Survivors thought that the only place to be after the Holocaust is in a country of their own, where nobody will ever persecute them again. Shraga: "*I wanted to feel closeness to a family living in Israel.*"

Yoram: *"I was looking for a place to plant roots, to be safe and to belong to people."*

Others wanted to prove to the world and to the Germans that no one will be able to exterminate them. This was how they showed their defiance against anti-Semitism. Their assumption was that force and success deter others.

The more successful you are, the greater a threat you will become to some. Your challenge will be to optimally manage your relationships to support your accomplishments and to disarm those who would sabotage you (Austin 2000). Some say that they fulfilled their dreams successfully. However, people's dreams differ from one another. They are not uniform and they meet different needs. The interviews show that many of the Survivors refer to success not only being ideological and significant to their spiritual life, but also as a means of survival. For some, success means not only economic, professional, and academic success but predominantly success over poverty and lack of independence. It is possible, as shown by the literature, that the need to succeed derives from the need to adapt, the desire to be as all others. Success might be a sort of mask to hide the pain and the sorrow, because they do present a happy front to the outside world. Yonit says*: "There was no sense in this in spite of there is a fear that maybe there will be a Holocaust again."*

Not having found meaning and purpose in life leads to an existential void. Laing (1965) said that the unauthentic existence leads, in certain situations, to a split between the real me and the fake me and to identity problems entailing pathological anxieties. Some reported that they invested a lot in their work. Azrie: "*I was busy with working all the time.*" Yoram says: "*I know what strength it takes to rise up from the ashes. And I can say that keeping busy is the best cure."* It was important for them to be rooted and to succeed financially in order to create a secure environment for their families.

It is possible that the Survivors' definition of success varies according to their different personalities. Some researchers believe that success and failures are partially due to personality features.

Bandura (1997) refers to the expectations or standpoints of the person regarding his abilities to perform certain tasks. These concepts are similar to perceived ability, perceived competence, self-perception, self-creation, and empowerment. The concept that is opposite to perceived ability is helplessness. The central idea is that the person's motivation for an activity depends on his ability to perform it successfully. If a person perceives himself as capable, he will be motivated to carry it out and make efforts to overcoming failures.

This variation in ability perception may explain the variation in the meaning of success. Some Survivors describe success as a sort of continuous fight against the Holocaust and the Nazis, a struggle of force, stating: "*We are stronger than you in our spirit, you did not succeed in exterminating us"* For others, success is a mix of gloating and vengeance: *"...there was no other alternative..."* Some people believe that the person's desire to take revenge is because he wants to feel good and vengeance makes him feel better, as he feels that justice was made, the truth was known and the evil doers were punished, (Nussbaum, 1996). Maybe success and the ability to prove to the world that the Nazis did not succeed in exterminating him also increase the Survivor's self-value. Self-value is the central standpoint of the person on himself. The nature of this standpoint is set by the success and failures, how they are explained, and to what causes they are contributed. Nevertheless, regardless of the attribution of causality, the person tends to keep his positive self-value Bandura (1997). Sometimes there is a combination of causes that changes over time. From the struggle of the initial years due to a show of force and statement such as: *"we will not surrender"* all the way to the fulfilment of dreams. From expressing wishes all the way to the ability to prove the world that *"We succeeded."* The testimonies show that some of them needed to succeed for survival purposes, to ensure that they will be able to provide for their families and be able to prevent another Holocaust.

Another way to express success and a feeling of security was reflected in the ability of some of the Survivors who were interviewed, to share their past experiences with their children. The Survivors said that in the last years, a supportive atmosphere was created to share the subject of the Holocaust, along with the questions raised by the second generation.

Yonit*: "I started to speak about the Holocaust with my children. I felt that it was an important goal to let them know. The people who lived here in Israel could not understand that the H.Ss could return to normal lives and so when they started to ask me questions, I told them almost everything, chapter after chapter"*.

It is noteworthy that some of them felt the need to succeed out of competitiveness and their will to be more successful than others.

Helmreich's findings suggest that some Survivors of the Holocaust not only managed to resume their lives but tended to be more successful than other American Jews of comparable ages. Helmreich believes that traits that enabled them to survive their experience, like adaptability, initiative and tenacity, may also account for their later success. (Helmreich, 1992).

We can explain the need for success also as a compensation for the suffering, the material loss and the loss of relatives. According to the behaviorist psychoanalysis, attributing a heavy weight to social norms, mental health is defined according to the person's adaptation to his environment (Lang 1985; Freud 1920, 1988;

Sartre 1946). The person wears a mask in order to be accepted by his environment *"as everybody."* The excellence to reach success is mainly driven by the need to achieve. The need for success is universal and is based on the assumption that man is willing by nature to devote himself and make efforts, provided that he perceives his actions as successful.

In the classical psychology literature, the need for achievement is presented as one of the main needs driving the person (McClelland, 1953). The external drive corresponds to a system of external rewards such as money, or security from punishment (Zimmerman, 1985).

In this research, success has many facets. This is due to a variety of factors, and can be explained in different ways.

10.3 The Motivational Factors

In view of the vast differences in the definitions of success in life and the goals to achieve successful lives, we can assume that motivational factors are different for the different Survivors and we will examine whether there is a gap between open statements and hidden suggestions. We will consider certain statements from the point of view of various psychological theories.

During the interviews that I conducted, I found that all the people interviewed referred to the desire to continue functioning after the Holocaust. Their answers were varied and great differences were found between the Survivors regarding the factors that enable them to continue living and brought about success.
Suedfeld (1997), claims that human beings are far more resilient than is typically believed. Contrary to widespread misconceptions, some of Suedfeld's studies show that Survivors on the whole have adapted very well in terms of mental health, family and social relations, occupational success, and contributions to society as a whole.

Kaniel (2001) explains the differences between people and claims that each person has a tolerance for a certain incompatibility and that there is a vast diversity between people and groups regarding this tolerance. Some are able to suffer a high amount of incompatibility whereas others will tend to act in low incompatibility levels. Arie :*"I did not give up to myself even one milligram.*" Miriam and Roza (sisters): *"Even when coping with hostile feelings from our peers, we did not open our mouths to complain."*
Nevertheless, the common denominator for all the people interviewed was their fierce desire to continue functioning despite all the odds. Most studies conducted in the last 60 years on this subject support the notion that the will power of the Survivors to continue living was extremely strong.

Frankl (1970) believes that the experience of a prisoner in a concentration camp is a reflection of his surroundings and he may well react to that. As I understand from Frankl's concept, there is some measure of freedom in choosing actions and many examples of

courage. This shows that apathy can be overcome and depression can be pushed aside. Shraga: "The will of my family who wanted me to do this and their dream became a reality for me."

Shy: "I was the editor of the "Spark" paper until my arrival in Israel. A month and a half after the liberation I published the paper, I had an interesting life even there." Frankl largely based his theory on Freud's Defense Mechanism. The Defense Mechanism according to Freud (1920) helped the H.S.s to distance themselves from the traumatic experiences and put them in storage, thereby avoiding the need to face them and live with them.

Sheehy (1981) claims that the trauma did not necessarily cause fear in daily living. Instead, these Survivors became more flexible toward life situations. They learned to cope. In some unexplained way, the spirit of the human being is able to heal itself. Many of the people hurt in disasters overcame their experience and became immune against new disasters. In her opinion, under certain conditions, the flexibility and the ability to share contribute to coping under difficult circumstances

Helmreich (1977) thought that the central motivation for survival was courage. This was the broadest sense manifested by the Survivors, the ability to embrace life after the war. They were willing to take risks, but they also fought the demons that haunted their memories bravely.

Another approach is presented by Beack (Kaniel, 2000) who was among the most prominent Jewish theologians. This approach is based on a religious belief, the belief that God, as Frankl thinks, existed in the concentration camps during the Holocaust. He believes that human suffering is a religious achievement, if, as long as possible, it is defined as compulsory. Beack sees the Holocaust, as a historical "episode" that happened time and again, consecutively in the history of the Jewish people; another destruction in the chain of destructions of a people (that was) called to sanctify the name of its God and spread his trueness among humanity (Kaniel, 2000).

Krell (1997) claims that although most Survivors demonstrate outwardly that *"life continues as usual"* and are even considered (as) successful people, they will still suffer from the memories of their traumatic past. Interviewees have said that this disdain and the si-

lence it enforced were among the most difficult emotional problems they experienced after the war. Folie says: *"I have never forgotten the Holocaust. You cannot run from the past, in my opinion."*

It is noted that the psychoanalysis and behaviorism attribute heavy weight to social norms. Therefore, they define mental health as the degree of adaptation of a person to his environment. In this respect, we might say that these approaches encourage the person to wear a mask over his face in order to appear "like everybody". On the other hand, according to the existentialists, this means that the person denies himself and his personal point of view. They claim that the conformist wears a "mask" over his face, contrary to the authentic person (Sartre, 1946).

Yablonka (1984) claimed that The Holocaust Survivor can never shake his or her memory of the dark experiences, but he can overcome,. Despite everything that happened to them, they still had the power to build new lives for themselves, establishing homes, raising families, and actively contributing to the country.

This statement is part of my personal experience, from my memories: "*I believe in the person's powers and ability to build a new life, but one cannot ever ignore, forget or run away from the traumatic experience of the Holocaust. I see from my point of view the capability to return to life against all odds.*" Suedfeld (2002) claimed that Survivors are thinking more about the Holocaust than they have allowed themselves to do for five decades, but, perhaps inescapably, most still find it incomprehensible.

This special human phenomenon arose my curiosity and caused me to investigate what factors and motivations enabled Survivors to build new lives and to succeed.

Helmreich,(1977) raised similar questions following his studies of Holocaust Survivors in the USA. He asked: How do people who have experienced such cataclysmic events pick up their lives? Where do they obtain the strength to go on from? How do they learn to trust others and have faith in the future again?

The findings of the interviews, similarly to the descriptions at the varied literature, present different perspectives and approaches deriving from various philosophies trying to explain the same phenomenon so difficult to comprehend: How did the Survivors build a new life? These approaches largely explain the individual's need to grasp life. It is pos-

sible that this need lies in the human genus, which preserves the existence of the human species and experienced endless tragedies. People believing in God will see it as God's will to continue the existence of the human species. In order to better understand the motivating factors behind the will to continue living and succeeding, I will present the following findings, surfacing as a result of the interviews, according to their order of appearance in the findings chapter.

10.3.1 Meaningful Life.

One of the findings rising from the interviews of the Survivors is the use of the concept "meaningful life" in which they replied to the question regarding their motivation to continue coping with life. When we examine the statements of the people interviewed regarding the meaning of this concept, we see that they use the same words but the ideas presented by them are different. For some a meaningful life is raising a family, some refer to the need to belong to society, to the community. Others speak of the need to work, to contribute and volunteer, the need to be accepted as an equal in society. Yet, others talk about their feelings about themselves and some wish to preserve the past. Part of them considers the need to continue believing in the ideology that they experienced at home, with their family, as meaningful. Shraga*: "Having a meaningful life and a sense of belonging meant Coming to Israel and being part of the establishment." Roza and Miriam: "…the first thing we did, was to look for a partner to marry."*

Some use the concept "meaningful life" but we can see that their use of it is incompatible with the existentialist interpretation. However, it is a common, daily expression, designed to explain their motivations for success. This statement might conceal their difficulties, loneliness and traumatic memories, as well as their ability to adapt and repress anxieties.

The differences probably derive from the personal backgrounds of each of the Survivors after the war, the education they received at home, their aspirations and dreams before and during the Holocaust, and the conditions that they met when they immigrated to Israel. Philosophers and psychologists have wrestled with existential questions and have developed different theories of meaning.

Frankl (1946) used this concept after the Holocaust. Frankl (1963) says that the meaning of life is an abstract notion that describes the justification that a person finds in order to explain the need for his mere existence. It is in fact the answer of the individual to himself when posing the basic question: Why do I exist? Frankl then replies that man always decides what his existence will be like and what is going to occur next. Sheehy (1981) says that in order to gain meaningful lives, H.S.s had to become pathfinders. That means that they had to find goals and a sense of purpose to cause them to act and to succeed. It may come from work or from raising a family. There is a pattern of Survivors coping with disasters and working to overcome the past for the sake of the future. They wanted to live the rest of their lives not as victims but as people with the power to make a change in their world.

According to Wong (1998), meaning consists of three components: cognitive, motivational, and affective (Reker &Wong, 1988; Wong, 1989). The cognitive component included such items as "Believes that there is an ultimate purpose of life," The motivational component encompassed both goal striving and goal attainment. It included such items as "Pursues worthwhile goals." The affective component reflected feelings of contentment and fulfillment and includes such feeling statements as "Feels satisfied with life." Nevertheless, it will be a mistake to assume that all the Survivors succeeded because their lives were meaningful. The findings from this research show that many talked about existential anxieties, fears of the past and dreads of the future. The definition of mental health in literature speaks of the degree of adaptation of the person to the environment. The term "adaptation" appears again and again as one of the indicators of mental health. In this respect, we can say that these approaches encourage the person to wear a mask over his face, to deny himself and his personal point of view. Adaptation, identified with mental health, poses many difficulties to people who do not fit the acceptable social norm. A great part of the motivational difficulties of the Survivors result from the conflict between their personal will and the need to obey social rules (Sartre, 1946; Yalom, 1980).

The research literature presents various approaches to understanding this concept, similar to the diversity among the people interviewed.

We identified 5 sub-categories in the category-'meaningful life' out of the interviews with the Survivors. These are: Belonging; Work, Study and Functioning ; Togetherness; Ideology –Faith in Judaism /Zionism; Goal oriented and Self–Actualization.

10.3.2 Belonging.

According to the findings in interviews, H.Ss regarded the sense of belonging as the most important factor in life after the Holocaust. In order to build successful lives for themselves, they were first motivated to have meaningful lives. The first step that H.Ss took was to develop their feeling of belongingness. They followed many different paths but the core was always the strong urge to feel that they belonged.

Most of them refer to the need to belong, but there are differences in the factors that they gave that allowed them a sense of belonging. Some considered belonging as the need to live in Israel and that became the purpose of their lives. Others focused predominantly on building new families. Some Survivors wished to belong to an ideology, whether religious or political, such as Zionism and Socialism.

Arie*: "My dream was to belong to a new state after the war."*

Roza and Miriam: "*We wanted to belong to someone or to something in our lives.*"

Adler (1924) spoke about the feeling of belongingness. This was one of the basic ideas behind the concept that a man is a social being, and as long as he has a feeling that he belongs, he can fully function and devote his energy to meet his needs. The feeling of belongingness begins in infancy, as a child first attaches to his caretakers and later to others in his environment. Such attachments lead to living a fulfilled life

Maslow (1954) says that the need to belong is one of the most important human motivators needs.

Another explanation for the need for belonging may be the loneliness anxiety felt by Survivors (Bugental, 1965). One of the traumas undergone by Survivors was the extermination of their families, friends and acquaintances. The loneliness anxiety resulted from the recognition that the person has sole responsibility for his life, and when the time comes,

he will face death alone. The number of friends and relatives do not eliminate loneliness anxiety. Yalom, (1980) referred to the concept of existential loneliness to describe personal, not social loneliness. Yalom reminded us that as we were born alone, so we will die alone. Researchers show that the Survivors did not talk about their anxieties. They repressed them. They functioned outwardly according to expectations, but they repressed the pain and the traumas (Dasberg, 1987).

In view of the above, we might assume that the differences between the meanings of belonging are greatly influenced by educational backgrounds of Survivors before the Holocaust, the age in which they were cut off from their homes and the quality of their significant relationships prior to the Holocaust.

   10.3.**3** Togetherness.

The need for belonging on the one hand and loneliness on the other hand led the Survivors to express their need to be together.

Often, the need of togetherness is designed to prevent the inversed situation of loneliness, which is not solely due to the need for significance. Loneliness is a social-emotional situation that expresses a lack of belonging, distance from people or from a human environment, and a fierce longing to connect with others resulting from physical or emotional contact depravation The existentialist philosopher placed loneliness at the center of the modern person's world (Camus, 1992). For Survivors, the need to belong was satisfied by social contact with remaining family members, friends, and other Survivors who shared similar experiences of bereavement, hunger, and fear. By staying together, they could master the power to cope and the wish to continue living. Some expressed their wish to live close to the center of the country in order to maintain their contact with other Survivors. They described the need to stay with the group they were in during the war. Folie*: "Never again! We depended on each other after having the luck of surviving the war years together.* Moshe*: "The source of my motivation for meaning and success was keeping all my surviving family members together."*

Suedfeld (2002) stated that child Survivors overwhelmingly feel intimately connected with others. Almost every chapter in *'Light from the Ashes',* and almost every videotaped

interview emphasizes the importance of love, affection, support, and caring among the Survivor's childhood families and friends; as well as between the Survivor as an adult and his or her spouse, surviving parents, uncles and aunts, children, grandchildren, friends, and colleagues.

We might assume that people's need to be "together" is an existential and primal human need, dating from the times when they lived in tribes, when only the "togetherness' enabled them to obtain food, protect themselves and survive. The findings from the interviews show that this is a basic need.

The "togetherness" also enables them to feel more protected in the new society that was not always capable of understanding their traumas, and therefore unable to empathize with them. I assume that "togetherness" in people that experienced such harsh events may also become an obstacle for their new assimilation and integration. However, the need to belong and be protected was stronger.

Piaget (1972) claimed that the prerequisite for cognitive development is social interaction. He found out that children disconnected from social interactions were apathetic and did not grasp the world around them. The encounter with objects and people allow the development of thinking schemes that enable the person to construct an internal representation of a planned and organized world. Vigotzky (1978) said that there is an interaction between the development of the individual and society. Three factors are responsible for mediation of human beings: Psychological tools, material tools, and other people.

Adler (1924) further supports the social need and says that we cannot achieve a successful solution to the challenges posed by life without cooperation with other members of the community. Only cooperation with our fellowmen enables the individual to overcome his negative tendencies. Cooperation between many people is a prerequisite for our existence. The person will have trouble reaching self-fulfillment and deep satisfaction in life without the social aspect. His view is subjective. He sees reality through his own perceptions, filtered, and differently interpreted by every human being.

In general we can consider the need for "togetherness" as a positive need enabling learning, coping, and constructing a society. However, it is important to look at this need when it is sometimes exaggerated (maybe similarly to other needs in this research) and becomes a need for escape and even repression. We should also take into consideration that the ability to belong to a society of similar and equal people enables good communication. However, it may also cause slow integration and assimilation, and even a form of social isolation. Suedfeld (2002) found in his research that, with advancing age, retirement, and the emptying of the home nest, more child Survivors have begun to participate in Survivor gatherings and organizations, write their autobiographies, and agree to be interviewed for oral history archives.

10.3.4. Work and Study.

Most interviews describe the need to function in society again, after all the years they were cut off from the world. This need is reflected mainly in three levels: The need to find a place of work, both to support themselves, to earn a living, and to belong to society. The second need is the longing to study. Some of them did not go to school because they were too young when the war broke out and some were cut off from the studies circle. The third need is to fulfill organizational social roles, which may contribute to their social status, as well as roles that contribute to the individual and to society. They describe not only the need to work but also the need to progress and advance to better position. Their testimonies show a need to continue living. Some think that being busy is part of the healing process. Some claim that when they worked hard, they did not have time to think about the past. Yoram says*: "I can say that keeping busy is the best cure."* Azriel :"*Always, when the conversation started.. .The main question was whether the person worked or not. "* Aviho*:" I did not have time to think about what happened to my family or the Jewish people. I contributed myself into work for the community*." Yonit *: "I also felt excellent because my work was interesting and helpful to people. Naturally, that helped the feeling of belonging."*

They saw work as an essential need for their continued existence. They combined studies and work because of the desire to advance and obtain better positions. They considered work as a way to contribute to society and be a part of the

community. For some of them, work was a means to feel that they belong and to have a meaningful life.

For others it was a way to repress the trauma, to escape from the memories, to look successful and achieving, in order to be left in peace. Stier (2009) claimed that it was a defense mechanism. The Survivors tried to deny the traumas they went through when they arrived to Israel.

According to the findings, the value "work" has different meanings for different Survivors, starting from a sense of belonging, having a meaningful life a distraction from the past and, naturally, as a livelihood and daily material existence. The integration into the working circle is interpreted by society as a desire to take responsibility, to connect and assimilate.

Suedfeld, (2002) & Krell (1997) found that work was another major aspect of everyday life, one where child Survivors were expected to find serious difficulty. The people in 'Light from the Ashes' were all successful researchers with doctorates, most of them with impressive lists of publications, awards, and appointments. They were obviously drawn from a narrow segment of child Survivors in terms of their work history.

Work is a value considered important both for the employers and the employees. To a certain extent, society's interpretation is that they are acceptable and it was one of the purposes of the Survivors, to feel that they belong, but also to be accepted by society The approach of the people interviewed for the subject of work is largely supported by research literature. Morse and Weiss (1955) stated that work is more than a means for economic support. Work serves purposes other than economic needs.

Aviho: *"I worked hard in order to ease the pain. This was one of my goals. I did this because it somewhat helped me to forget and I felt that I had actualized myself."*

There can be no single, simple answer to the question of work's role in the meaning of life. Work does not have the same meaning for everyone. To work is to exert effort in order to make something, to achieve something, to produce a de-

sired effect. For human beings, "to be able to do something" means to make it visible that "I", as the subject, is active in the world, that "I" exist. As Fromm (1973) pointed out, work is an effective means of dealing with the angst of death.

Work is thus a matter of marshaling one's will and initiative in the service of extrinsic motivations. Work means getting one to do things, a great deal of things, that one would not really want to do. Work is done primarily for external rewards. This is not to say that people don't love their work or get satisfaction from it. Many do, although many others do not. But this satisfaction came along later. That was not the reason work was invented. Unlike music, windsurfing, alcohol consumption, and television, work is not an activity that was designed and created for the sheer pleasure of the experience. Work is prolonged self-control and exertion in the service of external obligations and inducements. Work is primarily guided by goals, not fulfillments (Baumeister, 1991).

Our findings show that work was very significant. Work is central in many cultures, but every culture has its own values and conceptions about it. It does seem that work was important and significant for the majority of the Survivors considering the time that they invested into it throughout their lives.

The literature indicates, similarly to the testimonies of the people interviewed, that work has different meanings, starting from the existential need, the need to belong and sometimes even to escape from thinking and coping with the memories, the pain and the loss. Therefore, work may not always lead to success, but it may lead to repression. Adler (1932) claimed that there is only one index to measure our value as human beings. The index is our coping with the challenges that life presents us, and it is divided into three central fields: society, work, and the like. The answers that we give to each of those challenges represent our meaning in life. Adler stresses that the achievements of the individual and the achievements of society are valuable only if they create durable values, contributing to the development of humankind.

Another need of the people interviewed was the need to study. Some of them not only joined the working circle, but also wished to fulfill the dream of their youth, interrupted

by the Holocaust, the dream to study and progress. Although they were not always able to achieve their plans before the war, it did not stop them from continuing striving and it did not change their plans to reach their main goal, to study. Ari*e:"...and ,then I started to think about studies because I always wanted to be a doctor… but I knew that the economic situation will not let me because I needed to work in the day and Law school was the only option to learn in the evening…. I learned and I worked. It was difficult."* Menachem: "*I studied for 4 years half days because I continued working as a maintainer of the type machines of my father's newspaper.*"

The need to "study" has various meanings, similar to the meanings of "work". Some study for personal and professional advancement. Others study to satisfy their curiosity and some of the Survivors might consider the studies as the fulfillment of their parents' last will. Some of them studied to escape the memories and maybe even to show the Nazis that they did not succeed in exterminating them. On the contrary, they became well educated and successful people.

The devotion of child Survivors to becoming educated was an important part of their success. Upon emigrating, most were put into school grades below the norm for their age because they spoke little or no English. Some, who stopped in several countries before finding a final refuge, went through this experience repeatedly. Yet, most of them caught up on their studies. One of the child Survivors who earned at least one college degree also achieved grades as good as the grades of North American-born comparison subjects, and much better grades than the population norm (Suedfeld, 2002, & Krell,1997).

Most of the Survivors interviewed for this research came from homes that instilled the need to acquire an education in them. It could have been Jewish Torah education (Talmud, Bible, prayers and customs) or general education and sometimes both. Therefore, we assume that most of them came from a backgrounds attributing importance to learning. Some indicated that the studies were designed to fulfill their parent's last will. According to Vigotzky (1978), there are three

main factors in the child's learning process: a) the interaction between the child and the adult. b) The meaning of the actions built through this interaction. c) The use of cultural tools bearing a certain meaning, in particular, the use of language of cultural tool. We assume that the interaction experienced by the Survivors in their childhood preserved their longing to continue learning. According to this approach, the Survivors learned in order to cope with their new lives, and to satisfy their curiosity. The need to study and to work resulted in some Survivors the desire to advance and rebuild meaning in their lives. However, working also allowed for the repression of traumatic memories and for escaping the past.

10.3.5 Faith and Ideology.

Another finding derived from the concept of a meaningful life was the faith that they remembered from home. For some it was the Jewish faith, the Jewish religious laws and tradition. For others it was the Zionist ideology and the longing to immigrate to the Land of Israel.

Many lost their faith in any ideology after the war. Studfeld (2002) asked in his research about their religious belief. In the long run, the religious beliefs of most were weakened, if not destroyed by their experiences. He found that many share a generalized skepticism about other people. As a logical corollary of mistrust, child Survivors tend to have little faith in the benevolence of people, or the world in general, even less than do adult Survivors. This may be the reason for losing faith in god or in any ideology. Some Survivors indicated the need to continue the family tradition remembered from home. Although some abandoned their religious beliefs, they said that after the war they longed to return to their "father's home". The past created a link to an important future for them. They wanted to celebrate the Jewish holidays, which was denied to them during the war. The belief that that held that they belong to a people and a nation helped them rise from hell and continue living.

Some of them were not satisfied with just immigrating to Israel but considered their fulfillment in living in the kibbutz and becoming farmers. This is the Zionist ideology according to which they grew up since childhood. Aviho: *"I stayed a believer after the Holocaust."* Shy: *"Ideologically, Zionistic and socialistic brought me to Israel."*

"We were motivated by the Zionistic ideology. This was the essence of life and the way to reject the pain and create success."

Their view of life was simple and practical. They felt a determination to achieve what they needed for a normal life. They thought that Zionist concept was their only hope for a better future. Some probably believed that their mission as Survivors was to tell the world what happened during the Holocaust. Schweid (1996) stated that the intellectuals who survived the Holocaust felt that they must deliver the tortured message learnt in the ghettos and concentration camps to those who watched it from a far. This view suggests a belief in continuity after the Holocaust and results from the need to live and tell about the events that took place in the ghettos and the concentration camps.

Some Survivors continued to have faith. This was expressed differently by every Jewish person, ranging from the religious community to the agnostics. Faith and the new life in Israel were the common denominators for these people. Zionism and not pure Judaism became the wide spread way of life. Zionism provided the meaning of life, which was to build the state of Israel.

The literature raises many questions regarding faith after the Holocaust. Berkovitz (2005) claimed in his book "Faith after the Holocaust" that the Jews in the ghettos and extermination camps suffered a crisis of faith. Where was God all that time? How could he allow the suffering and humiliation of millions of helpless people including them many innocent children? The faith of many Jews in the God of their ancestors was suffocated, so to say, in the crematorium's smoke.

Berkovitz himself disagreed with this faith approach. He claimed that Jewish people preserved the existence and uniqueness of their faith for two thousand years. They have done it in a world governed by physical power and violence, and the only thing that enabled them to exist was the power of their faith. In his opinion, the status of the Jewish people in the world is a measure of the world's morality. The moral quality of the superpowers is judged by their attitude towards small nations who live, much like the Jews, by faith and not by the sword. The Holocaust was thus a testimony to the world's immoral condition. Does a world that sends people of faith to extermination without any feelings remorse have a moral future? He further stated that the Jewish people indeed have a de-

sire to live, despite a history of the worst violent horrors than any other nation. Nevertheless, they survived because of their faith. Therefore, the discussion of God is legitimate as long as faith is continued.

Baumeister (1991) claims that it is clear that religion is an important source of meaning in life for many people, and nearly all known societies have religious faiths. However, it is also clear that many people do survive and live meaningful lives with little or no religion. Thus, not everyone needs religious meaning. The need for meaning must be universal, or as close to universal as depicted in the social sciences. Most of the participants in this research had a religious faith, Zionist, or socialist ideology. However, the literature shows that many of the Holocaust Survivors became skeptic, suspicious, and devoid of any religious or ideological faith (Baumeister 1991 **;**Stuedfeld 2001, 2002**)** following the Holocaust. The findings of the Survivors, as well as the literature, also demonstrate diversity between beliefs and ideologies. Ideologically, Zionism and socialism brought me to Israel." *"We were motivated by the Zionistic ideology. This was the essence of life and the way to reject the pain and create success." "I found my own meaning in life by following Zionism and building Israel." "My belief and my program for life was to live for Israel. "I planted roots and I succeeded, with an immense will to live because of my faith in God."*

Differences in motivation may also be due to social, familial, and community influences on individuals from early life on. Those who came from Zionist homes aspired to fulfill the Zionist vision absorbed in their homes. They wanted to hold on to their Zionist ideology and put it into practice by living in a kibbutz. Those who came from religious backgrounds either preserved their religious faith and celebrated Jewish holidays or turned to different movements in Judaism. Some of them were detached and confused about their ideological background because of their experiences in the Holocaust.

10.3.6 Goal–Orientation and Self Actualization.

A significant finding in interviews with Survivors is their ability to set short-term, as well as long-term goals for themselves, and to aspire to achieve self-fulfillment, which is one of the super-goals of the theory of Maslow (1954).

These are the same people that defined themselves as having strong persistence and will power (and) as well as a set of long term goals. The goals mentioned in the interviews are immigration to Israel, financial and social success, raising a family, acquiring an academic degree, serving in the army, and studies. Folie: *"My main goal was to reach my homeland."* Shraga: "*I thought that I must study, and started to make plans in order to evolve and achieve something.*" Yoram : "*I went into the army in order to be like a best native Israeli.*" Aviho*: "I acted in an opposite way, by acting and doing, I mean, and not sitting being sad."*

It is important to indicate that there were various reasons to set the goals.

For some, their motivation to immigrate to Israel was out of fear of a new Holocaust. Some of the new long term goals were designed to help them avoid the pain and the past. The mere act of forgetting contributed to their self-fulfillment. Although, they said they never forgot. Some claimed that they dedicated themselves to work in order to forget, so they could cope with the demands of their long term goals.

Their testimonies show that, for some of them, the long-term goal was to let the world know what the Nazis did to them. They stated they are sure that someday they will be able to tell the world what happened to them and they will even write about it. Indeed they spoke about the goal of sharing their memories with the world. However, the study was conducted sixty years after the occurrence of the Holocaust, and the interviewees assumed that this is how their success was viewed in the past. But the historical reality shows that they were silent for many years and tried to repress the memories. During the interviews, some described how they currently share the horrors they had experienced with their families and the people of Israel. They lecture in schools, write, and talk about it. For some, this is the most important goal in life as a kind of self-fulfillment. The literature indeed shows that they never forgot. Although it is not clear, whether they knew back then that one day they will want to tell their stories about the Holocaust.

Adler (2008) claimed in his theory that human beings are goal-focused. The goals change for every situation and are different for every person according to the event and the period. Even in extreme situations of passivity and dependence, the person has a goal that lies behind his choice to be passive. In the process of fulfilling a goal, or in any other process, the person has a choice. There is never just a single deterministic possibil-

ity. A person always has the option of modifying and changing himself. This indicates that the person is always responsible for his actions, as actions are always the result of choice. In fact, even in a state of insanity, the person is responsible for his actions. He copes with a distortion or a detachment from a general logical point of view.

Goal orientation could be applied to learning or performing. Dweck (1999) claimed that a goal for learning is associated with the belief that ability can be developed. Baumeister (1991) stated that people want their lives to have a purpose; Klinger (1977) studied the meaning of life. He assigned a primary significance to purpose, which he termed as incentive. There was a good reason for that emphasis as purpose is undeniably a major human need. The need is to see one's activities as oriented toward a purpose. It is important to interpret one's current activities as applied to the future or to other possible states. The purpose does not ever have to be actually realized or achieved. It is quite possible to live a very meaningful life in pursuit of goals that are never reached during one's lifetime

It seems to me that the testimonies in this study indicate that Survivors assigned great importance to setting goals and trying to achieve them. These goals, according to the grading theory of Maslow (1953) can be seen in all grades, from goals for physiological and security needs, the need for belonging and social appreciation, and the need for self-fulfillment; such as writing a book about the Holocaust, becoming an important artist, be a judge in court or a member of parliament, raising families. .

The goals for self-fulfillment demonstrated in the interviews of Survivors fit with the approach of Viktor Frankl (1959), who believed that each person has a system of values which he aspires to fulfill. In his opinion, the person places emphasis on values. As with purpose, there is little doubt that people are strongly motivated to find sources of value to justify their actions. However, the term value is more general. Like the need for meaning, the need for value refers to people's motivation to feel that their actions are right and good and justifiable. They need to see their current actions, as well as their past acts, as not being bad and objectionable. They want to see their life as having positive value.

Baumeister (1991) thought that people need to make sense of their lives in a way that enables them to feel they have positive value.

.103.7   Summary of A Meaningful Life.

In the previous paragraphs, my goal was to examine the extent to which the motivation to find a meaningful life was central to the success of the Survivors in life. The interviews show a frequent use of the term "searching for meaning", but alongside the testimonies of this search, other motivations arise. Some motivations were stated clearly and openly and others were suggested indirectly. Therefore, in the first part of the conclusions, I will refer to the concept of a "meaningful life" and afterwards I will address other factors that arose from the interviews, along with the difficulties posed by the second research question.

The discussion of the findings in this chapter, as well as the reading of the literature, point out that the concept of a meaningful life is frequently used by Survivors. In fact, several meanings are attached to this concept. There are different approaches in the literature and in the findings for the concept, but all agree that it is a central value in human life, defined in most cases as a system of needs. The void was a term coined by Frankl (1946) in view of his life during the Holocaust and afterwards. The research shows that meaning is often sought after, but it is not always a factor they define as a prerequisite for survival. This finding fits with the approach of Baumeister (1991). A need for meaning in life may thus be like other needs, strongly felt but not necessary for survival. People are strongly motivated to find meaning in life, but the lack of it does not necessarily jeopardize survival.

We estimate that some of the Survivors' motivation to continue succeeding derives from other causes, and even though they may not achieve any meaning, they will (not) feel neither frustrated nor desperate.

As I frequently mentioned in this discussion, it seems that not all Survivors interviewed for this study aimed to find a meaning in life. Miriam and Roza: *"We had strength for ourselves and strength for others in order to overcome the obstacles during the first period when we had nothing."* Yonit*: "There was nothing, nothing, nothing. I simply did not*

have any choice, that's what I felt and that is what motivated me." Arie: "*I suffered, but I had self–discipline with regard to perseverance."* Yonit: *"When I could use my humor, my head and my hands, I felt that I lived a meaningful life and this was my style to feel that I belonged."*

According to their testimonies, some of them acted on other factors. Some described their suffering throughout life. They compensated themselves for the loss that they experienced, each success bringing them to another goal. Others were motivated to survive. Some of them claim that they have the will power and ability to stick to their goal, but admit that it was possible because they repressed their memories and escaped their past.

Perhaps, as pointed out by the behaviorist approach, success stimulates repeated action. In other words, strengthening the current status and creating the motivation to achieve goals (Skinner 1978). Both sources, internal and external, merge and create a personal, unique equation, which differs between people in different situations. The difference between people regarding the identification of their goals is expressed in the distinction between two components of success and failure. Success applies to the social circle to which the person belongs. Studies show that those having an external control focus and low self esteem are more vulnerable to failure situations as well as academic difficulties, (Ainslie, Shafer & Reinolds, 1999, Fenzel et al, 1997).

In the following paragraphs I will bring other findings regarding the motivations described by Survivors in the interviews. They are defined by the following categories: Persistence and Will Power; Survivor Mechanism; Supporting Environment; Beliefs and Feelings.

10.3.8 Persistence and Will Power.

Many of the Survivors define themselves as persistent and will power. Persistence is a quality that appears in many aspects of their lives. There is persistence in academic studies, raising families, and persistence in taking care of others. Their desire to survive, to show the Germans that they prevailed, enabled them to integrate into society and reoccupy their place in life. Shraga and Yoram claim: "*persistence is the basis for success in our studies and in our lives.*"

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*"*Aviho tailored his persistence: "*…to study the Torah and to continue [his] father's tra-dition."* Some of them are very proud that they never gave up. They didn't break. .Yonit*: "I did not complain and nobody else did either. Even if the price was to suffer… we were living freely in our own country.. . I had some secret source of energy so I was able to avoid feelings; it was my way to avoid suffering from the past."* In their opinions, in or-der to persist you need to have will power, you must have a goal.

Additionally, their goal was to show the Germans that they could survive.

When they arrived in Israel, their goal was to continue living, not to give up, be active and prove that they could succeed.

Yonit coped in a similar way and stated that she did not cease to believe in her will to continue living during the Holocaust despite of all of her suffering. She never thought to give up nor surrender. Rosa and Miriam*: "The strong desire to show them…we must show them our power to live, davka…to continue to live to do our best we can. I contin-ued to believe that persistence is the key for success in every factor of life….Persistence brought me everything important in my life."* The findings show that this group repressed the trauma and functioned "as though" they were like all the others. The question that rises is how and what happened to them later on?

Barel, et al (2010) reported that Survivors show remarkable resilience in their day-to-day lives. However they still manifest the pain of their traumatic past in the form of various psychiatric symptoms, according to an analysis of 44 years of global psychological re-search. Barel reported that the investigators analyzed the findings of 71 different studies, which included 12,746 people worldwide. Survivors living in Israel manifested a better psychological quality of life and better psychological capabilities compared to Survivors living in other countries. "The psychological scars" of the Holocaust are evident in the continuous post-traumatic symptoms of the Holocaust Survivors, but it did not necessari-ly prevent them from adapting to daily lives. One of the researchers stated, many of the traumatic events may have become repressed memories for Survivors immediately fol-lowing the war. They had lives to rebuild and new families to start, and they focused on these tasks.

10.3.9 Survivor Mechanism.

One of the motivations resulting from the findings, and contributing to the will to continue living, functioning and even achieving success, was the need to continue surviving. The most significant phrase that illustrates this category were Shraga's words: *"It was a situation that everyone tried to survive, there was a passion for life no one said: Damn it, I cannot continue trying and there is no point in life…I remember the first thought that I had was that now I am alone and need to take care of myself… I think that it was my first instinct that pushed me."* Arie: "*I suffered, but I had self–discipline with regard to perseverance".*

Folie: *"I like to try, even if there is a possibility of danger. Sometimes I must take risks"*

This is indicative of the Survivor's mechanism and ability of being a Pathfinder (Sheehy, 1981). The most important fact about the personality traits that drive pathfinders is their ability to seek and find uncommon solutions to common life crises. Survivability is stronger than any other feeling. They overcame strangeness, hate, lack of clothes, cold, lack of a roof over their heads, and the worry about their survival. They also described the desire to continue living even when facing great dangers. The interviews also show that one of the characteristics of the Survivor mechanism is not to despair. Even when you are alone in the world, you must take care of yourself.

We can see from the statements of the Survivors interviewed that most of them were aware that despite the trauma, they wanted to survive and to continue. They had self-discipline, or at least this is how they called this quality. They had the need to take risks and to try. Others fully devoted themselves to work in order to survive and continue living. Some feel that the need to achieve and progress makes you forget the past and enables you to survive and advance.

The Survivors after the Holocaust were people that experienced difficult anxieties. According to the existentialist approach, anxiety has several essential functions in the world. First, the existential anxiety gives an opportunity to ask questions about our life and raise wonderments. The anxiety state provides one with a large potential to live in a more authentic, complete and fulfilling way. Second, the existential anxiety offers us the possibility to ask how we live. The anxiety is an indication to the fact that we are alive and it re-

minds us that we are free creatures with freedom of choice. Third, the anxiety reminds us that there are some issues that we cannot change such as death (Van Deurzen, 1997). Carson, Butcher and Minke (2001) use the concept disaster syndrome (assuming that the Holocaust may be defined as a disaster) when describing the reactions of the victims to the disasters that they had experienced. The disaster syndrome has three stages describing the process of the impact. The first stage is shock. The person experiencing a disaster is shocked, apathetic and dazed. The second stage is suggestibility. The victim tends to be passive and respond to the orders of the rescue and evacuation forces. The third stage is recovery. The person who experienced the disaster may be stressed and fearful, and show a general anxiety, but gradually returns to his psychological balance. It is possible that most of the Survivors arriving in Israel, after having been at transitional camps and then handled by various entities, were already in the recovery stage and wanted to continue living, each Survivor due to his own reasons.

10.3.10 Supporting Environment.

The findings also show that a supporting environment also helped some to cope with life when they arrived in Israel. A supportive environment may have also contributed to their success later on. However, most of the Survivors reported that they had to confront life by themselves, without any support from the environment.

Survivors invested their mental resources into the absorption process in Israel.   In addition, they were helped by friends, family members, kibbutzim, public entities, and various volunteers. Aviho described the help of the Jewish Brigade soldiers assisting them after the Holocaust. Shai described the help of the American soldiers in Europe. Individuals unattached to any organization also helped the Survivors.   Some were assisted by their relatives in Israel. Another organization that helped the Survivors while still in Europe, was the emissaries that arrived from Israel. In a later stage, they also assisted the Survivors' absorption in Israel. Nevertheless, help from the close environment was not obvious. As already mentioned, the local population showed no empathy towards the Holocaust Survivors. I will elaborate on this issue in the second part of the discussion dealing with the difficulties experienced by the Survivors. It seems that most of the support offered to the Survivors was material, such as help in finding a job, a house, and providing

guidance to the culture in Israel. However, the mental and social supports offered were inferior because of the disconnection between the two populations.

Shapira (1997) pointed out that in recent decades, historians discuss the two decades after World War II as the period of Holocaust repression in the Israeli conscience. Holocaust Survivors were required to repress their old identities and wipe out their past in the Diaspora. Zuckermann (2001) stated that in a way, Holocaust Survivors enacted as a justification to the righteousness of the Zionist movement, while simultaneously silencing their personal stories; and converting them into an empty symbol of Jewish human suffering. Weitz (1990) reinforced this claim in his article "The Jewish Community, the Diaspora and the Holocaust – Myth and Reality". He says that in the first decades following the Creation of the State of Israel, Zionism attempted to remove itself from the weak image of the old Jew. The old Jew was described as weak, both physically and in character. It is probably the reason why only a few indicated a supporting environment, and even they referred mainly to that of material assistance.

   10.3.11 Beliefs and Feelings .

One of the expressions that we hear in the interviews is the concept of belief. Most of them used the concept of belief, referring to religious beliefs, belief in their friends, in their families, ideology, or the loss of belief.

Aviho believed in the fall of the Nazis. This belief gave him strength: "*I believed from the first day that the Nazis will fall. I like predicting the future, I knew that Hitler will fall.*" Yonit: *"The whole time I believed that here can't be a Holocaust and that is the most important thing."*

According to the interviews, these beliefs gave them strength. Their statements show that belief has profound meaning for the willingness to continue living and succeeding.

These findings may contribute to a better understanding of those who succeeded compared to those who did not succeed in coping with the past. We should examine the extent to which a belief in an external entity or a belief in oneself significantly contributes to the person's functioning. Beliefs are basic assumptions and attitudes towards a certain reality (Tillema, 1998). They influence the significance that people attribute to the events and actions that are carried out by them.

Another finding regarding the Holocaust Survivors is they tend not to express their feelings and share their experiences. The Survivors interviewed talked more about their memories, thoughts, and plans for the future, and behaviors, but they were less likely to share their feelings. They were able to share positive feelings such as feelings of freedom and excitement, and sometimes they were able to share their happiness. But feeling free did not always help them feel relief and enthusiasm. There were also descriptions of feeling lost and confused following the freedom and liberation.

Another form of expression that belied their emotional state were their optimistic statements, which ran contrary to their experience. Yonit (with a big smile):*"... when I was married and later when I had children and there was bread on the table and on the bread there was margarine and, glass of coffee, I was happy."* Menachem: "*I got a job there and was happy with my part.*"

Despite all the hardships, loss of family, hunger, and loneliness, some of their expressions indicated optimism for the future. Nevertheless, despite the fact that they spoke in an optimistic manner, they may have worn a mask, concealing their real anxieties and disappointments. Historians refer to the first decades of the Survivors in Israel as the years of silence (Shapira 1977, Weitz 1990, Zuckermann 2001). They may have become resigned to hiding their feelings over the years One of the only feelings expressed by the Survivors is the feeling of happiness. They were happy with their lot; that they had immigrated to Israel, raised new families, were able to support themselves and live meaningful lives.

Their happiness seems genuine; despite all the suffering that they had experienced in the past and the probability that they will feel it in the future. Their happiness is due to the fact that in spite of everything, they succeeded in surviving, proving that they cannot be exterminated. They even raised new families to ensure their continuation.

.104   The Second Question of the Research

The second research question refers to the difficulties overcome by Survivors in order to achieve their goals.

What were the difficulties of H.Ss in overcoming and achieving their goals? The categories in this question demonstrate the difficulties faced by the Survivors after the Holo-

caust.

Drawn from the statements by HSs, the categories that emerged were: absorption difficulties; loneliness; fear and insecurity; self–identity; attitudes of the local population to the Holocaust Survivors; emotional isolation; and disturbing memories.

The categories discussed in the findings of the first question already (showed) reflected the difficulties and traumas faced by the Survivors. The emphasis in the discussion of previous questions was the motivation as reported by the Survivors in their interviews. Indeed, every one of the H.Ss had difficulties in starting a new life, some more than others. The central difficulty resulted from those categories (may be) concentrated under absorption difficulties including: loneliness; fear and insecurity; emotional isolation; and disturbing memories.

The attitude of the local population to the Holocaust Survivors is also a category defined as a difficulty, but I chose to present it as a cause of some of the other difficult(ies) experienced by the Survivors.

10.4.1 Absorption Difficulties.

Survivors experienced absorption difficulties due to various reasons. Some of them lacked an educational background and had no professions. Many were young when the war broke out and they did not get a chance to obtain an education. Some had difficulties finding a place to live. Others could not organize their life without a family. In addition, the economic conditions in Israel were also harsh. Eva*: "I did not work for a whole year., My husband and I hardly had anything to live on."* *"We did not have much money. All the money went to our household ... I worked for 10 hours a day."*

Absorption difficulties were loneliness, fear and insecurity, self–identity; emotional solution; and disturbing memories.

10.4.1.1 *Loneliness*.

Loneliness after the Holocaust was common almost to all Survivors because most of their families and friends were killed. Some were orphans. Only a few of them had relatives in Israel, but most, as will be described below, had a loose relation with their families. The findings show that almost all Survivors discussed the problem of loneliness. Shraga: "*I felt that I was alone in the world. We are different from regular people who are not H.Ss."* Yonit: "*The loneliness was hard*." Shy: "*I was alone…and missing my family."* Bad memories and fears are also part of my personal childhood memories, since the local children in Israel did not share the Holocaust. *"I felt very bad, firstly because of the language barrier and secondly because at this age, around 10, I was associating with children who could not understand my past* Already in the first chapter, we addressed the need for belonging and "togetherness". We discussed the assumption that all these needs were designed to compensate for the loneliness they had experienced. Yalom (1980) referred to existential loneliness to describe personal, not social, loneliness. Yalom reminded us that as we are born alone, so we will die alone. Dasberg (2001) conducted studies identifying a phenomenon that he termed Child Survivor Complex. The subjects are are children, Holocaust Survivors, (that) who suffered from shortages experienced traumas, loss and loneliness in their childhood, and yet they went on to rebuild their life after the war was over. Feelings of loss and suffering were repressed and disconnected from their daily lives and other activities after the Holocaust. However, these feelings reappeared after a (certain) period of time (in various forms and intensities, and were aggravated during the aging process.

10.4.1.2 *Fear and Insecurity*.

In addition to the difficulties associated with loneliness, some of the Survivors also talked about the fear they often felt. Sometimes fear was a regular visitor. The fear initiated during the Holocaust, but sometimes continued later in their lives. Yoram: "I lived in terrible fear all the time." Shraga: "I remember the fear for shortage of food well." Yonit says: "There was no sense in this in spite of there is a fear that maybe again there will be a Holocaust."

Shraga's fear was mainly of hunger. Rosa described the decision made by her and her husband not to have children, due to the fears of the war experiences, her husband's illness and the worry that he will be left alone without support. Some of them still feared of a new Holocaust The description of this fear is extremely important, since those statements were made by the same people interviewed who described themselves as happy and successful (out of the findings of the first question). At the same time, when talking about fears, they shared with us the anxieties they had probably repressed and concealed most of their lives. The psychological literature describes man as carrying an existential anxiety, the anxiety of those who recognize death and inexistence. This anxiety grows along the unique existence realization of the person (May, 1969). The authentic person experiences anxiety facing the future's uncertainty, the insignificance of the existence (Tillich, 1952). The anxiety is due to the loneliness imposed on a person as he is aware of his existential loneliness (Bugental, 1965). The heavy burden imposed on the person might cause escape from responsibility or over-responsibility. Suedfeld (2002), in his research, claimed that one long-term after-effect of their experiences is a heightened aversion to the emotion of anxiety. Perhaps anxiety was so acute and long-lasting in their childhood as to make it even more unpleasant than it is for most people. In any case, they try to avoid both its psychological and physiological signs.

10.4.1.3 *Emotional isolation*.

The difficulty of living with past memories resulted in an introversion and repression of feelings. They did not complain out of fear that they will be considered weak and will not be able to rebuild normal lives. At the same time, as a result of the attitude towards Survivors by the local population in Israel, they preferred to continue suffering in private and to show outwardly that their lives were normal. This was particularly obvious as the attitude of those who did not experience the Holocaust was to ignore and even patronize. The need to suppress the past caused them not to share the horrors they had experienced, causing them suffering and grief. The two sisters who described their happiness of living in Israel and raising their families also talked about the never shared moments of despair that they had experienced. Nevertheless, they did not give up. They continued their normal lives. Azriel says: "I was busy in working all the time. There was not time to

stop to feel or think. No one wanted to speak of the past." Yoram: "When I arrived in Israel, I did not want to tell anyone what I had been through and I could not tell anyone." Menachem: "I felt that if I would think about the Holocaust all the time, I would not be a normal person." Shraga: "We thought to save our awful tragedy" Yonit: "I did not speak of the past with my close friends. There was no sense in this in spite of a fear that maybe again there will be a Holocaust."

Suedfeld (2001, 2002) stated that Holocaust Survivors were often dismissed not only by other children but also by adults, frequently including their own parents. They were told that their experiences in ghettos or in hiding could not have been as bad as those of concentration camp Survivors. Besides, children can't really remember things clearly; and even if they did, they would forget them soon enough. Many of our interviewees have said that this disdain, and the silence it enforced, was among the most difficult emotional problems they experienced after the war (Krell, 1997).

The psychologists Dorset and Weiss (2008) believe that most Holocaust Survivors still have not processed their grief to this day, and therefore they suffer from a great emotional loneliness. In order to understand the Holocaust trauma of the Survivors we have to know the emotional mechanisms that helped the Jews survive during the Holocaust. For many years, the Israeli society gave clear messages of disinterest in the Survivor's destiny, his traumatic experiences, and his feelings. Since the War of Independence until present times, the Israeli society has been preoccupied with its struggle for existence and chose a chauvinistic attitude, which shows neither tolerance nor empathy to any weakness whatsoever. Therefore, there was a conspiracy of silence across the strata and the frameworks of the Israeli society, including the professional sector of society (Dasberg, 1987). Many Survivors learnt from personal experience that it is better to keep silent and forget.

On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that there is a reasonable possibility to forget the relatives who perished in the Holocaust. Therefore, the memories surfaced despite the Survivor's will, since the subconscious is not only a storage place for repressed material but also functions in a mutual relations system (Brill 1974). The Survivor coped with

his past (accumulated traumas) in a respectable way and succeeded in functioning in an excellent way for 50 years. They have done it with the highest adaptive capability, thanks to defense mechanisms such as denial and repression of memories and feelings that might have affected his daily functioning. They coped well and even succeeded in their social functioning, but they undoubtedly paid a mental price for it.

One of the ways to isolate and suppress their feelings was to work constantly, to be busy both in personal affairs, as well as in writing, public work, and helping others; to do everything to avoid talking, feeling, or thinking. The fear of talking about the Holocaust and the fear of remembering was so deep, that some of them did not talk about it for several decades. They thought that if they faced their feelings and memories of the Holocaust, they will become abnormal. Frequently they never even talked about it with friends and spouses who experienced the Holocaust. Another reason not to share it with their families was to protect them from the atrocities.

Many years have passed since that time, and the understanding of that scarred past has changed. The Survivors have grown and matured, enabling them a different approach to their memories. In the past, all memories of the Holocaust were repressed unattached to any feelings. Memories of the present are attached to feelings, making it possible for other elements to change the significance of these memories.

Suedfeld (2002) stated that, with the passage of time, many of these problems have been eliminated. We have become more comfortable with our new language, culture, and compatriots. Many of us, although by no means all of us, have become less stressed by our memories or even of talking about them. However as we approach and enter old age, we find ourselves thinking more about the past, which often is a painful process. The mature reinterpretation of things that happened long ago can lead to forgiveness and peace; but it can also lead to the realization that some things we accepted as inevitable, or for our own good, were not so.

All the testimonies of the Survivors reveal that for many years most of them suppressed the events of the Holocaust. Even 60 years subsequent to the Holocaust and despite the fact that most Survivors adapted themselves and most of them greatly succeeded in life, they still feel different. This is because they suffered unique experiences and these diffi-

culties continue reverberating to this day.

10.4.1.4 *Self Identity*.

The interviews with Survivors show that they reported suffering and great psychological stress and being disoriented. There was a loss of self-identification without self-identity, because anything that was considered an object for positive reaction required a long process of re–building.

The literature defines personal identity as an image that the person builds of himself during his lifetime, granting meaning to his life. A person having a consolidated identity can estimate his strengths and weaknesses and is able to decide how to cope with his difficulties. The person has answers to the questions: where did I come from? Who am I? What do I want to be? He has the ability to unite past, present and future, but the ego identity does not become established as a fixed trait. It is a sense requiring constant reconstruction of self-entity inside social reality. It is possible that the years the Survivors lived in the concentration camps, their presence in the deaths of all their relatives, disrupted their personal "road map". Marcia (1993) defined the ego identity as a self structure or a dynamic interior organization, built on the individual's drives, abilities, beliefs, and history. The more the self-structure is developed, the more aware an individual will become of his uniqueness, the likeness between him and the others, his strong and weak features directing his life. The weaker the ego entity identity, the more confused an individual will become regarding his differentiation from others. He will need external appraisal sources. Erikson (1976) viewed the identity development as a key concept in the understanding of the person's development during all the stages of his life. He considered the establishment of personal identity as the main developmental task during adolescence. Erikson believed that identity cannot be consolidated with the basic beliefs developed early in life. Its construction is finished only when he fulfills his ambitions as an adult. When a significant change occurs in the person's life (work, unemployment, marriage, war, disaster, etc.), he redefines his self-identity. Some of the interviewed Survivors were still adolescents still developing their identity consolidation. Adults probably also experienced a crisis that changed the definition of their self-identity. The ego develops according to various models proposed by Archer& Waterman (1983); Flum (1994). The process of

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identity consolidation is complex and occurs following various experiences occurring in previous life stages. This process happens inside the social reality in which the individual acts. A state of trauma or disaster poses a danger of lack of consolidation of the function which might end in alienation and a constant isolation and confusion. The search of identity includes the establishment of a significant self concept, in which the past, present, and future are merged into a single unity.

10.4.1.5 *Disturbing Memories*

A traumatic experience never ends. This difficulty is expressed in the statements of some of the Survivors. Arie: "*It's a never ending topic. Why and how the Holocaust happened. I cannot forgive the Germans.*" Azriel: "*I left with a bag of pain and sorrow and came to Israel together with friends like me.*" Shraga: "*I thought that I was finished. I was just 12 years old.*" Yonit*: "I became friends with people with the same past in spite of the fact that we did not speak of it.*"

The loneliness causes them to relate to people similar to themselves, who experienced the Holocaust and have a common destiny. Their early memories from the first period when they arrived in Israel are memories of feeling strange and different. My early memories of just having arrived in Israel are also memories of feeling strange, different, and confused*: "I felt rejected from the minute I went to school. It was hard not knowing Hebrew. The kids there never met somebody like me. Even the teacher could not talk with me. It took about two months before I could understand the language. During my teenage period, I felt rejected, but I was not strongly aware of it. I just felt that I didn't belong, I wasn't one of them."*

Another finding identified in the repressed memories is the suppression of anger, complaints, and suffering. Most of the Survivors were proud of their ability to hide hostile feelings and anger. They consider the expression of such feelings as a weakness. Yonit. *"I also felt bitterness toward the Israelis who surrounded us."*

Traumatic events collapse the normal defense system which allows the person a feeling of control, construction and maintenance of relationships, as well as a sense of meaning (Herman, 1994). Traumatic events are usually related to threats to one's life, a physical

threat, or a close personal encounter with violence and death. The common denominator for all mental traumas is the feeling of "intense fear, helplessness, loss of control, and danger of extinction" (Andreasen, 1985). The traumatic events cause deep and constant changes in the body, in one's feelings, consciousness, and memories. The literature addressing the subject argues that the period immediately after the trauma is the most critical, and that the majority of the coping takes places in the first weeks and months after the trauma (Brewin et al, 1999, Shalev, 2002). Coping involves a multi-dimensional process which includes emotional, biological, social and cognitive processes (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978).

I believe that the absorption difficulties that I discussed above, such as the need to repress, avoid sharing, and wear a mask, are not only due to the trauma experienced by the Survivors. They were also partially due to the conditions which the Survivors encountered in Israel. These hardships were the historical situation (the Creation of the State), economic conditions, and social pressures (due to the attitude of the local population to the Holocaust Survivors). Social pressures are described in the following paragraph.

10.4.1.6 *The attitude of the local population to the Holocaust Survivors.*

Most Survivors described a lack of support from the local residents of Israel in dealing with the trauma they experienced in the Holocaust. The local population did not accept the Survivors' perceived passive behavior during the Holocaust. They did not show empathy to the experiences of the Survivors and were not able to comprehend the extent of the horrors that their loved ones had to suffer. This is one of the reasons why many of the Holocaust Survivors did not share their experiences for many years, not even with their relatives who did not live through the Holocaust. Arie: "When I arrived in Israel, the people here did not believe the stories of the Holocaust Survivors, as simple as that". Yonit: "*When I came to the country people here did not believe that things like that happened in the Holocaust, that it is possible at all to pass the Holocaust, and to remain alive.* Israelis we met when we stayed in Tel Aviv were jealous, they were not good with the new immigrants

The attitude of Israelis toward the Holocaust often caused anger and bitterness between the Survivors and the local population. The rift between both populations caused alienation between them. H.S's described a lack of sensitivity.

The fact that the newcomers experienced considerable difficulties in adapting themselves to the local population pushed them into the corner as a group. Yablonka (1999) stated that the atmosphere that greeted H.Ss upon their arrival in Israel was completely contrary to their experience and aspirations. Israeli values of the time were that of working on the land, having a pioneer spirit, socialism, and the support of the collective above support of the individual. In addition, meetings with local people were filled with tension. On the one hand, the Survivors were viewed as people who did not know how to protect themselves. On the other hand, the locals felt guilty for not having done enough during the war and the Holocaust to help the Jews of Europe.

These sharp feelings of shame and guilt, both openly expressed and hidden, clouded the relationship between the two groups of inhabitants during the Survivors' initial years in Israel.

Another issue very important for the newcomers was recognition of the past. The local youth presumed that the past belonged to the past and should not be brought up again. In contrast, the H.S youth remembered everything, but did not talk about it. This created a large gap between the two groups. (Segev, 1991 ; Yablonka, 1999).

It should be noted in this context that the issue of the absorption of the Holocaust Survivors issue was not an encounter between old and new immigrants. About 2/3 of the locals were themselves new immigrants, most of them from Eastern Europe. Therefore it was a meeting between populations sharing a cultural closeness, which came from the same countries of origin; but the Holocaust experience caused a gap between them that was very hard and even impossible to bridge.

10.5 Conclusions

The Survivors define themselves as people who succeeded in their lives, with their families, in their work, and in society.

The research findings and discussion demonstrate that Survivors had different motivations for wanting to continue living and succeeding. This is contrary to the assumption of

my research in which I suggested that the most widely spread motivation was the need to belong and have a meaningful life.

I found in this study that success had many different meanings to the people interviewed. On the one hand, they talked about the need to belong, the need for meaningful life, to study, raise a family, tell about their pride in their success, the status they acquired, and their success in rehabilitating themselves and their families. On the other hand, during the interviews, when they were asked about the difficulties they had experienced, negative material gradually surfaced, such as dread of the Holocaust, emotional isolation, disturbing memories, loneliness, fear and insecurity, repression of memories, and their concealment from the people closest to them. The obtained picture raises questions such as: Do we really know what lies behind their successful presentation? Are they aware of their real needs?

In the last decade, literature focused on the phenomena of traumas repressed by Survivors over the last 60 years, has emerged. They indicated that there were many reasons for the repression and for the long self- imposed or forced silence. Reasons such as use of a defense mechanism to protect their psychological health, or attempts to deny the insults and humiliations they had suffered. It is possible that they hesitated to disclose or to expose themselves and others because no one was ready to listen. Due to the atmosphere of intolerance in the Israeli society, the Survivors tried to erase their pasts and start new lives. Some of the Survivors did not talk about all the suffering that they had experienced. In addition, their feelings of guilt contributed to their silence. This silence continued for many years and took a heavy price from the Survivors, as they became more vulnerable, mainly in the later years of their lives. Dasberg (2001) Steir (2009), and Barel (2010) claim that some of the Survivors may wear the success mask even nowadays. Other Survivors started to share their traumatic experiences with their environment and their families after 60 years of silence.

The common denominator of the people interviewed for the research is that all wished to continue living, despite the loss, the suffering, and the traumas they had experienced. Their statements demonstrate that the need to belong was a basic and essential feeling

which all of them lacked. Nevertheless, the above mentioned shows that this need was due to various motivations, ranging from fear of loneliness, the need to be protected, the need for a replacement for the lost family, and ideological belief, a need to belong to the Jewish people and to Zionism , although some of them stopped believing in God after the Holocaust.

The findings point out to differences in the definitions of success in the eyes of the people interviewed. Some Survivors described success as a sort of continuous fight against the Holocaust and the Nazis, a struggle of force implying: "We are stronger than you are in spirit. You did not succeed in exterminating us." For others it is a mix between gloating and vengeance "there was no other alternative." Some people believe that the person's desire to take revenge is due to the fact that he wants to feel good. For some, vengeance and success provide the ability to prove to the world that they did not succeed in exterminating us, thus regaining our self-value. We can also explain the need for success as a compensation for the suffering, the material loss, and the loss of relatives. All those findings indicate indeed that there are some differences between the feelings Survivors experience and those of the studies conducted in recent years and the various psychological theories; we assume that some feelings are still concealed, repressed, and present indirectly.

I want to end with an optimistic point of view. Suedfeld et al (2002) stated that, on the whole, the child Survivors included in his study are doing pretty well, although they do have a skeptical view of the benevolence and trustworthiness of other people. They are independent thinkers and their problem-solving approaches are rational and problem-oriented. Their educational and occupational achievements are impressive, especially considering all of the disruptions they had to overcome. What they value most about work is its intrinsic satisfaction, not its material rewards or prestige (Suedfeld et al., 2002).

10.6 Personal Conclusions

In my interviews with H.Ss, I found that they were not willing to recall the negative events that troubled them and totally avoided complaining about anything. Only a few opened up about the traumatic period in their lives.

At this stage of the interviews I started realizing that, to a certain extent, I began this research study out of personal curiosity, since I am a Holocaust Survivor, self-defined as a person who rehabilitated her life and succeeded. My world-view was that building of my new life did not chase the memories away, but I learned to live with them and assumed that other Survivors have done the same

Since my childhood, I grew up hearing the life stories of my parents and their Holocaust Survivor friends. They always discussed what they went through and what their future plans were.

Therefore, it is only natural that this upbringing led me to investigate the subject of the Holocaust. In my adult years, I settled down, acquired a profession and raised a family. I started thinking in a more organized manner about what happened to me and to the others when I had more free time. How did it happen and why? Who is responsible for everything? Most of the time, I assumed that my history is the same as that of the people that I interviewed. I assumed that my motivation to live and to succeed is similar to theirs. Nevertheless I decided to investigate this subject and examine the motivations of the Survivors. Why did they act in the way that they did?

Nowadays, after analyzing the studies and reading comprehensive literature on the subject, I realize that Holocaust Survivors are a very varied population, with different backgrounds. Although all of them experienced difficult events, their reactions are varied.

The most important lesson that I learned was that the majority of the Survivors tried, as I did, to forget and repress the past. Not everything is immediately observed at first glance. Not everything externally displayed is the whole truth. I learned that a trauma cannot be repressed. I understood that the research opened many directions for me and a capability to see the open and sometimes also the hidden.

Another lesson that contributed much to my studies is that the research obliged me to be flexible in my thinking and keep an objective point of view as much as possible, in order to observe and understand the event as an investigator and not stick with my previous rigid attitude. The research taught me that I cannot consider the subject matter from a limited and one-way point of view, that it is important to develop a critical view. I thank my supervisor, Dr. Leslie Bash, for encouraging me to develop a critical view. He reminded me to be critical all the time, writing me the following:

"Empathic understanding is important in qualitative research but needs careful monitoring and engagement of critical skills to ensure that there is a degree of rigor in your investigation."

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Sample Core Interview - Aviho Morad

He is the vice manager of the university of Bar-Ilan 31/10/2004.
We met in his office there.

Question: Do you remember and can tell me what happened after the liberation? What did you think about it and how did you feel?

Answer: When I was liberated I weighed 34 kilos and was 1.80 meters tall. I was in camps, in the ghetto and in the Zionistic underground grouping 1 (his weight was very low after the liberation). In the Ghetto I did labor work; I was healthy and very strong. (in the Ghetto did labor work, he was strong and healthy). In the 20'th of July 1944 I came to Dachau and I stayed there until the 28'th of April 1945. I could barely walk then (Sub category after Dachau he barely could walk). We were put on trains by the Germans, although the war was over, we were 1600 people; they wanted to take us out of the camps, (post war danger). There was a guard, a German, I asked him to help us and told him that we will remember him if so. He asked how he can help and I asked for him to bring us water, and so he did (, survival strategy). Later on the Americans started giving us packages. I only sucked on sugar, those who ate a lot died instantly. A lot of people died because of over–eating, it was hard, and people were starved and could not wait (he was very careful about food). Later on we were taken to Zipelld, a beautiful holiday town, in Tirol which is in Austria. I remember this like today (,vivid memories of resting place after 60 years of the war). A German colonel approached to us, put one leg on another and said he has an order to shoot us (The Germans wanted to kill all Holocaust Survivors so

no one will know what the Germans have done, explained Aviho Morad). But I won't do it, he said, so hide! (, still the danger is going on). There we found a cabin of herders and we hid. We didn't have any strength left and we couldn't walk anymore, we barely crawled and I was then 2–3 kilos heavier in weight (hiding without strength, could barely crawl). We were 3–4 guys, actually with one of them I have been till the liberation on 30/04/1945 we saw tanks and then I knew that I was saved (have been liberated).

When we were saved we were all taken to a hospital, there we got treatments. We were given baths and we were taught to eat in the right quantity (we were treated to get well). I remember we were invited to a celebration in the town and there was food, my only friend could not hold on anymore and ate, although I begged him not to and it did not help me. He died (, death because of overeating). After the war many people told me that I have saved their lives as I was very determined and stubborn, this is what convinced them not to eat, and saved them in the lager. The other reason that they tell me that I saved them is when they asked me what the situation is (because they knew that I have connections and that I go to the political camps and they are the first to know what's going on). So the people I was with them in the camp would ask me in how much time the liberators will come, when will it end? I would tell them, in days. They would answer 'so we can hold on a few more days', this gave them hope; I tried to give them the best thing to hold on it (he was giving hope to other Jewish prisoners in the lager). Some died in front of me closing their eyes, even though I tried to go on with them by doing it. Then they took us to a rehabilitation place.

There at the hospital, after the liberation when they checked all of us, they found that I have all the possible illnesses (found Aviho Morad has poor health condition). then they took me to a rehabilitation place to Smarto. There I met also friends from my town. When I was checked, there, I was told that everything is 100%, then I weighed already 35 kg health, how it could be? (He was amazed) (,

he was checked, again and his health, after all, was OK). There I met Doctor Grinberg who later on became the manager of Beilinson Hospital in Israel.

After the Holocaust the reaction of the Survivors was generally amazing and they behaved unexpected well, in my opinion, says Aviho Morad (he was amazed by H.S reaction at post war events.)

The Holocaust happened to me and to all of us, the people of Israel. Instead of being sad and thinking about this, I started to organize a group of people (organizing people for projects). This was in a camp near Munich, to where the Survivors came from all over Europe. I was in all of this. I can actually say that I acted in an opposite way to the others, I mean by acting and doing and not just sitting around being sad. I knew there is a lot to do in order to return to a normal life (actions of post war life).

I did not want to go back home to Kobvnas, Lithuania because the Russians ruled there and I was afraid that they will not let me out of their territory once I get there (dangers after the war). I knew that all my family was exterminated (left alone after all the family was exterminated). That is why I went to Munich to the refugee camp. Later on, I met my brother. He was very sick, so I managed to get Penicillin, which saved him.

Question: Who helped you and your friends, in the organization at the huge refugee camp like you call it?

Answer: We did it all by ourselves, until the Jewish Brigade cam– organized themselves in a refugee camp). This was the Brigade to which Jewish soldiers were recruited in the British Army. They were active in Europe's liberation and at the end of the war they helped H Ss in every way they could. They were able to move easily from place to place, they knew what was going on and where was the media in all of conquered Europe. The Brigade soldier were generally

very helpful, but in this specific camp Aviho Morad says that they had to do everything by themselves, with him standing in front. (he took a leadership position.)

At the same time I started studying at the University of Munich, I signed up for 5 subjects. Each day I traveled from the camp to the university and at the nights I would work at the camp. We built there actually a small Jewish state, we were 1/4 million Jews. (Organizing the life in the camp and his own).

I did not have time to think what happened to my family or the Jewish people. I launched myself into work for the community and hard studies for myself – this is how I pushed everything away. I accepted reality as I worked from the morning till the evening. (worked hard in order to ease the pain) Today I am 84 and still work here in the University. I have a big law office and a family. My wife is a sculptor. I have two sons and grandchildren as well. At night I learn the bible. I am a bible learner and this is how I learned to sleep only 3–4 hours a night, it's enough for me (living a meaningful life). At the age of 95 I will retire to pension and write down my memories (he has plans for age 95 to write his diary).

When I arrived in Israel, at 1950, I organized a group of people who were with me in the camp and started checking settling matters. I was always busy in society events of others. Not for one day have I not thought about the Holocaust. I passed everything. Some say I was immunized (immunized against reminiscences). I can say that about myself. But I worked without stopping worked without stop. Just now I returned from a work trip to the Ukraine and there I met people from morning till evening dealing with matters of Jews immigrating to Israel (acts for his belief). In a couple of days I will be traveling to Europe related to matters of my private office (acts for his own financial life success).

Question: What motivated you from the beginning?

Answer: It was Zionism (Zionism motivated me). I studied in a 'Yeshiva' (bible school) day and night, but my home was not religious (his home was not religious). The opposite, we were Zionistic and we read 'Haaretz' paper, at home before coming to Israel. This was an important Israeli newspaper, it was sent to us by mail, at that time which represents the majority. At the age of five I was taught how to read and went to a Jewish kindergarten in Poland and then to an elementary and Jewish high school (he finished Jewish high school). Then my father decided to send me to learn in a Yeshiva. If he knew that in the end I would become a religious man maybe he wouldn't have sent me. I spent six years learning in the Yeshiva and that made me cross (I was sent to Yeshiva without knowing that it will do me a religious person). Today I am slightly religious and a believer, but not a fanatic (, religious belief but not fanatic). I am completely against, for instance, what the religious people, the settlers, are doing in Israel's occupied lands. I am against (against the religious settlers). I remained a believer after the Holocaust, for as the bible says: "There will be a hiding of God" (the Holocaust did not destroy his beliefs). I am not a "Hassidic"; I am a 'Kabalist' (two groups that approach religious manners in different ways). Until today I learn Kabala each night(his belief in learning Judaism nonstop).

Question: In the years since you were liberated and started to organize your life, have you ever felt hopeless?

Answer: No, I believed from the first day that the Nazis will fall. I like predicting the future; I know that Hitler will fall (he knew that the Nazis will fall). In the Ghetto where I was we did not have an uprising like in Warsaw because we did not want many innocent people to die. But the underground movement in the Ghetto took care that all the children will learn and that there will be culture (believe in education).

Question: Have you continued your work in Israel, for the sake of others, that you have done in the Ghetto and later on in Munich as you described?

Answer: Yes, many times I remember my actions then and they are very satisfying. Even with all the difficulties we stood up here in Israel, again, morally (finds meaning in building Israel). I am quite different from others overall. I was quite active also in Israel for many years, also in politics (looking for involvement in a social network). I was a parliament member for years, and a government member, but I say what I think and I am against the settlers and I voted against them and that was in opposition to the coalition and I was out of the congress. I saw I could not make a difference and thanks God I left in time (was very sure of his beliefs).

Question: Did you have any role model?

Answer: Yes, he was the head of my Yeshiva for five years. He was a very smart man and the only one who influenced me! He taught me how to predict the future: for instance the 'Messiah' concept is ruining our country these days. I don't believe in "Messiah" (he has his own model of belief).

Question: Keeping busy all the time? Is this your savior?

Answer: The truth is yes, I sleep 3–4 hours a day, which leaves me time for all my actions during the day and to study the bible (he is studying the bible at nights).

Question: Are you aware that you need to be busy and active all the time?

Answer: Yes, in my youth I was a happy boy and I was always busy and learning a lot. After the Holocaust I was busier still and studied a lot. After the war I signed up for five subjects in the university and had a ride of one hour in each direction and I also worked a lot in the camps (according his priority).

Question: What motivated you? Can you point out the causes that were and still are your motivations?

Answer: This is the tradition, to learn and not be narrow–minded. My father was not religious as I said earlier, he was a businessman and when he was young he was in a Yeshiva. All his life I remember that on Saturday he would sit and study bible with a cigarette in his mouth (the insight to study bible he got from his father).

Question: Can you say about yourself that you have succeeded as a person and have done things that fulfilled you?

Answer: Yes, very much so. I was one of the pioneers of the new country in many ways. To be objective, I reached many achievements. I was a member of parliament. I have a successful lawyer office but because I
did not give up on my principles I did not stay at the peak of politics. Since I stood on my principles I devoted myself to Zionism. Every spare moment I prayed for Zionism, I gave up financial success but I, remained a Kibbutz member because I believed in it. I live in a Kibbutz although I have a high rank in society, outside of the Kibbutz. But at the beginning I did manual labor for eight years, moving stones (devoted his life to Zionism). The most important factors after the Holocaust that helped me to achieve a meaningful and fulfilled life were my beliefs in two fundamental things: Zionism and my own power as a person. My life history proves it (,he lives according his beliefs).

Question: Was there a time when you complained about life?

Answer: No, never, there wasn't any time for despair (no despair in post war time). The biggest trigger in all my life was Zionism. There are a few things that I regret investing in, like supporting permanent Yeshivas, which disappoint-

ed me as they became Messiahs type and went to the settlements (the disappointment he had to fight).

Questions: Do you rank everything by the success of Zionism?

Answer: Yes, all is Zionism (his fulfillment is in having a Zionist's life). Besides my motivation, I am a perfectionist. I am proud to say that I was an optimist and stayed like this and I remember and will never forget how I encouraged people in the concentration camp who were about to die. It all started there and this will always accompany me and all those who survived the Holocaust.

Appendix 2

Sample of my reflections   - October 2004

I remember struggling to be 'like them' from the early age of 10, when I arrived in Israel. I was put into Class 3 because I did not know Hebrew. It was not easy but I have some good memories as well from those years. I managed to be among the kids, but sometimes they could be very cruel. For example, the clothing I wore was a subject of fun for them. At the age of 14 I managed to enter Class 8 and due to my hard work I was one of the best students. I remember in those days we lived in a new house. My parents could pay monthly but there was not enough for electricity so we had to use petroleum lamps. I sat up late at night studying, since my aim was to be an ordinary student like the natives: Sabres. At the ages of 15–17 I was a typical outsider, but I had some close friends and they helped me to adjust. I did not know the word 'belonging', but I felt it very much.

I started to feel some meaning in my life when my family moved into a house after being in Israel for a long time. It was beautiful but small, with a large garden around it. There was a neighboring boy of my age and we became friends. We marked out a little garden for ourselves and I remember vividly planting the flowers. Not long after that we moved to another house and there I made another garden by myself. Those gardens meant a lot to me. When I got married I felt a great surge of meaning. Also when I graduated from my college, my teachers helped me to be aware of the meaning in my life.
Because I was just a child at the time and not aware of future feelings, just being afraid of everything without knowing or thinking about the future, I cannot make a clear distinction between that time and how I felt before. I was not in a position to decide or choose. I simply had to follow the adults around me – and in those days they did not speak with children as openly as we do today. One had to behave without questioning.

When I was small, about 4–5, I remember living without being religious, neither going to synagogue nor celebrating Jewish holidays. But I still knew that I was a Jew. During the war, from the beginning and without explanations, I knew that I have to be silent about

being Jewish. One particular memory demonstrates this. One of the times when I was in hiding, we were in the shelter of the building with all the tenants. We all had to lie on the floor, very close to each other. I heard the children praying the Christian prayers and I was whispering my "Shma Israel" (a Jewish prayer). Nobody heard me and nobody from the family told me to do it, it was just an instinctive response. When I recall it today, I still cry. Now I know that for me this meant Judaism. After the war, I was seven and a half years old. I went to pray in the synagogue with my neighbors. In my own family, nobody wanted to go. They said that if events like the Holocaust can occur, then God does not exist. I remember people saying it. I am not religious but I believe in the faith of Judaism and in its purpose. Later at the age of 12, I became familiar with Zionism and I followed the principles of this ideology. In Israel, the majority of the people are Jewish, and therefore the term 'religious' has a looser and more general context. It refers to a set of norms (dress, keeping kosher, going to the synagogue) rather than to the possession of a belief